

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 3

January 17, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - Paris-2^e

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FIRST NEGRO CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.

By Joseph Hansen

The Socialist Workers party has won the historic distinction of nominating the first Negro candidate for the highest office in the country. Negroes have been nominated for the vice-presidency but never the

presidency of the United States.

The American socialist candidate is Clifton DeBerry, a 39-year-old unionist and civil-rights fighter who was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi.

Edward Shaw was named as DeBerry's running mate. Shaw is forty, a native of Illinois, a former seaman, a draftee and at present a printer. He has been very active in work aimed at presenting the truth about Cuba and in defending the Cuban Revolution in the very heart of its mighty imperialist foe.

The two nominations were made by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party at a recent meeting; and the nominating speech for the slate was made by Farrell Dobbs, who was presidential candidate for the Socialist Workers party four times.

The candidacies of DeBerry and Shaw mark a turning point in the history of the Socialist Workers party and thereby the American socialist movement.

Dobbs first ran in 1948 together with Grace Carlson as vice-presidential candidate. Both were from the Twin Cities, Minnesota, and both were products of the great union organizing drive of the thirties that culminated in formation of the CIO.

Dobbs gained fame as one of the young leaders in the bitter strike struggles that converted Minneapolis from one of the worst open-shop towns into a union city. He spearheaded the subsequent organizing drives in the Northwest that eventually rolled up such power for the Teamsters Union that it became the largest and one of the strongest unions in the country.

There is no doubt that Farrell Dobbs could have become one of America's top labor bureaucrats -- a James Hoffa. He turned deliberately away from such an undignified and unworthy career to devote his full talents and energy to the struggle for a socialist America. He thus symbolized the best in the militant vanguard of the American trade-union movement, and that was how he was appreciated as the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party.

In 1952 Dobbs was joined by Myra Tanner Weiss as the vice-presidential candidate and the two defended revolutionary socialism at the height of the hysteria generated by the Korean War and the worst witch-hunt in the history of the United States.

They ran into a similar situation in 1956 in the crisis over Suez and the red-baiting of the still virulent McCarthyite movement.

In 1960 Dobbs was the only presidential candidate to defend the Cuban Revolution. After a trip to Cuba, he took on both Kennedy and Nixon wherever it was possible on radio, TV, the newspapers, on the streets and in public gatherings. His remained the strongest voice

still echoing the militant mood and the great struggles of the thirties.

A new development has now occurred in the United States -- the rise of the Negro people. This is a turn fraught with boundless possibilities for it is tied in with the colonial revolution that has shaken the entire world.

A new generation of militant fighters has appeared on the American political scene, a generation that is learning about the class struggle in the streets and jails of the South and in demonstrations that have flared up from coast to coast as the most oppressed sector of society rises to its feet, seeking justice and fair treatment.

DeBerry and Shaw represent this new generation. As banner bearers of socialism they can be expected to put on a fighting campaign measuring up in every respect to the militant tradition of American socialism.

Revolutionary socialists throughout the world will no doubt wish them the best of luck as they go forth in the main citadelle of capitalism in 1964 championing the cause of the oppressed everywhere.

TINY PANAMA STANDS UP TO THE U.S.

Roberto Chiari, the conservative president of the tiny republic of Panama, told Lyndon Johnson, the head of the mightiest imperialist power in world history, that his people demand a revision of the one-sided treaty foisted on the Panamanians. Chiari said this directly to Johnson over the telephone when the U.S. president called up January 10 to see if something couldn't be done to stop the Panamanians from demonstrating in the streets.

On the same day the Panamanian government courageously broke diplomatic relations with Washington. Foreign Minister Galileo Solis wired Dean Rusk that American troops had killed 17 of his countrymen and wounded 200. It was reported that three U.S. soldiers were killed and 34 wounded in fighting January 9.

Officials at the U.S. embassy in Panama burned secret records and moved out as the anger of Panama's people reached explosive proportions.

In the United Nations, Panama's representative Aquilino Boyd levelled grave charges against Washington January 10. "Panama," he said, "is the victim of an unprovoked armed attack against its unarmed civilian population, an attack which has caused at least twenty deaths and three hundred wounded. This act of aggression was perpetrated by the American forces without the least act of hostility on the part of the Panamanian government and people."

The outbreak of violence January 9 was caused, Boyd said, by residents of the Canal Zone "who are distinguished by their hostility

toward Panama, their racial prejudices toward the Panamanians and the disdain they display toward the obligations contracted by the United States for the benefit of Panama."

The wave of violence began, according to reports, when Americans hoisted the Stars and Stripes in violation of solemn agreements reached with the U.S. government.

Behind the outbreak stood sixty years of arrogant imperialist domination. In the same years that the United States was getting a firm grip on Cuba through occupation forces, the newly emergent imperialist power decided it needed a canal across the Isthmus of Panama.

The main engineering work was done by "Rough Rider" Theodore Roosevelt. He swung the "Big Stick" on Columbia and, failing to get immediate satisfaction, inspired a "revolution" on November 3, 1903, in the northern province -- under the "protection" of American marines. Three days later Roosevelt recognized the new republic. Two weeks later the puppet government signed a "treaty," conceding the Canal Zone to the Big Brother of the North.

The U.S. government agreed to pay for the concession which was of enormous strategic economic and military importance to the United States; namely, the peanut amount of \$10,000,000 cash and \$250,000 rent each year.

Panama has succeeded in getting the unwelcome tenant to increase the rent over the years to make up for inflation. In 1936 Franklin D. Roosevelt agreed to make it \$430,000. In 1955 it was agreed to pay \$1,930,000 a year. The truth is that in the entire period in which the Panama Canal has been in operation, not more than five percent of the tolls have gone to Panama.

During the years other minor concessions have been made to Panamanian demands, notably in 1959 under a Republican administration. President Eisenhower formally admitted that Panama retains nominal sovereignty over the Canal Zone. One of the main consequences of this was recognition of the right of the Panamanians to fly their flag side by side with the Stars and Stripes on certain public buildings.

In 1963 Panama won further modifications of the unequal treaty. One of the concessions was agreement to pay Panamanian workers a minimum wage of \$.70 an hour, to be raised to \$.80 an hour in 1964.

This gesture in the direction of equality of pay remained rather insubstantial, however, since American-born workers are given special bonuses as well as high pay. Moreover ninety percent of the well-paid positions are held by American citizens.

Panama's main demand now is complete revision of the treaty. "It is necessary to nationalize or internationalize the canal," said Panama's representative in the United Nations, "and guarantee special privileges to the country it crosses."

THE DEMONSTRATIONS AT ORAN

On Monday January 6 a few hundred people demonstrated before the offices of the city administration at Oran. According to one report, two grievances were involved, some street peddlers protested an order barring them from streets where vehicular traffic is especially heavy, and workers employed at a city project to replace a shanty town with decent homes, protested not receiving their pay. (A different report said they protested being laid off.)

The following day a crowd estimated from 1,500 to 2,000 roamed the city. They were mostly very young youths. They shouted such slogans as "Vive Ferhat Abbas!" and "Vive Ben Khedda!" (These are right-wing figures who represent the neocolonialist tendency in Algeria.) The youths also shouted "Vive de Gaulle!" And there were some reports that a French flag (perhaps more than one) was waved.

The crowd stopped streetcars; smashed windows; swung clubs on parked automobiles. The city administration was invaded and the offices wrecked, according to Paris papers.

By evening a counter demonstration was underway. Some 7,000 supporters of the government marched through the streets, shouting "Vive Ben Bella!" and "A bas la contre-révolution!" ["Down with the counter-revolution!"]

On January 8 the city turned out massively. Even the bitterly anti-Ben Bella rightist press in Paris admitted that at least 100,000 people demonstrated in favor of the government, while the Algiers press put the figure at 200,000; that is, half the population of Oran.

Hastily painted banners carried slogans denouncing the bourgeoisie and the counterrevolution. The FLN [Front de Libération Nationale] was hailed as "The Sole Guarantee of the Socialist Future." Other banners carried mottos like "Socialism Is Synonymous with Social Justice." Pictures of Ben Bella were borne by many.

In Algiers, the government took the vandalistic demonstration of Tuesday as a serious move by the counterrevolution. Among the steps the government took was organization of revolutionary tribunals of the people such as were set up in Cuba when the counterrevolution raised its head. A number of arrests were made in Oran and these simple courts went into action, meting out jail sentences.

In a fighting speech, Ben Bella declared: "The socialist revolution will not submit. . . In Oran we have broken the backbone of the counterrevolution, and we will continue to follow the road taken by Cuba, Yugoslavia and China."

In the aftermath of the events it was clear that behind the events in Oran stood the big problem of unemployment which Algeria is still far from solving. This problem is all the more bitter for those who placed the greatest hopes in the revolution against French imperialism

but who have not yet been able to win the guarantee of steady employment.

It is this economic difficulty, a classic one in the opening stages of a great social upheaval, which the counterrevolution seeks to exploit. That the counterrevolution was active in Oran is quite evident. Jean-François Kahn, special correspondent of Le Monde admitted [in the issue of January 12-13] that there could be "little doubt of it."

The solution to the problem of unemployment is very difficult in Algeria in the aftermath of seven and a half years of one of the cruellest wars in history, the departure in mass of the French, and the refusal of the West to grant substantial credits. Kahn cites a typical instance of the problem:

"Throughout Oran many plants are still closed. Seicador, an enterprise for handling oranges, which could employ 250 workers and provide a living for 1,500 persons, has not yet reopened its doors because it lacks a qualified chemist."

It is to close such glaring holes that the Algerian government has appealed for aid from all sources. Heartening responses to the appeal have come from many countries, but as the events in Oran show, the trickle of aid must be increased to a swift flow.

Otherwise, the danger to the revolution is bound to increase.

[To send aid to Algeria, or to inquire about how you can help, write to the Bureau National pour l'Assistance Non-gouvernementale, 26 rue Ben M'Hidi Larbi, Alger, Algeria.]

ALGERIA CORRECTS SOME ERRORS IN NATIONALIZATION

The Algerian Revolution has had to face many economic difficulties, the causes of which are well known: the heritage of the colonial period, the structure created by it, the lack of skilled workers and professionals. The Algerian Revolution has energetically taken the road toward construction of a socialist society. To get the economy going after the departure of the French was a real feat. The inauguration of the self-management system contributed a great deal in this.

But to get things going could not constitute more than a single stage. Bigger problems arose: planning, investments, profitability, etc.

The Algerian government began the year 1964 with a certain number of measures which have been represented by various newspapers as a "retreat" -- as if the socialist orientation were being abandoned. This interpretation is completely false, a lie.

Some small businesses which had been nationalized were turned back

to their former proprietors. Minister of Economy Bachir Boumaza, recalling that Ben Bella had declared "that it was better to commit ten to fifteen percent errors" than do nothing and thus go one hundred percent wrong, said that the measures had been taken to rectify these "ten to fifteen percent errors."

In the same speech before the National Assembly, he declared:

"We will not nationalize the coffee stands and the beauty parlors, only the key industries and those that provide goods of prime necessity to the peasants.

"We agree to the existence of a semipublic sector with foreign industrial groups, whether they are strictly private or nationalized like Renault. We also wish to maintain a private sector with skilled people whom we lack. We are also willing to let these enterprises take part of their profits out of the country. With regard to this, the new regulation on transfers of funds will not affect the provisions of the code of investments.

"We are prepared to guarantee private property for a certain period, but eventually the private sector must disappear."

In the context in which it is expressed, the program can lead toward socialism -- considered, of course, within a world framework likewise moving toward socialism -- under more rational conditions. No valid objection can be made to the principles enunciated in the situation. A certain amount of trial and error is inevitable in practice.

In practice, too, it is not at all sure or even likely that foreign capital, although it is primarily concerned about profits, will feel inclined to help the policy of a government resolved to move ahead toward socialism. For various reasons the French government at the moment has a stake in practicing "co-operation" with revolutionary Algeria. But how long will this go on? Whatever the answer may be, it is necessary for Algeria to try to follow a flexible policy in this respect as long as possible without injuring the socialist aims that have been decided on.

BEN BELLA REAFFIRMS SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA

At a reception inaugurating the headquarters of the "Algérie-Cuba Committee" in Algiers January 4, Ben Bella reaffirmed the strong ties of solidarity uniting the two countries. Following remarks by a number of other speakers, Ben Bella took the floor to say a few words:

"I should like to express the deep pleasure I feel at the inauguration of this first headquarters, which I hope will not be the last. There are times when the heads of state say what they really feel. That's what I'm doing right now. I feel great emotion at attending the inauguration of this first headquarters of the 'Algérie-Cuba Committee.'"

"I hope that the Committee will not confine its activities to the capital alone but will also get into the other towns of the country, because I would like everybody to know, once and for all, that despite the different nature of our two countries, the determination of men and peoples have united these two countries in a way never before seen in the world.

"Brother Serguera [Comandante Jorge Serguera, the Cuban ambassador] said many generous things about us. I would like to say how grateful our revolution and our militants are to the Cuban Revolution. Even in the prisons we followed the struggle of this people that wanted to stand erect. I'd like to say that we feel close to them. That's what I told Fidel Castro when I went to Havana. Today our friendship is deeper, firmer, and without a rift.

"Any blow struck against the Cuban Revolution is a blow struck against the Algerian Revolution."

Ben Bella encouraged the members of the "Algérie-Cuba Committee" in their activities and concluded:

"I would like to see these ties established on a mass scale.

"Long live the Cuban Revolution!

"Long live the Algerian Revolution!

"Long live eternal friendship between Cuba and Algeria!"

GERMAN STUDENTS OBSERVE HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

Cite Alexander Case in South Africa

HAMBURG, Jan. 1 -- In observance of Human Rights Day, December 10, all German political students organizations issued a joint leaflet of which 100,000 copies were distributed in West German universities. In pointing to the erosion of the gains made in centuries of struggle in this field, the students called special attention to the case of Dr. Neville Alexander, the prominent young South African scholar and nationalist now on trial for his life in Cape Town under the notorious act "banning Communism."

The full text of the leaflet is as follows:

* * *

Students for Justice and Freedom

Today, December 10, Human Rights Day is being celebrated in all countries. The German students have a special duty on this day in memory of the fate of human rights in the past and at present in Ger-

many. In many countries of the world, these rights continue to be violated, for instance:

Germany

On German territory men are being killed because they are forced to flee from one part of their country to another.

Art. 13, par. 2 of the General Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, as well as to return to it."

South Africa

In South Africa, those who support peaceful community life among peoples of different races are being arrested and held in jail for ninety days without a warrant or due process of law. Those who oppose racial discrimination, like the former Tübingen graduate Dr. Alexander, are placed under threat of the death sentence. In South Africa, marriage between whites and blacks is considered a crime. Eleven million black South Africans are barred from the ballot box and elective office.

The Magna Charta of 1215: "No one can be imprisoned without due process of law."

Art. 1 of the General Declaration of Human Rights: "All men are born free with equal rights and dignity."

Angola

In Angola the native population has no political rights. Political parties are banned. The people are still deprived of the right to self-determination. Ninety-eight percent of the population is illiterate -- after 500 years of Portuguese colonial domination.

Art. 21 of the General Declaration of Human Rights: "All men have the right to participate in the conduct of public affairs in their own country either directly or through freely elected representatives."

Morocco

In Morocco more than 5,000 supporters of the Opposition, among them 28 members of the opposition in parliament, have been placed under provisional arrest. From reports seeping out, it appears that many arrested oppositionists have been tortured in an inhuman way.

Art. 5 of the General Declaration of Human Rights: "No one should be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or humiliating treatment or punishment."

Iran

Persian students who protest in foreign lands against existing conditions in their country are made the object of continual reprisals by their government. In their homeland itself, professors or students who support the Opposition are subject to the death sentence.

Art. 19 of the General Declaration of Human Rights:
"Everyone has the right to free expression of opinion; this right includes the right to defend these opinions without reprisals, to seek information and ideas through all means of communication without regard to frontiers, and to receive and spread them."

We, the undersigned confederated organizations of German students, appeal to all students to fight always and everywhere for the realization of human rights.

The Confederation of German Students Associations (VDS)
The International Confederation of Students (ISSF)
The German Liberal Students Confederation (LSD)
The Christian-Democratic Students Chain (RCDS)
The Social-Democratic University Students Confederation (SHB)
The German Socialist Students Confederation (SDS)
Catholic German Students Unity (KDSE)

[Editors: The above translation is from the German of the leaflet. Please check against the standard texts all quotations such as the ones from the 1948 United Nations Declaration on Human Rights.]

ERITREANS REPORT GUERRILLA SUCCESSES

The Executive Committee of the Eritrean Liberation Front reports that the underground struggle for freedom from Ethiopia marked some guerrilla successes during October and November.

A group of seventy Ethiopian soldiers attacked a detachment of revolutionists in the village of Shetel October 17. Five of the troops were killed and thirteen wounded. The freedom fighters lost one man.

On November 19 a detachment of the Liberation army killed four Ethiopian troops in a skirmish.

The Ethiopian government has intensified repressive measures. Villages have been placed under strict watch and armed maneuvers have sought to intimidate the villagers -- but without much success.

On November 25, Ethiopian troops invaded the village of Sitimo in search of freedom fighters. They wounded seven persons in the process, including two Sudanese merchants.

Meanwhile the Eritrean Liberation Front sent a four-man delegation to petition the United Nations to reconsider the decision of December 2, 1950, which federated the former Italian colony of Eritrea with Ethiopia. The Eritreans charge that the Ethiopian government violated the UN resolution and absorbed Eritrea into Ethiopia's antiquated and reactionary feudal structure. [See World Outlook December 13.]

The delegation to the UN is headed by Idris Mohammed Adem, former president of the Eritrean Assembly.

SPANISH REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS INITIATE DISCUSSION

Revolución Socialista, the theoretical magazine of the Frente de Liberación Popular [FLP], which is distributed in the underground in Spain, has opened its pages to contributions from other sectors of the anti-Franco movement on questions of programmatic interest. In explaining why a discussion would be of great value, the editors of the new magazine outline their own views. We offer some extracts from their declaration:

"We are told that the terms 'democracy' and 'socialism' are not contradictory. That depends on what is meant precisely by these terms. In reality, when the parties of the opposition speak of democracy, they refer to formal democracy, to bourgeois democracy. That is, a regime in which the economic power remains in the hands of the capitalists, although these same capitalists exercise it with other means -- smoother, more European and, in certain circumstances, more effective -- than those utilized by Francoism."

In contrast to this, Revolución Socialista calls for the socialist alternative, to be achieved along the road of revolution and the construction of a new state and a new society. "This socialism which we seek will be from the beginning democratic. The historic experience of the revolutions of the twentieth century has offered great successes and magnificent examples, but it has also shown us the dangers of a certain bureaucratic 'state socialism' and its innumerable negative consequences: chauvinism, police repression, 'the cult of the personality,' etc. But the socialist democracy that we are fighting for is WORKERS DEMOCRACY."

"Workers democracy, workers control, the participation of the working masses in the political and economic decisions of the state, are for us part and parcel of socialism."

The editors recognize the great difficulties that must be overcome in Spain to achieve victory and build a genuine socialist society. And

they acknowledge that the FLP is not yet sufficient for the task, that all those who believe in revolutionary socialism must pool their forces.

"The FLP therefore calls on all revolutionary socialists, individuals or groups, to join our ranks, or to work out together with us in full equality and freedom, the bases for closer and closer collaboration."

The FLP is aware that many young people in other organizations share the same fundamental views but out of organizational loyalty still bow to the "democratic" theses of the national leaderships. What is required now is the strengthening and co-ordination of the dispersed revolutionary groups. One of the most important means for this is to work out a political platform together.

"In seeking to avoid being a dogmatic party, with a closed and finished 'ideology,' we must not swing to opportunism and ideological confusion. . . . Neither self-censorship nor sectarian prejudices! This activity is important because we are convinced that 'without a revolutionary ideology there can be no revolutionary activity.'"

The editors summarize their views on Marxism as follows:

"First of all, we are against any kind of 'labels.' There are many organizations that call themselves 'Marxist' yet in their activities and their writings they violate the most elementary Marxist principles every day.

"This stated, it appears to be a mere truism to affirm here the fundamental importance of Marxism in the entire development of the international workers movement for more than a century. The theory of the class struggle, the role of the state, the necessity to destroy the bourgeois state and construct a state adhering to workers democracy, proletarian internationalism in face of imperialism, etc., these programmatic points of all revolutionary organization -- and much else -- are fundamental principles of Marxism.

"It is certain that in Spain, after twenty years of dictatorship and censorship, certain prejudices about Marxism exist even in workers circles. But these prejudices arise only from ignorance.

"It is certain also that with the triumph of socialism in Russia, and other countries, 'Marxism' has been at times converted into something like a 'state religion.' And due to this, Marxism is often confounded with a dogma; Marxism is confounded with 'Stalinism.'

"Since we consider Marxism to be a scientific method for the analysis of social reality (capitalist as well as socialist, of course), as well as the theory of the conquest of power by the proletariat, it is evident that the majority of the activists of the FLP consider themselves to be Marxists. However, if Marxism means an absolute and finished theory, fixed, without possibilities of evolution and of

error, then we are not in agreement. But what genuine Marxist can consider Marxism to be a collection or catalog of immutable dogmas?"

The editors state these propositions not to start "sterile and formal debates" but to begin a discussion aimed at the "theoretical clarification necessary for the elaboration of the political platform of the socialist revolution."

Without such a discussion they feel that no advance can be made on the "road to revolutionary unity."

JOHNSON OFFERS THE BEGINNING OF "DISARMAMENT"

The "State of the Union" message delivered each year by the president of the United States to Congress is a ritualistic exercise in capitalist political mumbo jumbo that generally draws little serious attention. This year, however, the New York Times found a "major development" in the ghost-written document read by Johnson January 8. This was a "striking cutback" of twenty-five percent in the production of enriched uranium and the closing of four plutonium piles.

Taking the hint from Johnson, the capitalist press of the United States sought to parlay this into a "challenge" to the Soviet Union to begin "disarmament."

However, in looking over his right shoulder toward Goldwater and other reactionaries eager to prove that he has gone "soft on Communism," Johnson took all the punch out of his "challenge" to Khrushchev by affirming that in 1964 "we will be better prepared than ever to" -- as he put it -- "defend the cause of freedom. . ."

And Johnson really did not propose to cut down the U.S. stockpile of nuclear weapons or his personal power to press the fatal button.

In 1963 it was revealed that the Pentagon has a stockpile capable of utterly destroying the Soviet Union -- which occupies one-sixth of earth's land surface -- eight hundred times over.

According to official circles in Washington, the rate of production of nuclear weapons increased fifty percent during the past three years.

It is quite clear that the production of fissionable material, which occurs at a geometric ratio, has reached the point where it offers an increasing storage problem.

Johnson's publicity move thus involves little more in actuality than a slowing down of one of the feed channels in the belt line producing nuclear weapons.

In addition to these considerations it should be noted that the

major effort of the Pentagon has for some time not been directed at sheer quantitative accumulation of nuclear weapons. It has been concentrating on miniaturization. Atomic warheads have been reduced in size to fit artillery. Perhaps the U.S. armed forces now have them small enough to fit bazookas.

What the American militarists are aiming at is the tactical use of nuclear weapons and they are busily equipping all the armed forces -- from planes and submarines to the artillery and infantry -- with nuclear weapons that can be used this way technically.

This is wholly in accordance with the traditional way in which the U.S. has entered world wars -- that is, equipped with the very latest in weaponry. The main difference is that in previous cases the re-equipment was done after the war started, now it is to be completed before it has begun.

"IRREVOCABLE" DECISION TO TEST FRENCH H-BOMB

"We have decided irrevocably to proceed with high altitude tests of atomic and hydrogen bombs in the Pacific, and there is no reason for us to change our mind."

This chilling declaration was made by Pierre Messmer, French Minister of the Armed Forces, on stopping over January 8 at Sydney, Australia, on his way to Tahiti from Cambodia.

The French government, said Messmer, has decided to go ahead despite protests from Australia and New Zealand. "The tests will take place in 1965 but we don't yet know the date."

Messmer was on his way to inspect the test sites which are located 1,100 kilometers to the southeast of Tahiti.

He added that he didn't know how many bombs would be exploded during the series of tests.

"We project carrying out at least one series of tests over a period of several months; after that we'll stop."

De Gaulle's representative waved aside all the protests about the deadly menace of fresh contamination of the earth's atmosphere from nuclear fall-out. "We don't think that these explosions will constitute a threat to the Australians and New Zealanders," he said, "because these tests will take place a good distance from those that were carried out some time ago by the United States and the other allies."

TUNISIA RECOGNIZES THE NEW CHINA

The People's Republic of China scored a big diplomatic victory when the Tunisian government extended formal recognition January 10. The action, which was in preparation for some time, was taken while Chou En-lai and Chen Yi, the heads of the Chinese delegation touring Africa, spent two days in Tunisia following ten days in Albania.

Habib Bourguiba went to considerable lengths to make clear his fundamental disagreements with the Chinese Revolution. He evidently had his eye on the whips held in the imperialist centers of Washington and Paris.

The Chinese representatives, for their part, utilized the opportunity to correct the image of "wildness" created for them by Moscow and Washington.

The joint declaration issued in Tunis said that "nonengagement constitutes an important factor for reinforcement of understanding among peoples." It announced the common determination of the two countries "to favor the settlement of conflicts between nations in peaceful ways without recourse to force." Some pious things were also said about the need for disarmament and a total ban on nuclear weapons.

Following this successful stop-over, Chou En-lai and Chen Yi left for Ghana, the next stop on a tour that will take them to a number of countries in black Africa.

It was expected that they would receive favorable receptions in all the capitals they visit. China probably stands next to Algeria and Cuba in popularity among the revolutionary-minded peoples of the African continent.

FRANCE TAKES ANOTHER STEP TOWARD RECOGNIZING CHINA

A copyrighted interview with Edgar Faure, published in the January 9 issue of the conservative Paris daily Le Figaro, has set the chancelleries of all the major Western powers buzzing. Edgar Faure is the unofficial diplomatic representative of de Gaulle who recently visited Peking, a trip that was widely interpreted as an opening play by the French government in a game that could end in recognition of the Mao government. The interview, deftly conducted by Roger Massip, is obviously another calculated step in the preparations.

The purpose of the interview is to lay on the table all the possible arguments that could be made against recognizing China, whether these arguments originate in French circles, in Washington, Moscow, New Delhi, or even Taiwan, and to answer them with the most powerful considerations that can be brought to bear by an enlightened capitalist power. Faure's performance, it must be agreed, is very effective.

First of all, he establishes that his trip to Peking took place in consultation with de Gaulle and that the possibility of French recognition was discussed with Mao and received a favorable response. Thus there can scarcely be much doubt about the seriousness of de Gaulle's moves in this direction.

The main argument advanced by Faure in favor of recognition is the reality of the situation. "If China does not exist," he said, "she has neither trade nor culture. If she exists, our economic and cultural relations must find their pivot in normal political representation." Faure contends that China exists.

"'It turns,' Galileo said, speaking of the earth. 'It exists,' we say tirelessly in speaking of China."

On the affront to Chiang Kai-shek that recognition would signify, Faure held that it is an "absolute fiction" to maintain that Chiang rules China. Nor can it be maintained with any plausibility that China belongs to Formosa and therefore comes under Chiang's jurisdiction. Chiang himself does not maintain such an idiotic position.

Faure dealt with the argument that Mao had wished for a nuclear war that would destroy half of humanity, leaving the other half to build a happy new Communist civilization. Such quotations, he said, should be verified before being commented on. Although he had searched through the "extraordinarily abundant" works of Mao Tse-tung, he had been unable to find the quotation. The statement of 1957, which has often been referred to, was a "verbal declaration contested by the one to whom it is attributed."

Faure thought that the Chinese were "perhaps wrong in not sufficiently fearing atomic war but that doesn't mean that they have the intention of starting it." Besides, there is this simple consideration: "How can it be explained that the only great power that wants atomic war should be precisely the one that doesn't have the means to do it?"

In addition, the view ascribed to the Chinese has been characterized by their adversaries as taken from the "dusty Trotskyist archives," so how can it be held to be a Maoist view? [Faure, naturally, didn't bother to explain that the view ascribed to the Trotskyists is also slanderous.]

Faure's sharpest arguments were directed at Washington. Here he played it with cool cheek, maintaining that the "greatest service" that could be rendered to "American policy" is if Paris takes the initiative and recognizes China. "This initiative is, in fact, easier for us than it is for the American leaders. . . . Because of former errors, which need not be imputed to the present leaders, the Asian policy of the United States is today in a blind alley."

The State Department indignantly issued a retort to Faure, denouncing the argument that recognition of China by France would be a "ser-

vice." There may be some hypocrisy in this declaration, however. A certain sector of the American capitalist class has long favored a more realistic policy toward China, which would have to begin, of course, with recognition of the Mao regime. With the development of the Moscow-Peking dispute to the breaking point last summer, this sector grew quite rapidly. The influential New York Times, often considered to be the most sober voice of Wall Street, has pressed this point of view in its editorial columns since the Moscow-Peking split.

The contention of the Times is that without recognition, it is not possible to take full advantage of the differences between Moscow and Peking. It is highly doubtful, however, that Peking would lend itself to the divisive game Wall Street's mouthpiece has in mind.

The U.S. State Department is quite disturbed about de Gaulle's moves toward recognition of China. A long "analytical brief" was said to have been received by the American Embassy in Paris explaining the possible consequences of recognition. The main contention is that it would have a "domino" effect. A flood of Afro-Asian recognitions would follow, probably rolling up sufficient votes in the United Nations to assure China's entrance there; and thus the American policy of excluding Peking from the world organization would end in bankruptcy.

WAYWARD BUS COMPANY HELPS CUBA

The Leland Motor Corp., a British bus manufacturer, has politely and courteously told the U.S. State Department to go to hell. Dean Rusk and Lyndon Johnson may not like it, but British buses are going to roll in the streets of Havana and wherever else they are needed in the revolutionary island.

"I'm sorry the Americans are upset about it," said managing director Donald Stokes, "but this is a deal between a British company and Cuba."

Despite angry protests from top Washington circles, the company is selling 400 passenger buses worth \$11.2 million and will eventually deliver 1,450 buses plus spare parts.

"Cuba is a traditional market as far as we are concerned," Stokes explained to the U.S. State Department. "We sold them buses worth \$10 million in 1949 and \$6 or \$7 million in 1959." Besides, buses are not strategic war material.

"You would look damned silly going to war in a bus. Anyway we haven't any war with Cuba and we buy sugar from them."

U.S. SEVENTH FLEET MANEUVERS IN INDIAN OCEAN

By Kailas Chandra

BOMBAY -- A diplomat of a neutral nation whom I know has likened the proposed maneuvers of the United States Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean to "a guest invited home insisting on staying in the bedroom with your wife." This is a polite way of calling attention to an outrageous power play.

Whatever may be the "official" reaction of New Delhi to the U.S. military strategy of "bridging the gap" in the Pentagon's global "defense" plan, there is no doubt that deploying an American nuclear task force in the Indian Ocean on a beat running from China to the coast of Africa -- with the acquiescence of the Indian Nehru government -- is viewed with grave concern by the people of India and the entire newly emerging "nonaligned" world.

Prime Minister Nehru has sought to minimize the political significance of the U.S. move by suggesting that the naval maneuvers are projected in waters outside India's territorial lines "open to naval vessels of any other country" and therefore the question of even a "protest" by India does not arise.

This attitude does not exactly strengthen the image of India as a "nonaligned" power, particularly coming in the wake of joint exercises involving the Indian, U.S., British and Australian air forces and an "inspection tour" arranged for General Maxwell Taylor, chairman of the U.S. joint chiefs of staff.

Nehru has taken a stance of complacency. "If the thing is obviously to our detriment," he said, "we protest; if it is not we do not." An excuse offered for this attitude is that the show of force involved in moves of the Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean acts as a "psychological" deterrent against China and boosts India's "defense morale." But this talk of "matching" the presence of Chinese troops in the Himalayas cannot hide the naked fact that India has moved much closer to an open military alliance with American imperialism since October 1962.

New Delhi thus confirms Peking's charge that despite her posture of nonalignment, India is fundamentally allied with the imperialist camp.

Replying to questions in parliament about the U.S. naval maneuvers, Nehru wriggled. "We had no information on the subject, and we had at no stage been consulted by the U.S. Government in the matter." When General Taylor called on Nehru December 17, it would appear that he mentioned Washington was "considering the advisability of some vessels of their Seventh Fleet cruising this area with the object of getting acquainted with the seas in this region, but no decision had been taken."

Nehru tried to sooth the agitated legislators by assuring them that "so far as I know there is no question of any exercises anywhere for

taking our permission. There is no question of their referring the matter to us."

"Nodded His Consent"

But the American newspapers seem to have drawn entirely different conclusions from the Nehru-Taylor meeting at New Delhi, claiming that Nehru "nodded his consent" to the "deployment of U.S. warships in the Indian Ocean."

Selig Harrison wrote in the Washington Post [December 19]: "The acquiescence of India in the naval move would imply acceptance of a correlation between U.S. global strategy and Indian defense planning. This would presumably improve the political climate for continued U.S. military assistance. But the presence of carrier-based aircraft in the projected naval force would reduce the necessity for large air forces in India and Pakistan."

New Delhi's decision to play down projected calls of the U.S. fleet at Indian ports is motivated, according to American commentators, by "India's continued need for air defense assistance from America." It is also suggested that Nehru's "gesture of goodwill" aims at persuading the U.S. to reconsider its decision not to supply the Indian Air Force with all-weather supersonic fighters. It seems that the recent joint air exercises demonstrated that the slow Hunters of the Indian Air Force cannot effectively intercept even the Canberras.

After his three-day visit and his inspection tours of areas bordering Tibet, General Taylor left India, stating his "satisfaction" that the Nehru regime was determined to "strike a balance between defense and preservation of the vital economic problems" facing the country. Before taking off for Pakistan, he told a news conference that he did not see any tendency on India's part to engage in a "runaway military program unrelated to the requirements of the country."

Tied in with Economic Crisis

The obvious question is whether or not the definite drift of India's foreign policy towards open political and military alignment with the West was decided on as a possible way out of the "critical phase" of the country's economic situation. A clue to this has been provided by no one less than Asoka Mehta, the newly appointed "Socialist" Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. [Mehta was chairman of the Praja Socialist party of India and his acceptance of the government post caused a major split in the organization.] Addressing parliament's Informal Consultative Committee for Planning December 20, Mehta argued that the "reluctance" of capitalists abroad to invest in India is due to their being "irked by India's restrictive policies and procedures." He said that India must make up her mind "whether she wants to go along with the World Bank and the suggestions made by private investors." Mehta warned that "If she chose to ignore them, it is clear that she cannot count on the kind and scale of assistance she had received in the past."

This is a clear enough indication from an "expert" on the Western attitude towards "India's endeavor to build a 'socialist' economy" -- meaning a capitalist economy relying on aid from both the West and East. "Thus," Mehta added, "we must be prepared to face difficulties the Chinese are facing after their break with Russia." In this way, he indicated that Western imperialism has begun to stiffen its terms to the Indian bourgeoisie.

The entry of the Seventh Fleet into the Indian Ocean sharpens a crucial issue facing India. Can the country successfully resist the enormous pressure to become a mere appendage of the Western bloc?

Even the moderate Free Press Journal felt constrained to "deplore" the Prime Minister's equivocal statement, which has served the Pentagon's aim of drawing a "smokescreen over the whole affair."

Referring to Nehru's position favoring the creation and extension of as many nuclear free zones on the globe as possible, the Journal pointed out [December 21] that "if this policy is now jettisoned and the introduction of a nuclear force in the Indian Ocean accepted without protest, the inevitable inference both here and abroad will be that a qualitative change in the Indian policy has occurred."

The conservative Times of India [December 21] posed the same question in a somewhat different way: "Has the October-November 1962 crisis and the China problem caused such a sea-change in New Delhi's posture in world affairs? We are assured that it has not but the facts, such as they are, indicate otherwise." The Times suggests that "it is still not too late for Mr. Nehru to undertake the second thoughts for which he is so well known. . . ."

The traditional left movement appears to have gone dead on the issue. The leadership of the Communist party of India issued a mild statement protesting New Delhi's "failure" to condemn the move of the Seventh Fleet. A demonstration of some four hundred supporters of the Communist party was staged in front of the U.S. Embassy at New Delhi.

The Socialist party and the Praja Socialist party seem to actually welcome the U.S. move in the name of strengthening India's defense against Chinese "aggression"!

SOVIET UNION GIVES BOOKS TO ALGERIA

The Soviet government has made a gift of 2,700 books in French, Arabic, English and Russian to Algeria.

Among the authors represented are Gorky, Ostrovsky, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. The complete works of Lenin were included. The books will help replace the national library burned by French terrorists on the eve of Algeria's independence.

FORECAST FOR 1964:

More and Bigger Demonstrations in Negro Struggle

By Evelyn Sell

"More and bigger demonstrations" in 1964 were forecast by Roy Wilkins, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In his year-end report December 28, Wilkins blamed Congress for "playing politics as usual" on the civil-rights issue. "Congressional inaction certainly contributed nothing. . . It greatly enhanced the probability of more and bigger demonstrations."

Although he praised Kennedy for presenting the "most comprehensive civil-rights bill ever submitted by a President of the United States," Wilkins condemned the bill as inadequate.

The press, white and Negro, is now reviewing the civil-rights gains made during 1963. The list is a pitiful one: The percentage of Negro students attending schools with whites rose from 7.8% in 1962 to 9.2% in 1963. At this rate, school integration will take at least another sixty-five years. For the first time, Negro students enrolled at the University of Alabama and the University of South Carolina. James Meredith became the first Negro to receive a degree from the University of Mississippi. After vigorous protests from the Negro community, the Detroit Board of Education threw out a history textbook that presented a distorted and false picture of American Negroes. A more accurate pamphlet dealing with this subject is now used in Detroit's high schools. After pickets disrupted construction work in Philadelphia, a few jobs were opened to Negro workers. Television now boasts two shows with a regular Negro performer and some advertisements are beginning to use Negro models. Add a few more jobs here and there, a few more "white only" signs taken off of bus depots and toilets and some small court victories and you have the total of civil-rights gains for 1963.

In order to get these trifles, Negroes participated in nearly 2,000 recorded demonstrations in forty states and the nation's capital. Some 10,000 demonstrators were arrested. Among the murdered were Mississippi NAACP leader Medgar Evers and the children killed by the bomb thrown into the Birmingham church. The two largest mass marches for civil rights in this country's history were held during 1963; the first record-breaker of 250,000 people in Detroit in June and the even larger turn-out in Washington, D.C., during August.

High Point of 1963

The March on Washington marked the high point of the mounting civil-rights struggle. Many hopes were raised by this mightiest of all demonstrations in the long battle, the least of which was that Congress would pass a meaningful civil-rights bill and the most extravagant that the slogan of "Free by '63" would become a reality soon. When the situation remained unchanged, a good deal of questioning and re-evaluating began

within the Negro movement. Discussion of new methods of struggle widened. Independent political action, defense measures, an end to reliance on "friendly" whites -- these were some of the topics discussed and debated hotly by Negro militants.

The assassination of President Kennedy occasioned only a very brief lull in this process of re-evaluation and regrouping of forces within the Negro community.

What will 1964 bring? C. Sumner Stone, Jr., editor of Chicago's The Defender, made this forecast: "I expect all hell to break loose next spring when the snow thaws. The Negro is merely using the winter to store up his hatreds and frustrations and reflect on the many broken promises of 1963."

DE-STALINIZATION A LA TOGLIATTI

ROME -- The Italian Communist party has begun preparations for a national organizational conference the aims of which were not clear at first but which are now beginning to emerge into view. It seems that the Togliatti leadership seeks on the one hand to take up organizational problems which have confronted the party for some years without satisfactory solution, and, on the other, to utilize the occasion to make clear its current conceptions in relation to the party of the working class in general, its structure and function.

The appearance of a double number of the Communist party theoretical magazine Critica Marxista [September-December 1963] on this topic is a very interesting indication. It offers important information, including statistics, as did a report at a recent meeting of the Central Committee, worth all the greater attention since the Italian Communist party remains the largest and most powerful of all the Communist parties in the advanced capitalist countries.

An article written for Critica Marxista by Enrico Berlinguer, a member of the National Secretariat, indicates shifts in the membership of the party. In 1954 it was 2,145,317; in 1963 it had fallen to 1,614,886. The Youth movement fell from 430,908 members to 172,206. Berlinguer immediately adds that detailed analysis points to even more significant conclusions. Thus in 1953 the ratio of electoral supporters to party members was 2.8 (i.e., 2.8 votes per member); in 1958 it was 3.6; in 1963 the ratio was 4.8. This shows that the increased strength of the party on the electoral plane was not matched by increased organizational strength. On the contrary, it fell.

The data on social composition as shown in the following table are not less revealing:

	1954	1963
Industrial Workers	856,314 (40.0%)	643,733 (39.5%)
Agricultural Workers	382,257 (17.8%)	206,684 (12.7%)
Sharecroppers	262,227 (12.2%)	173,975 (10.7%)
Small Farmers	84,317 (3.9%)	91,374 (5.6%)

There were no significant changes among the other categories except for those pensioned off. No figures were available on these in 1954. They now constitute 7%.

The author himself underlines the fact that if the decrease in the ratio of agricultural workers and sharecroppers corresponds with a decrease in the ratio of these categories in society as a whole, the decrease in both ratio and absolute number of workers goes against the increase in the working-class sector of Italian society. In absolute numbers, industrial workers in the Italian Communist party fell 24.8%; agricultural workers, 45.9%; sharecroppers, 33.6%. It is necessary to add that this unfavorable shift is especially evident among the youth with a resulting rise in the average age level of the party.

Berlinguer also stresses a considerable reduction of the number of party organizational units in the factories. There were 11,495 industrial cells in 1954, but not more than 4,538 in 1962.

This article as well as others in the issue note that the Italian Communist party has been affected by the general phenomenon of less direct and less active participation by the masses in political life. One article especially talks about the bureaucratization of political organizations as hitting even the organizations of the working class.

Against Stalin, But. . .

From the political point of view, this issue of Critica Marxista is important from a number of angles and merits detailed analysis. There is great insistence throughout on criticism of the bureaucratic deformations of the Stalinist epoch which led to "theoretical ossification and deformations in practice." The practices of the Stalinist epoch, we are told, were completely different from the practices in Lenin's day. This, naturally, does not prevent the editors from underlining the "positive aspects" of Stalinism and especially of presenting things as if, following the initiative taken by the Soviet leaders, the problems were already solved or close to genuine solution. They dwell much on bureaucratization, etc., but completely ignore the social roots of the phenomenon.

In addition, Togliatti and those around him also seek to make out that in reality the Italian Communist party was never Stalinist and they particularly stress the period of the Congress of Lyon (1926) and the most recent period, skirting in quite cavalier way the most out and out stages of Stalinization.

In a conference held under the auspices of Critica Marxista, Pajetta went so far as to assert that the Italian Communist party had its period

of bureaucratic centralism, too, but that was in 1921-25; namely, under the leadership of Bordiga (in which, moreover, many present leaders who were later Stalinists participated).

"New" Concept of the Party

But the most important material presented in this issue of the magazine is the attempt at a new theory on the question of the party, in brief, an adaptation of the concept of the party and its structure to the strategic orientation of the peaceful road to socialism. The main article, written by Lucio Magri, "Problems of the Marxist Theory of the Revolutionary Party," is in reality a bald criticism of the Leninist concept of the party as being applicable to backward Russia but not to industrially advanced countries.

Magri says flatly that "the limitations of Leninism are a reflection of the objective limitations of the Russian revolution." He speaks of the "Jacobin danger" of the Bolshevik concept, and declares that the concept of the "new party" will not be that of Lenin but Gramsci, one of the founders of the Italian Communist party, who allegedly expressed a more adequate and more mature concept than that of Lenin. The essence of this concept, according to Magri, is that the party must lead not only the proletariat but a "historic bloc" composed of the proletariat and other social layers and that it must be a kind of prototype of the socialist society.

Magri is not a member of the top circle, but his article is the key one in an issue of the party's theoretical magazine which is stirring up a lot of controversy. Is it a trial balloon sent up by Togliatti to test the reaction in the party and in the international movement before proceeding further? This will be determined quickly enough. In any case it is clear that the Italian Communist party has gone further down the road of rightist revisionism which is its way of interpreting the more general phenomenon of de-Stalinization.

TO SPEED DELIVERY OF WORLD OUTLOOK

"What are your airmail rates?" In reply to this inquiry, which we have been receiving from countries where delivery is especially slow, here are some examples. To the subscription cost of 37.50 French francs [\$7.50 U.S. currency] for 26 issues by ordinary mail add the following amounts:

Australia, 83.60 French francs; Canada, 36.40 French francs [\$7.60 U.S. currency]; Ceylon, 52 French francs; India, 52 French francs; Italy, 10.40 French francs; United States, 36.40 French francs [\$7.60 U.S. currency].

If you already have a subscription to World Outlook by ordinary mail, send enough to convert to airmail. Anything over the amount actually needed will be used to extend your subscription.

PRAVDA EULOGIZES J. LENSKI

Under the collective signatures of a group of journalists of Pravda in Moscow and Trybuna Ludu in Warsaw, an article was published in the January 7 Pravda commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of J. Lenski, one of the leaders of the Polish workers movement in the years following the first world war and a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He was the victim of one of Stalin's blood purges in 1937.

It was probably at the request of the Polish Communist party that the eulogy was published. Together with Warski and Kostrewa, Lenski was one of the most important leaders of the Polish Communist party, although he stood in the left wing of the party for a time while the others were in the right wing. For years he was a follower of Stalin, particularly in the disastrous period before the arrival of Hitler to power.

But the Polish organization never won Stalin's confidence. This party was intimately linked with the Bolshevik party and, still worse, its principal leaders, including Lenski, had been trained in the school of Rosa Luxemburg. Thus one of the culminating points of the purges of the thirties was the dissolution of the Polish Communist party under accusation of being a nest of provocateurs and spies and its refugee leaders in Moscow, Lenski among them, were executed.

In the Pravda article Lenski's early life and his participation in the October 1917 Revolution are dwelt on, but the authors become reticent beginning with 1923. The only clear part deals with his participation in the policy of the Popular Front which contributed heavily to blunting the combativeness of the Polish Communist party. Still worse, the eulogy describes Lenski's end in these words. "In 1937, J. Lenski became the victim of a provocation during the period of the cult of the personality."

Model euphism! A perfect way of writing history! What provocation destroyed him? Pravda is still not the place where you can confidently expect to find the truth.

KIND REMARKS STING STATE DEPARTMENT

At a New Year's reception in Paris, President de Gaulle singled out the Cuban ambassador for a few minutes of very congenial conversation. Ears burned in the State Department. Press wires grew warm with queries. Was it possible that de Gaulle was becoming a Castroist?

No one thought of the obvious explanation. The lordly general was only showing that he is a connoisseur of the American "rib." It was his way of digging the spurs into a certain Texas rancher. The French court got a big laugh out of the consternation in Washington.

"TO SPLIT OR NOT TO SPLIT"

Left Wing Indian Communists Ponder Course of Action

By S.R.Singh

NEW DELHI -- "To split or not to split" -- that was the question facing the left wing of the Communist party of India [CPI] at an important secret meeting of the faction in the third week of December.

Some of the leftist and centrist leaders wanted an immediate, open, formal split. They argued that they had had enough of "caution and patience." Their co-thinkers in Ceylon and Australia, they said, had already shown the "correct way" by forming rival Communist parties and they were eager to follow their example in India.

Others -- the centrists more timid in spirit and given to looking before leaping -- wanted to postpone the "fatal" decision until they had at least measured their strength against the rightist "Dangeites" at the next party congress.

Against the Australian and Ceylon examples, the centrists cited what has become known as the "Indonesian line." In accordance with this prescription, Communist parties whose leaderships have gone completely "revisionist" should be split forthwith, while those that have a fair number of "revolutionaries," even at the top, should be captured through a dogged inner-party struggle. The Communist party of India, they contended, clearly belonged to the latter category.

Heated Debate

The "pro-Peking" leftists tended to dismiss this line of argument as an unrealistic overestimate of the faction's strength. The "rightists," in their opinion, were in command of the party machine and were making it increasingly difficult for them to carry the revolutionary message to the people.

The "go-slow" centrist group, on the other hand, felt that their comrades were giving way to adventurism out of unnecessary fear. The left faction, they pointed out, was already functioning as a party within the party.

It had as many as four weeklies at its disposal -- Desh Hitaishi in Bengal, Spark in Madras, Janasnakti in Andhra and Chinta in Kerala and plans were completed to start a daily in Calcutta, a Hindi weekly in Lucknow and a Punjabi weekly in Julundur.

Above all, almost all the top leaders of the left wing, except a few in Bombay, were now out of prison.

Leftist strength was increasing every day, they argued, and it would be foolish to lose the goodwill of the rank and file of the party by announcing a premature split.

If their estimate proved to be wrong and the faction lost the fight at the party congress, they said, nothing would be lost; they would all leave the CPI and form a new party of "true Marxist-Leninists."

Centrist Snag

The debate was heated but inconclusive. No final decision, it was felt, could be taken without consulting E.M.S.Namboodiripad, former general secretary of the CPI, who had unfortunately decided to make yet another experiment in "centrism" and refused to attend the meeting in Delhi. His support was essential for the success of either of the two alternative courses of action under discussion. The problem was how to convince this influential figure that he could not play the role of Ajoy Ghosh (late general secretary of the CPI who acted as a mediator among party groupings until his death in 1962) when the differences between the two main trends in the CPI had become unbridgeable.

Yet another difficulty in coming to a decision was the attitude of Jyoti Basu, the West Bengal leader, who was present at the meeting but not ready for a clean break with the "rightists" even in Bengal. He was known to have advanced a strange formula for the future organizational set up in the state, envisaging an all-trend united preparatory committee under his own leadership to hold a state conference.

With Jyoti Basu as eager to play a "centrist" role as E.M.S. Namboodiripad, a firm decision by the leftists was clearly out of the question. The anti-Dange faction is meeting once again on January 9 to continue its debate.

Stinging Setbacks for Congress

In the meantime the double defeat of the Congress party in Burdwan (West Bengal) in both parliamentary and state assembly by-elections has had an impact throughout India. Coming in the wake of electoral defeats for the Congress party in Rajkot, Amroha and Farrukhabad in mid-1963, the new defeat appalled Congressmen in West Bengal. The general opinion in the state, particularly in Burdwan, is that the Congress itself is responsible for the setback.

Narayan Chourhry, the Congress parliamentary candidate, who comes from a rich "jotedal" landlord family, known to be opposed to even the milk-and-water (capitalist) socialism of the Congress party was defeated by N.C.Chatterjee, an independent who was supported by the CPI and other leftists.

Another "surprise" was the decisive victory of the Communist candidate (allegedly pro-Peking) Benoy Krishna Choudhury in the by-election to the West Bengal state legislative assembly. He defeated Mrs. Aruna Mukherji (Congress) from the Burdwan constituency.

In the 1962 elections, the Burdwan parliamentary as well as assembly seat were held by the Congress party, and the fact that a

leftist Communist could win this time despite the jingoistic propaganda launched by the Congress members against the Bengal Communists as "agents of Peking" shows the growing popular discontent with the Nehru government.

In the contest for parliament, N.C.Chatterjee secured 109,877 votes as against 98,734 for the Congress candidate; while the CPI candidate for Assembly won 17,853 votes against 14,505 for the Congress nominee. The victory at the polls is a clear indication of the growing radicalization. West Bengal has witnessed some sporadic mass action in recent months, mainly in protest against food grain dealers profiteering at the expense of consumers.

ANOTHER AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY

Cash registers are already ringing busily in anticipation of the next big spectacle connected with the assassination of President Kennedy -- the trial of Ruby, the strip-tease impresario who executed the alleged assassin Oswald. The retainer for Melvin Belli, chief counsel for Ruby, is \$100,000.

Competition for the book rights to Ruby's version of his part in the November drama was rather fierce. One of the biggest publishing houses in the United States won out for an undisclosed sum. As an immediate advance, McGraw-Hill, which ordinarily specializes in textbooks, paid out \$20,000.

Half of this goes to Melvin Belli, the other half to Alvin Moscow, a ghost writer who will help Belli bring the book up to a literate level. Moscow has had much experience in his craft. One of his star achievements was the autobiographical political campaign book Six Crises which he assembled and polished out of the raw material provided by Kennedy's rival to the presidency, Richard Nixon.

Imprimerie: 21 rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2
(imprimé par les soins de l'éditeur).

Directeur-Gérant: Pierre FRANK.