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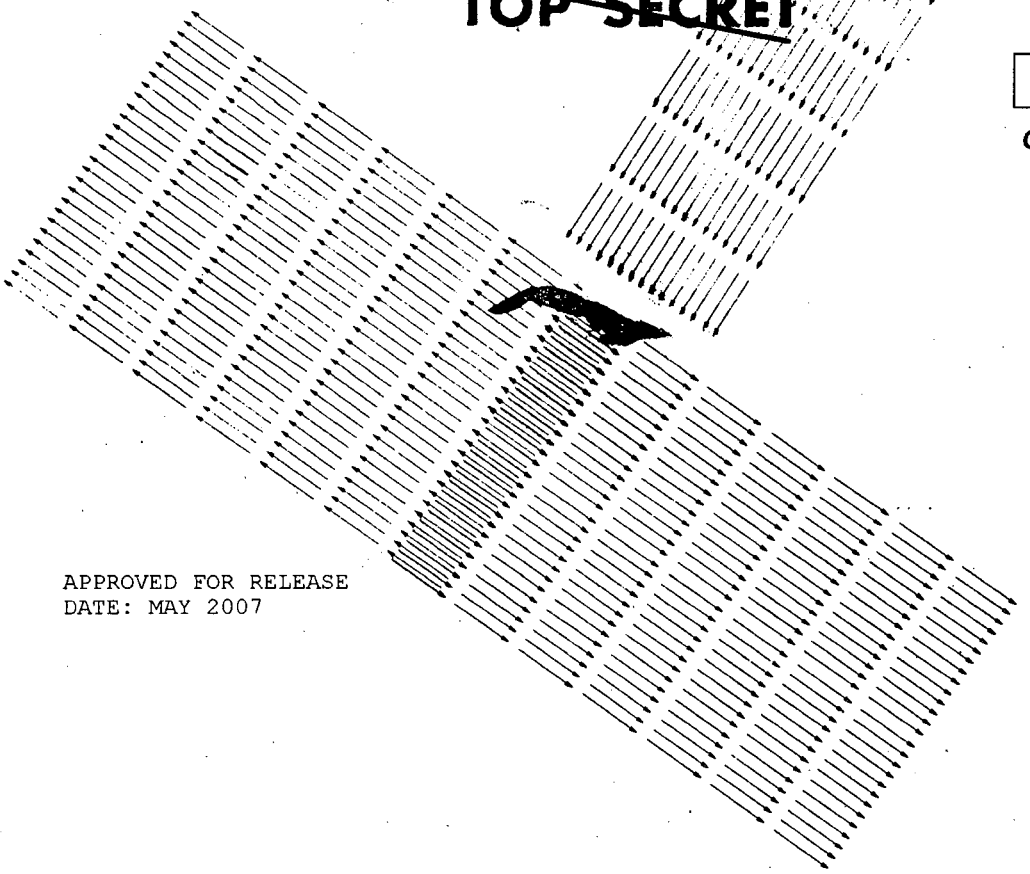

THE SINO-SOVIET STRUGGLE IN CUBA

AND

THE LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

CIA/RSS

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THE SINO-SOVIET STRUGGLE IN CUBA AND THE LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

This is a working paper of the DD/I Research Staff. Reflecting developments through the first week of August 1963, the paper considers chiefly the competition of the Soviet and Chinese Communist parties for influence with Castro and the Cuban Communist party, while the Appendix discusses in less detail their competition elsewhere in Latin America.

In preparing this paper, we have had good counsel from all of the analysts of the Latin American Division of OCI and from others in ONE and in DD/P. The DDI/RS would welcome further comment on the paper, addressed to Harry Gelman, who wrote the paper, or to the Chief or Deputy Chief of the staff [redacted]

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THE SINO-SOVIET STRUGGLE IN CUBA AND THE LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

THE SINO-SOVIET STRUGGLE IN CUBA AND THE LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Summary and Conclusions

Soviet influence over the Latin American Communist movement, at one time universal and uncontested, has in recent years been subjected to a gradually increasing challenge from the Chinese Communist party, which by now has made serious inroads in Soviet authority. Although the majority of Latin American Communist leaders still support the CPSU against the CCP in the Sino-Soviet conflict and continue to look to Moscow rather than to Peiping for guidance and leadership, factions of various sizes sympathetic to the Chinese position now exist in almost all of the Latin American Communist parties, creating internal pressures upon pro-Soviet party leaderships which have grown steadily more serious as the Sino-Soviet conflict has progressed. The Chinese challenge to the Soviet position has thus far had its greatest effect on the Communist movements of Cuba, Venezuela, and Ecuador, all of which, for different reasons, have moved to a position of neutrality in the Sino-Soviet dispute. In addition, pro-Chinese internal factions or external competing splinter groups are believed to represent a particularly severe problem to the pro-Soviet leaderships of the Communist parties of Peru, Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Paraguay. The prospects appear to favor a further increase in Chinese strength in many of these parties over the long run.

While Chinese influence among the Latin American Communist parties was introduced, with Soviet approval or acquiescence, after the 20th CPSU congress in 1956, the first massive Chinese effort along this line came in February and March 1959, with the visit of a large group of Latin American party leaders to Peiping after the 21st CPSU congress. One purpose of this new effort was to assist in a general Chinese attempt to increase pressure on positions of the United States in every part of the world; another purpose appears to have been to lay the groundwork for the coming Chinese challenge to Soviet authority over

the international Communist movement. The CCP at this time is reported to have arranged for the participation of many Latin American parties in Chinese training courses, and to have begun attempts to indoctrinate Latin American Communists with aspects of the Chinese foreign policy line not shared by Moscow.

The leaderships of the Latin American Communist parties gradually were forced to deal with the problems raised by an overt Chinese challenge to the Soviet party after the publication of Peiping's "Long Live Leninism" articles in April 1960 and the subsequent Chinese attempts to disseminate brochures containing these attacks on the CPSU in Latin America. Latin American party leaders were present at the Sino-Soviet clash at Bucharest in June 1960, at the Fourth congress of the Cuban Popular Socialist party in Havana in August 1960 (where intensive Chinese attempts were made to win them over), and at the 81-party meeting in Moscow in November 1960. At this point, CPSU strength in the Latin American parties was still overwhelming, and these parties are believed to have supported the Soviets almost unanimously at Bucharest and Moscow, although with some wavering on the part of a few. Most Latin American party leaderships, however, made fairly successful efforts to keep the details of the dispute from the attention of their rank and file at this time.

A more serious test of CPSU strength took place at the 22nd CPSU congress in October 1961; at this time Latin America again proved an important center of support for the Soviet party, since nearly every Latin American party represented at Moscow followed the Soviet lead with at least a token attack on Albania. Many parties in the next few months issued formal statements at home reiterating such condemnation, but the strength of pro-Chinese minority factions by now was such that ten parties--including the important parties of Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia--were unwilling to do so.

The CPSU by this time is reported to have requested the Latin Americans to send no more party members to China for training; this injunction appears to have been obeyed by some parties and disobeyed by others. At a congress of

the Chilean party in March 1962, the CPSU delegate is reported to have attempted to halt the slow erosion of his party's position by distributing among the Latin American delegates to the congress a CPSU letter to each central committee warning it against the Chinese.

The outcome of the Cuban crisis of October 1962, taken in conjunction with the hostile Cuban reaction and the violent Chinese attacks upon Khrushchev's "Munich," is believed to have caused a general weakening of the CPSU position, with widespread dissension reported in many Communist parties and a considerable growth in the strength of pro-CCP factions everywhere. Although the great majority of the Latin American party leaderships nevertheless remained loyal to the Soviets, and responded to Soviet lobbying at the East European party congresses in November and December by joining in the chorus of denunciation of Tirana and Peiping, the Cubans and Venezuelans conspicuously refused to do this, and again in January 1963 were the only two Latin American parties which failed to associate themselves with a statement read at the East German party congress by the Chilean delegate supporting the CPSU line.

The Chinese at this point began an enormously expanded campaign against the CPSU publicly and privately in every part of the world. They made intensive efforts to promote their views among the Latin Americans at the East German party congress; they apparently sent private letters to certain Latin American parties; they began vigorous efforts to flood Latin America--as well as other parts of the world--with anti-Soviet literature; and they made direct attempts to subvert or split Latin American party leaderships loyal to Moscow, notably including those of the Mexican, Ecuadorean, and Brazilian parties. At the same time, the Chinese supplemented this with continuing efforts to maintain contact and support among the multitude of radical and Castroite groups outside of the Communist parties of Latin America. In its open letter to the CPSU of 14 June 1963, the CCP acknowledged and defended what it was doing in this regard, in effect proclaiming its intention to split the existing Communist parties and to unite the factions favorable to it with forces outside those parties as true "Marxist-Leninists." This process has barely begun, and the pro-Soviet leaderships

of some of the Communist parties involved have meanwhile begun to fight back with attempts at purges--some successful, and some not--of the pro-Chinese dissidents.

A major complicating favor throughout this struggle has been the effect of Cuban policy. While the Cuban revolution was initially hailed by the Latin American Communist parties as providing them with an opportunity to attract a much broader spectrum of leftist sympathizers than had previously been possible, Castro's appeal became of steadily decreasing value to the parties as he tied himself more and more openly to the bloc, and thus cut adrift from his following in Latin America the more moderate social groups. There is good evidence of the dismay felt by the Latin American Communist leaders as this process went on. Two of the most important events in the process were Castro's public identification of himself as a Marxist-Leninist in December 1961, and the humiliating revelation of Cuba's dependent status during the missile crisis of October 1962.

The relationship of the Latin American Communist parties to Cuba, the CPSU, and the CCP was further complicated by Castro's determination to foment armed struggle throughout Latin America as his best means of striking at the United States, a line which completely agreed with the policy being promoted by Peiping throughout the world. Castro has privately confirmed that he was unable to get the bulk of the Latin American Communist parties to adopt his line and to begin guerrilla warfare, and that consequently he has had to concentrate on the Castroite forces outside of those parties. Increasing conflict has resulted between Castro and a number of the Communist party leaderships, who have been subjected to great pressures to begin an armed struggle they consider unwise and premature by forces within their parties and those outside and competing with them, as a result of the exhortations and assistance from Castro and the Chinese. There is good evidence that angry protests were made to the Cubans by a number of Latin American party leaders at the time of the November 1960 Moscow conference, as well as later in Cuba and elsewhere. The Communist leaderships in Colombia, Brazil, and Peru have been particularly aggrieved in this connection.

The Soviet attitude in all this has been ambiguous. While the CPSU has not seemed opposed in principle to the use of guerrilla warfare or to reliance to a considerable extent on the peasantry in Latin America, it has also not appeared to agree with the extremes to which the Cubans and the Chinese have carried their line. There is evidence that the Soviets have felt that Castro's violent rhetoric, while useful in uniting the militant leftist youth and students of Latin America among whom Castro has found his chief support, has tended to frighten away other forces of the petit bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie who might otherwise have been enticed into alliances with the local Communist party. It is doubtful if the Soviets have at any time wholly endorsed Castro's activities in Latin America; it is more likely that they have wavered, approved of many of them and disapproved of others, and in any case have found it difficult to modify Castro's conduct one way or another. Available evidence on the Cuban subversive and guerrilla training schools, for example, strongly suggests that these schools are entirely under Castro's control, and that the Soviets do not have the ability to significantly modify the selection of which particular Latin American cadres are to receive training.

In short, the Soviet position has been indecisive and self-contradictory. On the one hand, the Soviets have recently felt it desirable to give more public and covert support to the Venezuelan party's guerrilla struggle, have apparently given the signal to step up guerrilla training in Central America, and have reprinted nearly the full text of Castro's militant call of 26 July 1963 for revolution in Latin America. On the other hand, the Soviets have repeatedly been told, by Communist party leaderships loyal to the CPSU in the Sino-Soviet dispute, that Castro's activities were hurting them and aiding their local pro-Chinese rivals; and the Soviets have also been brought under increasing pressure by those party leaders to support them against their domestic leftist competitors even if the latter were being nourished by Castro. Although the Soviets have in fact a number of times sought to persuade Castro to modify aspects of his policy, the Soviet desire to secure his support in the Sino-Soviet dispute, and the Soviet wish to appear as militant revolutionaries to the audience which

applauds both Castro and the Chinese, seem together to have inhibited Moscow from exerting enough pressure to be either effective or consistent in its policy.

Cuba: As the Sino-Soviet struggle for ascendancy over the Communist and radical forces of Latin America has gradually intensified since 1959, Cuba has remained the most important single battleground, as the only one in which such forces hold state power, and as the base from which attempts can be made to influence events elsewhere in the hemisphere. Four interests have been involved in Cuba: those of (1) the CPSU, (2) the CCP, (3) the Cuban Popular Socialist Party (PSP) (the old Communist party of Cuba), and (4) Fidel Castro and those leaders of his 26th of July movement who remained personally loyal to him rather than to the PSP.

Until the year before Castro's advent to power in January 1959, the PSP strongly opposed the tactics of armed struggle against the Batista regime pursued by Castro and his movement. Beginning in early 1958, however, and particularly after mid-summer 1958, the PSP undertook intense efforts to infiltrate Castro's movement, attach itself to it, and win sufficient influence to procure Castro's willing cooperation with the PSP after the seizure of power. While there was some successful PSP infiltration of the 26th of July movement, more important, from the PSP point of view, was the fact that much of the top leadership of the 26th of July movement--and particularly Raul Castro and Che Guevara--while not PSP members, saw the world in much the same terms as did the PSP. That is, they were Marxists, who detested the capitalist world and the United States and admired the Communist bloc. Fidel Castro appears originally to have held a somewhat diluted and confused version of these views, but was predisposed to be further influenced along this line by Raul and Guevara.

Nevertheless, because Fidel Castro and that majority of the military commanders which was personally loyal to him were not in fact under PSP discipline, Castro's conduct could not be predicted and controlled by either the PSP or the CPSU. Furthermore, while the dominant strain in Castro's movement was indeed radical and anti-American, it tended to be so

radical as to run closely parallel in its views to those of the Trotskyites and the Chinese Communists, particularly in the insistence on violence as the only avenue to power and in the militant demand that armed struggle be extended everywhere throughout Latin America without delay.

There is good evidence from both Soviet and Chinese private statements shortly after Castro's advent to power that both the CPSU and the CCP initially were wary of Castro and by no means sure that he would not eventually betray the Communists, as Nasser was considered to have done in Egypt. The Chinese, however, made haste to establish in Cuba the base for propaganda operations in Latin America which they had hitherto lacked; and the tone of both Chinese and Soviet propaganda regarding Castro gradually grew more confident as he made it increasingly apparent that he did not desire good relations with the United States, and as the PSP began to achieve a strong position in his regime. A long period of Soviet hesitation regarding the establishment of ties with Castro was ended in February 1960 with a Mikoyan visit to Havana, following which bloc military shipments to Cuba and the establishment of Soviet diplomatic relations with Cuba were undertaken in the summer of 1960.

There is evidence to indicate, however, that in the summer and fall of 1960 the Castro regime made probably the first of several attempts to secure from the USSR a firm and public commitment to take military action against the United States in the event of a U.S. invasion of Cuba. This Khrushchev was apparently flatly unwilling to grant, since Cuba was not a vital interest of the USSR, a U.S. invasion of Cuba was a distinct possibility, and the Soviet state would neither risk its existence by taking decisive military action in the event of such an invasion nor jeopardize its prestige by making an unequivocal commitment to take such action without the intention to do so, in the knowledge that its bluff might well be called. Khrushchev was apparently willing, however, to do the next best thing in an attempt to deter the United States: he furnished an equivocal commitment, stating that "figuratively speaking," Soviet rockets "can support" Cuba in the case of an American invasion. Khrushchev declined to make this formula more forthright when pressed publicly to do so by a Castro representative in October,

and two weeks later Castro indicated in a public speech that Cuba could not count on Soviet rockets for support against the United States. There is evidence suggesting that Communist China, in contacts with the Cubans in the fall of 1960, attempted to exploit this Soviet refusal. There is other evidence of Sino-Soviet rivalry for the favors of the Castro regime in the summer and fall of 1960, and of Soviet regret at the establishment of a Chinese embassy in Havana late in the year.

At the same time, a struggle went on between the CPSU and the CCP in 1960 for the allegiance of the PSP. There is every indication that the PSP in the years before Castro came to power had been completely loyal to the CPSU and faithful to its direction; the early PSP neglect of Castro, for which Soviet lecturers later criticized the Cuban party, had been pursued in conformity with CPSU policy, as was the subsequent PSP turn toward a close alliance with Castro. In April 1960 the Chinese party made its most vigorous attempt to influence the PSP, during a nine-day visit by General Secretary Blas Roca to Peiping at the invitation of the CCP central committee. An imposing array of Chinese leaders, including Mao, held discussions with Roca, and it was later [redacted] reported that the Chinese had attempted to incite Roca against the Soviets, and particularly against Khrushchev. Despite this attempt, the PSP demonstrated its continued loyalty to the CPSU at the 81-party conference in Moscow in November 1960, when the Cuban delegation acted as one of the principal agents for the CPSU in the unsuccessful Soviet effort to browbeat the Chinese into acknowledging the primacy of Soviet authority. Nevertheless, there is some evidence to suggest that the PSP at this time was in disagreement with the Soviets and in agreement with the Chinese on one issue: that is, the PSP apparently desired to press Castro to move ahead rapidly to consolidate the PSP ruling position in the Cuban state and to bring Cuba closer to bloc status, despite an apparent Soviet desire to slow down the pace of this advance because of fear that such action might bring a United States invasion of Cuba.

Despite the Soviet misgivings, the PSP immediately proceeded to push ahead, without the adverse consequences apparently feared in Moscow. First, the Cuban regime provoked

a rupture of relations with the United States. Next, Castro for the first time indulged in public self-criticism for his distrustful attitude toward the PSP in the years before his advent to power, thus setting the stage publicly for the emergence of the PSP leadership out of the background into prominence as leaders of the regime, while simultaneously seeking to demonstrate to the USSR that distrust of Castro and his regime was no longer justified, as in the past, and that Castro's Cuba was therefore as deserving of defense by the USSR against the United States as were the official members of the bloc. Similarly, on the very eve of the attempted Cuban invasion Castro announced that his revolution was "socialist," in an apparent attempt to secure protection from the Soviet Union at a moment of crisis when Castro believed the U.S. was intervening to destroy his regime. The United States did not do this, however, and in July Castro culminated the process by announcing the merger of his 26th of July movement with the PSP to form the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations (ORI), which was to be the organizational nucleus of a single Cuban party. With this step, the PSP reached a goal toward which it had long been working, and placed itself in a position from which it later could (and did) attempt to restrict Castro's power.

The Soviet leadership appears to have begun a fundamental modification in its thinking regarding Cuba in the fall of 1961. PSP pressure on Castro to enlarge the role played by the party had not backfired as had happened in Iraq, but had fairly rapidly obtained from Castro a secure, publicly consolidated position for the party as the organizational center of the Cuban state. At the same time, the provocatory policy pursued by Castro, with PSP encouragement, toward the United States had indeed finally resulted in the long-expected invasion of Cuba; but the result seemed to demonstrate that the U.S. would not, in fact, make decisive use of its power to destroy Castro's regime. For the first time, therefore, a viable Communist state in Cuba began to appear possible to the Soviet leaders. For this and a number of other reasons, it is possible that in the fall of 1961 the Soviet leadership began seriously to consider placing offensive missiles in Cuba as a means of partially redressing the strategic imbalance with the United States and of securing the political initiative throughout the world.

It is likely that a decision to attempt this venture was not taken until early 1962, however, and one consideration which may have caused the Soviets to hesitate was the risk created by the continued power in Cuba of Castro--whom the Soviets are known to have regarded as an undisciplined and irresponsible adventurer. It is therefore likely that during a lengthy visit to Moscow by the PSP leaders Blas Roca and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez in the fall of 1961 the CPSU reversed its policy of a year earlier and encouraged the Cuban Communists to attempt to nullify Castro's power completely.

In fact, immediately after Roca's return to Cuba, he gave a lengthy interview on Cuban television in which he discussed the 22nd CPSU Congress decisions on Stalin's abuse of personal power and disregard for "collective leadership" in terms which seemed to be strongly pointed at Castro, and indeed ended by stressing the need for "greater collective leadership" in the Cuban party. On the following evening, Castro gave a direct answer to Roca by defending repeatedly his past personal role as leader of the Cuban revolution, and justified his position by pronouncing himself to be a "Marxist-Leninist," and hence to be entitled to lead the Cuban party. During December and January, however, PSP leaders --particularly Roca and Anibal Escalante--continued to press Castro hard in public speeches for submission to PSP authority.

There is good evidence that the crisis between the PSP and the Castroites occurred during the month of February and the first three weeks of March. [redacted] reports indicate that the entire PSP leadership was involved in the effort against Castro, and that the PSP during this period was in contact with the Soviet embassy and that the embassy gave its explicit approval to the attempt. It therefore seems likely that by early February a decision had been made in Moscow to go ahead with the missile venture and that the PSP was thereupon told to take power from Castro quickly.

When the PSP made an overt effort, however, to win organizational control over the ORI and the armed forces, Castro for the first time seemed to become aware of a real danger to his personal power and for the first time therefore was willing to take drastic action against the PSP. Faced with the discovery that it did not have the power

--particularly in the army--to stand up to determined opposition by Castro, the PSP made a headlong retreat; during a confrontation with Castro in March the PSP leaders vilified their comrade Escalante as the culprit. Escalante, chosen as the scapegoat, was exiled to Eastern Europe; the authority of Castro and his personal followers was affirmed in organizational appointments announced by the ORI; a purge of the ORI lower apparatus was begun; and in a series of speeches Castro proceeded to denounce Escalante and to blackmail the Soviets by threatening further drastic action against the PSP leaders.

The CPSU undoubtedly was alarmed, and soon made a number of major concessions. On 11 April Pravda published an editorial article seeking reconciliation with Castro, calling him "comrade" for the first time, endorsing his condemnation of Escalante, and intimating that so long as Castro restrained himself from going further he would be recognized as "correctly building a single Marxist-Leninist party." Shortly after this, the CPSU publicly credited Cuba for the first time with something approaching "socialist" status. These Soviet concessions were sufficient to cause Castro to relax the threat of further action against the top PSP leaders. In the meantime, the Soviet leaders appear to have made to Castro in the first half of April the proposal to place missiles in Cuba.

In the last week of October, however, the Cuban missile crisis produced the second major conflict in relations between the CPSU and Castro in less than eight months. Judging from a multitude of published [redacted] reports, Castro had two fundamental grievances against Soviet actions during the crisis week: first, that the USSR had backed down unnecessarily, and second, that Khrushchev had humiliated him by ignoring him while arranging the backdown with the United States. During Mikoyan's subsequent emergency visit in November, Castro and his personal adherents used a multitude of public and private means to indicate their anger at what was considered a Soviet betrayal; and during the economic negotiations with the Soviets which followed in December and January, Castro continued to use a great variety of devices to indicate to Moscow his immense displeasure and to intimate that he was considering some radical turn in Cuban policy to Soviet disadvantage.

This period of great disenchantment with the Soviet Union and with the Soviet capability to protect Castro's regime was also one in which the Castroite leaders gave renewed emphasis to their longstanding efforts to promote revolution in Latin America. With the evaporation of the Soviet deterrent Castro thought he had possessed, the encouragement of militant struggle in Latin America acquired a new importance as the chief means available of maintaining pressure against the United States. In two speeches in January, Castro omitted his customary denials of an intention to export revolution, and made thinly-veiled attacks on Soviet caution, which represented the clearest public expression to date of Cuban disagreement with Soviet policy toward Latin America.

These statements were welcomed by the Chinese party, which had made an extreme effort to use the Cuban missile crisis of late October to injure the Soviet position both in Cuba and throughout the world. The Castro regime appears to have made good use of this Chinese onslaught against Soviet Cuban policy--and of the vigorous Chinese efforts to woo Cuba--in its attempt to blackmail the CPSU once more in the winter of 1962-63. However, while eager to make use of the Chinese, and while agreeing with much of their revolutionary line toward Latin America, Castro was far from willing to commit himself to Mao's side in the Sino-Soviet struggle for power, if only because he was wholly dependent upon the Soviet Union economically and because Peiping did not have the economic strength to replace the USSR in underwriting the Cuban economy. Accordingly, as the Sino-Soviet dispute grew steadily more intense at the close of 1962, Cuban public actions favoring one side or the other were carefully balanced, and on 2 January Castro publicly indicated Cuban neutrality in the conflict.

In February there came a change in the Cuban posture toward the Soviet Union; like the similar change that had occurred ten months before, it was the result of a Soviet concession. On 6 February the 1963 protocol to the Cuban-Soviet trade agreement, involving a new long-term credit to Cuba, was finally signed in Moscow after long negotiations. There is reason to believe that the Cubans obtained much of what they had been asking, and that in particular the Soviet

concession on the price of Cuban sugar announced during Castro's visit to the Soviet Union in May was actually made at this time. In return, Castro apparently agreed to make a strenuous attempt to end Cuban inefficiency and waste of Soviet funds, and also agreed to a considerable temporary dampening of incendiary propaganda toward Latin America.

In the face of this evidence of another rapprochement between Castro and the Soviets, the Chinese Communists in the spring of 1963 greatly intensified their public and private efforts to win Castro to their side through gross personal flattery and praise for Castro's revolutionary line. Nevertheless, the Cuban response to the various Chinese overtures was to continue to insist on public neutrality between Moscow and Peiping. From late April to late May, Castro paid his visit to the Soviet Union, and the CPSU made a great effort to procure his cooperation for the forthcoming Soviet showdown with the Chinese. During and following his visit Castro responded with statements expressing lavish praise of Khrushchev and for the first time approving his actions during the October crisis; these statements were of great help to the CPSU in the struggle with the Chinese.

These actions by Castro offended the Chinese, and the Chinese personal tributes to Castro were abruptly halted, although the CCP attempts to win Cuban support against the CPSU did not cease. However, despite attempts by the Soviets to prove that Castro's May visit to the USSR had won him to the Soviet side in the Sino-Soviet conflict, the Cuban regime has been at pains to reassert its neutrality in the dispute , and since late July Castro has made it clear that he will continue to adhere to a violently anti-U.S. line in Latin America despite the lack of harmony between that line and the limited detente the Soviets have attempted to promote with the United States in connection with the test ban agreement. Meanwhile, by early August, in the face of the open split between the Chinese and Soviet parties following the collapse of the Sino-Soviet negotiations in July, Castro was finding it increasingly difficult to remain on good terms with both sides.

I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Landmarks in Latin American Participation in the Sino-Soviet Dispute

The introduction of Chinese influence on the Latin American Communist parties was facilitated by the CPSU. During the first few years following the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956 the Soviet party appears to have encouraged the Latin Americans to visit China and to learn from the experiences of the Chinese revolution, particularly Chinese experience in building a united front including the "national bourgeoisie" and other "anti-imperialist" forces. Participation by Latin American parties in Chinese training schools began in 1958, with Soviet acquiescence, and at the 21st CPSU Congress in February 1959 CPSU Central Committee officials passed on to the Latin American party delegates an invitation to visit Peiping, recommending that they accept and profusely praising the CPR. High Soviet and Chinese officials in private briefings to the Latin Americans in Moscow and Peiping at this time made a point of professing esteem for their fraternal allies. As late as January 1960, a lecturer at the CPSU Higher Party School in Khabarovsk was still telling his audience that the experience of the Chinese Communist party--as well as that of the "national liberation movements" of Africa and Asia--was being "creatively applied" by Communist parties throughout Latin America.

At the same time, some Latin American Communists were made aware fairly early of the existence of differences between the Soviets and the Chinese. It is reported that one of the first Latin American students to return from a Chinese training school was told, in 1958, by Latin American specialists of the CPSU, that Chinese plans for the communes were "too early and too risky;" and it was intimated by these specialists that the Chinese economic claims being made at the time were exaggerated. The student in question also noted that the Soviet officials he spoke to were more conciliatory in regard to Tito than were the Chinese. While in China, this student had noted that the Chinese had indicated disagreement with the Soviets on a number

of points--including the denigration of Stalin--and had implied a fundamental belief in the inevitability of war with the United States.

The visit of a large group of Latin American party leaders to Peiping in February and March 1959 after the 21st CPSU congress was the beginning of a massive CCP effort to augment Chinese influence in Latin America. While one purpose of this effort was to assist in a general Chinese effort to increase pressure on positions of the United States in every part of the world, another purpose appears to have been to lay the groundwork for the coming Chinese challenge to Soviet authority over the international Communist movement. In the course of talks between the Latin Americans and Mao, Liu, and other Chinese leaders in March 1959, the Chinese are said to have stressed the affinity of the situations of the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to have advocated an exchange of experience among the Communist parties of these countries. The Soviets were to become increasingly fearful of this Chinese line in the ensuing years, and by 1963 were giving vent to their fears by declaring that the Chinese purpose in saying this was to exclude CPSU influence from these areas. At the same time, the Chinese leaders were reported to have told the Latin Americans that international tensions benefited all Communist parties, and that the parties should not be afraid of such tension; on the contrary, they said that "we" need more of it.*

*In a self-revealing statement, the Chinese also said that such tensions would aid the CPR, because the Communists of the world, by coordinated action, would be able to distract and disperse imperialist forces and compel them to spread themselves thin over a vast area. This line has been repeatedly upheld in Chinese propaganda, without, however, the admission that its purpose was to advance Chinese Communist national interests.

The Soviets for the first time exposed this Maoist view of international tensions in their statement of 20 September 1963:
(footnote continued on page 3)

The Latin American visitors to Peiping in March 1959 are [redacted] reported to have arranged for future participation by their parties in Chinese training courses; and later that year another Latin American Communist returning from such a Chinese course stated that one lecturer had said that for the Chinese, there was no revolution in which arms were not used; he noted that this appeared to conflict with the CPSU line. In talks with leaders of another delegation of Latin American parties in the fall of 1959, Mao Tse-tung is reported [redacted] to have attacked the CPSU denigration of Stalin, praised Molotov, and added that "peaceful disentanglement" was a theory which had "no historical precedent." Mao was said to have stressed that those who want peace must prepare themselves for war; and that all Communist parties throughout the world should be ready to fight.

The Latin American party leaders, however, were not confronted with the problem of an overt Chinese challenge to the Soviet position in the movement until the publication of Peiping's "Long Live Leninism" articles in April 1960, and the concurrent Chinese attack upon the Soviet line in every part of the world. Despite the subsequent Chinese attempts to disseminate brochures containing these attacks in Latin America, and the simultaneous public and private appeals by the CPSU for Communist parties to condemn the

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(continued from page 2)

> "In the talks on the questions of international policy," runs the resolution of the Third Plenum of the Costa Rica People's Vanguard Party Central Committee, "the Chinese leaders told our comrades that the 'cold war is a fine thing' and that the 'situation of tension is a fine situation' for the development of the revolutionary struggle."

The Soviet statement characterizes this Chinese view as something that was shaped into a whole "theory" after 1958.

"dogmatists," the leaders of the Latin American parties generally attempted--for the most part, with some success--to keep the dispute away from the attention of the party rank-and-file, so as to minimize the disruptive effects of the conflict upon their own parties. The Latin American party leaderships, however, were represented at the Sino-Soviet clash at Bucharest in June 1960, and heard the angry exchanges there between Khrushchev and Peng Chen; many of them were represented also at the Fourth Congress of the Cuban Popular Socialist Party in Havana in August 1960, and were subjected to intense Chinese pressure there; and delegates from all the parties took part in the confrontation at the November 1960 Moscow gathering of the world Communist movement. At this point, CPSU strength in the Latin American Communist parties was still overwhelming, and the Latin Americans at Bucharest and Moscow are believed to have supported the CPSU almost unanimously, albeit with some wavering and qualifications on the part of a few. A number of the Latin American representatives at the Moscow meeting, in fact, are believed to have attacked Chinese efforts to subvert various leaders of their parties.

A more serious test of CPSU strength took place at the 22nd CPSU Congress in October 1961, when Khrushchev made his public attack upon Albania (and upon the Chinese for supporting Albania), and the CPSU subsequently indicated that it wanted to have direct support this time from every Communist party. Latin America again proved an important center to CPSU strength, since nearly every Latin American party represented at Moscow made at least a token attack on Tirana, and many followed in the next few months with formal public statements reiterating such condemnation. Only three, however--Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay--were willing to go so far as to attack the Chinese; moreover, there were important shades of difference in what various parties were willing to say about the Albanians, reflecting the varying strength of pro-Chinese minority factions. And finally, ten parties--including among them the important parties of Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia--were unwilling to issue a public statement after the CPSU Congress reiterating their delegate's position at that congress.

Meanwhile, the CPSU by this time is reported to have requested the Latin Americans to send no more party members to China for training; this injunction appears to have been obeyed by some parties and disobeyed by others. At a congress of the Chilean party in Santiago in March 1962, the CPSU delegate is reported to have attempted to halt the slow erosion of its position by addressing the Latin American Communist leaders at the congress on the Sino-Soviet conflict and by handing each party representative a CPSU document on the subject for the information of each central committee. This document attempted to justify the Soviet conduct toward Albania, and attacked the Chinese as refusing to "accept a single Marxist line in the world" and as wanting "a program of polarization, meaning that they want one Communist power for Europe and another Communist power for Asia and Latin America." The CPSU document is said to have told the Latin American Communists to "stop listening to the Chinese."

The outcome of the Cuban crisis of October 1962 caused a general fall in Castro's prestige in Latin America and was a considerable temporary setback to all the Communist parties as well. The Soviet conduct at this time, taken in conjunction with the hostile Cuban reaction and the violent Chinese attacks upon Khrushchev's "Munich," is believed to have caused a general weakening of the CPSU position, with widespread dissension reported in many Communist parties and a considerable growth in the strength of pro-CCP factions everywhere. The pro-CPSU party leaderships, however, remained generally loyal. At the Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Czechoslovak party congresses in November and early December, the Latin American delegates, like others, were subjected to increasingly insistent CPSU lobbying in the corridors, and by the time of the Czechoslovak congress had responded in the overwhelming majority by joining in the chorus of denunciation of Tirana and Peiping. The Cuban and Venezuelan representatives, however, refused to do this; and at the East German party congress the following January Castro's delegate and the Venezuelan representative were the only two Latin Americans who failed to associate themselves with a statement read by the Chilean delegate supporting the CPSU line.

The Chinese Communist party at this point (early 1963) began to mount an enormously expanded campaign against the CPSU publicly and privately in every part of the world. The Chinese are reported to have made intensive efforts to promote their views among the Latin Americans at the East German party congress, and the Venezuelan delegation returned home with a document on the Sino-Soviet dispute which may have been similar to the document reportedly furnished the Peruvian party by the Chinese some weeks earlier. The Chinese began vigorous efforts to flood Latin America--as well as other parts of the world--with anti-Soviet literature, mailed from Havana, Paris, and elsewhere. A Spanish-language edition of Peking Review began to be widely distributed in Latin America, featuring various Chinese anti-Soviet editorials, and Spanish-language brochures containing several of these editorials and CCP statements were printed in China and advertised in a number of Latin American countries. Local Chinese-friendship societies expanded their activities to promote Chinese anti-Soviet propaganda, and NCNA correspondents coordinated their efforts with CCP sympathizers in many Latin American Communist parties to distribute Chinese writings among the rank-and-file of those parties. The pro-Soviet leaders of the Chilean, Uruguayan, and Mexican parties became particularly disturbed at this activity. Simultaneously, the Chinese press made a sustained attempt to win the Cubans from their professed neutrality by flattering Castro in a variety of ways, and this was supplemented by attacks on the Soviets in conversations between Chinese officials and Cuban diplomats at a number of places around the world.

Together with all this, the Chinese made direct attempts to subvert or split the Latin American party leaderships. A Chinese trade delegation in Mexico in January 1963 is [redacted] reported to have unsuccessfully sought to win the support of the Mexican Communist party with an offer of financial assistance. In February, Chinese leaders held secret talks in Peiping with leaders of the dissident Communist party of Brazil (CPB) and stated that they supported them and would say so openly when the orthodox Brazilian Communist party (PCB) loyal to Moscow broke its ties with Peiping. The Brazilian dissidents were urged to work to win over the rank-and-file of their orthodox rival. In April, the Chinese gave $27,000 to a leader of the pro-Chinese

faction in the Ecuadorean Communist party (PCE) and urged him to use the money to disseminate Chinese views, to split his party, and then to carry out a revolution. (The money was confiscated by the Ecuadorean police, and the revolution has thus been delayed, but the PCE has nevertheless since been split.)

The chief of the NCNA agency in Paris is reported to have privately declared in the spring of 1963 that many Communist parties agree with Khrushchev on foreign policy but agree with the Chinese on internal policy, and that this was especially true in Latin America. On another occasion, he is said to have alluded to the many pro-Chinese members of various Communist parties who were as yet not organized into groups; the work of so organizing them, he added, was now being undertaken by the Chinese. The Chinese activity already described appears to have been guided by these assumptions, and to have aimed at promoting the coalescence within each of the Latin American parties of previously unorganized or insufficiently organized forces whose strongest point of sympathy with the Chinese was their agreement on the need for a more militant line than that being pursued by their pro-Soviet party leaderships.*

*The Soviets have fought back by assiduously courting Castro, and by attacking the Chinese in private meetings with Latin American Communist leaders. Moreover, on 2 May 1963, during Castro's visit to the Soviet Union, Khrushchev made the most unusual statement that the CPSU "renders all possible assistance to fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, for freedom and happiness of the peoples." A Pravda editorial reiterated this the next day. While ambiguous public pledges of support to struggling peoples are quite common for Moscow, such an open party pledge to other parties is rare, and is obviously intended to win votes. Even this statement, however, speaks only of all "possible" Soviet aid to the parties, leaving it up to the CPSU to decide which forms of aid desired by some parties are not possible in the framework of Soviet foreign policy.

The Chinese efforts, however, were not limited to the promotion of such a 'united anti-Soviet front from below,' that is, from within the various Communist parties; they were supplemented by continuing efforts to maintain contacts and support among the multitude of radical and Castroite groups outside of the Communist parties of Latin America, such as the MIR of Venezuela and Peru, Araujo's group in Ecuador, and Juliao's group in Brazil. In June 1963, Raymond Guyot, chief of the foreign affairs section of the French Communist party, is reported to have stated in a private conversation that the Chinese in their political action in underdeveloped areas were frequently by-passing local Communist parties and preferred to deal with ultra-nationalist groups. This was an exaggeration; the Chinese were by-passing only the pro-Soviet leaderships of Communist parties, and not the rank-and-file; but they were certainly also working intensively for support outside the official parties. In its open letter to the CPSU of 14 June 1963, the Chinese Communist party acknowledged and defended what it was doing in this regard, when it stated:

> If the leading group in any party adopts a non-revolutionary line and converts it into a reformist party, then Marxist-Leninists inside and outside the party will replace it and lead the people in making revolution. (Emphasis added.)

The Chinese were thus proclaiming their intention to split the existing Communist parties and to unite the factions favorable to them with forces outside those parties which the Chinese were now anointing as honorary Marxist-Leninists. (This term had previously been reserved by bloc spokesmen only for members of official Communist parties, and never for leftist persons outside of these parties, who at best were called "radical petty-bourgeois," or "revolutionary democrats," or some other such term of condescension.)

This process, however, has as yet a long way to go; and meanwhile the pro-CPSU leaderships of some of the Communist parties of Latin America have begun to fight back, with a successful major purge being conducted in the

Paraguayan CP, inconclusive minor purges being made in the Uruguayan and Mexican parties, and a drastic but apparently unsuccessful attempt being made at a major purge in the Ecuadorean party. As of this writing, pro-Soviet forces continue in power in the great majority of the official parties, and it remains to be seen how much of their parties they will lose in the splits which will undoubtedly occur over the next few years.

Effects of Castro's Activities on the Sino-Soviet Struggle in Latin America

A major complicating factor in the struggle which has just been outlined has been the effect of Cuban policy. As will be seen, [redacted] both the Chinese and Soviet parties were initially quite suspicious of Castro; in the course of a long and complex series of dealings with him, both parties came to have close relations with him, as Castro meanwhile displayed his "anti-imperialist" and pro-Communist intentions; and Moscow and Peiping are now competing for his support, each relying most heavily on the sphere in which it has the best capability to compete--the Soviets with their economic and military support and assistance, and the Chinese with their vociferous encouragement of Castro's revolutionary program in Latin America.

The Cuban revolution was initially hailed by the Latin American Communist parties as providing them with an extremely valuable opportunity to revitalize their appeal and to attract around them a much broader spectrum of leftist sympathizers than had previously been possible. In 1960 and 1961, Castroite parties were formed in a number of countries--sometimes with Communist assistance, like the Union of Revolutionary Ecuadorean Youth (URJE), and sometimes as splinters from moderate bourgeois parties (such as the MIR in Venezuela, which separated from the Democratic Action Party, and the APRA Rebelde in Peru, which left the APRA party and then renamed itself the MIR.) Simultaneously, fronts were set up in many Latin American countries by the Communist parties in an attempt to unite these and other

pro-Castro forces in a broad alliance. (The front in Uruguay was given a long title whose initials read FIDEL, for this purpose.) Castro's appeal became of steadily decreasing value to the Communist parties, however, as he tied himself more and more openly to the bloc, and thus cut adrift from his following in Latin America the more moderate social groups which were willing to follow him so far and no further. There is good evidence of the dismay felt by the Latin American Communist leaders--for example, in Uruguay and Brazil--as this process went on. Two of the most important events in the process were Castro's public identification of himself as a Marxist-Leninist in December 1961 (done for internal Cuban reasons, as will be seen), and the humiliating revelation of Cuba's dependent status during the missile crisis of October 1962.

The relationship of the Latin American Communist parties to Cuba, the CPSU and the CCP was further complicated by Castro's determination to foment armed struggle throughout Latin America as his best means of striking at the United States. Despite the apparent moderation of the advice originally given the Latin American Communists by Mao in Peiping in March 1959--when he reportedly told them to try peaceful means first, and then violence--the Chinese were soon vigorously endorsing Castro's line, were telling Latin American trainees in China that all revolutions must be violent, and were stressing in their propaganda that all Latin America must follow the Cuban example of armed struggle. Meanwhile, Castro has privately confirmed that he was unable to get the bulk of the Latin American Communist parties to adopt his line and to begin guerrilla warfare, and that consequently he had had to concentrate on the Castroite forces outside of the Communist parties. Exhortation of these forces--and the reluctant Communist parties--to begin armed revolts became a prominent feature of the frequent gatherings of Latin American delegates to Cuban anniversary celebrations, front meetings, and other occasions. Training in guerrilla and subversive activity was given in Cuba to a heterogeneous assortment of Latin American leftists from 1960 on, and there are numerous reports of Cuban financial aid to a variety of Castroite revolutionary groups; much of this money has apparently been embezzled or squandered by unscrupulous

recipients. Simultaneously, the Chinese were courting many of these same Castroite groups outside of the orthodox Communist parties, inviting them to China and to audiences with Mao, and encouraging them along a line similar to Castro's.

Increasing conflict resulted between Castro and a number of the Latin American Communist party leaderships, who were subjected to great pressures to begin an armed struggle by forces within their parties and those outside and competing with them, as a result of the exhortations and assistance from Castro and the Chinese. There is good evidence that angry protests were made to the Cubans by a number of Latin American party leaders at the time of the November 1960 Moscow conference, as well as later in Cuba and elsewhere. The Communist leaderships of Colombia, Brazil, and Peru have been particularly aggrieved in this connection. some Latin American Communists have even attended Cuban training schools against the wishes of their parties. (Other Communist leaders, on the other hand--chiefly in Central America and Ecuador--have actually competed with Castroite groups in their countries for Cuban training and money.)

The Soviet attitude in all this has been ambiguous. Over the past decade Soviet policy in Latin America--as elsewhere in the underdeveloped world--has apparently been grounded on the conviction that each local Communist party must follow those tactics (violent as in the case of Algeria, or nonviolent as in Chile) which enable it to accumulate the maximum possible influence over the forces of the peasantry, petit bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie. At present, the Soviets do not appear to be at all opposed, in particular cases, either to the use of guerrilla warfare or to heavy reliance on the peasantry in Latin America. In neither case, however, do they seem to agree with the extremes to which the Cubans and the Chinese have carried their line.

On the one hand, the Soviets have given a fair amount of propaganda support to guerrilla efforts and other militant activities in Latin America, especially since the 1960 Moscow conference and even more so since early 1962. Castro is reported to have privately condemned Latin American Communist

parties for refusing to follow a more revolutionary line which he believes to have been adopted at the 22nd CPSU Congress in October 1961. Moreover, the Bolivian party is reported to have been instructed by the CPSU in the summer of 1962 to begin accumulating arms; and the pro-CPSU leader of the Ecuadorean party was apparently influenced by CPSU advice in November 1962 to agree (temporarily) to attempt to unite with other Ecuadorean forces and to prepare for guerrilla warfare. Further, Communist parties apparently quite loyal to the CPSU in Central America have actually participated in Cuban guerrilla training; and recently, the pro-Soviet Costa Rican party is reported to have instituted guerrilla training in Costa Rica for other Central American Communist parties.

On the other hand, the lecturer at the Khabarovsk Higher Party School in January 1960 stated that in Latin America, Communist party "legalization is important because it affects the ability of the Communist parties to lead the national-liberation struggle;" and the Soviets have at other times indicated that they consider it greatly preferable for a Communist party to attain legal status. This directly contradicts the thesis of Castro and Guevara which holds that a loss of legal status by the revolutionaries and an increasingly reactionary and oppressive policy by the government are actually desirable, since it creates justification for the revolutionary armed struggle in the eyes of the people and attracts the population toward the revolutionaries. Moreover, there was an apparent Soviet attempt in 1963 to get Castro to take a more moderate line toward revolution in Brazil; this attempt, however, does not seem to have stopped Castro from continuing to promise covert assistance to forces advocating a more militant struggle than is now desired by the orthodox Communist party of Brazil.

Some years ago, the Soviets are reported to have indicated to Latin American Communists a belief that armed struggle by forces outside the party, without participation by the party itself, could in some cases help create a favorable situation from which the Communist party could take advantage at the decisive moment. There is some evidence to indicate that the CPSU in the summer of 1962

considered this strategy applicable to Peru. If this has indeed been the Soviet belief, it would imply Soviet agreement with Castro's activities in training and inciting forces outside the Communist parties for militant struggle, but disagreement and embarrassment at Castro's public denunciations of the various Communist parties for not joining in. The difficulty with this theory is that in some countries the various guerrilla and other efforts by the Castroite forces have not helped to produce a revolutionary situation for the Communists to profit by, but on the contrary have been greatly counterproductive for the Communist parties themselves. This has been particularly true in countries where the Communists had seen themselves as faced with a favorable political situation because of differences among the bourgeoisie, and were making some progress through a nonviolent united front line and attempts to penetrate the bourgeois parties, only to receive setbacks in their relationships with important wavering bourgeois forces as the result of violent activities or threats of activities by others. The result, as noted, has been vehement protests by some Communist leaders (at least two of which, by Peruvian and Colombian leaders, have been published by the CPSU in the World Marxist Review). Also, as a byproduct, there has been a weakening of the position of some pro-Soviet Communist leaders within their own parties (an example has been Ecuador, where a split gradually developed), and a strengthening of the position of the Chinese, since the limits of Soviet general foreign policy requirements make it impossible for the Soviets actually to outbid the Chinese in public appeals to the militancy of the leftist factions in the Communist parties.

Thus it is doubtful if the Soviets have at any time wholly endorsed Castro's activities in Latin America; it is more likely that they have wavered, approved of many of them and disapproved of others, and in any case have found it most difficult to modify Castro's conduct one way or another. Available evidence on the Cuban subversive and guerrilla training schools strongly suggests that these schools are entirely under Castro's control, with no apparent direct Soviet participation. It seems unlikely that the Soviets have the ability to control or significantly modify the selection of which particular Latin American cadres are to

receive this training. The Soviets have also never publicly endorsed, as have the Chinese, Che Guevara's thesis that "objective conditions" (oppression of the masses, etc.) for a revolution are enough to justify beginning an armed struggle which in itself can over a period of time create the "subjective conditions" (whipping up of a revolutionary spirit in the masses) also necessary for a revolution to be successful. It is also likely that the Soviet view of which countries already have the "objective conditions" for revolution has not been identical with Castro's, and that the Soviets have agreed in some cases (e.g., in Central America), and disagreed in others (e.g., Brazil).

Further, there is evidence that some Soviets have felt that Castro's violent rhetoric, while useful in uniting the militant leftist youth and students of Latin America among whom Castro has found his chief support, has tended to frighten away other forces of the petit bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie who might otherwise have been enticed into alliances with the local Communist party. This has been particularly important in those Latin American countries with a sizeable middle class, such as Brazil. And although the Soviets have at times apparently brought pressure on Castro to seek to have him bring his conduct into line with CPSU views, the Soviet desire to secure his support in the Sino-Soviet dispute and the Soviet wish to appear as militant revolutionaries to the audience which applauds Castro and the Chinese seem together to have inhibited Moscow from exerting enough pressure to be effective or consistent in its policy.

In short, the Soviet position has been indecisive and self-contradictory. On the one hand, the Soviets have recently given more active public and covert support to the Venezuelan party struggle, have apparently given the signal to step up guerrilla training in Central America, and have reprinted nearly the full text of Castro's militant call of 26 July 1963 for revolution in Latin America. On the other hand, the Soviets have been confronted by Communist party leaderships loyal to the CPSU in the Sino-Soviet dispute with the claim that Castro's activities were hurting them, and the Soviets have also been brought under increasing pressure by those party leaders to support them against their

domestic leftist competitors even if the latter are being nourished by Castro; further, in some cases the Soviets have been urged to exert their influence with Castro to modify his own activities in their countries. As has been noted, it has seemed to be beyond the Soviet party's capability to do this effectively even when it has been willing to try; the reasons for this will be examined in the Cuban section of this paper.

In addition to apparent Soviet indecision on the most suitable strategy for Latin America, this dual Soviet attitude is also another manifestation of a basic internal contradiction present in world-wide Soviet policy since 1960 and increasingly important since then: On the one hand, the Soviets have desired to use the Communist parties, as before, as an instrument to reduce the power of the United States, and desire to this end to retain control of the Communist parties and leftist forces generally by matching the Chinese bid for support by the militant sections of those forces (in the case of Latin America, this means matching publicly the Chinese appeal to virulent native anti-U.S. emotions). On the other hand, they have desired to pursue the peaceful coexistence strategy against the West, which is opposed by the Chinese and which entails an attempt to disrupt Western alliances and dilute mass support in Western countries for effective anti-Soviet policies through the maintenance of a "soft" public line toward some forces in Western governments, and, through the reduction of tensions and associated efforts (including limited agreements with Western governments), to convince the populations of Western countries that the Soviet military and political threat has been reduced. Although the Soviets in their polemics with the Chinese have contended with great earnestness that these two basic facets of Soviet policy are compatible (which is what they mean when they say that peaceful coexistence does not mean the end of the class struggle), this in fact is not true. In practice, Khrushchev has been able neither to pursue the peaceful coexistence line with sufficient consistency to make it pay off (i.e., to result in enough Western self-deception and disunity to produce real Western concessions), nor has he been able to act and talk militantly enough to keep leftist militants in Latin America and elsewhere from drifting increasingly toward Peiping. Soviet

vacillation on this question has also been partly responsible for the numerous CPSU advances and retreats in the conflict with the Chinese party over the past five years, and the associated periodic reversals of the line given to Soviet-dominated international front organizations. Even after the CPSU decision in the summer of 1963 to accept and exploit an open break with Peiping, and the complementary Soviet decision at the time to promote a new limited detente with the West, there is still no good evidence that the Soviets are now willing to follow either of their two conflicting lines with more consistency then they have shown in the past.

In late April 1963, the political commission of the Communist party of Chile is reported to have heard an oral report from Luis Corvalan, secretary general of the Chilean party, on the situation in Latin America in relation to the Chinese challenge to the Soviet position. Corvalan's analysis is said to have strongly impressed the political commission with the point that in Cuba, Venezuela, Ecuador and Peru the strength of the Chinese position was increasing because of the prevailing conditions in each of these countries. This paper generally supports Corvalan's conclusion that these are the four Latin American countries where the Chinese today have the greatest assets in their contest with the CPSU. The evolution of the situation in Cuba is examined in detail, in the bulk of this paper. In the Appendix, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Peru are considered more briefly, and certain other Latin American countries are touched on where significant evidence of Chinese influence within the local Communist parties has been discovered.

II. CUBA AND THE COMMUNISTS, 1957-1960

The year 1959--in which the Chinese Communist party for the first time made a vigorous attempt to implant its influence among the Latin American Communist parties in competition to that of the CPSU--was also the year in which the Castro regime came to power in Cuba. Since then, as the Sino-Soviet struggle for ascendancy over the Communist and radical forces of Latin America has gradually intensified and become more overt, Cuba has remained the most important single battleground: it is the only one in which such forces hold state power, and is thus vital in its own right*; and it is the base from which attempts can be made to influence events elsewhere in the hemisphere.

A salient feature of the Sino-Soviet contest in Cuba has been the fact that not three but four interests have been involved: those of (1) the CPSU, (2) the CCP, (3) the Cuban Popular Socialist Party (PSP) (the old Communist party of Cuba), and (4) Fidel Castro and those leaders of the 26th of July movement who remained personally loyal to him rather than to the PSP. The evolution of this four-cornered relationship has been affected not only by the actions taken by each of the protagonists with regard to each of the others, but also by the policies each of the four has pursued toward the Communist parties of each of the other Latin American countries, toward minority or dissident factions within many of these other parties, and toward the spectrum of radical forces in each country outside of (and in many cases competitive with) the local Communist party.

*This should not obscure the fact that Brazil and not Cuba has remained the central prize for Communist endeavors in Latin America; and several other South American countries are intrinsically of greater importance than Cuba.

The Early PSP Attitude Toward Castro

Until the last year before Castro's advent to power in January 1959, the Cuban Popular Socialist Party strongly opposed the tactics of armed struggle against the Batista regime pursued by Fidel Castro and the 26th of July movement. PSP publications described as "putschist" and "sterile" Castro's first attempt along this line, his abortive attack on the Moncada barracks in 1953, which resulted in Castro's temporary imprisonment by Batista (and the banning of the PSP). When Castro returned from exile in December 1956 and began guerrilla warfare, the PSP did not cooperate.

At a special conference of Latin American Communist party leaders held in Moscow in November 1957, PSP leaders expressed continued opposition to Castro's tactics and castigated his refusal to subordinate himself to the line of the PSP, which called for a patient, long-term building of mass support for a coordinated struggle that might in the end result in a general armed uprising. A PSP representative at this meeting also cited the burning of sugar cane fields as an example of a sectarian, terroristic action taken by the 26th of July movement in disregard of PSP wishes. Similarly, as early as 1956 the PSP had publicly condemned Castro's "erroneous" view of a general strike as "only an instrument of insurrection," rather than as a device for the development of a long-term mass struggle against the regime. Accordingly, the PSP on several occasions boycotted or sabotaged attempts at general strikes launched by the 26th of July movement.

In January 1958, however, the PSP issued instructions to party members to seek a political understanding with members of other opposition groups. It is evident that early in the year the PSP began to re-evaluate its attitude toward Castro in the light of his success in extending the scope of the guerrilla struggle. During this period the PSP leader Carlos Rafael Rodriguez expressed to foreign Communists the judgment that Castro's movement had become a "movement of the masses," indicated that efforts were being made to infiltrate the 26th of July organization, but added that the 26th of July organization still sought to "monopolize"

the revolutionary movement, that the time was not yet ripe for the organization of a "National Liberation Front" to be controlled by the PSP, and that the party therefore could as yet make only limited suggestions with regard to the next government, which did not involve "profound changes." In April, the PSP again boycotted a general strike called by the 26th of July movement, and made use of this boycott to force from some leaders of the 26th of July labor arm subsequent recognition of the strength of the PSP and a secret agreement to cooperate in labor matters with the party. In May, the PSP began to organize small guerrilla units and to send recruits to join Castro's guerrilla forces on an individual basis.

Meanwhile, the PSP sought to deal with Fidel Castro on the terms for an alliance. In so doing, the PSP was apparently also motivated by a fear of being isolated by Castro from other anti-Batista forces. On 28 June 1958, at a time when Castro had already begun negotiations with other opposition leaders, the PSP wrote privately to Castro and to certain others setting forth its views; in July, however, Castro signed--without the participation of the PSP--the so-called "Pact of Caracas" with thirteen other anti-Batista leaders, most of whom were well to the right of both the PSP and Castro. Immediately thereafter, on 2 August, the PSP leaders Juan Marinello and Blas Roca addressed a private letter to Castro and all the other signers of the Pact, "lamenting that you have not counted on us from the beginning," and affirming the PSP's desire to join the general alliance. In this letter, the party set forth its "minimum program" for projected reforms after the overthrow of Batista, including a number of "anti-imperialist" (i.e., anti-United States) measures which the PSP may have calculated would appeal to Castro and certain other 26th of July leaders. At the same time, the PSP declared that it would not make even this "minimum program" an "indispensible condition for unity," and that it was willing to join the alliance on the basis of a program even "more limited," consisting solely of the overthrow of Batista, the restoration of free elections, and the formation of a "broad democratic coalition government." Thus the party also sought temporarily to pacify the more moderate forces with which Castro had allied himself. The reasons for the PSP's conduct at

this time were reflected in a comment made by a CPSU lecturer speaking before the Khabarovsk Higher Party School in January 1960: The lecturer declared that in the past Latin American Communist parties had made mistakes which had cost them dearly; that one such mistake was made by the Cuban PSP, which "for a long time ignored Fidel Castro and became isolated;" but that the PSP leaders "have recognized their mistake and now support him."

After mid-summer 1958, the PSP greatly intensified its efforts to attach itself to Castro's movement and to win control of it. At some time in August after the dispatch of the second PSP letter to Castro an agreement appears to have been reached between the 26th of July organization and the PSP, the details of which are unknown. PSP organizational and material aid was now given to Castro, and the PSP leader Carlos Rafael Rodriguez was dispatched to join Castro, to work with him in the guerrilla struggle and to coordinate with him a general strike in which the PSP would now take an active part, and--most important--to procure his willing cooperation with the PSP after the seizure of power.

The 26th of July Movement Before the Fall of Batista

In this effort to secure Castro's cooperation, Rodriguez was assisted by a number of basic facts about Castro's movement. In the first place, it appears likely that long before Rodriguez joined Castro, some persons who were actually members of the PSP and were under firm PSP discipline had been infiltrated into the 26th of July movement, particularly in the second echelon. Such persons almost certainly were a minority, however, and it seems improbable that they themselves could have determined the subsequent course of Castro's policy. More important, from the PSP's point of view, was the fact that much of the top leadership of the 26th of July movement--and particularly the two who, after Fidel Castro, are most important in Cuba today, Raul Castro and Che Guevara--saw the world in much the same terms as did the PSP. That is, these two were Marxists; they shared with the PSP the general concept of a bipolar world in which

moribund capitalism was gradually succumbing to triumphant "socialism;" and they also shared a general admiration for the bloc and detestation of the United States, a country which they regarded as the "imperialist" exploiter of Cuba and of Latin America. Fidel Castro appears originally to have held a somewhat diluted and confused version of these views, but was predisposed to be further influenced along this line by Guevara and particularly by his brother Raul. Such views were inculcated and reinforced by previous intimate contact with PSP and other Communist affiliates (as in the case of Raul, who had once belonged to the Communist Youth and had taken part in international front gatherings), by previous revolutionary experience elsewhere in Latin America (as in the case of Guevara), by early PSP attempts at Marxist-Leninist indoctrination (such as the efforts reportedly made during the 1953-1955 imprisonment of Fidel and Raul Castro by Batista), and by contacts with foreign Communists during the preparations in Mexico for Castro's 1956 invasion of Cuba.

While from the standpoint of the growth of Communist influence in Cuba and of Cuban relations with the United States these similarities between Castro's group and the PSP were to be all-important, from the viewpoint of the PSP leadership and the CPSU the differences were to prove almost as significant. First, it is almost certain that Fidel Castro and the military commanders (the majority) personally loyal to him were not at any time under PSP discipline; this meant that Castro's conduct could not be predicted and controlled with confidence by the PSP or the CPSU. Che Guevara, while a pro-Communist and militant revolutionary who rendered important services to the PSP before and after Castro reached power, was also probably an ally rather than a servant of the PSP, who could and did take positions on many matters which were contrary to the wishes of the PSP and CPSU leaders. And even Raul Castro, who more than any other single individual was responsible for the growth of Communist influence in Cuba, seems to have demonstrated that his fundamental allegiance was to his brother rather than to the PSP on occasions when the two came in conflict, as they did in early 1962.

Secondly, there was initially a strong element in the 26th of July movement which was non-Communist or even anti-Communist; although most leaders of this group were purged in 1959 and 1960 as the power of the PSP grew, a few persons believed to hold such views have been retained by Castro to this day in important military positions, apparently because of their personal loyalty to him and because of their usefulness as an instrument of blackmail against the PSP and the Soviet Union. There is good evidence to indicate that before Fidel Castro's seizure of power, the PSP and the CPSU were by no means certain that he (if not Raul and Guevara) was adequately indoctrinated, that he would not end by betraying the Communists and compromising with the moderates in his movement, as many "petty-bourgeois" revolutionaries in Latin America had done before him. Since the bulk of the military forces of the 26th of July movement were loyal to Castro personally and not to the PSP, despite all the PSP efforts at indoctrination and infiltration, there was little the party could have done in such an event.

And finally, while the dominant strain in the 26th of July leadership was indeed radical and anti-American, it tended to be even more radical than the CPSU would desire. The views of leaders such as Armando Hart, now Minister of Education, and Guevara appear to have run closely parallel to those of the Trotskyites on certain issues, particularly in their rejection of the possibility of a "peaceful road" toward the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, in their insistence on the need for armed struggle as the only avenue to power, and in their militant demand that armed struggle be extended everywhere throughout Latin America without delay. After their advent to power in Cuba, many of the Cuban leaders apparently also came to feel--again reminiscent of Trotsky's position at the time of the Bolshevik revolution--that unless the revolution were successfully extended to other Latin American countries their power at home would never be secure against the United States. Also Trotskyite was their insistence--as formalized by Guevara, in direct contradiction to the precepts of the CPSU--that one need not wait for all the prerequisites for a revolution to be present, since armed insurrection could itself create the "subjective" preconditions. Worse of all, from the point of view of the CPSU, all this was harmonious with the line

which the Chinese Communist party was preaching with increasing vigor to radical forces in underdeveloped areas; all the more so since the method of armed struggle practiced by the 26th of July movement and subsequently depicted in a book by Guevara as the model for Latin America--Guerrilla Warfare--was identified in the minds of many Latin Americans with Maoist practice and teachings.

Initial Soviet and Chinese Attitudes Toward Castro

In neglecting Castro and opposing his tactics until well into the last year before his victory, the PSP was probably fully supported by the CPSU, which evidently took a dim view of Castro's methods of struggle, his chances of success, and his reliability in the event of success. Soviet propaganda throughout 1957 and the greater part of 1958 was notable for its total absence of personal praise for Castro; it supported only the anti-Batista movement in generalized and routine terms. Soviet comment similarly ignored the general strike of April 1958, called at the urging of the 26th of July movement but sabatoged by the PSP. At the time of Castro's triumphal entry into Havana in January 1958, the CPSU was both hopeful and distrustful. The Soviet party privately warned the PSP in authoritative fashion at this time that events could go either way, that the outcome would depend on the Cuban party's efforts, and that the Cuban "national bourgeoisie" (i.e., Castro) might easily attempt to betray the revolution as Nasser had in Egypt. This estimate was reflected in Soviet propaganda during the first three months of Castro's regime, as Moscow hailed the overthrow of Batista as another defeat for U.S. "imperialism" but reserved its judgment of Castro and his "democratic intentions."

While Chinese public comment during the early portion of Castro's guerrilla war was even more reticent regarding the anti-Batista movement than that of Moscow, an important change occurred with the upsurge in guerrilla fighting in

April 1958. On 5 April, an article in the Peiping Daily* mentioned Castro by name for the first time; and on 11 April, the Peiping Ta Kung Pao carried the first extensive commentary on Castro and his movement in the bloc central press. This article provided a biography of Castro, listed his declared aims (which were ostensibly moderate), and pointedly stated (as Moscow had not) that the Cuban PSP had declared its intention to support Castro's guerrillas. It is apparent that Peiping decided at this juncture that Castro's struggle might serve as a useful example of the efficacy of Maoist tactics in Latin America; since Castro's victory, of course, Peiping has emphasized this point countless times in its propaganda.

This does not mean, however, that the Chinese Communist appraisal of Castro as a political figure was initially more confident than that of the USSR. On the contrary: a lecture delivered in China to Latin American Communists by an authoritative Chinese Communist figure, probably in 1959 reveal that Peiping at that point considered Castro a doubtful case. The Chinese speaker heavily emphasized to his listeners the necessity of seizing the leadership of their revolutions from their respective national bourgeoisie, since "no matter how leftist the forces of the bourgeoisie may be, they cannot fulfill the task of the struggle against imperialism, feudalism, and the comprador bourgeoisie." He then went on to take note of an apparent exception--implying that Castro represented such "leftist" bourgeois forces--but also implied some scepticism about him:

> The recent revolution in Cuba has been rather radical, but whether a consistent road is to be continued depends on whether the promises previously expressed are fulfilled.

*This is the municipal party organ, rather than the national party organ, People's Daily.

It remains to be seen what concrete attitude they will adopt against imperialism, feudalism, and the comprador bourgeoisie.

In short, while it is quite possible that at the moment Castro came to power he was already irretrievably committed to the course he was subsequently to follow, if so, this was unknown to the CPSU and the CCP.

The Changing Soviet Position Toward Castro, 1959-1960

By April 1959, however, Soviet propaganda began to reflect increasing confidence that Castro did not desire good relations with the United States, that the PSP was achieving a strong position in his regime, and Castro could be used to serve Soviet interests against the United States in Latin America. This confidence grew as Cuban relations with the United States steadily worsened throughout 1959 and early 1960, and as Castro made ever more apparent his intention to ally himself with the PSP and to destroy those of his old followers who opposed this course. However, what was most striking about the Soviet government's attitude during the first year and a half of Castro's regime was the slowness and caution with which Moscow moved to establish formal ties with Havana. Although the USSR had recognized the new government ten days after its establishment in January 1959, it was not until May 1960 that Moscow formally announced its intention of establishing diplomatic relations, and it was not until August 1960 that a Soviet embassy was established. Similarly, although there were intermittent Cuban military contacts with bloc countries during 1959, notably with Czechoslovakia, Castro continued to be entirely dependent for new weapons upon arms purchases in Western Europe--decreasingly available as a result of U.S. pressure upon its allies--until the late spring of 1960.

There were several apparent reasons for this long Soviet hesitancy. First, despite all Castro's measures against the Cuban anti-Communists and on behalf of the PSP, the Soviets continued to have reservations about him. As late as January 1960, at a time when Castro had already

alienated the great bulk of the Cuban middle classes, a lecturer at the Khabarovsk Higher Party School not only repeated that Castro was not a party man, but identified him as a defender of the interests of "the petty bourgeoisie and part of the national bourgeoisie." This in itself would hardly have prevented the USSR from establishing diplomatic relations with and furnishing military help to Cuba, since the Soviets had done that much for Nasser, who actually persecuted his local Communists. But coupled with the fact that Castro was not under firm CPSU control was the fact that his regime showed an external adventurism which the Soviets probably found dangerous and alarming: particularly so in the case of the unsuccessful armed invasions which were launched from Cuba against the Dominican Republic, Panama, and Haiti in 1959. Finally, in the light of Castro's conduct it was probably thought inexpedient to create close ties with him during a period when detente tactics were being pursued toward the United States in the hope of extracting significant concessions in Europe.

In February 1960, this phase of Soviet policy toward Cuba apparently came to an end with Mikoyan's visit to Havana, during which a Cuban-Soviet economic agreement was signed and published; simultaneously a Cuban arms-purchasing mission reportedly visited Czechoslovakia. By this time the Soviets may already have begun to suspect that no major concessions would be forthcoming at the summit conference, a suspicion which was probably confirmed during Khrushchev's visit to France in March. In April, a Soviet inclination to shift the emphasis of its policy was probably given greater impetus by the massive Chinese press attack in the "Long Live Leninism" articles upon the alleged Soviet propensity to dampen the militancy of the "national liberation movement" to facilitate negotiations with the West. In May, the USSR utilized the U-2 incident to prevent negotiations at the summit from being held; that same month, the re-establishment of formal diplomatic relations between Cuba and the Soviet Union was announced, and extensive Cuban military negotiations were undertaken with the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Bloc military shipments began to arrive in Cuba during the summer, as did a Soviet ambassador in August. By this time, the Cuban government had presumably long since agreed to abandon crude attempts at invasion of neighboring

states such as the ones undertaken in 1959, thus reducing the possibility of embarrassment to the Soviet Union as a result of its new posture toward Cuba.

It was at about this time, during a visit by Raul Castro to Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in June and July for further negotiations on arms shipments and military training, that the Castro regime probably made the first of several attempts to secure from the USSR a firm and public commitment to take military action against the United States in the event of a U.S. invasion of Cuba. This Khrushchev was apparently flatly unwilling to grant. Cuba was definitely not a vital interest of the USSR; a U.S. invasion of Cuba was a distinct possibility; and the Soviet state would neither risk its existence by taking decisive military action in the event of such an invasion, nor jeopardize its prestige by making an unequivocal commitment to take such action without the intention to do so, in the knowledge that its bluff might well be called. Khrushchev was apparently willing, however, to do the next best thing in an attempt to deter the United States: He would make an equivocal commitment. In a speech on 9 July, Khrushchev said that "figuratively speaking," Soviet rockets "can support" Cuba in the case of an American invasion. Subsequent Soviet statements on Cuba over the next few months, while forceful in tone,* were even less concrete on the subject of the nature of Soviet support for Cuba. Cuban propaganda at the same time attempted to ignore or belittle the "figurative" qualification Khrushchev had attached to his rocket threat; and it seems likely that this question continued to agitate Cuban-Soviet relations throughout the summer [redacted] a report from "high Cuban Communist party circles" to the effect that "word has come from Moscow that the USSR will not launch missiles against the U.S. in the event of an attack on Cuba." This report went on to state that the

*On 12 July 1960, for example, Khrushchev launched the first authoritative Soviet attack on the Monroe Doctrine.

"USSR will attempt to draw maximum propaganda advantage throughout the world in case of such aggression, but Cuba will be relegated to the role of a martyr." This would almost certainly have been the Soviet response if the U.S. itself had invaded Cuba, and it is credible that the PSP by October had become informed of this fact. By October, too, Castro himself is likely to have become informed of the invasion plans which were actually under preparation, and on 22 October 1960 a Castro representative made another attempt to put pressure on Khrushchev, this time publicly. In an interview with Khrushchev, Carlos Franqui, the editor of Revolucion who had frequently served as Castro's direct mouthpiece, asked what Khrushchev thought of the contention of "the imperialists" that the Soviet pledge to use rockets to defend Cuba was "purely symbolic." (Actually, it was Khrushchev, not the "imperialists," who had said this.) Khrushchev's reply was again ambiguous and evasive. Two weeks later, Fidel Castro clearly indicated in a public speech that Cuba could not count on Soviet rockets for support against the United States. In lieu of giving Castro what he wanted, the USSR began in late October a strident propaganda campaign in denunciation of the planned invasion. As will be seen, Castro's continued pre-occupation with securing a meaningful Soviet commitment to defend him was to have a strong effect on his relationship with both Moscow and the PSP in 1961 and 1962.

Chinese Communist Relations With the Castroites, 1959-1960

The accession to power of a pro-Communist regime in Cuba represented a change which was even more important to Peiping than to Moscow. Until then, unlike the USSR, the Chinese Communist regime was totally excluded from diplomatic representation in Latin America; without a firm legal base from which to operate, Peiping had far more difficulties than did Moscow in promoting its views in this area, and particularly in reaching that broad section of leftist anti-American public opinion outside of the local Communist parties which the Chinese subsequently showed themselves especially eager to influence. And although a Chinese embassy was not formally established in Havana for nearly two years,

long before that Peiping took advantage of its opportunity to establish a propaganda base in Cuba: in March 1959, two months after the new regime was established, an NCNA office was set up in Havana which subsequently became the NCNA headquarters for Latin America. When Castro's press agency, Prensa Latina, was set up a few months later, NCNA immediately established strong ties with it, was housed in the same building with it in Havana, and subsequently furnished important technical assistance to it.

Although originally, as has been seen, Peiping was somewhat dubious about Fidel Castro's intentions, its opinion of him appears to have improved rapidly as he showed his intention to ally himself firmly with the PSP, and--of far greater importance--as he demonstrated an implacable hostility toward the United States. Such hostility fit in well with the central aims of Chinese Communist foreign policy: to isolate the United States, Peiping's principal enemy, and to generate the maximum possible hatred of the United States and pressure against U.S. policy in every country of the world.* Here there was a coincidence of interests between the Cuban and Chinese Communist regimes; each desired such a total mobilization of forces against the United States in Latin America, at least in part, because it recognized the power of the United States as the principal obstacle to the final consolidation of its own rule at home. The Soviet Union has no such motivation; although Moscow also has attempted to use Cuba in a long-term effort to weaken the position of the United States throughout Latin America, the Soviets have often been inhibited from fully

*An unsigned article in the Soviet party journal, Kommunist, No. 11, 31 July 1963, states that the Chinese have their own conception of the "main contradiction" in modern times in the international sphere, and maintain that the "intermediary zone" includes "all the imperialist countries (except the USA), the young independent states, and the remnants of the colonial empires." In other words, in the Chinese view, all countries of the world must be turned against only one, the U.S.

matching the stridency of Cuban and Chinese denunciations of the United States by the need to do business with the U.S. on other matters.*

A second point of agreement between the Castroites and the Chinese Communists has been on the need to encourage maximum revolutionary struggle throughout Latin America, and on the particular applicability of guerrilla warfare to that struggle. As has been noted, as early as April 1958 the Chinese demonstrated that they recognized the potential usefulness of Fidel Castro's guerrilla war as an example for other countries of Latin America. In propaganda comment after Castro's victory, the Chinese repeatedly pounded this lesson home, with many allusions to parallels between Castro's strategy and Maoist precepts. An article in the Chinese journal Studies In International Affairs, for example, thus stated in January 1960 that

> the Cuban revolution is a good example of national democratic revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Through people's armed struggle, the revolution first established its bases in rural areas, then surrounded cities by revolutionary forces in villages, and finally sezied cities and political power.

This, of course, is the classical Maoist doctrine as practiced by the People's Liberation Army in China and as disseminated in pamphlets of Mao's works throughout Latin America. On 26 July 1961, People's Daily similarly asserted

*To cite but one of many examples: the speech delivered by Guevara in Moscow on 10 December 1960 immediately after his return from Peiping was much more violent in its abuse of the U.S. than the version subsequently published in Pravda. The USSR was then particularly anxious not to jeopardize relations with the incoming U.S. administration.

that "the Cuban revolution was the first revolution in Latin America that won victory by armed struggle," that the Latin American peoples were increasingly following "Cuba's path," and that "the people's armed struggle" was sweeping through Latin America. On 10 December 1961, a People's Daily Observer article declared that "the revolution of the Chinese people...has exerted a tremendous influence on the people of all countries, particularly those of Asia, Africa, and Latin America." It added that "the revolutionary theories, strategy, and tactics summed up by the Chinese people in revolutionary practice and expressed in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings are carrying more and more weight" in such countries, and that "pamphlets introducing guerrilla warfare in China" have "wide circulation and are looked on as precious things" in Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

The Chinese probably early became aware that the most fervent and prominent advocates of these views with the Castro regime were not the PSP leaders, but the radical Castroites allied to the PSP, such as Guevara, Armando Hart, and Fidel Castro himself. Guevara in particular was instrumental in the dissemination of views akin to those of Mao when he published in early 1960 a brochure of his own entitled Guerrilla Warfare which was quickly reprinted widely in Latin America and which became a source of guidance and inspiration for certain radical forces of each country both inside and outside the local Communist party. While Guevara acknowledged that the "objective" prerequisites for a revolutionary situation--the misery of the masses--must exist before guerrilla warfare could be successfully employed, he insisted that other necessary condition for a revolution --the masses' willingness to revolt--could be created by the course of guerrilla struggle itself. Peiping has endorsed this position; thus in February 1963 the Chinese press quoted the Cuban army newspaper as warning that "to rely entirely on objective conditions" to begin national revolutions is "to negate Marxism-Leninism."

Castroite spokesmen have on a number of occasions reciprocated by explicitly endorsing a number of Chinese views on militant struggle and other subjects which were known to be under Soviet attack. During Guevara's visit to China in the fall of 1960, for example, he paid extravagant tribute to the value of "Chinese experiences" for

Latin America. On 20 November 1960, he hailed "the people's communes and all the other social systems adopted by China" and declared that "one of these methods or something similar" might be adopted in the Western Hemisphere.* The next day, he asserted that not peaceful methods but armed struggle on the Cuban model was the avenue for the triumph of revolution in Latin America--a point which has been many times enunciated at home by Fidel Castro. The final communique Guevara signed on 30 November expressed admiration for Chinese advances "along the correct path of the general line, the big leap forward, and the people's commune," and warned

*At about this time, quoted him as believing that the CPR should provide the economic model for Cuba; and a year earlier, high officials of the Cuban Agrarian Reform Institute (INRA) expressed the view that the Soviets "do not have a chance in Cuba," since INRA officials viewed China as the "model state" while regarding the Soviets as "degenerate Communists." A low-level functionary of the Chinese Communist Ministry of Foreign Affairs who visited Cuba in 1961 subsequently is believed to have claimed that Guevara had "studied hard to copy China's example," and that once when preparing a national economic report on Cuba he had telephoned the Chinese ambassador and asked to borrow a report CPR Vice Premier Li Fu-chun had made only two weeks before. If this referred to a public report by Li, it can only have been the one he gave to the National People's Congress in March 1960 on the draft 1960 economic plan; on the other hand, a CPR Ambassador did not arrive in Havana until December 1960. The Chinese, moreover, have been prone even among themselves to exaggerate somewhat the extent of their influence in Cuba. If Guevara did hold such views of the Chinese economic model in 1959 and 1960, which is possible, he seems subsequently to have revised them drastically, partly as a result of his experiences as an administrator, which are known to have been sobering, and partly, no doubt, as a result of the revelation of details of Chinese economic experience.

--as the Chinese have repeatedly done in their attacks on Soviet policy--against "any illusion about imperialism." A year later, Cuban President Dorticos similarly told a mass rally in Peiping on 25 September 1961 that "history and destiny have linked us together; the evolutions of the two countries of China and Cuba took similar forms: guerrilla struggle in rural areas and active participation of peasants." Raul Castro had made a similar point during the visit of a Chinese journalists' delegation to Cuba in July 1959, when he declared that Cuba and China had "many things in common" and that Mao Tse-tung was "one of the most respected figures among Latin American youth."

There are indications suggesting that during 1960 the Chinese attempted several times to make use of the esteem in which they were held in Cuba in their struggle against the Soviet Union. [redacted] high Cuban Communist circles had been told that the USSR would not launch missiles at the United States in the event of an invasion of Cuba, added that "Communist China does not agree with this position." In view of the Chinese conduct two years later, and in view of the fact that the Chinese in the early fall of 1960 are known to have been intensively lobbying against Soviet views and actions in every part of the world, it is quite credible that Peiping during this period in its contacts with Cuban leaders made some attempt to take advantage of Khrushchev's obvious disinclination to commit himself firmly to defend Castro. If such a Chinese attempt to discredit the USSR was made, it is likely to have been directed at Castro as well as the PSP leaders.

[redacted]

At about this time, the U.S. embassy in Havana also reported vague indications from a number of sources of a certain reluctance on the part of the Soviet embassy in Havana to see the establishment of a Chinese Communist embassy in Cuba. Havana and Peiping had announced their intention to exchange diplomatic missions in September, and a Chinese ambassador actually arrived in Cuba in December. Although the USSR could not prevent this from happening, it is likely that this was indeed a matter of regret for the Soviets, both because of the danger of Chinese influence on Castro and the PSP and because of the significance of the first (and only) Chinese Communist embassy in Latin America for future Chinese competition with the CPSU for influence on radicals throughout the hemisphere. In mid-September 1960 a Soviet public lecturer in Moscow responded to the question, "What is the relationship of the CPR with Cuba?", with the answer: "I think that is clear to all of you."

Meanwhile, the Chinese in the second half of 1960 made strenuous efforts to compete with the Soviets for influence over the Cuban regime through propaganda exploitation of economic aid, although this was a form of assistance in which Chinese capabilities were weakest. Following the signing of the first Sino-Cuban trade agreement in July 1960, the Chinese chartered a large number of Western vessels to pick up sugar in Cuba and to deliver Chinese goods, despite food shortages at home and the strain already being felt in fulfilling trade commitments elsewhere. Shiploads of Chinese rice arrived in Havana in the fall, accompanied by a vigorous Chinese propaganda campaign to record Cuban gratitude and to register the fact that the CPR was overcoming the U.S. embargo for Cuba. Meanwhile, some Chinese shipments of rice to the Soviet Union were held up, at least momentarily.

This type of petty rivalry with Moscow for the favors of Castro's regime was demonstrated again by Peiping at the time of the economic negotiations conducted by Guevara in China and the Soviet Union late in 1960. Four days after a 19 December communique concluded the Soviet-Cuban negotiations, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign trade issued an unusual statement which seemed to constitute an addendum to the similar Sino-Cuban communique signed by Guevara in Peiping the month before. The statement made two points that had appeared in the communique signed with the USSR but not in that signed with Peiping: one confirmed the price per pound to be paid by China for Cuban sugar (equivalent to that to be paid by the USSR); and the other affirmed the significance of Chinese aid in the face of the U.S. embargo, a point noted in respect to Soviet aid in the Moscow communique. The degree of rivalry thus displayed suggests that Guevara may in fact have been able to make use of Sino-Soviet political competition to procure greater economic concessions from both sides than might otherwise have been forthcoming. Some of the more exaggerated statements Guevara made in Peiping before his Moscow negotiations may have been made with this in mind.

The PSP Between Castro, Moscow, and Peiping, 1959-1960

There is every indication that the PSP in the years before Castro came to power was completely loyal to the CPSU and faithful to its direction; the early PSP neglect of Castro, for which Soviet lecturers later criticized the Cuban party, was pursued in conformity with CPSU policy, as was the subsequent PSP turn toward a close alliance with Castro and other anti-Batista forces. The PSP, like other Latin American Communist parties, was with Soviet encouragement increasingly exposed to Chinese influence after 1956,

and particularly since 1959; but there is no evidence that this had any early effect upon the basic allegiance of the PSP leadership.*

Such problems as may have arisen subsequently in the relations between the PSP and the CPSU are most likely to have derived from the PSP's complicated relationship with Castro. On the one hand, as will be seen, the Cuban Communists seem to have been inclined to press Castro--particularly after mid-1960--to move faster in the direction of complete PSP rule and the public acknowledgement of a "socialist" revolution than was desirable either for Soviet state interests or for the growth of Soviet influence elsewhere in Latin America. On the other hand, the PSP, in seeking to preserve its influence over the Castroites, was forced to attempt to reconcile a fluctuating and inconsistent general Soviet foreign policy line, which sometimes stressed the importance of reducing tensions with the "imperialist" powers, with the militant, quasi-Trotskyite, quasi-Maoist line of encouraging violent revolution in Latin America preached by Castro and Guevara. According to one report, some PSP leaders--notably the trade union specialist Lazaro Pena--were greatly disturbed in January 1960 by the line taken by Khrushchev toward President Eisenhower during the detente period. On the other hand, other reports of the same period indicate that Pena, PSP General Secretary Blas Roca, and other PSP leaders were also highly distrustful of the "Maoism" of the Castroites. The fundamental PSP line apparently continued to be that of maintenance of a posture of loyalty to the CPSU, despite all reservations about CPSU policy; this was demonstrated at the

*Thus in November 1959 the PSP journal Fundamentos translated the Chinese Communist "Model Regulation for Advanced Agricultural Cooperatives" as a guide for the formation of Cuban cooperatives; this Chinese regulation, however, was quite orthodox from the Soviet point of view, as the Chinese "advanced cooperative" was comparable to the Soviet kolkhoz. The Chinese commune, on the other hand, was not lauded by the PSP, but only by Castroites such as Guevara.

multi-party conference at Bucharest in June 1960, where Ramon Calcines, a PSP representative, is said to have declared that the policy of peaceful coexistence was beneficial to the defense of Cuba.

In April 1960 the Chinese party made its most vigorout attempt to influence the PSP, during a nine-day visit by Blas Roca to Peiping. Roca arrived in the CPR on 24 April--in the midst of the Chinese "Long Live Leninism" onslaught on Soviet policy--at the invitation of the Chinese central committee. Before departing on 2 May, he held discussions with an unusual number of members of the Chinese leadership, including Mao, General Secretary Teng Hsiaoping, politburo members Peng Chen, Li Fu-chun, Chu Te and Ho Lung, alternate politburo member Kang Sheng, central committee liaison department deputy chief Wu Hsiu-chuan, and other officials. It has been reliably reported that the Cuban delegation to the November 1960 Moscow conference later revealed that this imposing array of CCP leaders in April had attempted to incite Roca against the Soviets, and particularly against Khrushchev personally. Although there is no direct evidence on the nature of the Chinese attack on Khrushchev on this occasion, it is highly likely to have centered on the Soviet foreign policy offenses enumerated in the "Long Live Leninism" documents and in subsequent Chinese public and private attacks of 1960: particularly, the alleged Soviet propensity to dampen the militancy of revolutionary movements (such as those in Latin America) for the sake of illusory agreements with the "imperialists." It is also conceivable, although much less certain, that the CCP took the occasion to examine with Roca the bad advice which the CPSU had given the PSP in the past regarding Castro and his guerrilla movement. Finally, it is also possible that the Chinese discussed with Roca the future of PSP relations with Castro; if so, the CCP probably urged Roca to move ahead as rapidly as possible to consolidate PSP authority against any turn of events. In a lecture to Latin American Communists the preceding year, a high Chinese Communist official had reaffirmed his belief in the necessity of securing Communist hegemony at the earliest possible stage of an "anti-imperialist" revolution, lest the party subsequently be betrayed by those it had helped to place in power. It is unlikely that by April 1960 the CCP yet had enough confidence in Castro to waive this rule.

Two months later, Blas Roca is reported to have attended the multiparty conference at the Third Congress of the Rumanian party, where he apparently gave a report to a special meeting of Latin American Communists on the situation in Cuba. Another PSP delegate, Ramon Calcines, is reported to have addressed a closed general meeting of all the parties and to have supported the peaceful coexistence line. The Cuban delegation presumably witnessed the angry exhanges between Khrushchev and Peng Chen and read the Soviet document attacking the CCP circulated at that meeting.

Roca is reported to have returned to Cuba impressed with the seriousness of the conflict, and subsequently the PSP held a series of meetings to determine its position. As in many other non-bloc parties, however, the leadership did its best to hide the magnitude of the dispute from the PSP rank-and-file, and was unwilling to create domestic difficulties for itself by taking a public stand. In addition, the PSP was by no means certain that the CPSU would adhere to its position: Carlos Rafael Rodriguez is reported to have said privately in July 1960 that "it would be unwise to take a position with respect to the controversy, as the very line that one might oppose might become the accepted line." Nevertheless, Rodriguez went on to indicate that the basic loyalties of the PSP continued to remain firmly on the Soviet side.

In August 1960 the PSP convened its Eighth National Assembly, the first in a number of years to be held publicly in Cuba. Among the 30 foreign Communist parties represented (including 16 from Latin America) was the CCP, in the person of Wu Hsiu-chuan, the deputy chief of the Chinese party's liaison department who had helped to bring pressure upon Blas Roca in Peiping in April, and who had again taken part in the conflict at Bucharest in June. In his public speech to the Assembly, Wu gave elaborate expression to the Chinese line currently being voiced in the polemics with Moscow, including the demand for a "head-on struggle against U.S. imperialism" and reiterated reminders of the Cuban party's "sacred duty" to join in "defeating completely modern revisionism" and thereby to strengthen the unity of the world movement. Wu's delegation reportedly

followed up this public attack with intensive lobbying against the CPSU among the foreign delegates to the Assembly. All of Wu's public statements and movements during and immediately following the Assembly were given prominent coverage in Hoy, the PSP newspaper.

In view of these Chinese activities at the PSP gatherings--which the CPSU must surely have anticipated--it is all the more remarkable that there was no CPSU representation whatever at the Assembly, despite the fact that the PSP had previously announced that a Soviet delegation would attend. [redacted] the PSP had invited Suslov, but the CPSU replied that it would be "inconvenient" for Suslov to attend; the Cubans reportedly urged reconsideration, but apparently to no avail. It is true that Suslov at the time was preoccupied with orienting certain local organs of the CPSU regarding the struggle with the Chinese, but there is no obvious reason why another CPSU delegate could not have come to Cuba. On balance, it seems most likely that the CPSU abstained from attending because of sensitivity to the effect that the visit of a Soviet Communist party delegation to the PSP August Assembly would have had in the United States and throughout Latin America. In mid-1960, as will be seen below, Soviet articles were implying that the Cuban Communists should not force the pace in their dealings with Castro, and the Soviet party is likely to have been reluctant to undertake an action which might well have been construed by the governments of the United States and Latin American countries as overt evidence of Communist domination of Cuba.

Two months later, at the October meeting of the 25-party commission preparing for the November 1960 Moscow meetings, and at the 81-party November meetings themselves, the Cuban delegation led by PSP Organizational Secretary Anibal Escalante acted as one of the principal agents for the CPSU in the unsuccessful Soviet effort to browbeat the Chinese into acknowledging the primacy of CPSU authority by accepting a condemnation of "factionalism" in the international movement.

Despite this evidence of continued PSP loyalty to the CPSU, [redacted]

the Cubans at the Moscow meetings showed signs of Chinese influence or that the Chinese there claimed to have some Cuban backing. Available evidence on the Moscow talks suggests only one area of discussion where this Chinese claim may have been correct: this was on debate on the "national democratic state," a concept placed in the draft of the Moscow Statement by the CPSU to connote a stage of indeterminate length in the "anti-imperialist revolution" of an underdeveloped state during which forces other than the proletariat would be in control while the Communist party would exercise a growing but not yet dominant influence. Subsequent Soviet discussions of this concept have always left deliberately vague the question of how much influence the Communist party must hold during this stage and how much time must elapse before the party could expect to exercise total control and begin building socialism. The impression has generally been left, however, that it is expected to be a lengthy and gradual process, during which the maintenance of an "anti-imperialist" foreign policy and close economic ties with the bloc and the dissemination of Soviet ideas and institutional practices would facilitate the imperceptible growth of Communist power without violent resistance from the governing national bourgeoisie or petit bourgeoisie. All this was directly opposed to Chinese views, which were opposed to the erection of such "walls" between stages, and, as has been seen, insisted on the earliest possible assumption of control of a revolutionary movement by the Communist party. Although the Chinese signed the Moscow Statement containing this Soviet concept, they never mentioned it subsequently in their propaganda, and indeed, on one occasion--in October 1961--made a veiled attack upon it.

This Soviet line also appears to have been opposed to the desires and felt needs of the PSP. Although the Soviets never explicitly identified Cuba as the prototype of the "national democratic state" (the closest approach to such identification coming in a Ponomarev article in Kommunist of May 1961), there seems little doubt that they had this in mind at the time of the Moscow conference. In a published report to the East German central committee the following month whih accurately reflected Soviet positions on a wide variety of issues, Ulbricht declared that "the

revolution of the Cuban people has created a national democratic state." This assertion was repeated publicly by East German politburo member Matern, who also stated, correctly, that the Cuban delegate to the Moscow conference had objected to the concept. (Escalante in fact is reliably reported to have specifically attacked the "national democracy" concept on behalf of the PSP, and to have declared that "we need to find a new definition.") Although Matern did not state precisely the nature of Escalante's objection, Matern implied that the Cubans did not wish to be placed in a category together with Indonesia or even the UAR, which were much further behind on the road to Communist control.

The practical political point at issue for the PSP was one of timing: the CPSU was seeking a doctrinal justification for urging the Cuban party to slow down for the time being, to consolidate the position, and not to press Castro to accelerate the march to the left. The PSP was determined to do the opposite (and in fact began to do so, immediately after the Moscow conference). The Soviet Union had the gravest reasons for taking the position it did: (a) Moscow apparently did not believe (before the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion) that the United States would stop short of crushing an outright Communist regime in Cuba, whereas it was just possible that the U.S. might tolerate a Castroite regime which was not openly Communist but strongly influenced by Communists; (b) the USSR was not prepared to risk anything to defend Cuba, and while a U.S. attack against Cuba would be useful in many ways for Soviet propaganda, it also would be a humiliating demonstration of Soviet inability to act to protect a revolution far from its borders and would revive throughout Latin America the concept of the "geographical fatalism" of U.S. domination which the Soviets had been striving to destroy since Castro's advent to power; (c) the closer Cuba became identified with the bloc, the more humiliating--in the context of the Sino-Soviet dispute--Soviet failure to halt an occupation of Cuba would become; and (d) entirely aside from this, the more open that Communist domination of Cuba became, the more difficulty Communist forces elsewhere in Latin America would have in building broad national fronts to oppose U.S. policies.

The PSP, on the other hand, apparently saw complete victory within its grasp and did not wish to slow down for the sake of Soviet foreign policy interests. The Cuban party evidently did not believe that its position in Castro's regime would be irreversible unless Castro were driven foward into a position from which he could never renounce his identification with the PSP. And while the PSP was probably at least as desirous as the USSR to avoid the expected U.S. invasion of Cuba, it was politically disadvantageous for the party at this stage to attempt to gain a real reduction in Cuban-U.S. tensions as a means of avoiding such an invasion, since it was the fear and hatred felt for the United States by the Castroites that had provided the greatest impulse for the growth of PSP power in Cuba.* It was for this reason that PSP leaders in 1960 and 1961 reacted to Yugoslav efforts to restrain Castro with open attacks upon Belgrade. Thus Tito reportedly sought in vain to persuade Castro to moderate his attitude toward the United States during a meeting between the two leaders at the United Nations in New York in October 1960. Blas Roca in his report to the PSP Assembly in August had indicated the PSP's estimate that acceptance of such advice by Castro could be harmful to the party's position in Cuba when he declared that "those elements who seek a reconciliation with imperialism in order

*In addition, the PSP was still too vulnerable to attempt to moderate Castro's anti-U.S. attitude, even had it so desired; the PSP was under the political obligation of having to demonstrate support for Castro's militant line, particularly since it had been reluctant in past years to support his revolutionary efforts.

to stop the revolution see in Yugoslavia an example which in their opinion it is necessary to follow." (Emphasis added.)*

The intention of the PSP to push for a further extension of the party's authority in Cuba had been hinted at during the August National Assembly of the party. Although Blas Roca was relatively circumspect in this regard in his General Secretary's report to the Assembly--given extensive coverage in Pravda--Escalante was much more outspoken in his lengthy report on the party program, which Pravda virtually ignored. Escalante declared to be mistaken the idea which the party had had in the past that "the present stage of the revolution must necessarily be prolonged." Referring to doubts he said had been raised during the earlier "discussion" of the Program as to whether it was "convenient" to refer in the Program to the "socialist stage" as the next step for Cuba, he insisted that this point had to be raised and placed before the public.

The CPSU's attitude on this point had seemed to be indicated in an article by Shevlyagin in Sovetskaya Rossiya of 10 June. This major article in the Sino-Soviet polemic cited Lenin's warnings against those Communists who do not wish to stop "at the intermediate stages, let themselves in for compromises." It insisted that "one must not limp behind events, but one also must not run ahead and prematurely

*The following January, the Yugoslav party organ Kommunist replied to continuing charges by Hoy, that Belgrade was assisting "U.S. imperialism" against Cuba, with a direct attack on the past conduct of the PSP. Kommunist reminded the PSP--and Castro--that "for a very long time /the PSP/ was unable to understand the ways of the development of the revolution in its own country, and until the moment just before victory did not support that revolution." The Yugoslav newspaper further taunted the PSP with the reminder that "for many years," two of its leaders, Juan Marinello and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, had been members of the Batista Government--a fact which is not mentioned in Cuba today.

issue slogans of socialist transformation where conditions for it have not yet matured." (Emphasis added; this is precisely the point Escalante had been discussing in connection with the PSP Program.) The article cited the mistake made by the Iraqi CP in having "raised in the spring of 1959 the demand for participating in the government," and said that this "may be instructive also for some Communist parties of the East and Latin America if they are faced with basically the same tasks." Although these warnings were certainly meant for a variety of Latin American parties which may have been tempted by Chinese exhortations to force the pace unduly, they were most applicable to the PSP, whose position in Cuba (viz-a-viz Castro) in the summer of 1960 most closely resembled that of the Iraqi CP in the spring of 1959 (viz-a-viz Kassim).

A second Soviet warning was contained in a major article in Pravda on 26 August 1960, immediately after the close of the PSP National Assembly, which again emphasized that it was "impossible to jump over a certain historical stage" and that "the task of socialist transformations cannot be mechanically placed on the agenda simultaneously in all countries." Although this article was mainly concerned with defending against Chinese attack the conciliatory Soviet attitude toward the national and petit bourgeoisie of Asia and Africa and with warning Communists of those continents against actions which might frighten nationalist leaders in their relations with the USSR, it several times placed Cuba in the same category. Cuba was listed along with such countries as India, Indonesia, and Burma as a state which was cooperating with Soviet foreign policy despite "political and ideological differences with the socialist states," and the article insisted that "the revolutionary government of this country /Cuba/ is pursuing by no means a socialist but a general democratic national policy." Pravda seemed clearly to be implying that the PSP, like the Communist parties of the other countries named, should not be in haste to change this state of affairs.

Finally, the nature of the CPSU position was indicated in the contrast between the greetings sent to the PSP Assembly by the Soviet and Chinese parties. The Soviet

greetings cautiously wished the Cuban party success in "strengthening the national independence of the Republic of Cuba and in consolidating the conquests of the Cuban revolution." The Chinese greetings said something to this effect as well, but also congratulated the PSP on the fact that it "firmly stood for carrying on the revolution to the end." This point--that the revolution must be carried forward without a "wall" between stages, without interruption to the socialist end--is a main feature of the Chinese line, and was also touched on in the speech made to the PSP Assembly by Wu Hsiu-chuan.

The nature of the PSP response to the various CPSU admonitions was indicated a year later in an article published by Escalante in Principios (the PSP journal) of August 1961, after the PSP had gone much further along the road it wished to travel. In the following passage, Escalante appeared to furnish a direct reply to the Pravda article of 26 August 1960:

> I do not wish to cite examples, but in this world of today there are examples of cases in which a revolution has begun and has halted; even where it has begun, has developed a little, has halted, and has degenerated. What was lacking there? What was lacking was the working class in the lead...

Presumably, Escalante did "not wish to cite examples" of cases such as Iraq because it would be embarrassing and insulting to the CPSU to do so. Elsewhere in his Principios article, Escalante many times emphasized that "revolution cannot come to a halt, it has to keep moving forward, because when it stops, it degenerates." After noting that "some people in the enemy camp" had "preached revolution, but not so much of it," Escalante went on to say that "others, blinder yet, spoke of reducing the tempo of the revolution" (a tactical question unlikely to have been raised by persons "in the enemy camp"). He insisted that "revolution has to maintain the tempo that the concrete circumstances in which it develops impose." He asserted, like the CCP, that the Cuban revolution was advancing "by stages, although without

interruption," and added that "I am giving notice that there are no Great Walls of China separating one stage from another."

To sum up: the PSP before Castro's victory had shown complete loyalty to the CPSU. Thereafter, despite intense Chinese efforts to win over the Cuban Communist leadership, the PSP remained on the side of the CPSU on most of the important issues of the Sino-Soviet dispute, and indeed furnished important help to the CPSU in the struggle at the November 1960 Moscow Conference over the key issue of Soviet authority. Nevertheless, there are indications that there were serious differences between the CPSU and the PSP in the last half of 1960 over the PSP's desire to cement and formalize its authority in Cuba and to carry the regime forward into the "building of socialism," in disregard of Soviet foreign policy interests. On this one issue, the PSP was taking a position advocated by the Chinese party.

III. CUBA AND THE COMMUNISTS, 1961-1962

From the Bay of Pigs to the 22nd CPSU Congress

Shortly after the 1960 Moscow conference, the PSP began to press Castro forward. [redacted] "at the end of 1960 a decision was taken to cut off the rightist portions of the 26th of July movement from its popular base," and that "from this time there began in fact the process of integration of the revolutionary movements" (that is, the merger of the PSP, 26th of July Movement, and Revolutionary Directorate). This decision was apparently taken at about the time the regime crushed an attempted protest against Communist rule by the electrical workers' union, one of the last of the Cuban unions to be purged; and the PSP no doubt utilized this event, along with the threatened military invasion by the United States, as potent arguments to Castro of the danger to his regime which could only be averted by more organized reliance upon the PSP. The Cuban Communists had prepared the way for their formal entry into the Cuban regime by actions such as those taken in August (when Blas Roca in his report to the PSP National Assembly had acknowledged Castro's entire guerrilla struggle to have been tactically correct, formally repealing the old adverse PSP judgment), and in October (when the 26th of July youth movement was merged with the PSP's Communist youth).

Around the turn of the year, a major step was taken, when the Cuban government, using a provocatory tactic which was to be copied by Albania in dealing with the Soviet Union eleven months later, forced a break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba. It is most unlikely that this action was desired or approved by the USSR, since it tended to predetermine relations between the Castro regime and the incoming U.S. administration, which had not yet taken

office, and made it more likely that the new U.S. government would carry out the expected invasion of Cuba. Moreover, it complicated Soviet relations with the new administration at the very moment when Moscow was preparing a gesture calculated to impress the U.S. public and that administration with Soviet good will--the release of the RB-47 pilots. By the same token, Peiping was probably delighted by this step, which increased the similarity between the positions of the CPR and Cuba viz-a-viz the United States. A report which probably accurately records statements made by Italian Communist officials on the 1960 Moscow conference quotes them as declaring that, at that conference, the Chinese had favored "radicalizing" the Cuban struggle against the Americans, while Khrushchev had wished the Cubans to show restraint and "a certain amount of good faith" toward the new U.S. President. These reported positions are consistent with the foreign policy interests of the CPR and the USSR. It is therefore likely that the CPSU urged the PSP not to encourage Castro to prejudice relations with President-elect Kennedy through precipitate actions, and that this advice was not followed.

Having burned this bridge, however, Castro's dependence for support upon the PSP internally (as on the bloc externally) was greater than ever; and a few weeks after the rupture of relations with the United States, Castro gave an interview to an Italian Communist correspondent in which for the first time he indulged in public self-criticism for his distrustful attitude toward the PSP in the years before he came to power. At the same time, he said that the PSP had been justified in distrusting him in that period, because he and his fellow guerrillas were "still full of petit-bourgeois prejudices and defects in spite of our Marxist readings." These statements were published on 1 February in the Italian CP newspaper l'Unita and reprinted in Pravda without comment. Castro subsequently added further comments on the "ideological weakness" of the revolutionary leaders in the early stages of the revolution in a speech of 25 March.

These statements by Castro appeared to have a number of purposes: first, to set the stage publicly for the emergence of the PSP leadership from out of the background into

prominence as leaders of the regime (a process which was greatly accelerated after the beginning of the year); secondly, to attempt to prepare the PSP for acceptance of Castro as its leader in the new party organization then being planned; and thirdly, to attempt to demonstrate to the USSR that "distrust" of Castro and his regime was no longer "justified," as in the past, and that Castro's Cuba was therefore as deserving of defense by the USSR against the United States as were the official members of the bloc. It was probably for this latter purpose, also, that Castro in his l'Unita interview for the first time affirmed that "this is a socialist revolution."

The motivation for this last statement was again demonstrated when Castro next made it--in a speech on 16 April, on the very eve of the attempted invasion of Cuba. The next day, Castro's declaration of a state of emergency in connection with the invasion reiterated the claim that his revolution was "socialist." The timing of this announcement strongly suggests that it was an attempt to secure protection from the Soviet Union against the United States at a moment of crisis when Castro believed the U.S. was intervening to destroy his regime.

The PSP, of course, welcomed Castro's announcement eagerly, since it closed another door behind Castro and was an important event in the consolidation of the party's power in Cuba. That the PSP had been pressing Castro for a statement such as this for some time was suggested by a speech made by a PSP trade union official on 7 November 1960 when it was declared that Cubans "must not fear the establishment of a socialist regime in Cuba." After Castro's mid-April statements and shortly before his 1 May speech in which he formally elaborated his pronouncement, the PSP organ Hoy stated that "the failure to define the character of the changes taking place in Cuba has become an obstacle in the path of the advance of the revolution," that "the people were waiting" for Castro to furnish such a definition, and that the definition must reveal "the tremendous development of the revolutionary, ideological, and political awareness of the people, their growing unity, and their actual fusion for all practical purposes." (Emphasis added.)

The implication seemed to be that the PSP was anxious to use Castro's announcement to hasten the party's formal absorption of the 26th of July movement.

Subsequently, in late May Carlos Rafael Rodriguez stated in an interview with an East German newsman that by the next 26 July anniversary this merger would have been accomplished. at the end of June a plenum of the National Committee of the PSP was held, attended both by the PSP leaders and the "active leaders" of the 26th of July movement. The keynote address to the plenum was given by PSP General Secretary Blas Roca, and Fidel Castro also "gave a fundamental speech." The plenum acted to merge the PSP with Castro's movement (as well as with the third, least important Cuban revolutionary grouping, the Revolutionary Directorate) into a new body known as the United Revolutionary Organizations (ORI). the plenum set up the central leadership of the ORI, to consist of "practically all of the directing cadres of the PSP, the chief cadres of the Revolutionary Army, and radical offshoots of the 26 July Movement, as well as certain cadres of the Revolutionary Directorate." the "function" of chairman of the ORI was assumed by Fidel Castro. This last point, however, was never made public in 1961, and was to be a matter of some importance when the PSP came into conflict with Castro the following year.

On 26 July, Castro publicly announced the formation of the ORI, which, he said, would be the organizational nucleus for the eventual formation of a single United Party of the Socialist Revolution (PURS). With this step, the PSP reached a goal toward which it had long been working, and placed itself in a position from which it later could (and did) attempt to restrict Castro's power.

Both the CPSU and the CCP, however, were initially extremely reluctant to endorse Castro's claim to be heading a socialist revolution, although they were willing to publish or quote Cuban assertions to this effect. In the CPSU slogans for May 1961, and again in those for October, Cuba was listed among the non-Communist countries and was said

merely to be "building a new life," rather than socialism. As late as 29 May, when Kommunist No. 8, 1961, was signed to the press, an authoritative article by Ponomarev discussed Cuba's revolutionary changes within the context of the national democratic state, which he subsequently was at pains to differentiate from a "socialist" regime. In early March 1961, party lectures given within the Czechoslovak CP indicated that Moscow was still thinking in terms of a long-term transition of Cuba to socialist status: the lecturers, while terming Castro an "honest pro-Communist," declared that he was not to be fully trusted since he was not a Communist and lacked Communist training, and added that "within a few years" Cuba could be converted from "pseudo-Communism" into the first true socialist state in the Americas. In May, Italian CP Vice-Secretary Luigi Longo is reported to have stated that Castro's proclamation that his regime was socialist was 'untimely and demagogical," and that the Cuban Communist party, while having considerable influence, was not the center of influence. In July, a Hungarian journal stated that "in a speech on 1 May 1961, Fidel Castro...announced that socialism was being built in Cuba; in reality, there is a government in power in the actions and goals of which one can find certain traits of socialism." In September [redacted] Castro was still not trusted by the Soviet leadership, and was considered an erratic bourgeois adventurer rather than a Communist. Also in September, in a joint Soviet-Cuban communique signed with President Dorticos in Moscow it was only the Cuban side which declared that Cuba was following the road of socialist development, while the Soviet side merely praised Cuban "reforms" and Cuban independence.

In short, the attitude displayed by the Soviet Union and its adherents during the spring, summer, and early fall of 1961 toward Castro's claim to be building socialism suggests a continuing distrust of him as uncontrollable and unpredictable; a lingering and gradually fading wish that the formal Communist entry into the government could be made gradually and imperceptibly, rather than suddenly and dramatically, as was happening; a continuing fear of frightening the bourgeoisie of other Latin American countries through the proclamation of socialism in Cuba; and a

continuing reluctance to acknowledge as "socialist" (and therefore, implicitly, as possessing a claim to Soviet protection) a state which the USSR had no intention of risking its security to defend. (This factor may have become decreasingly important, however, as it may have seemed more and more likely to Moscow after the Bay of Pigs that the United States would not itself invade Cuba.) For Peiping, the matter was probably much more simple: the CCP could not recognize Castro's regime as socialist before Moscow did because the overall Chinese line was to attack Moscow's readiness to defer to the "socialist" pretensions of bourgeois nationalist leaders; because Castro was generally regarded in the international Communist movement as an irresponsible petit-bourgeois who was under strong Communist influence but who was not yet firmly under Communist party control; and because, despite the attractiveness and usefulness of Castro's international policies, Peiping was not ready to weaken its position in the eyes of Latin American Communist leaders by recognizing as within the fold a man they continued to regard as outside it.*

Despite this Chinese reticence with regard to Castro's socialism, Chinese policies in 1961 continued to find their greatest support from the Castroites rather than the PSP. Chinese propaganda amplified its stress on the Cuban revolution as "the first revolution in Latin America that won victory by armed struggle," as People's Daily declared on 26 July. A Sino-Cuban joint communique signed with President Dorticos in early October--unlike a similar Soviet-Cuban communique signed two weeks earlier--stressed that the "great victory of the Cuban revolution has set a brillant example for other Latin American peoples." Chinese propaganda used the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion to hammer home to the Cubans and to audiences all over the

*As will be seen, a similar consideration has up until now kept Peiping from formally recognizing the dissident Communist party of Brazil--which carries the Chinese line--in place of the pro-Soviet Brazilian Communist party.

world the conclusion that the United States was indeed a "paper tiger;" and NCNA correspondents filed from Cuban interviews with veterans of the Bay of Pigs battle quoting them as recalling that "Mao Tse-tung said long ago that imperialists and all reactionaries are but paper tigers." In the same context, one such NCNA report linked this moral with details of Fidel Castro's guerrilla struggle in the Cuban mountains. [redacted] the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army in April rendered the judgment that "Castro adopts a very firm attitude against U.S. imperialism," and that as a result of the defeat of the invasion "the Cuban revolutionary government headed by Castro has been strengthened." The growing Chinese appreciation of Castro's value to Peiping was certainly encouraged by the outspoken militancy of Castro's views on anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America: on 14 February, for example, Castro publicly stated that "if the United States thinks it has the right to promote counterrevolution in Cuba and promote reaction in Latin America, then Cuba also feels entitled to encourage revolution in Latin America."* In January, Castro had privately told a large number of Latin American delegates to Cuban anniversary celebrations that there were appropriate conditions for beginning guerrilla warfare in all Latin American countries (in flat contradiction to Soviet views), and added that Venezuela and Brazil were the ideal countries for such ventures (the latter country was certainly not viewed in this way at this time by the CPSU). On 29 August, Castro went beyond this to urge Brazilians publicly "to profit from the experience of Cuba" and start guerrilla

*Subsequently, Castro's government was forced to send out a special circular communication to all the Latin American republics denying that he intended to export his revolution, apparently in an effort to offset adverse reactions to his statement.

warfare against what he termed the "reactionary militarists" who had recently forced the resignation of Brazilian President Quadros.*

Further, Peiping was undoubtedly gratified by the friction between Cuba and Yugoslavia during 1961 as a result of Castro's policies. During the Cairo preparatory meetings in June for the September conference of "non-aligned" nations, Cuban representatives angered the Yugoslavs by opposing the plan to convene the conference in Belgrade on grounds of Yugoslav "political immaturity," and also delighted Peiping (and displeased Moscow) by accusing India of being aligned with "imperialism." Further, Mao's works were printed in large editions in Cuba, were given a prominence equal to that of Lenin and Marx, and were supplemented by such works offensive to the CPSU as Anna Louise Strong's "The Rise of the Chinese People's Commune." Personnel of some Cuban ministries in May were reported to be attending compulsory lectures on the achievements of the Cuban, Soviet, and Chinese revolutions. Finally, Castro's delegation to the World Peace Council meeting in Stockholm in December reportedly avoided taking a position on the Sino-Soviet battle at that gathering.

In short, while Castro was becoming increasingly dependent on the USSR for economic and military support

*While there is some reason to believe that the CPSU at this particular moment may have been in favor of the initiation of some type of armed struggle by radical forces outside the Communist party to create a lever by means of which the Communist party could take advantage of the Brazilian constitutional crisis, nevertheless Castro, by publicly calling for such a struggle and thus ostentatiously interfering in Brazilian politics, was undermining the state interests of his own regime, which required the maintenance of good relations with the government of Brazil. Hence, while Castro later continued to advocate privately the beginning of guerrilla warfare in Brazil (after the CPSU again seems to have opposed it), such public outbursts were not repeated.

throughout 1961, and was cooperating with the Soviet Union in training subversives for operations in Latin America, nevertheless the CPR was given a high place of honor within Cuba, the general tenor of Castro's line toward the United States and Latin America continued to be more harmonious with Chinese than with Soviet foreign policy, and Castro continued to refrain from the slightest action that could be interpreted as criticism or opposition to the CPR.

The PSP, on the other hand, having won its point by pushing Castro much further along the path toward total PSP control despite the adverse consequences apparently feared by the CPSU, increasingly demonstrated its loyalty to Moscow as the Sino-Soviet conflict intensified during 1961. [redacted] in July, officials of Hoy became alarmed when the Havana NCNA agency sent them for publication articles with an anti-Soviet tone; PSP leaders then decided that this material could not be published in Hoy and the Chinese were so advised. In retaliation, the Chinese were said to have curtailed all subsequent collaboration with Hoy. Later, Hoy published a number of articles before and after the 22nd CPSU Congress in praise of the new CPSU Program. In his speech to the 22nd Congress, Blas Roca (now described as a "member of the leadership of the Cuban ORI") expressed cautious agreement "with Comrade Khrushchev concerning the negative activities of the Albanian Workers' Party," and upon his return to Cuba again criticized Albania and offered justification for Khrushchev's new attacks on Stalin. Nevertheless Roca in Moscow provided less than clearcut support for Khrushchev's offensive, and at home he attempted to play down the significance of Sino-Soviet differences, declaring that "the Communist party of China could have some opinions which differ from other parties," but that "the basic truth is the indestructible unity of the socialist camp." Roca's concern for the PSP's relations with Castro was probably an important reason for this equivocation.

The Abortive PSP Coup and its Aftermath

The Soviet leadership appears to have begun a fundamental modification in its thinking regarding Cuba in the fall of 1961. Two central events had occurred in the past year, in each case without some of the dire consequences feared by the CPSU. PSP pressure on Castro to enlarge the role played by the party had not backfired as had happened in Iraq, but had fairly rapidly obtained from Castro a secure, publicly consolidated position for the party as the organizational center of the Cuban state. The authority of the Communist party in Cuba was now limited only by the erratic actions of Fidel Castro himself. On the other hand, from the Soviet point of view the effect of this process upon the Latin American bourgeoisie had been, as expected, unfortunate; but this could no longer be helped.

Secondly, the provocatory policy pursued by Castro, with PSP encouragement, toward the United States had indeed finally resulted in the long-expected invasion of Cuba; but the management of this venture gave reason to believe that the U.S. would not, in fact, make decisive use of its power to destroy Castro's regime. For the first time, therefore, a viable Communist state in Cuba began to appear possible to the Soviet leaders; and they may privately have begun to be impressed with, while publicly disparaging, Peiping's argument that the abortive invasion had proven that the U.S. was a "paper tiger" which would temporize and retreat in the face of determined pressure.

For this and a number of other reasons, it is possible that in the fall of 1961 the Soviet leadership began seriously to consider placing offensive missiles in Cuba as a means of partially redressing the strategic imbalance with the United States and of securing the political initiative throughout the world. It is likely, however, that a decision to attempt this venture was not taken until early 1962 (in or about February), and one consideration which may have caused the Soviets to hesitate was Castro's continued power in Cuba. Evidence has already been cited to show that the Soviets had at various times in the past regarded Castro as an undisciplined and irresponsible adventurer,

and Castro, despite his ever-increasing ties with the bloc and with the PSP, had given the USSR no reason to revise this estimate. It is likely that the Soviets greatly desired that control of the Cuban state be completely in the hands of more reliable and disciplined persons (i.e., the PSP) before undertaking the risks involved in placing the missiles in Cuba.* Thus while in the fall of 1960 the CPSU had been apprehensive (for reasons of Soviet foreign policy) about PSP intentions to use Castro to further increase its power, a year later the Soviet party for other policy reasons was probably equally anxious to have the PSP finish the process and nullify Castro's power completely.

On 1 September 1961 Blas Roca and Carlos Rafael Rodriguez arrived in Moscow with a Cuban delegation headed by President Dorticos. While Dorticos and the others left the Soviet Union after a few weeks to visit China and then to return home, Roca and Rodriguez stayed on in Moscow through September and October, attending the 22nd CPSU Congress in the middle of the latter month. Little is known of their activities during this visit, although it is believed that Roca may have addressed a private meeting of Latin American delegates to the Soviet congress and it is known that he had interviews with Khrushchev (and presumably with other CPSU leaders). The CPSU could have used this occasion to indicate to Roca a desire that Castro's personal power be sharply reduced, without necessarily indicating the special Soviet motive for wishing this to happen.

As early as January 1960 Roca and other PSP leaders were reported to have privately remarked that it would be necessary to place reliable PSP personnel in control of the Cuban government to get rid of the Castroite Communist

*That the Soviet Union in the end went ahead with the venture after Castro's victory over the PSP is a measure of the gains the USSR hoped to achieve; as will be seen, the fact that Castro was in power at the time of the missile crisis in October did measurably increase the military risk to the Soviet Union.

deviationists with which the government was then riddled. By the fall of 1961, the PSP was well positioned to attempt to complete this job by supplanting in authority the leading "Communist deviationists": Fidel Castro, Raul Castro, and Che Guevara. In the apparent belief that he could govern through the use of the PSP organization without being governed by it, Castro had placed that organization in a position to exercise control, under the guise of the ORI, over all phases of public life throughout Cuba. And although the PSP supposedly had lost its organizational identity through its merger into the ORI, in fact this was not so, and several reports attest that the politburo of the PSP continued to exist and to meet without Castro having access to it. In late November 1961, for example, such a meeting is reported to have taken place at the offices of Hoy to hear Rodriguez and Roca report on some of the topics they had discussed in Moscow with the Soviet leaders.

Beginning at about this time--that is, not long after the return of the two PSP leaders from Moscow--there came to light increasing evidence [redacted] of PSP pressure on Castro's position and of attempts by Castro to defend himself. In November, for example, the PSP functionary Lazaro Pena was named secretary general of a reorganized Cuban labor federation. At that time a [redacted] observer in Havana reported strong indications that Castro had had a "serious squabble" with Pena and Blas Roca over the selection of the executive committee of the federation.

On the evening of 30 November, Blas Roca gave a lengthy interview on Cuban television in which he discussed the 22nd CPSU congress decisions on Stalin's abuse of personal power and disregard for "collective leadership" in terms which seemed to be strongly pointed at Castro, and indeed ended by stressing the need for "greater collective leadership" in the Cuban party. On the following evening, Castro gave the radio speech in which he pronounced himself a "Marxist-Leninist." In the course of this speech, he seemed to be answering Roca by defending repeatedly his past personal role as leader of the Cuban revolution; these remarks were at one point prefaced with the statement that

"if some people are going to speak of it, it is well that the interested parties speak of it also." He affirmed his present belief in collective leadership, but insisted naively that the new Cuban party (the PURS) which the ORI was to create should offer equal rights to "all members of different revolutionary organizations," with no special privileges for either the PSP or the 26th of July movement. Again to differentiate himself from Stalin, he admitted that he could make mistakes, and implied that others should make the same admission; similarly, he admitted that at one time he had had "prejudices" against the PSP, and implied that the PSP also had something to confess.* The major point Castro made in this speech, however, was that he was a Marxist-Leninist (and therefore, by implication, fully entitled to lead a Marxist-Leninist party); further, that he had had Marxist views (albeit "incomplete," and albeit with "prejudices" against the PSP) not only on the day he came to power, but on the day he attacked Batista's Moncada barracks in 1953. The general tone of these remarks was considerably removed from that of his public remarks in February and March 1961, when he had stressed his "ideological weakness" as compared with the PSP in the early stages of his revolution. In another speech three weeks later, Castro went even further, claiming explicitly that he had been a Marxist-Leninist throughout his guerrilla struggle but that he had cleverly disguised this fact (placing himself in the curious position of a Marxist-Leninist who had had "prejudices" against the Marxist-Leninist party).

Castro's remarks about his Marxism-Leninism, thus made for purely internal reasons, were greatly damaging

*After his public victory over the PSP in 1962, Castro told visiting Brazilian dissident Communists that one of the "wall" separating him and the 26th of July leaders from the PSP leaders was the unwillingness of the latter to indulge in self-criticism, "which should have taken place because of their lack of participation in the revolution and their compromises with the Batista regime."

to the Cuban and Soviet positions in Latin America, as well as to that of the Latin American Communist parties. The Chilean party initially took the line that Castro had not in fact said what was attributed to him, and that the 1 December speech was a fabrication of "imperialists" who wished to discredit him. While other parties hailed the speech as a demonstration that Castro was on the correct road, they played down its Marxist-Leninist aspects in an effort to retain non-Communist support for Castro and themselves. Cuban Vice Foreign Minister Olivares told Bolivian officials in late December that Cuba recognized that Castro's admission that he was a Marxist had made impossible reconciliation with Latin American states that had broken relations with Cuba, but that Cuba wished to improve relations with the remaining states. Also in late December, in an effort to offset the impression left by Castro's statement, Pravda reprinted portions of an article written by Castro for a Cuban journal in which he vigorously denied that his regime was a satellite of the Soviet Union.

In December and January PSP leaders--particularly Roca and Escalante--continued to press Castro hard in public speeches for submission to PSP authority. On 11 December, for example, Escalante insisted that "among militants there had to exist a military discipline," he criticized "personal loyalties," and he warned that personal opinions differing from the party line should not be given outside of party assemblies. On 30 December Escalante referred to the fact that Castro had recently said that the principles of the organization of the new party would be discussed at a later date, commented sarcastically that "the topic is perhaps too complicated and does not lend itself to simple explanations," and added that he himself would nevertheless now provide such an explanation. The explanation he provided again stressed that there should be "an almost military discipline obligatory for all, the leaders and the led," and that there could not be two disciplines, "one for the higher and one for the lower." In early January, Blas Roca again obliquely criticized Castro for having paid insufficient tribute to collective leadership in one of his recent speeches.

By the turn of the year, the conflict between the Castroites and the PSP had increasingly centered on the question of the composition of the executive organs of the ORI (which still had not been formed) and on the parallel matter of the control of key Ministries of the government. In January, Escalante, who was in charge of organizational matters for the ORI, publicly revealed the existence in each Ministry of a nucleus of the ORI which would act as the liaison link between the Ministry and the party. In practice, this meant the establishment of a device for PSP control over Ministries not headed by PSP members. This development coincided with several reports to the effect that PSP leader Carlos Rafael Rodriguez was quietly supplanting Che Guevara as Cuba's economic chief. At about this time, in January, an unconfirmed report claimed for the first time (a) that Blas Roca had asked Castro to resign as Prime Minister and (b) that four Cabinet posts be assigned to the PSP, including the Labor Ministry for Lazaro Pena. While the first portion of the report seems improbable, if only because it would have precipitated a violent reaction from Castro a month before there apparently was such a reaction, the second contention of the report may be true. It so, the PSP did not at first succeed in changing the formal composition of the government.

There is good evidence that the crisis between the PSP and the Castroites occurred during the month of February and the first three weeks of March. It was in this period that the PSP made an overt move against Castro's position and that Castro for the first time seemed to become aware of a real danger to his personal power and for the first time therefore was willing to take drastic action against

the PSP.* [redacted] the entire PSP leadership was involved in the effort against Castro and [redacted] the leader of the plot was Blas Roca, the general secretary of the PSP, and not Anibal Escalante--although Escalante, as the organizational secretary directly involved in placing PSP cadres in command of the ORI throughout Cuba, became the natural scapegoat to give Castro after Castro had won his victory and was willing to settle for a scapegoat. Moreover, [redacted] the PSP during this period was in contact with the Soviet embassy and that the embassy gave its approval to the attempt against Castro. It therefore seems likely that by early February a decision had been made in Moscow to go ahead with the missile venture and that the PSP was thereupon told to take power from Castro quickly.

A number of leading Castroites appear to have been targets of the PSP--among them Che Guevara, Emilio Aragones (former national organizer of the 26th of July movement), and Carlos Franqui (editor of Revolución, the old organ of the 26th of July movement, who had many times indicated dislike of the PSP). The key objectives, however, were Fidel Castro's position as head of the ORI and Raul Castro's position as head of the military establishment.

*Castro subsequently told the visiting Brazilian dissident Communists that he, Raul Castro, and Guevara had been "too pre-occupied" with governmental tasks to notice the misuse of power by the PSP until they discovered that plots were being directed against them and that some of the PSP leaders "were actually seeking to overthrow the leaders of the 26th of July movement and to seize power for themselves;" it was then that he decided to act. It is likely that Castro did in fact know that the PSP was using the authority he had given it to entrench itself in the machinery of party and state throughout the country at the expense of his old 26th of July followers, and that he did not seriously object to this until the PSP also began overt moves against him.

In early February, at a joint meeting of the leaders of the Cuban government and the ORI, the PSP is said to have proposed that committees of the ORI be established to deal with defense affairs and economic affairs,* and that the PSP leader Joaquin Ordoqui be named chairman of the defense committee. Adoption of this proposal would have enabled the PSP to attempt to exert direct control over the activities of Raul Castro as Minister of the Armed Forces. Fidel Castro is reported to have opposed any discussion of the committee because of the absence of Raul and to have objected in general to the proceedings. He is said to have been supported by the Castroites Emilio Aragones, Augusto Martinez, and Che Guevara. The proposal regarding the defense committee was therefore postponed. Subsequently, Anibal Escalante is said to have privately accused the 26th of July movement of "opportunism" and "hysterical reactions."

On 14 February, a report quoting "certain Communist circles in Cuba" stated that it was expected that Ordoqui would become Minister of Defense and that Fidel Castro would be named President of Cuba so that Blas Roca could assume the job of Prime Minister. Ten days later, [redacted] reported [redacted] that the situation in Cuba was extremely tense, that the Communists were claiming control of the Armed Forces and the post of Prime Minister, and that there was a chance that open armed conflict might take place. There is in fact a good possibility that at least one violent incident did occur in the third week of February, when Juan Taquechel, the PSP labor chief in Oriente province, was reported by Santiago radio to have died of a heart attack. In fact, he is believed to have died in a shooting incident, and according to one report, Raul Castro (who, in addition to commanding the armed forces, runs Oriente province as a private kingdom) was involved in this incident. Another

*A foreign affairs committee is known to have been established in December, with the PSP member Ramon Calcines as secretary.

quoted a rumor that Raul Castro had had a "serious problem" with Taquechel, and that PSP leaders such as Blas Roca were considerably upset by the killing of Taquechel.* Meanwhile, Fidel Castro for three weeks in February disappeared from public view (a habit of his in periods of crisis), and according to two sources of unknown reliability, he remained for some time in one of the provincial capitals with Juan Almeida, the Army Chief of Staff who was conpletely loyal to him.

On 21 February PSP leaders in the ORI were reliably reported to have given verbal orders that the name of Fidel Castro was not to be mentioned in newspapers as the principal leader of the revolution, and some days later Hoy published a question inquiring as to Castro's exact position and answered it with a formula which omitted saying that he was the head of the ORI. At about this time the Yugoslav ambassador is reported to have had an interview with Blas Roca--presumably to inquire as to his intentions regarding Castro--from which he apparently emerged dissatisfied.

By early March Castro had returned to Havana, and on 9 March he won an initial victory when the formation of the National Directorate of the ORI was formally announced. While the PSP and the 26th of July movement were almost equally represented on the Directorate, Castro and his leading adherents were given a far more prominent position on the list of Directorate members than were Blas Roca and the PSP leaders.

It was between 9 March and 23 March--when the ORI Secretariat was finally formed--that the issue was finally

*Another PSP leader in Oriente, Fidel Pompa, was violently attacked by Fidel Castro at the time of his public denunciation of Anibal Escalante; and afterward, there was a thorough reorganization of the ORI party machinery in Oriente, which was one of the provinces where the local PSP chief of the ORI was replaced.

decided. It was apparently during these two weeks that Juan Almeida and other non-Communist Army officers reportedly attended a meeting with Fidel Castro at which they put pressure on him to dismiss the Communists from key positions. It was also apparently in this period that the ORI meeting took place at which time there was a decisive confrontation between the Castroites and the PSP.

Castro denounced the PSP for the conspiracy against him and that the PSP leaders present made haste to vilify their comrade Anibal Escalante as the sole culprit responsible. Faced with the discovery that it did not have the power, particularly in the army, to stand up to determined opposition by Castro, the PSP made a headlong retreat.

This meeting may have come immediately after two speeches made by Castro on 14 and 17 March which launched his public campaign against the PSP. On the first occasion, he utilized the PSP's instructions to omit a passage from the reading of an historical document as a pretext for a violent assault on those who would rewrite history and who would force others to accept what "they" say merely because "they" say it. (In their abject praise of Castro's speech during the next few days, Hoy and Blas Roca did their best to imply that the blame for this omission belonged only to the man who read the document.) On the 17th, Castro went on to attack those persons who had infiltrated the revolutionary nuclei to misuse power and privilege in the belief that they were "more revolutionary than anyone else."

By 23 March Castro's victory was complete: on that day the ORI National Directorate announced the appointment of Fidel Castro as first secretary and Raul Castro as second secretary in a new six-man Secretariat in which Blas Roca was the only PSP member. At the same time, ORI committees for organization (i.e., cadre appointment) and trade union affairs were formed with only one PSP man in each; in neither case was he the chairman of the committee. Hoy again hailed these decisions with abject praise, specifically noting that Raul Castro's appointment as second secretary "guarantees the automatic replacement of the first secretary"--i.e., that he was his brother's heir to power.

Thereafter Castro was concerned with the pursuit of the routed PSP and with the blackmail of the Soviet Union. On 24 and 25 March, he reportedly held discussions with numerous followers of his, particularly in the army, who in the past had suffered downgrading at the hands of the PSP (with his acquiescence); he is said to have told them that he was about to attack the PSP openly, and to have asked for their support. On 26 March, Anibal Escalante left Cuba permanently for Eastern Europe, and a few hours later Castro delivered his lengthy public attack on Escalante. Although the latter was depicted as the chief villain, Castro dropped numerous hints that other PSP leaders might also be found guilty, and in the extensive purge of the ORI apparatus throughout the country which went on over the next two months such threats were reiterated many times by Castro and others.

While these threats were partially intended to insure no resistance to the purge from the PSP--which continued to express obsequious agreement in Hoy and elsewhere with everything Castro said--they are also likely to have been meant to be heard by the CPSU. Castro was well aware that the Soviets were behind the attempt against him; he is reliably reported in late April or early May to have cursed Soviet Ambassador Kudryavtsev in conversations with non-Communist cronies; and after Kudryavtsev had been withdrawn and replaced by the USSR in late May, Raul Castro is said to have implied that Fidel Castro was responsible for this removal.* And while Castro was very reluctant to break totally with the PSP because of his need for their trained cadres to maintain his regime in power, he was willing to drop hints of more far-reaching actions in an effort to force the CPSU to make concessions to him.

*Kudryavtsev in early April is reliably reported to have commented despondently on the situation in Cuba, to have referred to the two political parties in Cuba, Castro's and "ours," and to have alluded to the difficulty of helping the "right" people--i.e., the PSP--without being accused of not supporting Castro.

The CPSU undoubtedly was alarmed, and soon made a number of major concessions. After an initial two-week period of consideration during which Pravda published only a brief and inaccurate summary of Castro's 26 March attack on Escalante, which was otherwise completely ignored in Soviet propaganda, Pravda on 11 April published an editorial article seeking reconciliation with Castro. This article endorsed Castro's condemnation of Escalante as the scapegoat, furnished a veiled warning to Castro against extending the attack to other PSP leaders lest he "please the imperialists," and acknowledged that so long as Castro exercised such restraint he was "correctly building a single Marxist-Leninist party."* Moreover, the Pravda article for the first time referred to Castro as "comrade." This was followed, on 15 April, by the publication of the CPSU May Day slogans, in which Cuba for the first time was credited with something approaching "socialist" status. The Cuban slogan was moved from the section devoted to non-Communist countries to the end of the group of slogans devoted to the bloc; and the Cuban people were discovered to have "embarked on the path of building socialism," whereas previously, before the Soviet-sponsored attempted PSP coup, Soviet slogans had depicted the Cubans only as "building a new life." Finally, a report from Cuba was incorporated into a 2 May Pravda roundup of May Day celebrations in bloc capitals, and in an 18 May speech in Bulgaria Khrushchev implied that Cuba was a member of the socialist camp.

In addition to making these concessions to Cuba's "socialist" status, which still did not amount to an explicit commitment to defend Cuba but which went far beyond what Moscow had been willing to say before the Castro-PSP crisis, the Soviet leaders apparently decided in the first half of

*Pravda did not state that he had already built such a party, since the ORI was only the transitional body for the creation of the party (the PURS). A Soviet lecturer in early April stated that the ORI was not a party but that it was a Marxist-Leninist organization.

April to extend to Castro the proposal to place missiles in Cuba. On 17 April, the Cuban government apparently took its first step in preparation for the missile venture when Raul Castro privately inspected the Torrens reformatory near Havana; thereupon the reformatory was evacuated and preparations begun to convert it into the principal Soviet headquarters in Cuba. It is uncertain what promises were made by the Soviets to Castro at this time. Although it might be thought, in view of Castro's conduct in November, that the USSR had promised him never to remove the missiles and to defend Cuba at all costs, this is unlikely in view of the past history of extreme Soviet unwillingness to commit itself unequivocally to defend Cuba. It is more likely that Soviet statements to Castro were optimistic and ambiguous; all the more likely, since Raul Castro during his visit to Moscow in July 1962 is reported to have tried and failed to secure Cuban membership in the Warsaw Pact.

At any rate, the concessions made by the Soviet Union were sufficient to cause Castro to relax the threat of further action against the top PSP leaders. In early June he is reported to have summoned a group of twenty leading non-Communist army officers, including Juan Almeida, to a meeting in which Castro stressed the importance of Soviet economic aid to Cuba, warmly praised certain PSP leaders, and expressed satisfaction with the attitude taken by the PSP toward the Escalante affair. Castro is said to have concluded by urging his audience not to create new obstacles and not to be drawn into "sectarianism." Since many of these officers were anti-Communist and had been allied with Castro in his struggle against the PSP in March, they undoubtedly understood this statement as a warning that the war against the PSP was over.*

*One officer at this meeting was reported to have remarked to Castro, "Fidel, if you're relying on them, don't rely on me," upon which Castro became extremely angry. In January 1963, Castro told a French journalist that "after having denounced the action of Anibal Escalante, I had to use all my authority to prevent a wave of vengeance from sweeping the movement."

By the late summer of 1962, the purge of the PSP had had little effect in the Cuban education and indoctrination apparatus, most of which was still being run by PSP cadres. Even in the ORI political apparatus, where the purge was felt most deeply, the PSP retained nine members of the 24-man National Directorate and two out of the six provincial first secretaryships. The PSP leaders Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Lazaro Pena, and Manuel Luzardo continued to head the agrarian reform institute, the labor federation, and the Ministry of Internal Trade, respectively. [redacted] reported in early September that since mid-August there had been a pronounced resurgence of the PSP leaders, especially Blas Roca, and that the PSP had again been given a prominent political and policy-making role as part of the price for Soviet military assistance. Such PSP leaders as Roca, Rodriguez, and Pena were reported to be in frequent contact with the new Soviet ambassador.

Cuba and the Sino-Soviet Struggle

Meanwhile, the relationship of the Castroites and the PSP to the Sino-Soviet conflict continued along the same lines as before, with the PSP showing the greatest enthusiasm for Soviet positions,* the Castroites displaying a degree of militance which was far closer to the Chinese than to the Soviet line, and the regime as a whole holding to a neutral--or rather, noncommittal--position in the dispute. [redacted] this noncommittal stance was firm Cuban government policy, and at least one high-level government official was of the opinion that it was the duty of the Cubans to contribute to stopping the dispute. In July, it was the view [redacted] that the Cuban regime would take no part in the Sino-Soviet conflict, but that Cuba

*Thus Hoy on 20 April 1962 published an article reproducing the Soviet line on the consequences of a new world war.

was "tied very, very strongly" to the policies of the USSR. The economic and military ties between Cuba and the Soviet Union were indeed being strengthened greatly in this period, and other ties as well: thus in late June 1962 Prensa Latina was reported to have been represented at a Prague conference of bloc news agencies at which the USSR, all the East European countries, and Mongolia (the Soviet bloc) were present, but the CPR, Albania, North Korea, and North Vietnam (the Chinese bloc) were absent.

Nevertheless, many of Castro's statements and policies continued to give great assistance to the dissemination of the Chinese line and Chinese influence in Latin America. In some cases, Castro displayed direct Chinese Communist influence: thus in his 1 December 1961 speech, in speaking of his guerrilla struggle, he twice referred to the precedent of the similar and more difficult struggle waged by the Chinese; elsewhere in his speech, when proclaiming confidence that any people with similar conditions could follow the same path, he declared that "we are fully confident that a single spark can start a prairie fire." TASS and Pravda excised this reference to the title of a Maoist work* (and, indeed, the entire passage) from their account

*The Chinese have repeatedly congratulated themselves on the influence of Mao's experience and works on Castro and the Castroites. [redacted] a [redacted] publication of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army claimed that "the revolution in Cuba was carried out on the basis of the 16 key words on guerrilla warfare by Chairman Mao." In August 1962, [redacted] Raul Castro had said that the Cuban revolution was a combination of Mao's ideology and Cuban revolutionary practice; that during Fidel Castro's guerrilla war in the mountains of Cuba he "spent a good deal of time studying Mao's works and thus learned a lot about guerrilla warfare:" and that Castro had gone through a display of Mao's works in Spanish at a Chinese Exhibition in Havana, sorting out all those he had not read and requesting them from the Chinese ambassador. Similarly, Chou En-lai (footnote continued on page 71)

of Castro's speech, while NCNA and People's Daily published it. On 22 January, CPR Premier Chou En-lai made use of Castro's convocation of a "Latin American People's Congress" in Havana to send greetings to the delegates informing them that the Chinese government and people were "the most reliable friend" of the Latin American peoples in their struggle against imperialism. And although the "Second Declaration of Havana"--proclaimed by Castro on 4 February 1962 in response to the exclusion of Cuba from the OAS at the Punta del Este conference--contained a few traces of moderating Soviet influence, its most forceful passages delighted Peiping by expressing a belief in the efficacy of peasant-based guerrilla warfare and a violent condemnation of Latin American Communist parties which deceive the masses into believing that revolution can come by legal and peaceful means. The Chinese published this "Declaration" in People's Daily and in a separate pamphlet; and in a People's Daily editorial they drew from it the conclusion that the Cuban and Latin American peoples realized that "no unrealistic illusions should be cherished" about U.S. imperialism (such, implicitly, as those being promoted by Moscow), and that "only by waging an armed struggle" could U.S. imperialism be defeated. (Emphasis added.)

Although the Soviets also published the text of the Second Havana Declaration, their general attitude toward

(footnote continued from page 70)
is reported to have told a Chinese gathering of scientific and technical workers in January 1963 that the Cuban revolution was an example of the successful application of Chinese experience in guerrilla warfare; and in the course of the September 1962 CCP central committee plenum the claim is reported to have been made that the Cubans wished to study Mao's works to find the solution to their problems. In all this, there is obviously a large element of exaggeration; but it also seems very probable that Mao's writings have had some influence on Castro since his seizure of power, and possibly before.

Castro's statements was privately indicated in March 1962 by a senior Soviet official who had recently visited Cuba. This official stated that Castro's pronouncements generally affect only persons who are already "socially conscious," while they "frighten away the Latin American masses," the "human reservoir for the development of socialism." Further, he asserted that the Cuban leadership was both making statements and engaging in activities "that at this stage may bring about the downfall of the Latin American socialist movements before they have been able to achieve stability." He expressed the wish that the Cubans would instead direct their efforts toward strengthening the Cuban economy, which, he indicated, was badly in need of strengthening.

Following the defeat of the PSP offensive against Castro and the subsequent Soviet revelation, in the May Day slogans published 15 April 1962, that Castro had "embarked on the path of building socialism," the Chinese party immediately followed suit: only two days later, Chen I three times in one speech described Cuba's revolution as "socialist." In contrast to previous Chinese reticence, similar statements were soon common in Chinese propaganda. Moreover, Peiping not only went on to reprint in pamphlet form and translate into many languages the two Havana Declarations and several of Castro's recent speeches, but went so far as to publish in book form (with excerpts in People's Daily) the speech delivered by Castro at the time of his trial by Batista in 1953. This speech, entitled "History Will Absolve Me," had been attacked in Cuba (by Blas Roca and others) as ideologically deficient during the PSP's attempt to dethrone Castro; thus Peiping was apparently attempting to curry favor with Castro by implying vigorous endorsement of all his past actions. (By the spring of 1962 Communist China is also known to have been training Cuban helicopter pilots; but both sides were well aware that the CPR could not seriously compete with the USSR in providing military aid and supplies to Cuba.

Castro needed food, ammunition, gasoline and other supplies and had to depend on the Soviet Union to supply these things since China was too "far away" to help.)

Despite the Cuban military dependence on the USSR --which was in the process of becoming still greater with the installation of the Soviet troops and missiles--by the fall of 1962 the Castro regime was still exhibiting what the Soviets must have regarded as an unhealthy respect for the Chinese and their militant line. In his greetings to the Chinese leaders on 1 October, on the occasion of Chinese National Day, Castro thus termed the CPR "the vanguard of the people of various countries enslaved by colonialism."

At about this time the Chinese are known to have again attempted to use what influence they had in Havana to attack the Soviet Union. On 4 September, for example, [redacted] had [redacted] a copy of a note sent that day to the Soviet Union protesting vehemently against a Soviet note to the CPR ten days earlier which had allegedly affirmed Soviet willingness to sign an agreement with the United States against distribution of nuclear weapons to other powers. The Chinese stated that the U.S. was trying to "entangle China with a commitment not to possess nuclear weapons," and warned the Soviets not to assume the right to sign pledges in the name of the CPR. And on 22 October, at the very moment when the missile crisis was beginning, the Chinese provided the Cuban ambassador with a copy of a new note to the Soviet Union again warning the USSR not to presume to speak for China in signing such a pact. This note accused the USSR of "hypocrisy," of denying nuclear weapons to the CPR, of losing its own nuclear advantage over the United States, and of paying insufficient attention to "the necessity of strengthening the defense of all the socialist countries." The timing of this note--which was a reply to one from the USSR dated 25 September--may well have been unconnected with the Cuban missile crisis, but it is also barely conceivable that the Chinese did know of the Soviet missile venture and were attempting indirectly to indicate to the Cubans the unreliability of Soviet support in the crisis which was then beginning.

It should be noted, however, that at about this time --the two months immediately preceding the Cuban missile crisis--neither the Chinese nor the Soviets appear to have

overcome their doubts about Castro, despite all that each was doing to compete for his allegiance. In late August, the CPR Foreign Ministry functionary previously mentioned stated that judging from the present situation Castro was not bad; he had the qualities of a Marxist-Leninist but he could not be called a true Marxist-Leninist at present; and it would take time to find out where he really stood.

The Foreign Ministry functionary noted, however, that all the measures taken by the Castro regime had been thorough, and "more so than in the socialist nations of Eastern Europe."

Similarly, during the visit of a CPSU delegation to Italy in the fall of 1962, Pravda deputy chief editor Inozemtsev is reliably reported to have told Italian Communist leaders that while Cuba was important to Soviet foreign policy for the "repercussions it could have in all Latin America," it was "difficult" to give a definition of the Cuban system. Inozemtsev stated that although the regime defined itself as "socialist," it was a fact that "those who are in power there are not the Communists, and their ideology is an approximation."

IV. THE MISSILE BASE FIASCO AND ITS AFTERMATH

Castro's Anger at the Russians

The crisis in the latter part of October over the Soviet missile bases in Cuba produced the second major conflict in relations between the CPSU and Castro in less than eight months. On this occasion, the Chinese Communist party made a vigorous and crude effort to gain advantage from the conflict both within Cuba and throughout the world Communist movement; in Cuba itself, however, Peiping had rather limited success, and the Chinese efforts were chiefly significant to Castro in providing him with a means of pressure against the Soviet Union. This dispute between Castro and the Soviet party therefore followed much the sequence of stages which occurred during the Escalante affair: an initial injury to Castro by the CPSU (October-November 1962); a period of indirect dire threats and semi-public outbursts against the PSP and the CPSU by the Castroites, during which the CPSU was blackmailed (November 1962-February 1963); a CPSU concession, in this case largely economic in nature (February 1963); restoration of public harmony with the CPSU and relaxation of threats against the PSP leaders (since February 1963).

Judging from a multitude of published [redacted] reports, Castro had two fundamental grievances against Soviet actions during the crisis week: first, that the USSR had backed down unnecessarily; and second, that Khrushchev had humiliated him by ignoring him while arranging the backdown with the United States. Although it has been reported that Castro seriously expected the Soviet Union to be prepared to wage nuclear war with the United States to defend his regime, this seems unlikely, particularly in view of the reported failure of Raul Castro to secure Cuba's admission to the Warsaw Pact in July. What does seem probable is that Castro had accepted the Chinese portrait of the United States as an opponent which was outwardly very strong but which lacked will and therefore could be made to retreat if opposed with sufficient firmness and determination. [redacted] Castro

believed Khrushchev could have forced an American retreat if he had been more firm, and Castro said as much in an interview with a French journalist in early 1963. It is likely that Castro's previous experience with the United States--particularly the Bay of Pigs episode--encouraged this belief. It is also possible (although there is no direct evidence on this point) that Castro was misled by earlier Soviet propaganda--or even by private Soviet statements to him--into believing that the balance of military power between the USSR and the United States already favored the Soviet Union, and hence that there was all the more reason to believe that an indecisive United States government could be made to retreat without a nuclear exchange.* Castro's career had been built upon a series of ventures successfully taken against great odds, and he was therefore unlikely to be sympathetic to others unwilling to take risks when the odds were apparently in their favor. Castro's revolutionary optimism indeed appears to have increased the risk to the Soviet Union appreciably at one point, when he is reported to have induced the Soviet commander of a SAM unit to fire at a U.S. plane and bring it down despite general Soviet orders to the contrary.

Castro was further infuriated by the Soviet action in completely ignoring him during the negotiations of the crisis week (and by a subsequent statement by a Soviet official in Moscow to Western newsmen emphasizing that Castro was being presented with a fait accompli); by statements reflecting adversely on him in Khrushchev's letters to President Kennedy (such as the statement that one need not fear irresponsible action** because the missiles were

*If so, Castro's ignorance on this point is likely to have been corrected by the Soviets during his visit to the Soviet Union in May 1963.

**During a discussion among certain Soviet central committee officials in Moscow in November 1962, the fear was expressed that after Peiping had attained a nuclear capability it might conceivably precipitate a world catastrophe by placing nuclear weapons in "irresponsible hands." Cuba and Albania were specifically mentioned in this context.

controlled completely by Soviet officers); by the unilateral Soviet offer to trade the missile bases for U.S. bases; by the unilateral Soviet decision to withdraw the missiles; and by the initial unilateral Soviet acceptance of the demand for inspection of the missile sites. Castro subsequently did what he could to assert himself, to indicate his anger to the Soviet Union, and to modify as far as possible the Soviet-American understanding. Only hours after Moscow had broadcast Khrushchev's final letter of capitulation to Kennedy, Castro issued a five-point demand for U.S. concessions which he knew to be totally unacceptable; subsequently, he privately acknowledged to U Thant that he had done this to complicate the situation for the USSR. In a speech on 1 November he publicly acknowledged that the Soviet actions had given him "some reason for discontent," although he took care to reaffirm friendship with the Soviet Union and belief in Marxism-Leninism. Meanwhile, he was successful in preventing UN inspection of the dismantling of the missile sites on Cuban soil.

In ending the military crisis with the United States, the Soviet Union had thus created a political crisis with Castro; and in early November Mikoyan was dispatched to Cuba to attempt to deal with this emergency. The gravity of the difficulties Mikoyan encountered forced his visit to become unusually protracted, despite the death of his wife at home while he was in Cuba. There were many indications of these difficulties. A Castro-Dorticos greeting to Khrushchev and Brezhnev on the anniversary of the Soviet revolution was markedly cooler than Castro's effusive greeting to Khrushchev on the same occasion in 1961, with nothing said this time about Soviet support for Cuba or Cuban "gratitude." Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders demonstratively absented themselves from receptions given for Mikoyan, and neither Fidel nor Raul Castro attended the 6 November rally in Havana honoring the Soviet October anniversary. The leading Cuban who did attend that rally, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, delivered a speech which mingled tributes to Soviet achievements with echoes of the Chinese charges of a Soviet "Munich." While Rodriguez was speaking, Castro was reported [redacted] to have attended a student meeting at which he is said to have declared that it would be necessary to kill him before he would follow Mikoyan's advice to give

up the government or to take a long vacation, and that, so far as he cared, Mikoyan could get out of Cuba immediately.

This speech by Castro was presumably given during one of the numerous visits he paid to the University of Havana in the evenings throughout Mikoyan's November visit and in early December. During these visits, he is reported to have repeatedly condemned the Soviet betrayal of him, denounced those non-bloc Communist parties which failed to render what he considered adequate support during the crisis, and appealed for student sympathy. Castro is also reported to have referred to the problem of the relations between large and small states in the socialist camp, a subject to which Rodriguez had alluded in his 6 November speech.

There is also one other item of evidence to indicate a step Castro may have taken during Mikoyan's visit. Late in November 1962, the New Zealand party leadership is reliably reported to have stated in a circular letter to the party membership that "Castro has called for a discussion on the profound differences between the CPSU and his party in regard to U.S. imperialism and socialist Cuba." There was no elaboration. While the New Zealand leadership was strongly pro-Chinese and anti-CPSU, was seeking to justify this policy to its membership, and was therefore likely to have exaggerated what Castro had said, it seemed unlikely to have invented this entirely. Although the New Zealand circular letter dealt generally with the exchange of opinions among various Communist parties on the subject of a world conference of parties, it is not clear from the context whether the "discussion" for which Castro was said to have called was to take place at such a world conference; nor is it clear whether Castro had addressed his statement directly to the New Zealand party. It seems quite likely, however, that at some time in the first half of November Castro formally or informally had communicated his displeasure with the CPSU to members of the world movement hostile to Moscow.

When the talks with Mikoyan ended in late November, the Soviets appeared to have obtained only one significant gain--Cuban consent to the withdrawal of the IL-28 medium

bombers. Despite Mikoyan's attempts to mollify Castro (including references in his final public speech in Havana to the popularity in the Soviet Union of Castro and his "legendary bearded ones"--that is, the 26th of July guerrilla movement), Soviet-Cuban differences did not permit the issuance of a final communique by the two sides. A Polish News Agency report from Cuba on 26 November quoting "political sources" in Havana stated that there was continuing disagreement on the subject of the President's alleged "guarantee" to Cuba and on the possibility of Cuban coexistence with the United States. Moreover, despite a TASS report that Mikoyan and Guevara on 16 November had discussed "specific questions" relating to future Soviet economic assistance, there appears to have been no agreement reached on this question. Two days after U.S. wire services on 20 November had reported the signing of a new aid agreement, the Cuban government took the unusual step of formally denying that any such agreement had been signed with the USSR. It is likely that a major difficulty encountered was the initial refusal of the Soviet Union to raise the price paid for Cuban sugar above that already contracted by the USSR to meet the higher world market price for sugar. It has been reported that the Cubans did make such a demand for the first time in November, and that it was rejected. When a Cuban trade delegation went to Moscow on 10 December to negotiate a trade agreement for 1963, Soviet obduracy on this point is believed to have been one of the factors causing the negotiations to be difficult and lengthy.

While these negotiations went on, in December and January, the Castro regime continued to give evidence that it profoundly resented Soviet policy and that it was casting about for means of safely striking back at Khrushchev. In early December, immediately after Mikoyan's departure, Castro was reported to have again held talks with student leaders at the University of Havana which were attended by military leaders of the 26th of July movement but from which the rector of the university, former PSP Chairman Juan Marinello, was excluded. At this time an impression was reported to be growing among PSP leaders that Castro's meetings with the students and his anti-Soviet statements at these meetings were connected with an impending policy shift toward "national Marxism," i.e., a more openly

independent stance toward the Soviet Union. [redacted] in mid-December similarly reported violent differences and discussions within the leadership as to whether to take an openly Sino-Albanian position or to remold the regime along extremely nationalistic lines around Castro but without the Communist label.* Meanwhile, [redacted] at an East Berlin meeting in early December of the preparatory committee for the international congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation the Cuban delegates sided with the Chinese and their allies in opposing the Soviet position.

Meanwhile, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, in Moscow in mid-December with the Cuban trade delegation, was a guest of honor with Tito at the USSR Supreme Soviet session of 12 December at which Khrushchev delivered a major foreign policy speech responding to Chinese attacks; according to the U.S. embassy in Moscow, unlike most of those present, including Tito, Rodriguez applauded very little during the

*An anti-Communist former Castroite guerrilla who had been imprisoned by Castro since July 1960 has claimed that in late December 1962 prison officials suddenly informed him that Castro was going to reorganize the 26th of July movement, and would release old members now being held in prison for anti-Communist activities if they would sign a paper promising to cooperate with him in the future. [redacted] the great majority of those approached, embittered by their experience, refused to cooperate and were not released. This [redacted] has not been confirmed, but is not inherently improbable, since it represents the type of drastic step Castro might well have taken during his temporary emotional swing away from the CPSU and the PSP in the winter of 1962-63. [redacted] as recently as April 1963, Major Hubert Matos, the most important of Castro's comrades-in-arms to be purged as the result of Castro's alliance with the PSP, was enjoying special treatment and extraordinary privileges at the Isle of Pines prison, so that it was commonly thought in the prison that he was being kept in reserve for some purpose by Castro.

course of the speech and appeared little impressed by Khrushchev's defense of Soviet policy during the Cuban crisis. Moreover, Cuban embassy contacts with the Albanian embassy in at least one non-bloc country had increased considerably in late November and early December, while those with the Soviet embassy decreased sharply. From late December until early February, Cuban ambassadors to West European countries, Czechoslovakia, and Poland were recalled for consultation, and were reportedly instructed not to lean so heavily on the advice of Soviet colleagues. A tentative program to hire more technical experts from outside of the bloc was initiated at about this time. In late November Guevara had given an interview with the London Daily Worker in which he denied the Soviet contention that the removal of the missiles had prevented U.S. "aggression," and asserted that the missiles would have been used against the United States had they been left in Cuban hands (an assertion calculated to embarrass the USSR, and therefore omitted by the British Communist newspaper). In late January, Fidel Castro himself followed this up by granting an interview with the French journalist Claude Julien in which he attacked at length Khrushchev's motives for withdrawing the missiles and contradicted Khrushchev's statement that they had been installed to protect Cuba.* Moreover, following the January publication of a joint U.S.-Soviet letter to the UN Security Council recommending that further UN consideration of the Cuban crisis be dropped, Castro responded with a note of his own

*For an unknown reason, however, this interview was not published in Le Monde until two full months later, by which time Castro's policy toward the USSR had changed, the need to place pressure on Moscow had disappeared, and the interview was acutely embarrassing. Consequently, Castro now denied the statements attributed to him, while the CPSU put pressure on Julien through the French Communist party to keep him from contradicting Castro's denial. Castro admitted, however, that he had spoken to Julien at the home of Carlos Franqui, as Julien claimed, and there is no reason to doubt Julien's version of Castro's remarks.

stating that U.S.-Soviet negotiations "have not resulted in agreements acceptable to Cuba." Finally, during Soviet Deputy Minister Kuznetsov's 14-19 January visit to Cuba, the Castro regime "persisted in its public coolness toward Soviet representatives."

There is evidence to indicate that Castro's anger at the Soviet Union in the winter of 1962-63* extended also to certain leaders of the PSP whom he continued to distrust and to identify with Soviet policy. In his interview with Julien, Castro stated that "certain people here"--i.e., certain Cubans--had pressed him "to accept on-the-spot inspection which Kennedy demanded." Castro also alluded to this in a 15 January speech to a Congress of Women of the Americas, when he said that "there were some isolated voices of criticism;...there were some who, confused in good faith or confused in bad faith, criticized the National Directorate of the ORI on the matter of Cuba's attitude, immediately after the crisis, on the matter of inspection and the pirate flights." at the time Castro was reacting against the Soviet slights toward him during the Cuban crisis, the Cuban Communists had tried to justify the conduct of the USSR, and that Castro had responded by casting doubt upon the Communists' allegiance to himself and to Cuba. A Havana representative of a non-bloc party is reported to have stated during this period that the Castroites had expressed their distrust of "old line" Communists, who, they felt, were more loyal to Communism than they were to Castro; also,

*The Soviet attitude toward Castro during this period was reportedly expressed by Kozlov to Italian party leaders on 30 November, during Kozlov's visit to the Italian party congress. Kozlov is said to have voiced concern over the actions of the Cuban "hotheads" during the Cuban crisis and preoccupation with the fanaticism of Fidel Castro, who was declared to know next to nothing about Marxism-Leninism or the application of it.

that Guevara was a leader in a fight against the "old line" Communists who were supporting Khrushchev's position. A report by a [redacted] has claimed that during Mikoyan's visit PSP leaders made an attempt to meet with him privately, without going through ORI channels or through the official Cuban hierarchy. This is said to have enraged Castro--since it brought to mind PSP activities of the previous spring--and to have led to rumors of a new purge, in which Juan Marinello and Lazaro Pena would be removed from their posts and Blas Roca prevented from returning to Cuba from Eastern Europe "on the pretext that he was more useful abroad."

In fact, it seems likely that Roca was indeed prevented from returning home immediately after the Cuban crisis on precisely this pretext. [redacted] Roca seems to have been in some doubt as to what to do, since on 2 November East German television reported that Roca had that morning "left for Cuba" from a Berlin airport, seen off by a high East German party official. Roca does not appear to have returned home, since he attended the East European party congresses throughout November and did not publicly reappear in Cuba until 16 December. It seems improbable that any "difficulties in communications" could have kept him from returning at some time in November to take part in the conversations with Mikoyan, and it is likely that Castro did use this pretext to keep him out of the country while those conversations were going on. [redacted] in this period Roca was being openly ridiculed in Castroite circles, where he was called the "travelling salesman."

There are other indications of profound mutual distrust between Castro and many leaders of the PSP in this period. On 21 December, a [redacted] who had previously spoken of Castro in a friendly fashion is said to have remarked to a friend that Castro was a complete idiot and so incompetent that Cuba could not continue as a Communist nation if he remained in power. In late February, another medium-level PSP official is reported to have stated that Castro's reaction to the Soviet withdrawal of the missiles attested to the long-standing contention of the PSP that Castro was a nationalist whose understanding of Leninism was totally without depth. A member of an [redacted] delegation in Cuba in early January is said to have observed a good deal of apprehension among PSP leaders about Castro's mental stability. This [redacted] official is also reported to have declared that although the "official" activities of PSP institutions in Cuba had come to an end, the organizational framework of the PSP had still not been disbanded. [redacted] Castro suspected that Roca and the PSP maintained an underground apparatus which existed "to live to fight another day" in the event that Castro was able either to absorb or to liquidate the overt organization of the party. [redacted] Roca was aware of Castro's suspicions, and that Castro had made it clear to several PSP leaders that he did not trust them and was watching their activities.

In January 1963 Castro broke precedent by sending for the first time a Cuban delegation to a bloc party congress which was not led by a PSP man--and on which the PSP was not even represented. This was the delegation to the East German party congress of Armando Hart and Armanda Acosta (the latter being the Castroite who had replaced the PSP incumbent as head of the Oriente provincial committee of the ORI in the purge of 1962). [redacted] the naming of this delegation as evidence of the friction between Castro and the PSP. Shortly before this, during the parade in Havana marking the anniversary of the Cuban revolution on 2 January 1963, the Cuban television announcers describing the event gave special attention to the presence on the reviewing stand of certain Castroite military leaders who had long been out

of prominence, commenting that these were the very first who had joined and supported Castro during his struggle in the Sierra Maestra. In contrast, there was no mention at all of such PSP leaders as Marinello, Roca, Pena, and Ordoqui, who had been very much in evidence during previous parades and whose presence had been announced frequently.

To sum up: during November, December, and January, the period when political and economic negotiations were being conducted with the Soviets following the missile crisis, Castro used a great variety of means to indicate to Moscow his immense displeasure and to suggest that he was considering some radical turn in Cuban policy to Soviet disadvantage. At the same time, there was evidence of increased friction and mutual distrust between Castro and some of the PSP leaders, as well as increased reliance by Castro upon some non-Communist cadres to the detriment of the PSP. Castro's attitude here may again have been at least partially motivated by a desire to bring additional pressure against the CPSU.

Intensified Call for Revolution in Latin America

This period of great disenchantment with the Soviet Union and with the Soviet capability to protect Castro's regime was also one in which the Castroite leaders gave renewed emphasis to their longstanding efforts to promote revolution in Latin America. With the evaporation of the Soviet deterrent Castro thought he had possessed, the encouragement of militant struggle in Latin America acquired a new importance as the chief means available of maintaining pressure against the United States. On 21 November, Education Minister Armando Hart, who even before Castro's rise to power had displayed a Trotsky-like belief in permanent revolution, publicly expressed these views in a speech in which he insisted that only through insurrection could the Latin American people achieve "liberation." Hart played down the line Castro had voiced in the past denying Cuban intentions to "export" revolution. In his interview of 28 November, Guevara stated that the "most effective form of help" for Cuba was "the armed struggle already taking place

in a number of Latin American countries where the people are in action to overthrow American imperialism." When the British Communist newspaper to which he gave the interview deleted this and other provocatory statements, Guevara apparently took steps to leak the full text of his interview to the Western press. In his January interview with Julien, Castro attacked the Communist parties of Europe and Latin America (except for the Venezuelan party) for their failure to furnish "big mass manifestations" in support of Cuba during the crisis. Castro said that "the big parties which claim to be revolutionary did not move," and that "they are not revolutionaries, they are bureaucrats."

In his 2 January speech on the fourth anniversary of the Cuban revolution, and again in the 15 January speech to the women's congress, Castro also omitted his customary hypocritical disclaimers of an intention to export revolution. Instead, he proclaimed on 2 January that "the duty of all revolution is to recreate the revolution," and as before, attacked revolutionaries who "sit in their doorways to wait for the corpse of their enemy to pass by." Several passages in his Women's Congress speech of 15 January were obviously intended as polemical attacks on CPSU policy. He assailed "some fraternal countries" for bestowing on his 1960 Declaration of Havana "the honors of a desk drawer when it should have received the just publicity it deserved." (Emphasis added.) He denounced "some hare-brained theoreticians" who, he said, "have declared that in Cuba there was a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism," and identified these persons as "long-distance theoreticians who are telling us what happened here without having ever come here."* (Emphasis added. No published Soviet statement to this effect, however, is known; it is possible that someone hostile to the CPSU had given Castro privately a distorted version of the Soviet line.) Again pointing at

*At a 17 April pro-Castro rally in Peiping, Kuo Mo-jo, the chairman of the Chinese Peace Committee, recalled these remarks by Castro and termed them a "rebuff to those who try to distort the line of the Cuban revolution."

Moscow, Castro attacked these unnamed theoreticians for what he said was "an attempt to use the case of Cuba to confuse the revolutionaries of other countries where the objective conditions for the revolution exist and where they can do the same thing Cuba did." He repeatedly insisted that objective conditions for a revolution already existed in a majority of Latin American countries, and added that he was admitting that a few exceptions existed "so that the theoreticians will not get angry."

All this sounds very much as though Castro had recently emerged from a personal argument with some Soviet official on this subject; and this speech in fact represents the high-water mark to date of Cuban public disagreement with Soviet Latin American policy.* On the day after Castro spoke, the chargè d'affaires of the Cuban embassy in Mexico addressed the entire Cuban staff and asserted that "in Latin America it is necessary to insist that the revolution be carried out by armed force." The chargè warned that "any comrade among us who believes that the triumph of our ideals and of the party can be brought about by pacific means is a traitor and had better renounce his Cuban citizenship."

The Chinese and Soviets reacted as might be expected to Castro's Women's Congress speech. Peiping gave prompt and extensive coverage to the speech throughout the Chinese press and radio, placing it on the front page of People's Daily (as well as in the party journal Red Flag), and playing up in its headlines the portions which dealt with militant struggle and which appeared to be criticizing Moscow. The Soviets gave little publicity to the Women's Congress itself, and published only a very brief version of Castro's speech, highlighting details on the betterment of life for women in Cuba.

*Shortly thereafter, certain PSP leaders such as Blas Roca, Carlos Rodriguez and Juan Marinello chose to echo Castro's tough line, despite the likelihood of CPSU displeasure.

Similarly, Soviet propaganda completely ignored, while Peiping gave great prominence to, the anniversary of the Second Declaration of Havana, which had been issued by Castro in early February 1962 and had called on the workers, peasants, and "revolutionary intellectuals" of Latin America to follow Cuba's example. The Chinese in their propaganda celebration of this anniversary singled out many Cuban statements to support the Chinese line on Latin America. Thus the Cuban army newspaper Verde Olivo was quoted as warning, like Guevara and Castro, that "to rely entirely on objective conditions" to trigger national revolutions is "to negate Marxism-Leninism...and deny the necessity of a revolutionary party to lead the masses to fight."

Chinese Efforts to Exploit Castro-CPSU Differences

The Chinese Communist party made an extreme effort to use the Cuban missile crisis of late October to injure the Soviet position both in Cuba and throughout the world. It should be noted, however, that the Chinese were here being rather hypocritical, since their posture was by no means as bold and courageous while the crisis existed as it was after the immediate danger had passed. Throughout the crisis week, so long as there seemed a real possibility of a thermonuclear world war in which the CPR would be involved, Chinese propaganda, while of course vehemently anti-U.S. and pro-Castro, never ventured to suggest that the USSR should or should not take any specific course of military action. Only after Khrushchev had capitulated and had agreed to withdraw the missiles--and the potential danger to the CPR had therefore disappeared--did Chinese propaganda begin its thunderous denunciations of Khrushchev's "Munich" and greatly augment its violent appeals to the Cubans to resist heroically to the last man. According to a statement a year later in the Red Flag-People's Daily article of 6 September 1963, in October 1962 the Chinese rejected a personal request by Khrushchev, through their ambassador in Moscow, for a cessation of Sino-Soviet polemics. The Chinese accused Khrushchev of having committed both the error of "adventurism" for putting the missiles into Cuba and the error of "capitulationism" for

taking them out, although it is quite likely that Mao would also have withdrawn the missiles had he been in Khrushchev's place. In a torrent of editorials, broadcasts, speeches, and diplomatic notes to Cuba the Chinese leaders repeatedly implied that Khrushchev was an appeaser, and hammered home the points which Peiping has long advocated to other peoples: that imperialism was a paper tiger, that one could never have "illusions" about imperialist leaders, that only by standing firm could imperialism be defeated, that the east wind was prevailing over the west wind.* Castro's five-point demand for fundamental concessions from the United States were welcomed and reiterated with far more enthusiasm by Peiping than by Moscow. The Chinese did their best to complicate Mikoyan's discussions with Castro by denouncing both on-site inspection and the removal of the IL-28 bombers as infringements on Cuban sovereignty. This was done both in the press and in private conversations with Cuban diplomats in Peiping, and in other posts around the world. Moreover, [redacted] CPR Foreign Minister Chen Yi on 17 November told the Cuban ambassador in Peiping that "imperialism is afraid of those who are firm" and claimed that Communist China gives no warning to foreign aircraft that violate its airspace, but fires

*The Chinese were nevertheless apparently concerned that Khrushchev's retreat would create an impression of bloc military inferiority to the West and thereby dampen the militancy of revolutionary movements in Latin America. They gave guarded expression to this concern in an editorial which spoke of "dark clouds" resulting from the Cuban events which would eventually disappear. In late 1962 a Chinese official in Peiping told a visiting Japanese Socialist that Soviet actions in regard to Cuba would "probably affect adversely the various revolutionary movements throughout the world."

"to bring them down." The CPR was thus also apparently attempting to incite Castro against the Soviet prohibition of firing on U.S. reconnaissance planes.*

Chinese propaganda depicted the CPR and Cuba as twin peoples fighting on the "same battlefront," facing the same enemy, betrayed by the same false friend. Chinese dispatches presented interviews with Cubans quoting them as voicing Chinese Communist themes; that the Cubans "have never had any illusions about Kennedy;" that the Cubans wished to wage a blow-for-blow struggle against the United States; and that "the strongest and greatest guided missile is the rights and honor of the...Cuban people," which "in comparison with any other types of guided missile can still be fired the furthest." Chinese correspondents also depicted the Cubans--and particularly members of the Cuban armed forces--as avid readers of Mao's works.

The Castro regime appears to have made good use of this Chinese onslaught against Soviet Cuban policy--and of the Chinese efforts to woo Cuba--in its attempt to blackmail the CPSU in the winter of 1962-63. Subsequently, one Soviet ambassador is reported to have commented that Castro should not be underrated, that he was quite a dangerous opponent, and one who was "quite clever and subtle enough to be able successfully to play Moscow off against Peiping and vice versa." The ambassador also remarked that the Chinese were taking a great deal of trouble "with their left-intellectual friend from Cuba." Castro seems to have employed the Chinese threat against Moscow in the various December hints of a radical change in Cuban foreign policy, in a Cuban delegate's action in reportedly siding with the Chinese at an international front meeting in December, in the printing of a Chinese editorial attack on Khrushchev in December, in the Castro statement attributed to him by

*It may have been this to which a Yugoslav newspaper in January was referring when it alluded to Chinese proposals during the crisis which were made with a view to obstructing a settlement of the crisis.

the New Zealand party, and in Castro's nearly explicit attacks on the CPSU's policy toward Latin America in January. It has also been reported that during Mikoyan's November visit Guevara made an attempt to use the Chinese to secure Soviet economic concessions by calling in Chinese embassy representatives and requesting emergency aid in food; supposedly, Soviet economic representatives in discussions with Cuban officials a few days later asked sarcastically whether the Cubans thought it advisable for them to wait until a reply had been received from the Chinese. the special request to the Chinese embassy was cancelled after Mikoyan's departure.

While eager to make use of the Chinese, and while agreeing with much of their revolutionary line toward Latin America, Castro was far from willing to commit himself to Mao's side in the Sino-Soviet struggle for power, if only because he was wholly dependent upon the Soviet Union economically and because the CPR did not have the economic strength to replace the USSR in underwriting the Cuban economy. This was evident before the Cuban crisis: thus in early October the Cuban ambassador to Norway gave a small party at which the Chinese charge present declared that the Cuban and Chinese revolutions were the only ones which had been truly anti-imperialist. After he had left, a visiting Cuban foreign ministry official present said that the Chinese statements had been completely in error, and that neither the societies nor the revolutions of Cuba and the CPR could be compared. He added that Cuban officials had been warned in Havana of such blandishments by the Chinese, and that the Cuban government had no intention of deserting the Soviets in favor of the Chinese. Even after the deterioration of Cuban-Soviet relations following the missile crisis, similar remarks urging caution with respect to Chinese overtures were reportedly made by other Cuban officials abroad.

Even in his January interview with Julien, Fidel Castro, while affirming that "the Chinese are right when they say that one must not yield in the face of imperialism," added: "but we are quite well placed to know that imperialism is not a paper tiger."

Besides the economic motive for Castro's refusal to commit himself to Mao, there may have been another factor: the Cuban evaluation of Chinese conduct during the missile crisis.

Fidel Castro and his principal followers believe that the CPR is right on many points in its dispute with the USSR--for example, on the question of a more aggressive Communist party policy in the underdeveloped areas. However, they are also said to believe that Communist China acted in a cowardly fashion at the time of the Cuban crisis in October 1962, that the Chinese Communists "invented" the "Himalayan affair" at that time, and that if the government of Communist China were as "revolutionary" as it professes to be, it would have intervened directly in support of Cuba during the crisis. In fact, it is difficult to see what practical steps the CPR could have taken in late October which would have seriously affected the course of the crisis; but it is possible that Castro has refused to admit this, or that he at any rate wished to see the Chinese undertake a major diversion directly against a United States position--perhaps the offshore islands--which the Chinese felt to be out of the question, particularly when they were already involved on another front in India. It is noteworthy that on 28 October--when the crisis reached its climax--Chinese press statements on Cuba added to the familiar claim that the Chinese people were the "most reliable and faithful comrades-in-arms" of the Cubans a new caveat: the statement that the Chinese would do "all they can" and use "all possible methods" to help. It is thus conceivable, although there is no direct evidence on this point, that Castro in his desperation had asked the Chinese to use methods which they did not consider to be possible. It should also be noted in this connection that when Jose Matar, a Cuban speaker at a Peiping rally in April 1963, claimed that the CPR at the time of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion had offered to send "volunteers" to "fight side by side with the Cuban people," a subsequent extensive NCNA summary of his speech omitted this assertion and quoted Matar only as thanking the CPR for "past and present support." In fact, the Chinese at the time of the Bay of Pigs had made no such offer publicly, and they are likely to have been doubly embarrassed by Matar's statement because of their conduct in the fall of 1962.

The belief attributed to Castro that the CPR had "invented" the "Himalayan affair"--implicitly, in a selfish effort to exploit the Cuban crisis for Chinese national interests without aiding Cuba--seems unlikely to be justified even if the Chinese had known of the Soviet missile venture, if only because there were sufficient military and political reasons to cause the Chinese to attack in India when they did without reference to Cuba. As already noted, however, as early as the fall of 1960 the view was reported to be held in Cuban Communist circles that Communist China would attempt to take advantage of any U.S. attack on Cuba with military moves elsewhere, and Castro was therefore probably predisposed to interpret the Chinese attack on India in this light. It also may be significant that on 21 April 1963 the Indian Communist party newspaper New Age published an attack on the Chinese by Indian party chairman S.A. Dange which expressed in more elaborate form the view of the Chinese attack attributed to Castro; Dange not only saw the Chinese as attacking to take advantage of the Cuban crisis, but also as beginning to withdraw only after the United States had withdrawn its blockade of Cuba, thus ending the crisis there. The similarity between the views attributed to Castro in early March and those expressed by Dange in April suggests that the Soviets may have been a common source providing this explanation privately to both.*

*Eventually, after the intensification of the struggle between the CPSU and the CCP following the failure of the Sino-Soviet talks in July, the Soviets themselves finally came forth with this thesis. Pravda on 16 August 1963 thus asserted that "the CCP leadership took advantage of the tense moment in the international situation not to consolidate the positions of world socialism but to achieve other, selfish purposes." Pravda went on to say that "the Communists of all countries have not overlooked the fact that it was just when the formidable danger loomed over Cuba... that the military operations on the Sino-Indian border increased considerably in scale."

Manifestations of Cuban Neutrality

For more than one reason, then, Castro wished to avoid making an unequivocal commitment to either the CPSU or the CCP. Cuban actions favoring either one side or the other tended to balance each other. On the one hand, neither Roca at the Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Czechoslovak party congresses in November-December, nor Hart at the East German party congress in January, was permitted to join the Soviet-sponsored chorus of denunciation of the Albanians and Chinese; and the Cuban press published the text of the 15 December People's Daily editorial bitterly denouncing Soviet actions. On the other hand, the Cuban press also published Khrushchev's 12 December Supreme Soviet speech sarcastically assailing the Chinese position, as well as the 7 January Pravda editorial which for the first time criticized the Chinese by name in original Soviet comment. Moreover, the Polish News Agency claimed that the Cuban press refrained from printing versions of other Chinese polemical materials such as the 31 December People's Daily editorial on Togliatti, "despite the fact that a daily bulletin issued by NCNA in Havana accurately and regularly provided texts of articles and declarations on this theme from Chinese, Albanian, and other sources."

In his 2 January speech, Castro for the first time took public notice of the dispute, deploring "public discrepancies in the socialist camp" and urging unity. On 15 January, he reiterated this position, declaring that "anyone who throws fuel on the fire of the disagreements is harming the interests of the world revolutionary movement." Comment in the Cuban press, including Hoy, echoed Castro's line; and the Cuban charge who addressed the staff of the embassy in Mexico on 16 January warned that "Cubans must take a completely nationalistic position with regard to the power struggle between China and the Soviet Union."

Soviet Concessions, February 1963

In February there came a change in the Cuban posture toward the Soviet Union; like the similar change that had occurred ten months before, it was the result of a Soviet concession. On 6 February the 1963 protocol to the Cuban-Soviet trade agreement, involving a new long-term credit to Cuba, was finally signed in Moscow after long negotiations. Although this agreement was given only cryptic treatment by TASS and no mention was made of the trade levels or amount of credits, there is reason to believe that the Cubans obtained much of what they had been asking. [redacted] the agreement reached would provide for "decisive aid" for Cuba; and on 22 March an ebullient Fidel Castro commented at length [redacted] on Soviet aid, for which, he said, Cuba was "very grateful," and which he described as "more than the U.S. gives Latin America in a decade." At the same time, Castro acknowledged that Cuban-Soviet relations had "deteriorated temporarily" after the missile crisis but said they had now improved. Meanwhile, on 9 March, [redacted] a widespread rumor that Castro had been scheduled to visit Moscow late in March, but that the visit had now been postponed until late April and early May (when it actually took place). It seems likely from Castro's reaction and from other Cuban actions in February and March that the Soviet commitment for which Cuba had been pressing--that of raising the price paid for Cuban sugar to the world market price, which was announced in May during Castro's visit--actually had been agreed upon earlier but was saved until Castro's visit for propaganda exploitation.

Besides the economic concessions, the Soviets were apparently simultaneously attempting to soften the blow to Castro of their phased withdrawal of military technicians

and armored units by training the Cubans in the use of the various special weapons systems remaining in Cuba (the SAMs, coastal defense missiles, MIG-21s, and Komar guided missile boats). In February, public statements by Khrushchev provided the closest approach to a direct commitment to defend Cuba ever made by Soviet spokesmen; and in the Soviet May Day slogans published in early April Cuba was for the first time formally recognized by such slogans to be a member of the bloc, "building socialism" like the satellites and elevated to a place among them in the alphabetical listings.

Castro made a number of concessions in return. First, he apparently agreed to make a strenuous attempt to end Cuban inefficiency and waste of Soviet funds. the Soviet-Cuban economic agreement entailed "severe discipline" for the Cubans and "greater direction by Soviet technicians" of the Cuban economy. In the February issue of the Cuban journal Cuba Socialists, Guevara strongly denounced the lack of coordination and wastefulness among the regime's economic agencies, and asserted that such practices had harmed "the whole institutional life of the nation."

Secondly, beginning in early March 1963 and continuing through Castro's April-May visit to the Soviet Union, there was a considerable dampening of Cuban incendiary propaganda toward Latin America which can only have been the result of Soviet influence. On 22 February, in his first public speech since his violent utterances of January, Castro revived the caveat that revolution is not for export, which he had conspicuously omitted in January; and meanwhile, Havana radio quitely discontinued its several special radio services addressed to individual Latin American countries deemed prime targets for inflammatory propaganda. While routine Radio Havana and Prensa Latina

propaganda continued to encourage hemisphere-wide revolt, the volume of this material was decreased. It is likely that a principal intermediary between Moscow and Castro in this matter was Brazilian Communist party secretary general Luis Carlos Prestes, who arrived from Moscow to visit Havana for the first time on 25 February and remained until 6 March, when he returned to Moscow. While it is believed that a main concern of Prestes was to secure Cuban agreement to cease support for his dissident Communist rivals in Brazil, it is also probable that he urged on Moscow's behalf some moderation in the overall Cuban public posture toward Latin America. When economic concessions were secured from the Soviet Union, Castro complied for the time being.

Other gestures by Castro to ease relations with the USSR in February and March include his action in denying in March what he had said to Julien about Khrushchev in January, as well as the relaxation of threats against the PSP. A medium-level PSP official is reported to have stated in late February that some sort of "truce" or unwritten agreement had been reached between Castro and the PSP leadership whereby the Communists would not become involved in disputes with members of the 26th of July movement, even if this meant serious concessions by the Communists. It was added that the resulting relationship was a far cry from the tension between the Castroites and the PSP that had prevailed at the peak of the crisis between Castro and the Soviets. In late May, following Castro's visit to the USSR, the newspaper Hoy and the PSP were given lavish tribute by regime spokesmen in celebrations honoring Hoy's twenty-fifth anniversary; and both Raul Castro and Guevara hinted that Hoy might become the official organ of the new party Fidel Castro was forming, the PURS. At about the same time, Carlos Franqui, the editor of Castro's old organ Revolución, who had long been at odds with the PSP, told friends in France that he felt Cuba had fallen into Soviet hands "in the most servile way," and generally indicated despondency over the trend of events in Cuba.

In the face of this evidence of another rapprochement between Castro and the Soviets, the Chinese Communists in the spring of 1963 greatly intensified their efforts to

win Castro to their side. Throughout this period the Chinese press printed almost daily reports on Cuba praising Castro's revolutionary line and flattering him grossly. Chinese consulate officials in Geneva and NCNA officials in Paris in February visited the local Cuban embassies to praise Castro and denounce the Soviets. A Cuban military delegation visited China without publicity from early March until mid-July, and may well have made arrangements for further assistance or training; this visit is likely to have been related to the subsequent public visit of the head of the Chinese air force, Liu Ya-lou, to Cuba for the Cuban anniversary celebrations in late July. In late April, the Chinese briefed the Cuban ambassador in Peiping on the recent congress of the pro-Chinese New Zealand Communist party, and pointedly praised the New Zealand leaders to the Cubans as men who "had the courage to adopt an independent attitude and to disregard set orders." In mid-May, the Cuban official Jose Matar returned from a visit from the CPS and told a Havana press conference that Mao had personally told him that he considered Fidel Castro one of the most outstanding Marxist-Leninists of the present period." In early June, the Chinese were again attempting to solicit Cuban support for the adamant Chinese opposition to Soviet negotiations with the West regarding proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Meanwhile, in its propaganda coverage of the Third Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Tanganyika in February 1963, Peiping gave enthusiastic and extensive

attention to the speech of the Cuban delegate there--and particularly to his reported proposal that a three-continent meeting of Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans be convened in Havana. In Moscow's very brief account of the Cuban's speech, this Castro proposal was ignored, and only a month later did Soviet propaganda even publicly admit that a resolution to hold such a conference was adopted by the Tanganyika meeting. This was in contrast to the Chinese treatment, which not only hailed this resolution immediately but stressed that the resolution expressed "warmest gratitude" to Castro for his invitation. The CPSU has become increasingly wary of the long-discussed three-continent project in recent years as a device which the Chinese have attempted to seize to promote Chinese influence in the underdeveloped areas and reduce that of the USSR.* While attempting to delay the holding of the three-continent conference, the CPSU has sought to introduce into the preparation of the conference such CPSU-dominated international front organizations as the World Peace Council, in an effort to offset expected Chinese influence among the conference participants. It is also likely that the Soviet party has been most distrustful of the role which Castro would play at such a conference.

Nevertheless, the Cuban response to the various Chinese overtures was to continue to insist on public neutrality

*During 1963 the Soviets became increasingly open in expressing the nature of their fears about this Chinese effort. On 6 August, for example, a joint article by the editors of Pravda and Izvestiya stated that the Chinese "allege that the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America... maintain closer contacts in their relations, in the tasks of the liberation struggle, and allege that they have more in common than the peoples of other countries and continents."

between Moscow and Peiping. the Cuban ambassador to Great Britain returned to London in late February with instructions from Havana to avoid any involvement in "socialist splits," and to this end, to avoid commitment to either the Sino-Soviet or the Sino-Indian disputes. In mid-March, Castro welcomed the Sino-Soviet exchange of letters as "good news," and Cuban broadcasts placed the rival parties on an equal plane and stressed that "we, in Cuba, more than anyone else, have felt the danger inherent in division." Both Soviets and Albanians were invited to a Cuban embassy reception in Paris in mid-April; the Cuban hosts seemed to be unaware of the strain between them and treated both warmly. It has also been reported that in the 1963 May Day demonstration in Havana, the marchers displayed hundreds of pictures of both Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung as a symbol of Cuba's neutrality.

From late April until late May, Castro paid his visit to the Soviet Union, and the CPSU made an extreme effort to procure his cooperation for the forthcoming Soviet showdown with the Chinese. Castro was welcomed with enormous crowds, flattered, feted, given the highest Soviet awards, taken on tours through the Soviet Union, taken to Soviet rocket installations, given military briefings, and closeted with Khrushchev for talks which lasted "many days." Soviet propaganda attention to this visit far exceeded the welcome ever extended to any other foreign visitor. In his public statements in the Soviet Union and immediately after his return to Cuba, as well as in subsequent private conversations with foreign ambassadors, Castro seemed to have been deeply impressed both by the Soviet Union and by Khrushchev. In the Soviet Union, he repeatedly praised Khrushchev, and for the first time in a 23 May rally speech approved Soviet actions during the October crisis. This statement was of great help to the CPSU in dealing with other Communist parties who were still being told by the Chinese that Khrushchev had betrayed Cuba. Also useful to the Soviets were statements contained in the Soviet-Cuban communique concluding Castro's visit which endorsed the Soviet positions on peaceful coexistence, disarmament, and the non-inevitability of war in generalized language. In other respects, however, the communique appeared to reflect a continuing Cuban desire to avoid offending the Chinese unnecessarily. Not only did it

fail to criticize the Chinese or Albanians, but it failed to mention dogmatism, revisionism, or Yugoslavia; it did not repeat the Soviet thesis that war may be excluded while capitalism still exists, which the Chinese find particularly objectionable; and most notable of all, it endorsed the bland generalization, acceptable to both Soviets and Chinese, that each people struggling for national liberation must discover for itself whether peaceful or non-peaceful means of reaching socialism are more suitable. An essential difference between the Chinese and Cuban position on this question, on the one hand, and the Soviet position on the other, has been the contrasting appraisals each has made on whether armed struggle in certain specific Latin American countries is in fact now suitable, whether it should be encouraged, and whether Communist parties should take part in it.

On his return home, Castro on 4 June presented a lengthy public report on his visit in which he gave greater evidence that the Soviet efforts to impress him had succeeded. Castro paid repeated and extravagant tribute to Khrushchev as a "great leader and a formidable adversary of imperialism;" these statements constituted the strongest assistance to the CPSU in its contest with the CCP that Castro had ever furnished. He also parroted Khrushchev's views on the existence of both "warlike" and "sober" persons in the U.S. leadership, and on the decisive importance of economic development for political supremacy. In the latter connection, Castro indicated that Cuba would in the future have to take a more realistic view of its economy, following the Soviet model more closely. Castro also stated that "we are going to build an economy based on the international division of labor," foreshadowing the first public announcement, a month later, of Cuba's participation as an "observer" in a CEMA meeting. At the same time, Castro showed in his speech some sensitivity to the effect his remarks might have on the Chinese, and even greater sensitivity to the thought that his pro-Soviet statements might have been purchased by Soviet economic help (such as the concession on Cuban sugar, announced in the joint communique in Moscow).

The Chinese undoubtedly were offended. Although the CCP continued to work for Cuban support and to use helpful Cuban statements, the lavish personal tribute to Castro in the Chinese press ceased abruptly with the visit to the Soviet Union, and was not thereafter resumed. On the 26th of July Cuban anniversary, Castro was not mentioned in Chinese commemorative editorials, nor in the speeches by Chinese leaders at a Cuban embassy reception in Peiping, nor in the salutation of the greetings sent to Cuba by Mao and the Chinese leaders.

Since Castro's return from the Soviet Union, various sources have made a number of claims as to what the Soviets attempted to get from Castro and what they succeeded in getting. An official in the Soviet embassy in Havana has stated that Castro was made to understand by the Soviets that he could not continue attacking the U.S. in view of the danger of provoking the United States. This Soviet official added that Castro was told to take a moderate line and to try to bring about a rapprochement with the United States. Implying a belief that Castro would obey these instructions, he predicted that within eighteen months or two years virtually normal relations would be established between Cuba and the United States. [redacted] quoted Emilio Aragones, a leading member of Castro's delegation to the Soviet Union, as confirming that the Soviets told Castro that he should attempt to reach an understanding based on peaceful coexistence with the United States, and as adding that the Soviets "convinced" Castro that they were right and the Chinese were wrong about the doctrine of peaceful coexistence with the U.S. A [redacted] resident in Latin America [redacted] predicted that Castro's visit to the USSR foreshadowed "steadily decreasing tension" with the United States, as well as Castro's "capitulation" to Moscow on the question of the export of the Cuban revolution throughout Latin America. This latter claim has also been implied publicly in comment by two of the CPSU's most faithful foreign adherents. On 27 May the French Communist organ l'Humanite stated that the Soviet-Cuban joint communique "sounds the knell of those who speculated on the particularities of the Cuban revolution not only to dream of detaching Cuba from the socialist camp, but also to attempt to

precipitate revolutionaries here and there into adventure." (Emphasis added.) In July, the Spanish Communist leader Dolores Ibarruri, who lives in Moscow, told a Mexican journal similarly that the influence of the Cuban revolution on Latin America was "quite profound, but not because the Cuban experience with its specific characteristics can be exported to other countries in the hemisphere." Moreover, even one of the Latin American Communist leaders sympathetic to Castro's militant line and hostile to the CPSU, the Ecuadoran Rafael Echeverria, was reported in mid-July as privately expressing the view that as a result of Castro's trip to the Soviet Union there would be a complete Cuban policy change, and that Cuba would henceforth devote its efforts to building socialism at home rather than to exporting revolution to Latin America.

In evaluating these statements, it must be remembered that the Soviet Union on several previous occasions had attempted to promote a relaxation of tensions between the United States and Cuba, most notably at the beginning of President Kennedy's administration and again after the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, but that on each occasion the attempt had failed because of powerful incompatible factors: the Soviet desire to maintain and expand a presence in Cuba as a base for operations in Latin America; Castro's desire to obtain Soviet protection, and his concommitant drive to strengthen his alliance with the PSP and to promote himself as a "Marxist-Leninist" leading a "socialist" revolution; and the Castroite hatred of the United States and desire to strike at the U.S. through the blatant, public promotion of armed insurrection in Latin America. While in the case of the last factor the Soviets may have desired to modify Castro's public posture as a means of inducing the United States to accept Castro's regime (as well as for other reasons), there is no good evidence that they have yet succeeded.

It is true that Castro in speeches both before and after his visit to the USSR alluded to his willingness to negotiate with the United States with a view toward restoring diplomatic relations. Moreover, [redacted] he said he had been mistaken in failing to maintain friendly relations with the

West, professed a desire to improve such relations, and expressed confidence that the United States would ultimately come to terms with the Cuban revolution. However, Castro was more frank in an interview with the Middle East News Agency on 25 July when he stated that his visit to Moscow had been a "turning point" in the fostering of contacts for the improvement of relations with Washington (i.e., that Moscow had pressed him to improve relations), but that "miserable America" remained hostile and "thus hindered these contacts." Castro concluded: "We are happy about America's hostile policy, since it has enabled us to proceed on our path and do whatever we wish." He thus implied that the U.S. refusal to deal with him on his own terms would be used by him as justification to the USSR for a continuation of that inflammatory line toward Latin America which was one of the reasons for the United States refusal. Guevara similarly stated in a 23 July press conference in Algeria that he doubted that Cuba's relations with the U.S. could improve much, because "the U.S. knows that as long as the Cuban revolution exists, the danger exists in Latin America because we are very close to them /i.e., to the Latin Americans/." Guevara apparently meant that he knew the United States could not accept the Cuban regime because that regime intended to continue to promote a "danger" to the U.S. in Latin America.*

Castro confirmed such an intention in his speech in Havana on 26 July, when he delivered his most militant call to revolt in Latin America since January. Once again, he insisted that it was the "duty" of the revolutionary to act without waiting "for a change in the correlation of forces to produce the miracle of social revolution." He listed Peru, Colombia, Argentina, Paraguay, Venezuela, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, and "any other countries I may have forgotten" as nations where revolutionaries should follow the "path, tactics, and strategy"

*Guevara stated that Cuba had the duty of helping its Latin American brothers free themselves with "all means at its disposal."

he had established in Cuba with his attack on the Moncada barracks and his subsequent guerrilla struggle against Batista's army. However, Castro now identified the "exceptions" he had conceded to the "theoreticians" in his January polemical speeches; more explicitly than ever before, he exempted from this list of nations ripe for armed revolt the five Latin American countries which maintained diplomatic relations with his regime (Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Bolivia, and Uruguay), thus indicating that his passion for revolution was now strongly modified by a desire to isolate the United States and promote Cuban state interests (since social conditions in, say, Bolivia, are by no means less favorable for revolution than those in Argentina, for example). It also so happens that certain of these privileged five nations, particularly Brazil, are countries where the CPSU has had the greatest objections to Castro's advocacy of violence at the present stage. As a byproduct to serving his own interests by making these exceptions, Castro had thus gone part-way to conciliate the CPSU, and he attempted in his speech to suggest that revolutionaries in all other Latin American countries would have Soviet approval if they immediately adopted a forceful line.*

*Castro said that "no party or revolutionary state"--i.e., neither Cuba nor the USSR--would be to blame if any particular group of Latin American revolutionaries failed to make a revolution in their country, but only those revolutionaries. He thus intimated that the CPSU was not forbidding any radical or Communist movement in Latin America from adopting the violent tactics he was advocating. Castro also stated explicitly his belief that once any Latin American country had achieved a revolution, the USSR and the bloc would give it the aid and protection they had given Cuba. He added, however, that "we" want to open the path to Latin American revolution; and this Pravda omitted from its nearly complete version of his speech.

It should also be noted, in connection with the apparent exception Castro had made for Brazil and other countries, that Castro's concession to the CPSU on Brazil may have been limited only to an agreement to moderate his public language. While Castro has apparently ceased covert support for the dissident Communist party of Brazil, he does not seem to have done so with regard to the peasant leader Juliao. For more detail, see the section of this paper dealing with Brazil.

During Castro's visit to the Soviet Union he had apparently had conversations with the Uruguayan party leader Rodney Arismendi and certain other Latin American Communists, evidently in a Soviet-initiated attempt to coordinate policy. It seems likely, for reasons expressed elsewhere in this paper, that the Soviets had by this time--in response both to the pressures from Castro and the danger to CPSU leadership of the Latin American Communist movement represented by the CCP--agreed to support somewhat greater militancy by Latin American Communists; and Pravda, after some delay, published a lengthy version of Castro's 26 July speech, including his remarks on the duty of revolutionaries and the inevitability of revolution in Latin America, but softening slightly his violent attacks on Venezuela, Guatemala, and the United States. It seems unlikely, however, that the USSR expected or welcomed the overall tone of Castro's speech, which did what l'Humanite in its 26 May comment on the Soviet-Cuban communique said would not be done: "attempt to precipitate revolutionaries here and there into adventure." It should also be noted that Castro's anti-U.S. remarks were peculiarly inappropriate at a time when Soviet policy was attempting to promote both U.S. acceptance of Castro's regime and an atmosphere of Soviet detente with the United States in connection with the test-ban treaty.

It thus seems possible that Castro was attempting to utilize what are likely to have been ambiguous assurances given him by the CPSU regarding Soviet support for a more militant posture by most Latin American Communist parties, in order to place pressure upon those parties to join the various non-Communist radical Castroite groups of Latin America in the prompt initiation of guerrilla warfare. It remains to be seen whether the CPSU will in fact assist Castro in this effort, particularly in the case of such parties as the Communist party of Peru, where the majority leadership has been opposed to participation in violent activities at present and convinced that such activities by others was not helpful but harmful to its own prospects.

Renewed Chinese Efforts to Subvert the Cubans

Despite Peiping's continuing anger at Castro for what it apparently regards as his betrayal of the CCP in his statements in the Soviet Union and immediately upon return to Cuba, the Chinese have not ceased their efforts to win the Cubans away from the CPSU. These efforts have been aided by sporadic Cuban statements and actions which supported or could be depicted as supporting aspects of the Chinese line (such as Castro's 26 July speech, which the Chinese promptly publicized and exploited in thier propaganda). Even while Castro was avowing solidarity with the Soviets in the USSR, NCNA on 11 May quoted a visiting Cuban trade union leader in Nanking as "emphatically pointing out" that "U.S. imperialism was nothing but a paper tiger and that people should not give in to imperialism." In late May, Jose Matar, another Cuban leader recently returned from China and an interview with Mao, declared over Havana radio that Mao Tse-tung had "lived up to our hopes and our idea of him as a world leader." On 22 June, NCNA quoted still a third visiting Cuban, the Academy of Science president Antonio Nunez Jimenez, as stating in Kweilin that Cuban experience "conclusively proves the correctness of Mao Tse-tung's thesis that imperialism and all the reactionaries are paper tigers and the correctness of Lenin's statement that imperialism is a colossus with feet of clay." (This Lenin statement had been extensively used by the CCP in its polemical defense of the paper tiger thesis against Soviet attacks.)

Moreover, at the Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Moscow in late June, the Cuban delegation appears to have taken actions which greatly complicated the CPSU efforts to isolate the Chinese. [redacted] the report which the Italian delegation to the congress [redacted] furnished the Italian Communist party afterward discloses that, in the meetings of the Bureau of the women's organization before the public congress sessions were held, a report which Cuba had prepared for the congress was rejected by the Bureau because of its extreme invective against the United States. The Italian delegation stated that the

Soviets thereupon attempted a compromise, arranged a few "insubstantial" changes in the Cuban report, forced the Bureau to vote again to approve it, and then had the Cuban report read at a public session of the congress.* In protest, the Italian delegation walked out while the Cuban was speaking--reflecting the position of the Italian party, which has consistently opposed the adoption of extreme language by international front organizations because of its own anxiety to avoid isolation at home.

In an interview with CPSU central committee secretary Ponomarev afterward, Ponomarev is reported to have given the Italian delegation an explanation for this Soviet conduct which is of the greatest significance for what it discloses of the Soviet attitude toward Cuba. Ponomarev

*The Chinese tell this tale differently. Yang Yun-yu, the head of the Chinese delegation, subsequently stated publicly in Peiping that the Cuban report as originally given the Bureau (like those furnished by Mali and Japan) was a good one, "exposing the crimes of imperialism and putting forward the questions of opposing imperialism;" that it was the Soviets as well as certain other delegations who did not agree with this; that the Soviets "made attempts to delete the contents with regard to anti-imperialism from these reports and tried to add material on complete disarmament with top priority;" that when the Japanese and Cubans resisted, the Soviets "would not let the two reports of the Japanese and Cuban delegates go"; that the Soviets "exerted pressure on the Japanese and Cuban delegates so they had to correct them...according to the opinions of the head of the Soviet delegation and certain WIDF leaders." This public Chinese account of Soviet pressure on the Cubans is probably maliciously distorted, and the private Italian version is probably more accurate. The Chinese did not say whether they thought the changes wrought by the Soviets in the Cuban report were important; the Italians professed to find them insignificant and the amended report still objectionable.

is quoted verbatim as having told the Italians:

> The leaders of the Chinese Communist party...are engaging in a continual action of provocation and of division in the world Communist movement. Our principal concern today is to isolate the Chinese. ...We agree with you that the Japanese and the Cuban reports are extremist and have no respect for the present historical situation, but we had both reports read and approved because if they had been rejected also with the vote of the USSR and the people's democracies, the Japanese and Cubans would have largely gone over to the Chinese side.

In reply, the Italians are said to have contended that the Soviets had made a very serious mistake, since they thus allowed "Chinese ideas" to be "propagated in the open congress as ideas of the WIDF," harming the peaceful coexistence line and reducing the attractiveness of this women's front to persons who were not Communists. Ponomarev replied that "in general it may be that you are right," but again insisted that the overriding CPSU concern was to isolate the Chinese.

Many of the inconsistencies and vacillations of Soviet policy in recent years are probably traceable to this internal Soviet conflict between a desire on the one hand to pursue the line deemed most suitable for Soviet state interests as well as the interests of the CPSU's European Communist adherents--the peaceful coexistence line--and the Soviet wish on the other hand to maximize support for the CPSU against the Chinese among Communist and radical forces of underdeveloped areas, many of whom have indicated sympathy with aspects of Chinese policy. The contradiction between the publicity given by the Soviet Union for Castro's 26 July speech advocating violent anti-U.S. struggle in Latin America and the very soft line toward the United States otherwise being pursued currently by Soviet propaganda is one of the most recent manifestations of this conflict.

The Italian report cited above added that Ponomarev confirmed that relations between the USSR and Cuba, even after Castro's visit to Moscow, presented many difficulties which "could be aggravated." In a private meeting with the Cubans during the congress, the Italian Communists are reported to have been greatly surprised to find that the Cubans did not disguise the fact that their views were closer to those of China than to those of the USSR on many problems, particularly on the problem of coexistence with the United States. The Cubans are reported to have reiterated to the Italians the view that they had been abandoned by the USSR in October 1962 at a time of danger, despite Castro's public justification of Khrushchev's actions on this score during his visit to the Soviet Union.

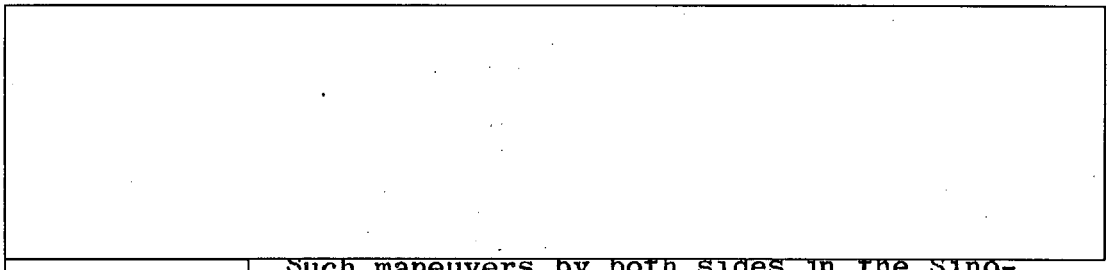
A month after these events at the Women's Congress, the Chinese appear to have made another intensive effort to blacken the CPSU in the eyes of the Cubans. Late in July 1963, one Chinese ambassador abroad is reported to have made an attempt to arrange a joint meeting of his staff and the entire staff of the local Cuban diplomatic mission. When this attempt failed, the Chinese ambassador in early August made a four-hour attack on the Soviet Union in a conversation with his Cuban counterpart, using a mixture of truths, half-truths and falsehoods regarding a whole spectrum of Chinese grievances against the Soviet leaders which had evidently been furnished him in a briefing by his government not long before. Central to the Chinese harrangue was the claim that the Soviet Government had always been and still was "against true revolution anywhere," whether in China in the 1920s, or in Laos, the Congo, Vietnam, or Latin America today. The Cuban was told that the Soviets had followed a practice of "braking" real revolutions, and that it was thus not strange that the Soviets had advised the Cuban Government not to go too far. The Chinese Communist official insisted that the Communist world must choose between the Soviet and Chinese line. When, however, the Cubans asserted that Cuba must be neutral in this matter because of its economic ties with the Soviet Union and because of the need for protection against the United States, the Chinese ambassador indicated that Peiping's hopes with regard to Cuba at present are rather modest: he implied that he understood that it might be necessary

for Cuba to profess neutrality, and that it would be sufficient if the Cubans would privately share the Chinese views. It seemed likely that similar efforts with regard to the Cubans were simultaneously being made by Chinese diplomatic officials in other parts of the world.

As of early August, however, the Cuban regime was still attempting to maintain its posture of neutrality. Che Guevara in a press conference in late July stated that Cuba was too small to play the role of arbiter between Moscow and Peiping, but that Cuba deplored the situation and would continue to do everything possible to promote unity. Indeed, on some issues Havana was continuing to help support the Soviet position. Thus the Cuban press welcomed the test-ban agreement as a victory for the USSR, in contrast to the vehement Chinese attack upon that agreement;* and NCNA glumly quoted the head of the Cuban delegation at a "students' seminar of the underdeveloped world" in Brazil in mid-July as saying "he believed that the way of the struggle for peace lay in disarmament and reduction of nuclear arms."

Meanwhile, the increasingly overt nature of the struggle between the Soviet and Chinese camps began to pose greater problems for the Cubans in their efforts to appear neutral.

*A Cuban foreign ministry official, however, is later reported to have stated privately that Cuba--unlike all the Soviet partisans in the bloc--would not sign the test-ban treaty.



Such maneuvers by both sides in the Sino-Soviet conflict appear likely to increase in the future as the schism in the bloc widens, and Castro will probably find it increasingly difficult to remain on good terms with both sides.

V. APPENDIX: OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WHICH CHINESE INFLUENCE IS STRONG

Venezuela

In the past five years the CCP has not only gained the esteem of the Communist party of Venezuela (PCV), but has succeeded in changing the position of that party, first, from a strong supporter of CPSU authority to a lukewarm supporter, and then to the posture of neutrality in the Sino-Soviet dispute which the party holds today. The Venezuelan party and the Cuban PURS are the only two Latin American parties which have neither aligned themselves openly in support of the CPSU against the CCP nor have yet formally split over this issue.* The evolution of the Venezuelan party's position is best understood against the background of the party's domestic strategy in recent years.

In the years immediately preceding the January 1958 overthrow of the Perez Jimenez dictatorship, and particularly after the 13th Plenum of the PCV central committee in February 1957, the PCV devoted its efforts to the construction of a united front with anti-Perez forces of various political hues, with the object both of bringing the dictatorship down and of creating a subsequent political situation which would facilitate the rapid growth of Communist influence over the government. To this end, the PCV played an important part in the creation of an anti-Perez student alliance in April 1957, the Patriotic Junta in July 1957, and a united strike committee late in the year. At

*As will be seen, the Ecuadoran party, which had been aligned with the CPSU by its dominant leadership, is now in the process of splitting formally, in part because of this issue. The Brazilian Communists had earlier divided into a large orthodox party loyal to Moscow and a small splinter party which has been increasingly looking to Peiping.

the 15th central committee plenum in April 1958, after the fall of Perez Jimenez, the party congratulated itself on what it then regarded as the success of its tactics, and adopted a policy of attempting to "maintain a climate of unity" with the anti-Perez parties which had been its allies while pressing the new provisional government for the adoption of a more "anti-imperialist" stance and other concessions to Communist views. Although the party during 1958 had already begun to recognize that bourgeois and "pro-imperialist" forces were being strengthened and that the strongest of its erstwhile bourgeois allies--the Democratic Action party (AD)--was moving away from Communist influence, yet the PCV continued to pursue its relatively cautious line for a considerable time after elections in the fall of 1958 placed the AD leader Romula Betancourt in office as President of Venezuela.

As time went on, however, and as Betancourt made it increasingly plain that he could not be pressed into modifying his original refusal to deal with the Communists, the CPV attitude began to shift. The party apparently felt especially aggrieved at its failure to win the dividends it had expected from its united front policy, particularly as the PSP in Cuba--which had been far more tardy than the CPV in establishing its own united front with Castro--was receiving just such dividends in spectacular fashion. Meanwhile, relations between Castro and Betancourt (whose government had been the first in the world to recognize the new Cuban regime) grew steadily worse as Castro's attitude toward the Communists became apparent, and the CPV apparently came to believe that sympathy for Cuba and hostility to the United States were issues which the party could use to topple the government.

The turning-point apparently came in the summer of 1960. In June, the World Marxist Review published an article by a PCV official who claimed, with some exaggeration, that "for a period of two years the people refrained from making claims on the government, being anxious to ensure a broad political base for the government and to help it eliminate the hangover of the Perez dictatorship," but that now "the present bourgeois government is wavering in its attitude to the landowners and the U.S. imperialists," resulting

in the "masses losing confidence in the government." At this point the PCV still spoke in terms of using "democratic forces" only to "put an end to this vacillation" and to "force the government to change its policy." Two months later, another article in the World Marxist Review reported a PCV central committee statement which took a much harsher view of the government, and spoke in terms of "big changes" to be brought about through a "struggle of the masses." In mid-September, Fidel Castro boasted to an old friend that if the Betancourt government was determined to be hostile to him, he could undermine their economy and "bring them to their knees." Subsequently, in October and November the PCV, in conjunction with members of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR)--a small leftist group of Castro sympathizers which had broken away from Betancourt's AD party--carried out violent demonstrations and acts of terrorism in Caracas which completely tied up the capital and which were put down only with the use of troops and the imposition of martial law. During the November 1960 Moscow meetings of the international Communist movement, Jesus Faria, the Venezuelan delegate, is reported to have boasted of this situation, to have predicted that Betancourt would not finish his term, and to have stated the PCV's awareness that the mountains in Venezuela are close to the cities--i.e., that Venezuelan geography enhanced the political significance of guerrilla warfare.

By the time of the Third Congress of the PCV in March 1961, the party had thoroughly committed itself to a policy of terrorist attacks in the cities upon the Betancourt government, using for this purpose a revitalized version of the paramilitary organization it had retained from the days of its underground struggle against Perez Jimenez. In the fall of 1961 the party also began lengthy preparations and training for the institution of guerrilla warfare, and during 1962 scattered guerrilla operations were gradually begun and expanded; eventually they were coordinated under a Communist-controlled civilian united front (the National Liberation Front--FLN) and an overall military organization (the Armed Forces of National Liberation--FALN).

It was apparently the party's hope that these activities would stimulate a mass movement against the Betancourt

government and deprive it of its political allies and peasant supporters; this belief was encouraged by the successive defections from Betancourt by the MIR, the Radical Democratic Union (URD)--which became the largest opposition party--and the AD-ARS, a sizeable additional group from Betancourt's own AD party. The Communists also privately professed to be encouraged by two small-scale abortive revolts by Communist sympathizers and other malcontents in the armed forces in the first half of 1962. Aware of their own limited strength among Venezuelan voters, the Communists were intent upon creating an atmosphere in the country which would make it impossible for new elections to be held as scheduled in November 1963; following precepts laid down privately and publicly by Castro and Guevara, the PCV appeared to be attempting to provoke a right-wing military takeover of the government from Betancourt which would presumably create mass support for the opposition movement the PCV already headed.

By late 1962 and early 1963, however, it began to appear increasingly likely that Betancourt's term would be interrupted neither by a military coup nor by a Communist victory. The bourgeois opposition parties with which the PCV had allied itself--principally the URD and the second group of secessionists from the AD (the AD-ARS)--began to prepare for participation in the elections; this raised the danger of isolation for the Marxist parties, the PCV and the MIR, which had been deprived of the right to participate because of their terrorist activities. To meet this danger, PCV and MIR spokesmen, both at home and in the pages of the World Marxist Review, re-emphasized in the spring of 1963 the old Communist contention that the terrorist activity was but "self-defense" against government-initiated terror and persecution, and that the PCV and MIR would welcome an end to violence and an opportunity to participate in the election if only the government would permit it, end its persecution, and grant an amnesty. Meanwhile, the PCV politburo is reported in December 1962 to have approved continuation of the policy of violence by a more overwhelming vote than ever before; and party cadres were privately assured that the party's public statements were but a tactical maneuver, and that while "civic" forms of struggle could be used concurrently, the main path of

revolution in Venezuela could only be that of violence. The PCV's long-range views are believed to be those stated in a captured document prepared for a politburo conference in December 1962: that the revolution could not be deceived again in a "stupid honeymoon" such as the initial relationship with Betancourt; that the party must prepare for a long, protracted war, using guerrilla fighting simultaneously with "parliamentary and legal" fighting; that the peasants were still "confused and deceived," and did not yet support the party, but that they eventually would; that adventuristic mistakes such as the uncoordinated revolts in the military garrisons in 1962 must not be repeated; and that the "progress of armed fighting" would "itself make the people more radical," as had allegedly happened in Algeria and Cuba.

Many of these views seem clearly related to the expressed views of both the Cuban and Chinese leaders (although there are minor differences with both). The Cuban influence on the policy of the PCV seems clearly established; it appears to have been felt directly, through the numerous PCV private and public contacts with Cuban leaders and through the unending flow of Cuban propaganda, and indirectly, through the pressure on party policy in the direction of terrorism exerted by Castro's enormous influence among the "radical petty-bourgeois" allies of the PCV in the MIR, the student movement, and elsewhere. Cuban propaganda support has served the FALN guerrilla activities as their most important source of publicity, which is important in helping to create the atmosphere of Venezuelan instability desired by the PCV. There is also good evidence of a long history of Cuban support for Venezuelan urban terrorist and rural guerrilla activities, in terms of indoctrination, training, and some material aid (although Castro's public assertion that Venezuelan guerrillas obtain their weapons by capturing them appears to be largely true). During the Cuban missile crisis, the PCV appears to have partially repaid this debt with FALN sabotage efforts against oil facilities; Castro is reported subsequently to have stated privately on several occasions that only the Venezuelan party responded to his call for assistance in his hour of need.

The Chinese influence upon PCV policy also seems clearly established. As in the case of many other Latin American parties, the growth of this influence had originally been facilitated by the CPSU following the 20th CPSU Congress; the PCV, however, appears to have been more affected by its contacts with the Chinese than many other parties. The PCV delegation which visited China in March 1959 after the 21st CPSU Congress in the company of other Latin American Communists had the strongest party representation of any delegation in the group. Those who had discussions with Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders on this occasion were Pompeyo Marquez--who subsequently became the strongest advocate of guerrilla warfare in the PCV leadership--as well as the politburo members Pedro Ortega and Alonso Ojeda. The PCV is one of the Communist parties which are reported to have responded to a Chinese invitation extended on this occasion to send party representatives to a course on the experience of the Chinese revolution to be given in China later in 1959. A captured PCV document which consists of a virtually complete translation of a lecture apparently given by an authoritative Chinese leader, and which from internal evidence seems to date from 1959, furnishes direct evidence of what the CCP was telling the Venezuelan party at a time when it was trying to make up its mind about the policy to follow toward the Betancourt government.

The 1959 Chinese Lecture: In this lecture, entitled "Our Experiences," the Chinese speaker traced in some detail the course of the Chinese Communist revolution, emphasizing the rightist errors committed by CCP leaders in the 1920s (at Soviet direction, although this was not stated). The Chinese told the Venezuelans (and, presumably, other Latin Americans) that those who held this rightist position

> maintained the following theory, that since the revolution was a bourgeois democratic revolution, the bourgeoisie should be the leading force, and the Communist party should not exercise direction, and that only when the bourgeoisie had triumphed should the proletariat rise up to carry out the socialist revolution and overthrow the bourgeois regime.

The Chinese lecturer went on to point out how Chiang Kai-shek had "betrayed all the established agreements," and consequently the bourgeoisie had been enabled to take away the fruit of the victories won by the workers and peasants, and "the party received a rude blow." To PCV ears, these statements must have seemed peculiarly appropriate to the situation the Communists found themselves in in Venezuela after the overthrow of Perez Jimenez by a coalition organized by the PCV.

The lecturer went on to note how the CCP had also surmounted left-sectarian errors (in not distinguishing among the forces of the bourgeoisie and not seeking the support of the national bourgeoisie for Communist leadership), and how under Mao's leadership the party had worked out a correct line and attained victory. Repeated parallels were drawn between conditions prevailing in China and those existing in Latin America today. The Chinese speaker instructed his listeners that "if one wishes to advance the victory of the revolution, three conditions are indispensible:" the support of the workers, the peasants, and the revolutionary army; it was emphasized that revolutionary armed forces under the control of the Communist party were particularly necessary.

The major point on which the Chinese speaker kept hammering was that Communist parties must not wait for bourgeois reformist parties to lead "democratic" revolutions against imperialism and feudalism in their countries, in the expectation that the Communists would be able to increase influence and win power painlessly at a subsequent stage--the Soviet doctrine which was subsequently to be embodied in the November 1960 Moscow Statement as the theory of the national democratic state. The lecturer pointed out that in Chinese experience, "in order to carry out the revolution without interruption once the bourgeois democratic revolution was completed, a prerequisite was necessary, that the party of the proletariat had had hegemony in the leadership of the first stage."

Turning directly to the problems faced by the Latin American parties, the lecturer criticized what he apparently considered to be a tendency by those parties to underestimate

the difficulties they would face in attaining power if they first helped the national bourgeoisie to reach power before them. In this connection, the Chinese speaker--who was apparently a very high-ranking figure in the CCP--stated that "I have read a report by the Venezuelan comrades in which it is said that the United States will not dare to send troops to Venezuela since as soon as they do it all Latin America will rise against them." He commented ironically, "We are happy to have this news," and proceeded to contradict this PCV contention. The CCP spokesman stated that while "at present" it was still U.S. policy "to organize reactionary plots and coups d'etat against democratic governments led by the national bourgeoisie," this U.S. policy would change as soon as a "national government directed by the Communist party" was established in Latin America (as was then, in fact, happening in Cuba, although he did not say so). Henceforth, he said, "the United States will pass over to helping the governments led by the national bourgeoisie to change their policy," instead of seeking to overthrow such governments. Consequently, he told the Venezuelans, "it will be practicable for the United States... to arrive with their armed forces in the Latin American countries because of the pro-U.S. attitude of the national bourgeoisie which leads the national democratic government." If this happened, he indicated, the local Communist parties would have great difficulty in insinuating themselves into the government (as the Soviets were advocating that they do). The CCP leader concluded as follows:

> In essence, my question is the following: If you support the national bourgeoisie, once in power, will Yankee imperialism not help the national bourgeoisie against you?
>
> In the case of China, the stronger our forces made themselves, the less the national bourgeoisie dared to betray us. The weaker our forces were, the more they dared to betray us.

The PCV appears to have taken much of this advice to heart. The document containing this Chinese lecture

was found in a PCV headquarters several years later with the name of a PCV politburo member written across the top, suggesting that it had been carefully preserved, studied, and debated. The policies the PCV has applied against the Betancourt government since the fall of 1960 have been increasingly harmonious with Chinese thinking: in particular, the PCV efforts to provoke a reactionary military coup, after which the PCV could hope to gather a coalition behind it to accomplish a "democratic revolution" which the PCV would this time firmly control from the start; the subsequent PCV attempt to create a permanent guerrilla army of its own, and the PCV politburo recognition, in December 1962, that the expansion of the efforts of this army in rural areas was the most important task of the party; and the politburo recognition at the same time that the revolution would have to be "uninterrupted and that the struggle to achieve it would have to be "protracted." On 1 October 1961 Peiping published greetings from the PCV for the Chinese regime's anniversary in which the PCV expressed its "gratitude" for the "great contributions made by the Chinese revolution" and declared that "the Venezuelan Communist party had received inexhaustible teachings from the CCP."

There is some additional evidence of Chinese influence on and assistance to the efforts of the Venezuelan Communists. In April 1961 CCP influence in Venezuela continued to be strong, and that contacts established by Venezuelans who visited China in 1958 and 1959 were still being maintained. At about the same time, Mao Tse-tung held personal talks in China with the leader of the PCV's Castroite allies, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left. In the first half of 1962, several members of the PCV paramilitary organization were reported to have received guerrilla training in Communist China. Chinese propaganda support for the various violent activities of the PCV and its allies has, of course, been vehement and enthusiastic at all times.

The growing prestige of the CCP within the Venezuelan party appears to have gradually compelled the leadership of the party--the majority of which was originally loyal to CPSU authority--to progressively modify the support it

gave the CPSU as the Sino-Soviet conflict worsened. At the 1960 Moscow conference, PCV general secretary Jesus Faria is reported to have criticized the position of the Chinese and to have supported the attempt fostered by the CPSU to force the Chinese to accept a statement condemning factionalism in the international movement. At the same time, he is said to have alluded to "errors" made by the CPSU, to have declared that "too much praise has been given to the CPSU," and to have opposed another CPSU-prompted effort (largely successful, in this case) to have a provision inserted in the conference Statement hailing the significance of the 20th and 21st CPSU congresses and stressing the vanguard role of the CPSU. The Venezuelan party thus took a fairly independent position, although on balance it was still supporting the CPSU against the CCP. At the 22nd CPSU congress in October 1961, Faria again represented his party, and this time again gave mild support to Moscow by criticizing the Albanians in moderate terms. Unlike many other Latin American parties, however, the Venezuelans did not follow this up with anti-Albanian statements during the CPSU campaign after the 22nd congress.*

The Cuban crisis of October 1962 appears to have been an important factor in pushing the PCV further toward neutrality between the CPSU and the CCP. During this period the Venezuelan Communist Youth--the PCV affiliate where Castro's influence was strongest--is reported to have reacted to Khrushchev's actions in very hostile fashion, and this apparently aggravated long-standing differences within the party itself between leaders sympathetic to Peiping and those still loyal to Moscow. The central committee of the PCV is said to have met with members of the Communist Youth in an unsuccessful attempt to explain the Soviet line. At a subsequent Communist Youth cell meeting, pro-Castro and anti-Khrushchev slogans were reported to have been shouted. When the PCV central committee reportedly threatened

*The Chilean party, for example, not only publicly attacked Albania after the 22nd congress but criticized the CCP as well.

the Communist Youth with disciplinary action, the leaders of the Communist Youth are said to have accused both Khrushchev and the pro-Soviet faction in the central committee of treason to the Communist cause. In February of the following year, the Chinese party gave a tumultuous public welcome in Peiping to the secretary of the Venezuelan Communist Youth.

Meanwhile, at the East European and Italian party congresses in November and early December 1962 the Venezuelan delegates, like those of Cuba, refused to join in the Soviet-organized denunciations of Albania and the CPR. At the East German party congress in January 1963, Jesus Faria similarly refused to speak in aid of the CPSU against Peiping, and the PCV was the only Latin American party (apart from the Cuban) which refused to allow the Chilean party to speak for it when the Chileans addressed the congress in support of the general Soviet position. An East German official is reliably reported to have stated that the Venezuelan party--which he characterized as "radical"--had refused because the general position adovcated was "not sufficiently militant." PCV secretariat member Pompeyo Marquez is also reported [redacted] to have stated subsequently that the Venezuelan and Cuban delegations at the East German congress took a neutral position between the USSR and the CPR whereas the other Latin American parties strongly supported the USSR. [redacted] the PCV delegation to East Berlin returned home with a lengthy document which clearly discussed the differences between the CCP and the CPSU; this document was reportedly later circulated among some members of the PCV. Although it was not stated whether this document came from the CPSU or the CCP, it seems more likely, in view of the offensive being pursued by Peiping against Moscow on a world-wide scale at this time, that the document was Chinese.

Finally, the chief of the NCNA agency in Paris claimed to a Chinese sympathizer in early March that the Venezuelan party was one of five non-bloc parties which favored the Chinese side of the Sino-Soviet dispute; and during the congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation in Moscow in late June, the Venezuelan delegation was reported

to have almost always sided with the Chinese. In direct contacts with the Italians, the Venezuelans were said to have refused to hide their dissatisfaction with Kremlin policy. (It is not known, however, whether these Venezuelans were actually PCV members rather than members of the MIR or other Castroite party sympathizers.)

The CPSU Position Toward the PCV: There is no good evidence to demonstrate, however, that this alleged Venezuelan dissatisfaction with Soviet policy--and the strong signs of growing Chinese influence over the Venezuelan party--derive from Soviet opposition to the domestic line which the PCV has followed over the past three years. As noted, Faria at the November 1960 Moscow conference is said to have alluded to "errors" made by the CPSU. He is also reported to have stated that the discussions at the conference would be valuable to the coming congress of his party; that his party had been subjected to criticism; and that he accepted this "to the extent that it is justified," but that the forms of criticism seemed to him to be unacceptable. The content of the criticism to which Faria referred is not known, and, in the absence of other evidence, interpretation of his cryptic remarks can only be speculative. On balance, it seems more likely that the CPSU (either directly or through intermediaries) had criticized the PCV for its failure to secure greater gains since 1958 from the situation resulting from the fall of Perez than that the CPSU was objecting in November 1960 to the more militant line now being pursued by the PCV against Betancourt. Rude and heavy-handed CPSU criticism of the PCV's failure to achieve much would have been consonant with the CPSU manner of doing things (about which Latin American parties had repeatedly complained privately in the past), and would help to explain Faria's allusion to "unacceptable forms of criticism." It would also have been typical of CPSU conduct to reprimand the PCV for policy failures for which the CPSU itself was largely responsible; if the CPSU during the detente period of 1959, for example, had urged caution upon the PCV, to the detriment of the Venezuelan party, this would explain Fari's allusion to CPSU "errors."

In any case, since the fall of 1960 Soviet propaganda --in the form of public lectures, newspaper articles, radio broadcasts to Latin America, and articles printed in the CPSU-controlled World Marxist Review--has given firm support to the militant activities of the PCV against the Betancourt government. In June 1962, for example, one Soviet broadcast to South America stated that "the armed intervention against the present Venezuelan government is a logical phenomenon; it is the answer of the country's patriots to the anti-popular policy of the Venezuelan governing forces." In November 1962, a similar broadcast, hailing the Venezuelan guerrilla struggle, said that "world opinion warmly supports the just struggle of the Venezuelan people, and the Soviet citizens follow this courageous struggle with a feeling of deep solidarity."*

This Soviet propaganda stance is consistent with the position taken by the CPSU at the November 1960 Moscow conference--and afterward enunciated publicly by Khrushchev in January 1961--that the Soviet party would give wholehearted support to national uprisings and "national liberation struggles." In fact, the Soviets had not always given wholehearted public support to such struggles in the past, the Chinese had violently attacked the CPSU in 1960 on this vulnerable point, and the CPSU has since been concerned to refute this Chinese charge by a more militant posture. The Chinese and Albanians have attempted to continue to pin a pacifist label on the CPSU; thus on 28 January 1963 a Tirana broadcast claimed that "the enemies of the Venezuelan people and of

*Aside from the fact that the adoption of a militant line by the PCV against the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet Betancourt government seems to have been quite acceptable to Moscow for its own sake, there were also subsidiary benefits from such a line elsewhere. Thus the government of Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic was reluctant to take a harsh line towards its own native Communists, professedly because of a desire to avoid provoking armed resistance by the Communists in the way that Betancourt is alleged to have provoked it in Venezuela.

all the peoples of Latin America, including contemporary revisionists, would like to see the Venezuelan people abandon their struggle for the overthrow of Romulo Betancourt's imperialist regime and wait for U.S. imperialism and Betancourt to give up their arms and thus offer freedom and independence to the Venezuelan people on a platter." The Albanians went on to say that "the Venezuelan Communist party has rejected the path of so-called reform and opposed the revisionist call for victory of the revolution only through peaceful means." The Soviets have repeatedly protested that this represented a distortion of their line, and Khrushchev in his 15 January speech to the East German congress challenged the Albanian leaders to name "a Communist party in any country which thought that a revolutionary situation had arisen in their country and wanted to start an uprising and found that the CPSU took a stand against armed struggle."

The fact remains, however, that Soviet propaganda support for the Venezuelan armed struggle, while considerable, has in the past been not nearly as voluminous or as vituperative as propaganda from Havana or Peiping. The Soviet Union has also apparently been concerned lest too overt intervention by Castro in the Venezuelan struggle --such as the crude attempts at invasion launched from Cuba against Caribbean countries in 1960--might involve the USSR in undesirable difficulties with the United States. [redacted] Castro had told the head of the PCV paramilitary organization prior to early November 1962 that he could not send arms to Venezuela because the USSR had demanded that he not send arms to any Caribbean country; however, Castro added that Algeria would be the PCV supply base for war materials. Finally, there are some indications that the CPSU in the past year may have taken a somewhat less sanguine view of the prospects for success offered by the current PCV strategy than that professed by Peiping, Havana, and the majority of the PCV leadership. For example, on 29 March 1962 a member of the French Communist party who acts as adviser to the Cuban embassy in Paris is [redacted] reported to have told the Cuban ambassador that he was not as optimistic as his Cuban friends about Latin America in general and Venezuela in particular; that the revolution would be hard to

achieve and that words alone would not succeed; that the situation was not as good as the Cubans thought and that it is a serious mistake to take action on the basis of a subjective belief that conditions are perfect when they are not. It is reasonable to believe, in view of other general allusions in French Communist party and CPSU statements to the danger of adventurist and premature actions, that this may represent the views of both the FCP and the CPSU.*

Nevertheless, regardless of whether or not the CPSU privately believes that the current PCV line continues to be appropriate, the Soviet party has apparently concluded that in the light of PCV views and the open Chinese challenge to CPSU authority the CPSU has no choice but to go on supporting that line, and to do so even more actively. The spring and summer of 1963 has in fact seen more vigorous Soviet steps to support Venezuelan insurrection than ever before. As already noted, in early May, during Castro's visit, Khrushchev and Pravda had made a most unusual public pledge that the CPSU would render all possible aid to Communist parties in their various struggles. Meanwhile, in mid-April a PCV official is reported to have told party members that he had recently visited the USSR, where his main party mission was to ask the CPSU for money; he claimed

*In the early spring of 1963 an emissary of the PCV was [redacted] reported on a trip through Latin America to visit various Latin American Communist parties--in particular, the Chilean party--and to explain the policies of the PCV to those parties, allegedly "because the PCV has been called a party with leftist and pro-Chinese deviations by leaders of the Communist parties in South America, all of which strongly support the USSR in its dispute with Communist China." If other parties do have such an attitude toward the PCV, it is likely to be caused primarily by the PCV's failure to support the CPSU against Peiping; it is also possible, however, that such an attitude by Latin American Communists could reflect CPSU intimations to them at some point of misgivings about the PCV line.

that although the Soviets had been cautious in responding, they had agreed that money would be sent within three or four months through the Soviet embassy in Mexico City, after that embassy had completed a study of the Venezuelan situation.* In June, four PCV members were reported to be en route to the Soviet Union for three months of advanced guerrilla warfare training, and a second group of four PCV members were planning to follow on 1 July. And in early July, Pravda and Izvestiya in quick succession published interviews with PCV politburo member Eduardo Gallegos and MIR President Antonio Delgado, each vehemently hailing the guerrilla war being waged in Venezuela. Immediately thereafter, Pravda on 10 July reported a meeting in Moscow the previous day dedicated to "solidarity with the people of Venezuela," and attended by Gallegos. The Soviets thus seem embarked on a course of vigorously competing with the Chinese for the affections of the PCV by aiding the violent PCV efforts more actively than ever before, despite the difficulties this may eventually create for the simultaneous Soviet efforts to promote an atmosphere of limited detente with the United States. If the views of the PCV majority on this question were ever to change, the position of the CPSU might possibly change as well. At present, however, such a PCV change of mind is not likely.

Ecuador

The third Latin American Communist party named by Corvalan as one in which Chinese Communist influence was increasing was that of Ecuador (the PCE). Here a Sino-

*This PCV official also stated that during his Soviet visit he had been given a reception at the Chinese embassy, attended by Soviet representatives, during which great tension was evident between the Chinese and Soviets. It would appear that the Chinese and the Soviets on this occasion were competing for PCV support, and the PCV was attempting to take advantage of the situation.

Soviet contest for influence has gone on within the framework of a long-standing factional struggle between the executive committee of the party central committee--which happens to have its headquarters in the port city of Guayaquil rather than the capital city, Quito--and the Pichincha provincial committee of the party, resident in Quito. The central antagonists in this factional battle have been Pedro Saad, secretary-general of the PCE, and Rafael Echeverria, secretary-general of the Pichincha committee. As time has gone on, these opposing factions have become increasingly identified with the Soviet and Chinese sides, respectively, of the Sino-Soviet dispute, in a process resembling what has occurred in the Belgium Communist party (where the Brussels Federation for a time became the organizational stronghold of the Chinese sympathizers) and the Indian Communist party (where the West Bengal and Punjab provincial committees until recently were pro-Chinese and anti-Soviet bastions). It should be noted, however, that CCP strength in the Ecuadorean party has become far greater than that ever reached in either the Belgium or Indian parties.

Complicating the struggle in the PCE have been the independent and competitive efforts of the Saad and Echeverria factions to maintain relations with the Castro regime and to obtain Cuban assistance in the form of money, weapons, and training. Further complicating the picture has been the relationship of the party as a whole and the two factions within it to radical groups outside the party, particularly two of these: the movement led by Manuel Araujo, former Ecuadorean Minister of Government, and the Revolutionary Union of Ecuadorean Youth (URJE), an organization set up with PCE assistance to attempt to take advantage of the appeal of the Cuban revolution to Ecuadorean youth. Both Araujo and the URJE have maintained at various times independent lines of communication to Castro and to Peiping, and have apparently obtained money and training from each. Although there have been inconsistencies in the lines followed by both Echeverria and Saad, the general tendency of Echeverria has been to push for the adoption of a guerrilla struggle on the Cuban model in Ecuador as soon as possible, and to that end to work privately (usually without the knowledge of the official PCE leadership) with

elements in the URJE and Araujo movements eager for guerrilla warfare; while the general tendency of Saad has been to oppose early attempts at guerrilla struggle as "adventurism," to work against party cooperation with Araujo or militant URJE leaders in such efforts, and, when compelled by party sentiment to do so, to agree to prepare for guerrilla struggle while in practice using every pretext to procrastinate.

Thus in May 1961 Echeverria was arrested momentarily by Ecuadorean police while taking part in illegal Communist military training together with a number of local URJE leaders, chief among them Jorge Ribadeneira, a member of Echeverria's Pichincha party committee. In April 1962, Ribadeneira and some forty-eight other URJE militants were captured by Ecuadorean troops while attempting to initiate a Cuban-financed* guerrilla operation fifty miles from Quito. There is some evidence that Echeverria had previous knowledge of this effort, although Saad did not. This event caused a considerable setback to the PCE and to Ecuadorean revolutionary efforts generally; and Saad made use of this fact in subsequent attempts to discredit Echeverria within the party. Meanwhile, Saad took advantage of the occasion to have Ribadeneira expelled from the PCE, and late in 1962 engineered a major purge of the URJE itself in which not only Ribadeneira but many other Castroite militant leaders unwilling to obey Saad and friendly to Echeverria were expelled, much to Echeverria's anger. In the meantime Manuel Araujo had returned in midsummer 1962 from a visit to the CPR and personal interviews with Mao and other Chinese leaders; he subsequently claimed that the Chinese were prepared to give unlimited support to the training and support of leftist revolutionary groups in Ecuador and elsewhere in Latin America, and boasted in exaggerated fashion that he was the chosen Chinese agent in Ecuador to select leaders

*Much of the money furnished by Castro for this endeavor was apparently embezzled by Ribadeneira and not accounted for to the Cubans, or so it was claimed by Saad and his allies.

for training by the Chinese. After the purge of the URJE by Saad, many of the expelled Castroites joined Araujo's new organization, which subsequently came to have increasingly close ties with the Echeverria wing of the PCE.

In the meantime, a PCE-led general strike in the fall of 1961 had played an important part in securing the overthrow of Ecuadorean President Velasco in November and his replacement by Vice President Arosemena, who had long been flirting with the PCE. The Communist position in Ecuador improved considerably under Arosemena in subsequent months, and the new president demonstrated an equivocal attitude toward Castro. The Soviet Union in the first months of Arosemana's rule made considerable efforts to woo his regime, and the CPSU greetings to the Seventh congress of the PCE, held in March 1962, congratulated the PCE warmly for its "victory" in November 1961, when PCE efforts "in defense of democracy and national sovereignty" were said to have "yielded fruit" and "barred the road to reaction." The CPSU statement gave no hint of an urgent need for further immediate changes. In contrast, the Chinese party greetings to the PCE congress, while also congratulating the PCE for its victory in preventing a "military coup d'etat," emphasized the need for the Ecuadorean party to "intensify daily" the struggle against U.S. imperialism, "for the formation of a national liberation front, for the establishment of a democratic coalition government, and for a radical change in the policy of the country." (Emphasis added.) Some months later, Echeverria in a speech to a Pichincha provincial party conference is reported to have criticized the party leaders for having been influenced by the "international policies" of the Arosemena government--i.e., the fact that the Soviet Union thought it could make use of those policies--so as to fail to maintain the "full independence" of the PCE toward Arosemena and to carry out a "frontal attack" against him. In June, Echeverria's provincial committee--and a few other PCE provincial organizations under Chinese influence--refused to take part in Ecuadorean elections as ordered by the central party leaders, on the grounds that such participation would give the masses illusions which would delay the inevitable and necessary Communist insurrection against the Arosemena government.

The decisions of the Seventh PCE congress in March, however, had apparently reflected a preponderant view of the party membership that the party could never come to power through such elections, and that the PCE should therefore begin preparations for armed insurrection. Beginning in the summer of 1962, the central party leadership under Saad finally undertook to set up a clandestine party apparatus to work underground, and also started to prepare explosives in local workshops. After a visit by Saad to Moscow in the fall of 1962, the PCE executive committee in January 1963 also decided to cooperate in preparing for guerrilla warfare, and a momentary agreement between the PCE, the URJE, and Araujo's organization to coordinate future guerrilla activities were reported in March. At a central committee meeting that month, Saad agreed to boycott the 1964 elections, but again dragged his feet on the question of when to initiate guerrilla operations, insisting that "armed struggle should crown the struggle of the masses and armed insurrection would spontaneously come as a result of the struggle of the masses." Under pressure from a central committee which by now appears to have had a pro-CCP and anti-CPSU majority, Saad finally agreed to organize a general strike for August 1963 and to begin guerrilla operations simultaneously with the general strike. Subsequently, however, Echeverria--as well as others--in private conversations repeatedly emphasized his conviction that Saad had no real intention of carrying out a guerrilla struggle, asserted that Saad had been trapped by a central committee majority into making a paper commitment, intimated that Saad was a traitor who had betrayed Echeverria's clandestine activities to the government in the past, and stated that he had no intention of trusting Saad but intended to go ahead with guerrilla efforts on his own. The preparations for guerrilla warfare undertaken by Saad and Echeverria were in fact apparently carried out separately, competitively, and in secrecy from each other, with reports indicating that Echeverria's activities were far more effective. In early June, Echeverria's group is [redacted] reported to have hijacked a cache of arms and ammunition hidden by the PCE executive committee, with the assistance of a PCE member who deserted Saad. By this time, however, other events had occurred which had formalized the split in the party.

Before considering those events, the effect of the party's fortunes upon its attitude toward the Sino-Soviet dispute should be examined. The PCE appears to have been one of the Latin American parties most profoundly affected by Chinese influence before the public eruption of the Sino-Soviet dispute in 1960, and PCE representatives took part in the talks with Mao in February 1959 and in the CCP courses given to Latin American Communists later that year. The PCE executive committee under Pedro Saad, however, throughout the subsequent course of the dispute has remained the principal source of CPSU strength in the Ecuadorean party. In June 1960 Saad privately commented to another PCE leader that he personally favored Soviet over Chinese views, but that some party members did not, notably Echeverria. At the November 1960 Moscow conference Saad is reported to have supported the Soviet position and to have directly criticized the Chinese, although another PCE leader has reported some initial wavering on the part of the Ecuadorean delegation. By the time of the 22nd CPSU congress in October 1961 events had weakened the CPSU position in the Ecuadorean party considerably. Although Saad in his public speech in Moscow was willing to risk a mild criticism of the Albanians, and is [redacted] reported to have wired his party not to send a message of greetings to Tirana, the PCE subsequently gave no public support to Khrushchev's anti-Albanian and anti-Chinese offensive. On his return home, Saad told a PCE central committee meeting that the party had very good relations with both the CPSU and the CCP, but that the executive committee of the party had decided not to make a report on the 22nd CPSU congress because the problem was a serious one and could cause other problems. In the meantime, however, the CPSU had reportedly asked Latin American parties not to send any more members to China for training; and this problem could not be evaded. At another central committee meeting in mid-February 1962, Saad succeeded in having the party refuse to send any students to the next CCP training course; this victory, however, was won by only one vote over the pro-CCP forces led by Echeverria, and was transitory. At the Seventh PCE congress the following month, Echeverria's followers brought the matter up again, and succeeded in having the central committee decision reversed. Saad himself is reported to have barely

succeeded in retaining his post as secretary general, and apparently did this only by offering concessions to the militants on the question of insurrection.*

The outcome of the Cuban crisis in the fall of 1962 is reported to have greatly increased dissatisfaction with the Soviet Union in the left faction of the party, particularly the Pichincha provincial organization. In mid-November, Saad left Ecuador for Moscow to discuss the effects of the crisis with the CPSU; there are also indications that Saad intended to complain to the CPSU about Echeverria and to ask for help against him. Judging, however, from statements made by Saad to party leaders about the inadequacy of a "soft" line in Ecuador immediately after his return two weeks later, the CPSU seems to have advised him to attempt to undercut the appeal of Echeverria and the pro-Chinese forces in the party by adopting a more militant posture and by preparing to take part in guerrilla warfare before Echeverria and the bulk of the party did so without him.

Meanwhile, in the winter of 1962-63 the PCE began to be gravely affected by the greatly augmented Chinese Communist propaganda campaign against the CPSU in every part of the world. in late December, Alejandro Roman, the PCE member and Echeverria follower who was correspondent for the NCNA office in Ecuador, informed the

*The cumulative effect of Chinese attacks on Soviet policy seems to have made life more difficult in 1961 and 1962 for a number of old Communist party leaderships loyal to the CPSU and favoring a cautious domestic line. Thus at the Sixth congress of the Indian Communist party in April 1961, the CPSU adherent Ajoy Ghosh--like Saad eleven months later--was forced to make a number of concessions to his party's left wing to safeguard his position as party secretary general. (See ESAU XVI-62, "The Indian Communist Party and the Sino-Soviet Dispute," 7 February 1962, pp 136-153.)

Chinese that he considered it necessary to double the circulation of the NCNA daily bulletin in Ecuador in order to win support for the Chinese point of view at a coming meeting of the PCE central committee. Roman reportedly asked the Chinese to send him material describing the Chinese position in the Sino-Soviet conflict which he would distribute within the party. Saad is said to have told Roman that he would not hinder these efforts, but that he would urge the Ecuadorean office of TASS to increase its efforts accordingly. Meanwhile, also in December 1962, certain leaders of the URJE who were sympathetic to the Chinese were reported to be working to form a People's Friendship Association with a special section dedicated to the promotion of Sino-Ecuadorean solidarity. These efforts were said to be supported by Araujo, who about the same time was displaying a great deal of affluence and was attempting to purchase a print shop, presumably for the publication of pro-Chinese materials. The money furnished for this purpose is likely to have been obtained either from Peiping or from Castro, who at the time, as we have seen, was in an acutely anti-Soviet phase. The purge of the URJE arranged by Saad at the turn of the year thus appears to have served not only Saad's interests in the factional struggle within the PCE but CPSU interests as well, and indeed could have been urged upon Saad by the Soviets in November.

In early January 1963, the Sino-Soviet dispute had divided the PCE executive committee, the stronghold of Saad and the CPSU; and Saad was quoted as indicating that a showdown on the Sino-Soviet issue would come at the next central committee meeting. When the central committee convened in mid-March, however, the weakness of Saad's--and the CPSU's--position in the PCE was again demonstrated. Saad's executive committee is reported to have presented the central committee with a document on the Sino-Soviet dispute which accused the CCP of being the guilty party. This document was attacked by the pro-Chinese forces, and the central committee voted not to send it to the USSR, but to send it to the party rank-and-file for discussion. At the same time, the central committee also decided to have prepared another document, this time conciliatory, asking for the unity of the Soviet Union

and China, and to send this letter to both Moscow and Peiping.

The next step was taken by the pro-Chinese forces. On 10 April, Jose Maria Roura, an Echeverria follower, left Ecuador in the company of the NCNA correspondent Alejandro Roman on a trip which was to take him to the CPR. Echeverria took steps to deceive the PCE leadership as to the purpose and destination of Roura's journey. Afterwards, Roura informed Echeverria that while in Peiping in early May he had met with representatives of the CCP central committee; that he had presented them with a complete, detailed report on the situation in Ecuador, including an appropriate attack on Saad; that this was no surprise to the Chinese, and that after studying his report the Chinese intimated to him that he should work toward splitting the PCE. The Chinese were quoted as saying that discipline and unity were all well and good as long as they served the purpose of bringing about revolution, but that if they did not serve this purpose then anything which was done for revolution was good. This is in line with the position taken by the CCP in its 14 June public letter to the CPSU, when Peiping openly threatened to split Communist parties betrayed by leaders who had departed from Marxism-Leninism. Roura reported that the Chinese gave him money with the condition that he was to set up a printing establishment to publish anti-Soviet pamphlets; any money which was not used for this purpose was to be used for the revolution. At about the same time, another Ecuadorian revolutionary with close ties with both the Echeverria wing of the PCE and Manuel Araujo, Captain Antonio Flores, appears to have taken a journey to Cuba--and possibly elsewhere in the bloc--during which time he read to some meeting a report attacking Saad and the Soviets and outlining his plans for revolution.

On 19 May, Roura was arrested when returning to Ecuador, and $27,500 given him by the Chinese was confiscated, together with various false documents and a plan

for terrorist activities in Ecuador.* On 2 June, Flores was similarly seized upon his return, and his detailed plan for guerrilla warfare was also confiscated. Both sets of documents were published by the Ecuadorean government, and there was widespread consternation in the PCE and among Ecuadorean revolutionaries--especially in Echeverria's circle, where it was privately acknowledged that Flores' document, which was particularly compromising, was genuine.

Meanwhile, Saad in late May took advantage of the occasion of the disaster to Roura to move against his party enemies. Saad had the central committee quickly convened to expel Roura from the party, to remove Echeverria as head of the Pichincha provincial committee, and to dissolve that committee to be replaced by a new one handpicked by Saad. Echeverria and his organization, however, refused to accept his verdict. Saad in Guayaquil and Echeverria in Quito were soon exchanging formal messages of mutual condemnation, and the two factions throughout June were busy sending emissaries throughout the country to solicit support from every provincial organization.

It was at this juncture, on 11 July, that a military junta overthrew President Arosemena, and proceeded to crack down on the activities of Communists and revolutionaries of every hue. The PCE was taken completely by surprise, was disorganized and unable to do anything, and most leaders immediately went underground. In Quito, Communists friendly to Saad are reported to have made overtures to Echeverria to forget their differences in view of the common danger; but these overtures were rejected in the belief that the underground PCE would now automatically come under the total control of the party militants.

*Roura's arrest took place as the result of a tip to the government from some unknown source. In view of certain of Saad's past actions, it is by no means inconceivable that he had got wind of Roura's journey and was responsible for this tip.

This belief seemed probably to be well-grounded. On 15 July, Saad and other PCE central authorities were arrested while hiding, and two days later Echeverria is reported to have presided over a meeting, in Guayaquil, of a few surviving leaders, all sympathetic to his viewpoint. Echeverria was not optimistic about the chances for immediate effective PCE opposition to the junta, but declared it necessary to prepare to take action in the future by sending guerrillas into the countryside at once, to be in readiness to begin military operations at a later date. Echeverria also proposed that those present at the meeting should constitute the nucleus of a "revolutionary national executive committee" to replace the central party body disorganized by the coup. This proposal was accepted, as was his suggestion that an emissary be sent to Communist China to explain the position of the new "revolutionary national executive committee" and seek support. Subsequently, in early August Echeverria revealed that he had failed to obtain funds he had expected to arrive from Cuba in July; it is possible that this Cuban action was the result of strong Soviet pressure. Echeverria now again avowed his determination to make contact with the Chinese, and expressed great confidence that he could obtain financial support from them. Regardless of what tactics the CPSU and Saad's wing of the PCE may adopt in the future, the Ecuadorean party is likely for some time to be dominated by forces which are already committed to hostility to the CPSU and sympathy for the CCP.

Peru

While intelligence on the effects of the Sino-Soviet conflict on the fourth party named by Corvalan--the Communist party of Peru (PCP)--is less plentiful than that dealing with some of the other Latin American parties, there is enough evidence to indicate that the Chinese have made considerable inroads on the Soviet position in this party, too, along with even greater gains among the other forces of the Peruvian left.

The PCP operates as a technically illegal party in a country which has one of the greatest extremes of wealth and poverty in Latin America. Much of the party's effort in recent years has gone into attempts to secure the allegiance of the landless peasants--chiefly Indians--in a struggle against the large landowners. In reality, however, the PCP is but the largest of a number of small Marxist splinter parties which are competing in this effort: among these competitors are no less than three Trotskyite parties, another which calls itself the Peruvian Leninist Communist party, and, more recently, a fifth composed of Castroites which is called the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), like the Castroite parties of that name in Venezuela and elsewhere. The major force of the Peruvian left, however, and the chief enemy of the PCP, is Haya de la Torre's APRA party, which favors drastic social reform but is strongly anti-Communist and generally pro-American.

The PCP for a number of years has been governed by a self-perpetuating clique which has taken a rather cautious line on the most suitable method of advancing the party's fortunes. As enunciated by acting secretary-general Jorge del Prado in his report to the Fourth congress of the PCP in August 1962, this line did not reject armed struggle as a method to be used by the party in the future, but did reject it as a tactic at present. In direct contradiction to Guevara's thesis, del Prado maintained that if only "objective" factors favoring revolution were present, but not the "subjective" factors, the effort would be premature. Instead, the party's efforts have been devoted to attempts to expand the party's strength among the workers and especially among the peasants; attempts to secure legalization and the right to participate in elections; in the meantime, attempts to employ a front (the National Liberation Front-FLN) as a vehicle for electoral and other legal activities to attract broad leftist support; and finally, attempts to infiltrate various large bourgeois parties, to enter into covert tactical alliances with prominent bourgeois leaders, and other attempts to take advantage of differences among its enemies.

A golden opportunity to take such advantage occurred with the Peruvian national elections of 1962, when the

Peruvian armed forces--obsessed with a hatred of the APRA party for many years--staged a coup to prevent the apparently victorious APRA leader from coming to power. In the first months after this coup, the military junta, in its eagerness to weaken the power of APRA in the labor unions and elsewhere, seemed clearly to be winking at a successful drive by the PCP to augment its strength in many spheres of national life at the expense of the APRA machine. This period of unusual opportunity came to a temporary end, however, early in 1963, when the junta cracked down on PCP activities and arrested for a time much of the top PCP leadership. This change in the junta's attitude was apparently motivated partly by the outcome of the Cuban missile crisis, which had a favorable effect in Peru, and partly by the pressure the United States and anti-Communist Peruvian forces were able to place on the junta as the result of exaggerated publicity given by the Cubans, the Chinese Communists, and the Peruvian anti-Communists to certain local Trotskyite and Castroite guerrilla activities in Peru. In particular, Castro had given an enormous propaganda build-up--and possibly material aid as well--to Hugo Blanco, a Trotskyite leader of some peasant groups in a valley near Cusco. When the Peruvian government began serious efforts to suppress these activities, Blanco's following rapidly disappeared, and he eventually surrendered. In the meantime, the PCP had suffered considerably; and in the World Marxist Review of May 1963, the PCP belittled the size and value of guerrilla activities in Peru, complaining bitterly that the "provocations" of the Trotskyites "enable the reactionaries to whip up the atmosphere needed for their repressions"--specifically, their repression of the PCP.

The arrested PCP leaders were eventually released, however; the PCP resumed its efforts along the same line as before, and in the Presidential election of 1963 at the last moment publicly threw its support to the successful candidate Belaunde, in the apparent expectation of future favors. As before, however, the PCP must reckon with the future effect upon Peruvian public opinion of Castro's efforts to introduce guerrilla warfare into Peru. From July 1962 through February 1963 Castro had reportedly provided guerrilla training for some 200 Peruvians of different revolutionary hues, including members of the MIR, Trotskyites.

some members of the Communist Youth, and another Castroite group known as the Army of National Liberation (ELN). In the spring of 1963 some of these trainees began to appear crossing into Peru from Bolivia and were captured by Peruvian police.

The CPSU position in all this seems somewhat ambiguous. In the spring and summer of 1962 the Peruvian Communist party leadership itself conceived a desire to initiate guerrilla warfare, but Moscow disapproved. After sending a message to Moscow in April outlining its views, and receiving no reply, the PCP in late May is said to have asked the Bolivian party to supply it with arms. This request was reportedly forwarded to the CPSU for guidance; the Soviet response was to instruct the Bolivians to give the PCP no arms at all, but only propaganda for the improvement of PCP indoctrination. Bolivian Communist leaders were quoted as stating privately that in October 1961 in Moscow they had been told by the Soviets that any PCP-initiated guerrilla war would be bound to fail, and that it would have a harmful effect on the electoral fortunes of the Communist party of Chile, which is Peru's neighbor to the south. The CPSU was also said to believe in October 1961 that the PCP should promote guerrilla warfare without participating openly as one of its leading forces and that it should dedicate its own efforts to uniting the Peruvian Communist movement and making itself the leading political force. Some years before, CPSU officials are similiarly reported to have intimated to Latin American Communists that in some cases armed struggle by forces outside their parties could be utilized to create a revolutionary situation from which the party proper could then take advantage.

However, if the PCP leadership in the spring and early summer of 1962 was eager to attempt guerrilla warfare itself, it apparently had abandoned such views by the time del Prado delivered his report to the party congress in late August. And if the CPSU looked with favor upon the Trotskyite efforts to begin a guerrilla struggle in the fall of 1962 and Castro's program of training future Peruvian guerrillas in the same period, it apparently regarded

revolutionary armed struggle in Peru as less harmful to the Chilean party if not directly controlled by the PCP than if it were so controlled--a fine distinction which seems implausible. Moreover, by granting the PCP space in the World Marxist Review for a vehement attack upon the Trotskyites, Blanco, and guerrilla or terrorist efforts generally, the CPSU was certainly not aiding Castro's efforts to encourage his Peruvian trainees (and others) to follow Blanco's example. The entire sequence of events suggests inconsistency and wavering on the part of both the PCP leadership and the CPSU. In the case of the Soviet party, such inconsistency is likely to have derived less from a changing appraisal of the Peruvian political situation than from vacillation on how best to deal with the threat to CPSU influence over the Peruvian left as a result of the Chinese challenge.

The Peruvian Communist party has long been divided by personal rivalries and regional resentment at the way the central party leadership was running the party; and at the Fourth PCP congress in August 1962, an unsuccessful effort to overthrow the leadership was made by delegates from the central and southern Peruvian provinces. In one such province--that of Arequipa--a regional party meeting in July 1961 is reported to have decided "to channel the party line to coincide with that of Communist China in its ideological contest with the USSR." No details are available. In 1960 and 1961, a good many Peruvian leftists, some of them party members, are reported to have visited the CPR for training, and the Chinese Communist position among the Peruvian left generally is said to have been greatly strengthened by the existence of a relatively large Chinese colony in Peru. There is also some evidence of Chinese strength in the central leadership of the PCP. In November 1960, Felix Bayona Gonzalez, secretary in charge of foreign party relations for the PCP, was reported receiving training in Communist China. Although Raul Acosta, the party secretary-general, has been reported to be a firm supporter of the CPSU, Jorge del Prado, the politburo member who replaced Acosta while the latter was imprisoned for some time, has been quoted [redacted] as admiring the works of Mao and as believing that the CPR would eventually be a stronger enemy of the imperialists

than the Soviet Union. The strongest supporter of Peiping in the PCP leadership, however, is apparently Alfredo Abarca, the secretary in charge of party propaganda who is concurrently an NCNA correspondent, and who has been quoted as comparing the Soviets unfavorably with the Chinese.

This fragmentary evidence of Chinese strength in the PCP is given weight by PCP conduct in the Sino-Soviet dispute. At the November 1960 Moscow conference, the Peruvian delegate apparently criticized the vituperative attack made at the conference against Khrushchev by Hoxha, yet evidently took an evasive position on the central issues in dispute between the CPSU and the CCP. Although del Prado briefly condemned the Albanians at the 22nd CPSU congress in October 1961, the PCP was one of the parties which said nothing further on this issue. Nevertheless, the PCP is reported to have responded obediently to the CPSU demand at this time to cease sending party leaders to China for training.

As in the case of the Ecuadorean party and many others, the Cuban crisis of October 1962 is believed to have given a more sharply Sino-Soviet focus to the long-standing factional disputes in the PCP. Although the central party leadership is reported to have strongly supported Khrushchev's actions, the dissidents are said to have echoed Chinese charges that he had shown weakness in the face of imperialism. In late November, PCP leaders in the town of Chimbote were reported to have cabled congratulations to Mao on the line he had taken toward India and added that they agreed with the CCP in the Sino-Soviet dispute. In early December, there were reports of continuing friction among PCP leaders on this question, and Abarca was quoted as stating that he had information (presumably given him directly by the Chinese) that Peiping would launch an intensive campaign to gain support in Latin America in the struggle with Moscow. During the East European party congresses in November and early December, the Peruvian delegate took an ambiguous position at the Bulgarian congress, then attacked Albania at the Hungarian party congress, but apparently either refused or was not given an opportunity to speak at the Czechoslovak congress, when a chorus of Soviet supporters openly attacked the Chinese as well as the Albanians.

In early January, the PCP was reported to have received a communication from the Chinese party enclosing the Chinese proposals for an agenda for a meeting of world Communist leaders. The arguments in this message are likely to have been similar to those contained in the open letter to the CPSU on this subject published by Peiping on 14 June, and it is conceivable that the communication received by the PCP was a counterpart of the document reportedly handed to the Venezuelan Communist party at the East German party congress in mid-January. Proselyting by Moscow and Peiping evidently continued, since on 1 June Abarca told a group of party members that the PCP had just made "international contact" with both. At this time, the Soviets are reported to have asked the PCP to select its best members for labor and political training in Moscow. A month later, a PCP cell meeting was told that the Soviets had sent to Peru copies of a book by Thorez, attacking the CCP and the Albanian party. It was reported that circulation of the book in PCP cells in Lima and in southern Peru--apparently, the Chinese stronghold--had brought some protests, and that party members were saying that they were receiving only the Soviet side of the dispute, and were requesting publications from Peiping. In short, in mid-summer 1963 divisions within the PCP were apparently being further aggravated as a result of the Sino-Soviet conflict, although they were still not as grievous as those in the Ecuadorean or Indian parties. The CPSU seemed to continue to hold a narrow lead within the PCP.

Other Pro-Chinese Dissidents

In the remaining orthodox Communist parties of Latin America--those of Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, the Dominican Republic, and the six Central American parties--the pro-CPSU leaderships are considerably stronger. In almost all of these parties, however, there is evidence of increasing pro-Chinese dissidence. Some comments follow.

Mexico: Here the party leadership has been among the most loyal to Moscow in Latin America despite the fact

that it has had to share Moscow's favor with a much larger Marxist competitor, Vicente Lombardo Toledano's Popular Socialist party. As early as August 1960, however, a Mexican Communist party (PCM) central committee member from the state of Nuevo Leon, Prisciliano Garza, told Nuevo Leon PCM leaders that he had recently returned from the USSR and China and that he was disturbed by the deteriorating relations between the two countries, which he said was caused by Soviet adherence to a tactical line described by the Chinese as "weak and non-aggressive." Garcia said the PCM must study the controversy and decide which to support; he himself was reported as personally favoring the Chinese. At about the same time, the Chinese party is reported to have dispatched from Cuba a communication to the political commission of the PCM, outlining the standard Chinese views on war and revolution; this letter may have been given the Mexicans at the Cuban PSP congress in Havana in August by Wu Hsiu-chuan. Not long afterward, in late September 1960, the first shipment of 2,000 copies of the Spanish edition of the Chinese brochure Long Live Leninism arrived in Mexico, with additional shipments to follow; this brochure was used by the Chinese for the promotion of their anti-Soviet views among all the leftist forces of Mexico, and may have been distributed elsewhere in Latin America from Mexico.

By the end of 1962 the conflict between the pro-Soviet majority of the PCM leadership and the pro-Chinese minority was about to come to a head. As was the case elsewhere, the chief Soviet strength was in the top leadership, with Chinese adherents--who were also generally ardent Castro-ites--concentrated in the lower echelons. The pro-Chinese minority in the higher echelons of the party was led by Edelmiro Maldonado, a former PCP political commission member who was reported to have thrown his support to the CCP partially in reaction to Khrushchev's attempts to force the world movement to attack the Chinese. [redacted] a Chinese Communist trade delegation in Mexico between January 5 and January 20, 1963 exacerbated the conflict within the PCM by offering the party leadership badly-needed financial aid in exchange for support against the CSPU. This offer was said to have been rejected by the PCM and

reported to Moscow as evidence of PCM loyalty and as reason for the CPSU itself to give greater financial assistance to the party. The PCM, like many another Communist party, thus seems to have taken advantage of the Chinese threat by attempting extortion from the CPSU.

Following rejection of the Chinese offer, dissension within the PCM is reported to have increased greatly, and at the ninth plenum of the PCM central committee, held in February 1963, the pro-CPSU leadership led by party secretary Arnoldo Martinez was hard put to force through a resolution explicitly endorsing the CPSU and opposing the CCP. After having been defeated by a narrow majority, the pro-CCP leader Maldonado is said to have resigned from the central committee in protest. Another pro-Chinese leader, Samuel Lopez, is said to have been removed from the political commission. Pro-CPSU leaders were promoted to the political commission, the Soviet position in the top leadership was strengthened, and the central committee sent speakers out to the different states of Mexico to try to line up provincial support. Until this was done, a planned party congress was postponed.

Meanwhile, however, the Chinese continued their counter-offensive in Mexico. In March, the Spanish-language edition of Peking Review began to appear in Mexico, featuring the vitriolic Chinese attacks now being made on the CPSU. The distribution of this journal had apparently been arranged by the Chinese trade delegation in January in contacts with the Mexican-Chinese Friendship Society. Subsequently, the Chinese were reported to have instructed the head of this society to increase the number of state committees of the society in order to assure dissemination of Chinese views; the newly-formed state committees were to compile names and addresses of all local sympathizers so that if the Mexican government closed the society, propaganda could be sent to suitable recipients directly from Peiping. Verdugo and other pro-Soviet leaders in June were commenting on the enormous Chinese publicity efforts in Mexico, and on the harm this was doing to the party.

The CCP adherents in the Mexican party were simultaneously attempting to take advantage for their purpose of the long-existent factional divisions in the party. In late March, one important party cell in the Mexican Federal District (Mexico City) wrote a letter to the PCM central committee strongly attacking what it considered to be the arbitrary stand taken by the leadership in favor of the CPSU; one of the signers of this letter was a central committee member. The letter called on the central committee to distribute the Chinese documents throughout the party to give the rank-and-file access to the Chinese side of the story. Meanwhile, the pro-Chinese leader Maldonado appears to have successfully concluded negotiations begun earlier with the faction of the party still loyal to Dionisio Encina, a Stalinist secretary-general of the party for many years who had been dethroned after the 20th CPSU congress and was now imprisoned by the government. In March the Encina faction also began to disseminate pamphlets and letters--within the PCM and abroad to Moscow and Peiping--attacking the anti-Chinese position of the party leadership.

The pro-CPSU leadership responded by cracking down. In May, certain leaders of the Nuevo Leon state committee active in spreading Chinese views were temporarily suspended from the party; and in mid-July, after the failure of the Sino-Soviet talks in Moscow, a central committee plenum was held which suspended from the party Maldonado and two other pro-Chinese national leaders. Immediately after this plenum, the PCM issued the first formal public statement by the party directly supporting the CPSU and attacking the Chinese, a statement which was promptly welcomed by Soviet propaganda and reprinted in Pravda. The pro-CPSU forces in the PCM at this point apparently felt confident enough to plan to convene the long-discussed party congress in August, and the CPSU seems likely to retain the upper hand in the Mexican Communist party for some time.

Brazil: In this country, which has nearly half the population of South America and is the major Communist target in the Western Hemisphere, the large and semi-legal orthodox Brazilian Communist party (PCB) led by Luis Carlos Prestes has for years been striving with some success to expand the party's influence in Brazilian political life

by exploiting a complex network of relationships with extremely diverse leftist and nationalist forces. Some of the more important of these forces now include: President Goulart, an opportunist who rose to power with the support of the left and who has since attempted to increase his personal power by making concessions alternately to right and left; Leonel Brizola, Goulart's son-in-law, a former state governon and now a federal deputy, who has become the leading anti-American demagogue in Brazil with propaganda lavishly financed by Brazilian industrialists; Antonio Garcia, a federal deputy who has attempted to use the organization of Brazilian Army Sergeants he has headed to further the cause of the left and oppose the United States; Francisco Juliao, a lawyer who heads an organization of peasant leagues in the state of Pernambuco and who has had close relations with Castro; Miguel Arraes, the new governor of Pernambuco who is strongly pro-Communist and has placed the PCB in a powerful position in Pernambuco, but who is apparently not yet subject to PCB discipline; a variety of Communists, pro-Communists, and waverers at different levels in Goulart's administration (where they are juxtaposed to anti-Communists); the leftist minority in the leadership of the armed forces; and the leftist wings which exist in each of the several Brazilian bourgeois parties.

Brazilian political life is thus quite complicated. The PCB under Prestes, despite its nominal illegality, has been able to play an important role openly, adopting a course of supporting Goulart when he leaned to the left and opposing him when he leaned the other way. The PCB's efforts have been impeded, however, by its competitors on the left who have attacked it for its refusal to advocate violence at the present stage: in particular, Juliao, whose organization has received encouragement and, at times, financial assistance from Castro for the preparation of guerrilla warfare; and the dissident Communist party of Brazil (CPB), a relatively small organization which was formed in 1962 by rebels who were expelled from the PCB in 1961 for opposing Prestes and demanding a more militant line.

The Cuban government is reported in december 1962 to have temporarily halted financial aid to Juliao as the

result of the capture by the Brazilian police of Cuban-supplied arms while being transported by Juliao's organization. Subsequently, Juliao and Prestes both visited Cuba in February 1963 in what was apparently a Soviet-inspired attempt to coordinate policy; although Prestes and the CPSU appear to have eventually secured from Castro a commitment to take a more moderate public line regarding revolution in Brazil, Juliao is later reported to have quoted Castro as expressing renewed conviction of the necessity for armed revolution in Brazil. Juliao is said to have told his followers that his meeting with Castro had been more than satisfactory and that Castro had promised continued moral and material support. According to Juliao, Castro was convinced that Juliao's armed revolutionary plans, rather than the united-front line of the PCB, represented the most practical method of securing a revolution in Brazil. Prestes, meanwhile, told his party that he had not been able to carry out its instructions to protest Cuban aid to Juliao, because Castro refused to discuss the matter. Prestes interpreted this as evidence that Castro would continue to help Juliao, and later made a number of critical remarks about Cuba and Castro privately. Subsequently, in August Juliao was reported to be attempting to arrange travel to Cuba for five Brazilians who were to obtain guerrilla training there. At the same time, Juliao was said both to be negotiating an alliance with the dissident CPB and to be preparing a trip to the CPR to seek material support; this trip was said by a usually reliable source to have been arranged with the Chinese ambassador in Cuba while Juliao was there.

While there is no good evidence of the current real Soviet attitude toward Juliao, and while it is possible that the CPSU could have covertly approved further assistance by Castro to Juliao despite Prestes' objections, it seems unlikely that the CPSU in fact did so, if only because of Juliao's subsequent attempts to ally himself with the CPB, which is openly hostile to the CPSU, and with Peiping.

Meanwhile, as 1963 went on the Brazilian Communist party became more and more concerned with protesting to the Chinese the relations which Peiping was maintaining

with the party's enemies. It has been reported that at the East German party congress in mid-January, the Brazilian delegates demanded an explanation from the Chinese as to why they maintained communication with persons expelled from the PCB (i.e., persons in the CPB), and why they had a book-distributing company in Brazil directed by non-Communists. At about that time the PCB is said to have received information that Radio Peiping had been broadcasting news of Brazil based on articles carried in Classe Operaria, the CPB newspaper, as well as on documents sent by the CPB to China;* further, that the CPB had received financial support from China. When Prestes left on his journey to the Soviet Union and Cuba in early February, one purpose which he privately avowed for the trip was to protest to the Soviets and Cubans regarding the Cuban line toward Brazil** and to protest to Chinese representatives against the CCP's contacts with the dissident CPB. After Prestes returned, his party sent an official delegation to make this point in Peiping in late March; in China, this delegation in mid-April was given a "friendly" audience with Mao Tse-tung.

*[redacted] the staff of Classe Operaria, in turn, listened to broadcasts of Radio Peiping and often printed items they heard on such broadcasts.

**In addition to protesting the Cuban attitude toward Juliao, Prestes probably remonstrated against Castro's contacts with the CPB. In late May 1962 CPB leaders are [redacted] reported to have had talks with Castro in Cuba, following which they stated that Castro had told them he supported the CPB line. Castro is said to have urged the Brazilian dissidents to organize guerrilla activities as quickly as possible, in coordination with mass demonstrations in the cities--i.e., to follow the Venezuelan model. He is said to have stated that popular unrest and inevitable government reprisals against the revolutionists would cause such a revolutionary movement to gain strength until the government would no longer be able to contain it.

In the meantime, however, two leaders of the dissident CPB had already gone to China in early February. [redacted] the Chinese received them well and held elaborate discussions with them on several subjects, including a long list of Chinese charges against the Soviet Union. The Chinese were said to have stated that they supported the policies of the CPB but that they could not yet break with the PCB because such a break with the officially recognized party would only support the Soviet charges that the Chinese were promoting disunity. The Chinese added, however, that they thought it likely that the PCB would eventually break ties with Peiping, at which time the Chinese would be able to support the CPB openly.

The Chinese also cautioned the dissident Brazilian Communists not to expect an easy revolution in Brazil, and to bear in mind that the Chinese revolution had taken thirty years. The CCP stated that the revolution in Cuba had been rapid because the Batista government was clearly reactionary and oppressive, whereas the situation in Brazil was more difficult because of Goulart's nationalistic demagoguery, which deceived the masses into believing he was not obeying the imperialists; also, because the official Brazilian Communist party was collaborating with Goulart and thus delaying the revolution. The Chinese advised the CPB to concentrate its efforts on winning over the bulk of the Brazilian Communists from the PCB. (This latter recommendation resembled the advice given the Ecuadorean Communist dissident Roura in Peiping two months later.)

CPB delegations are subsequently reported to have been invited to May Day celebrations in Albania, North Korea, and Cuba, while a PCB delegation attended May Day in the Soviet Union and heard privately a number of bitter Soviet complaints against the Chinese. In early July, the PCB National Directorate approved a party statement on the Sino-Soviet dispute which was subsequently published in the party organ Novos Rumos and then republished in summary form in Pravda of 27 July. As it had numerous times before in closed international meetings, Prestes' party strongly supported the CPSU against the Chinese; this time, however, the PCB public statement of support added--and Pravda printed--a condemnation of the "divisionist activity of the anti-party

group which publishes Classe Operaria," and a statement that "the fact that the articles of Classe Operaria are broadcast by Radio Peking...cannot be good for friendly relations between the Brazilian and Chinese Communists." The CPSU had thus endorsed an attack on the CPB, perhaps as the price for securing continued firm support against the Chinese from Prestes. Not only the CPB, however, but Juliao also has been seeking assistance from Peiping; and if Prestes' party should openly begin to attack Juliao, the CPSU will be placed in a very difficult position, particularly if Juliao continues to obtain aid from Castro as well.

In early July, simultaneously with the decision to publish the PCB statement, the PCB national directorate is [redacted] reported to have sent a letter to the Chinese central committee again requesting an explanation of Chinese conduct toward the CPB. According to statements by Prestes, this letter asked if the Chinese actions implied recognition of the CPB rather than the PCB as the official Communist party in Brazil, and requested an immediate reply. In view of past Chinese tactics, however, it seems likely that the Chinese will continue to wait for Prestes to cut his ties with them, rather than be provoked by his belligerent letter into doing so themselves. Prestes has postponed a scheduled congress of his party from November 1963 until early next year because of dissension within his own ranks. CPB officials are reliably reported to have asserted that a "leftist current" has arisen in Prestes' party, and that an organized group exists even in his central committee. Other reporting has confirmed the existence of such an opposition faction in the PCB which has been calling for a much tougher line toward Goulart. The CPB is reported to estimate that if Prestes attempts to hold his party congress, the party will probably split. The Chinese may well agree with this estimate, may expect the CPB to benefit thereby, and may be waiting for this event to announce their recognition of the CPB.

Colombia: Here the official Communist party, whose leadership has been consistently and outspokenly loyal to the CPSU against the Chinese, operates in a country where

rural violence, much of it not politically directed, has been widespread for many years. Other leftist forces--notably the Worker-Student-Peasant-Movement (MOEC) and the United Front for Revolutionary Action (FUAR)--have been pressing for some time for the organization of a guerrilla war to take advantage of the demonstrated government inability to enforce its will in the countryside, and to carry out a revolution. A minority faction in the Colombia Communist party (PCC)--chiefly based in rural areas--has agreed with this position for a number of years, and has exerted unsuccessful pressure on the majority party faction--led by the secretary general Gilbert Vieira--to abandon its announced policy of keeping the party removed from direct participation in armed struggle and of relying on efforts to build up a united front within the existing political framework. There is some evidence suggesting that the Cubans have given both encouragement and financial aid to the FUAR and the MOEC, and some of Castro's inflammatory attacks on revolutionaries who wait for the corpses of their enemies to be carried past have seemed to be directed at Vieira. The PCC leadership, however, has steadfastly refused to abandon the position that it would be premature for the party to adopt a policy of violent struggle, and has conducted a long polemic in Colombian publications and in the World Marxist Review against "adventurists" and "extremists" who would force the PCC into actions not justified by objective conditions. The Colombian party is also believed to have protested directly at various times to the Cubans against the Cuban attitude, both in Moscow and Havana.

The Cubans, however, have given no sign of changing that attitude, and Che Guevara in June 1963 is reported to have requested a comprehensive report on Colombia from a trusted agent, to cover guerrilla activities and other matters and to be used in Cuba as a basis for future revolutionary plans for Colombia. Colombia was also one of the countries named by Castro in his 26 July 1963 speech as being ripe for armed revolt. In a political resolution of the PCC central committee adopted in February 1963 which reaffirmed PCC support for the CPSU against the Chinese, it was stated that the dangers of dogmatism and sectarianism on the international scale had augmented greatly, and that for the Colombian party these tendencies now represented

the principal danger in the party's fight for Colombian "liberation." It is likely, in fact, that unless the CPSU comes to advocate openly PCC participation in a guerrilla war and also persuades Vieira to adopt this line, the combined effect of further Cuban pressure for guerrilla warfare opposed by a PCC leadership identified with the CPSU, on the one hand, and the general Chinese offensive in Latin America, on the other hand, will induce the PCC minority favoring the tactics espoused by the Cubans to give increasing support to the Chinese party against the CPSU. The Soviet party, however, seems unlikely to press Vieira to change his line, and Vieira seems even more unlikely to do so. The prospect, therefore, is for steadily increasing Chinese influence in a party still generally loyal to the CPSU.