

# WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 28

July 17, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

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## A "PLOT" TO ASSASSINATE KHRUSHCHEV?

World Outlook has just learned through reliable sources that secret trials are occurring again in the Soviet Union. In the Moscow City Court, for instance, a trial was held behind closed doors on May 25-29. It involved a group of students and candidates of the MIMO [Moscow Higher Institute of International Relations]. The trial ended with the condemnation of three of the victims to forced labor camps. The sentences were three, four and five years respectively under particularly severe conditions.

At the beginning, the three young defendants were accused of having organized an attempt to assassinate N.S. Khrushchev. (It should be noted that they were arrested immediately after the assassination of President Kennedy.)

The weapon they were supposed to have settled on was a dagger. But no trace of this was brought into court. The indictment, in fact, did not cite any concrete evidence. The inquiry in connection with the trial, which took six months, was carried out in the greatest secrecy.

The victims were condemned in reality for criticisms made in personal conversations about the continued existence of vestiges of the Stalinist era. During the trial, the prosecution and the judges declared that such vestiges do not exist. These assertions were not only in flagrant contradiction with the reality but also with declarations made by the head of the Soviet government himself.

The defendants were from 23 to 25 years old. One of them, R. Redrigiavicus, was also accused of Lithuanian nationalism. This charge was based solely on his national origin. His wife, now reaching the ninth month of pregnancy, was not permitted to see her husband once after his arrest.

On the basis of a decision by the court, five students who were brought into the trial as witnesses were expelled from the Komsomol [the youth organization] and the Institute. They were accused of not having reported to the authorities the conversations which the defendants were found guilty of holding, although they knew about their "subversive" content.

The trial was prepared and directed by the political police. What is most significant about it is that it is not an isolated case. Similar trials have been occurring regularly in recent years not only in Moscow but throughout the USSR.

The only difference between this trial and many others (for example the Krasnopevtzev trial at the end of 1957 in which six persons were condemned to ten, eight and six years in forced labor camps, the 1963 trial of students of the Moscow Faculty of Philosophy, etc.) was that the verdict was based solely on the ideas of the defen-

dants and not, as in the preceding cases, on an attempt to spread their ideas. In this sense, the trial recalls the worst period of Stalinism.

Such trials make a mockery of Khrushchev's official thesis that the USSR is now in process of "constructing communism." Surely a society which no longer knows the class struggle need not fear the words of critical students!

The shame of putting such students on trial and condemning them to long years of forced labor is sufficiently evidenced by the decision to do it secretly.

### Horrors of Robben Island

#### WARDERS ASSAULT DR. ALEXANDER AND TWO OTHERS

From South Africa we have received a letter that contains the following brief but very grim news about Dr. Neville Alexander and two of his comrades in Robben Island prison, the Verwoerd regime's version of a Nazi concentration camp:

\* \* \*

"You will be surprised to hear that Fikele Bam, Don Davis and Alexander were assaulted.

"In the past week, Neville was assaulted and his ear injured, for which he had to receive medical attention. The doctor will see him again this week.

"He and Fikele have laid a charge against the warders concerned.

"Now Neville and the four who saw the assault on him are placed in solitary confinement.

"The girls are not treated better either. They are placed in the lowest category, Category D. They can only get one letter in six months and one visit in the same period."

\* \* \*

Dr. Alexander, one of South Africa's most distinguished intellectual figures, was convicted together with ten companions April 15 on charges of "sabotage" under the country's fascist-like laws which make it a crime to oppose the government's official policy of the most violent racism. [See World Outlook April 24.]

The sentences ranged from five to ten years. Four of the victims were women.

The case received enormous publicity in South Africa, but in other countries it scarcely received notice, being superseded by the Nelson Mandela case which came to trial later.

Efforts are being made to appeal the Alexander verdict but it has proved extremely difficult to find the necessary funds. The families of the defendants, moreover, are in dire need.

Among other political prisoners held in the island prison off Cape Town are Nelson Mandela and Dennis Brutus.

\* \* \*

The assault on Dr. Alexander, Fikele Bam and Don Davis offers fresh confirmation of an exposure of conditions in the concentration camp by Colin Legum which appeared in the London Observer of May 31.

"Robben Island, formerly a leper colony, became a maximum security prison two years ago," Legum wrote. "There are 1,395 prisoners on the island. Of these 907 are political.

"The most prominent is Mr. Robert Sobukwe, the leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress, who led the demonstrations which culminated in the shootings at Sharpeville in 1960."

A number of prisoners recently released, said Legum, have signed affidavits before commissioners of oaths in Cape Town, telling about attacks.

"A former prisoner says that on his second day on the island one of his companions was assaulted by a senior warder with a pick-handle. 'He was told to explain the injury as a razor-cut acquired when his head was shaved.'

"'One hot afternoon,' another says, 'the agricultural span (team) was working near us. Minor assaults took place often so we did not take much notice when a warder started to hit one of the prisoners, but then we saw that he was being buried in a hole up to his neck. He called for water, for as usual not enough water had been brought. One of us walked across to give him water but before he got there P (a warder) began to "make water" into the man's mouth.'

"Another such incident is described: 'We saw a warder speaking to a political prisoner. This prisoner told us later the warder had said that if he told about the political organisation and the political activity he had at one time taken part in, he would be given a lighter job. This man refused to give any information. The criminal prisoners were then called and asked to dig a hole in which



the man who had refused to give information was placed; he was then buried up to his neck in the sand. The warder then urinated into his mouth. The name of this prisoner is J.... Other political prisoners said that this was often done to them.'

"One former prisoner states: 'A criminal prisoner, J, was much feared by the political prisoners. P, a warder, and a few other warders let him do what he liked, even encouraged him in his assaults on political prisoners. He and some other criminal prisoners would assault the political prisoners for sexual purposes and explain any resulting disturbance by saying that the political prisoners were forming organisations and trying to get them to join.'

"Similar allegations are made by another prisoner. 'I was kept in the new jail,' he writes in his affidavit. 'Here criminal and political prisoners were separated. In the old jail the two types were mixed up. With the encouragement of the warder young-looking prisoners were used for sexual intercourse by criminal prisoners. I was told about this by several prisoners but one in particular told me about it having happened to him. He tried to resist, fighting with the criminal prisoner involved. But the result was that he was sent for six days' solitary confinement.'

"One of the former prisoners states that not all the warders behaved badly. Another says that a new commanding officer had been appointed on the island early in February, 1964, as a result of which 'things seemed to be improving a little.'

\* \* \*

To help financially in appeal efforts in the Alexander case and in relieving the distress of the families of the prisoners, send funds to Franz J.T.Lee, 74 Tübingen, Schwabstrasse 22, West Germany.

In protest demonstrations call for the immediate release of all political prisoners in South Africa. Please list the names of Neville Alexander, Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe.

And please give this case maximum publicity.

#### SOVIET PLAY FAILS TO SLANDER TROTSKY

The July 12 Pravda charged a new play by Alexander Stein, "Between Cloudbursts," with "major ideological shortcomings." The play, about the Kronstadt mutiny in 1921, brought in Trotsky but handled him in an "inaccurate if not to say ambiguous" way, failing to condemn him as a "sworn enemy of Lenin." The play was published in a theatrical magazine but not yet produced on the stage.

COUNTERREVOLUTION TRIES AGAIN IN ALGERIA

Since the end of June, the world press has featured sensational stories about an upsurge of "rebellion" in Algeria against the Ben Bella government. What is it all about?

A July 7 Paris dispatch to the New York Times provides a clue:

"French-Algerian differences over control of Sahara oil have taken a new, hard turn, industry sources disclosed today.

"Two major French companies and one American, Sinclair, have taken a firm stand against an unpublicized new effort by President Ahmed Ben Bella's regime to impose controls on export sales.

"Since June 23, Sinclair, followed by S.N.Repal and Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (Algerie), have refused to load their tankers with Sahara oil destined for sale outside the 'franc zone' -- France and her former colonies. They appear to be acting for the industry."

The dispute came to a head, according to this source, when the Algerian Ministry of National Economy asked Sinclair to sign "Form O2." The form includes "a commitment to repatriate the proceeds of sales in the United States, West Germany or elsewhere outside the franc zone."

The regulation has already been applied to exporters for other goods. But the international oil cartels are exquisitely sensitive in anything dealing with profits and private property -- as was dramatically proved in the case of Cuba where their actions precipitated the process that led to wholesale expropriations.

"On principle," reports the New York Times, "Sinclair refused to sign, even when Algerians said the offending portions of Form O2 could be deleted. The company contended that under the 1962 French-Algerian oil accords, foreign producers had right to transport and sell Sahara oil as they chose."

A few days later the demand was repeated in the case of tankers from S.N.Repal and C.F.P.A. They refused to sign and two French tankers left without loading.

\* \* \*

The oil companies have not been featured in the headlines of the capitalist press. Here figures like Khider and Chaâbani have occupied the spotlight.

A few quotations from the Paris daily Le Monde should suffice to indicate the nature of this opposition to the Ben Bella government.

On Col. Mohamed Chaâbani, who headed a military revolt in the south: "Politically, Chaâbani is part of the most conservative tendency -- to say the least -- of Algerian nationalism. His Islamism, for example, is intransigent; his Arabism is total and without shadings, and his conceptions of democracy or of socialism are completely personal. He is above all a man of war who knows how and loves to fight."

"But," continues Le Monde [July 2], "he would scarcely have launched a new enterprise if he had not been given the 'green light' from the only political figure who has a certain authority for him: Khider."

"Now Mohamed Khider, in a press conference in Paris justified the armed struggle and appealed to the opposition to unite."

On Khider's efforts to organize a coalition against Ben Bella, the same issue of Le Monde had this to say:

"It is clear that if Ait Ahmed and the F.F.S. [Front des Forces Socialistes] constitute the 'striking force' of the operation, the real strong man now is Khider. The combination Ait Ahmed-Khider-Chaâbani had already been almost put together last August when Khider 'went up' to Michelet to propose his services and those of the colonel. The conflict with Morocco wrecked the operation."

\* \* \*

Ben Bella's announcement July 9 of the arrest of Col. Chaâbani was interpreted by Le Monde as a major setback for the counterrevolution. The Colonel and his lieutenants "escaped all the operations of the French army for years" during the independence war. Ben Bella's forces captured him in a few days. How was this possible?

On the one hand he had grown soft and "too accustomed to luxury." On the other, he was disliked by the population who knew him. "He was turned in by the inhabitants of the village. . . ." [Le Monde July 10.] In other words, in Chaâbani's home territory, the ordinary people favor Ben Bella. This constitutes the most powerful kind of evidence of the mass support enjoyed by the regime in the face of the challenge of the counterrevolution.

\* \* \*

In a fighting speech before a huge throng in the Esplanade de l'Afrique in celebration of the second anniversary of independence July 5, Ben Bella outlined the main themes of the government's case against the counterrevolution. He recalled the situation only two years ago:

"Eight thousand villages destroyed in the countryside, two and a half million unemployed, an economy and administration com-



pletely disorganized in accordance with the diabolical plan of the OAS [Secret Army Organization] and their accomplices. The factories had closed their gates and capital was fleeing from Algeria by the tens of billions of dinars."

Ben Bella asked his listeners to compare the Algeria of today not with the advanced countries but with other underdeveloped countries in the world in order to judge properly the miracle that had been accomplished.

The imperialist armies that had occupied the country for 132 years had finally departed "without any clamor or drums." Shanty towns have been levelled and new homes are now under construction. Thirty thousand orphans have been assured an education and the old people have been assured a roof over their heads.

The "difficulties and hobbles contained in the Evian accords have been surmounted. . . "

Algeria "can hold her head high because we have recuperated 2,700,000 hectares of land. A year ago in this same esplanade we announced the nationalization of the land."

Ben Bella listed a series of other outstanding achievements while affirming at the same time that he was not a "Communist" but a faithful adherent of the Islam religion, which, he averred is compatible with socialism.

Ben Bella went far in his appeal to the Muslim faith. The government had authorized 12,000 pilgrims to go to holy places, he said; no other country pays teachers of the Koran the way Algeria does; the government is ready to spend more to "safeguard the Muslim culture and the Holy Book of the Koran."

He attacked the counterrevolution, scoring its principal leaders, particularly Khider, who, he said, had stolen some six million francs (\$1,200,000) belonging to the National Liberation Front. [Khider, in response to this revelation, acknowledged the theft and attempted to justify it. The Swiss government then impounded the funds which he had placed in banks in that country.]

In closing, Ben Bella levelled a strong attack on the "oil companies and capitalists." He said, "We will never bow to them. To succeed in that, you will have to bury twelve million Algerians."

He stated that holdings of bourgeois figures who have financed the counterrevolution will be seized. Lists of names have already been drawn up.

The Algerian Revolution gave additional evidence of impatience with the repeated efforts to resort to arms against the Ben Bella government. The death penalty was put into effect and five malefactors were shot.

Tokyo Letter

A SETBACK AND A RISING DANGER

By Eiichi Yamanishi

[Eiichi Yamanishi is well known in Japan for his excellent translations of the works of Leon Trotsky. He has just completed translating the biography of Trotsky by Isaac Deutscher. The first two volumes of the trilogy have appeared; the third is at the printer's.]

\* \* \*

TOKYO -- Two events have had big consequences here. The first was the betrayal by the Communist party of Japan [CPJ] of the general strike of April 17 that was planned by Sohyo [General Council of Japanese Trade Unions] and backed by the Japanese Socialist party [JSP]. [See World Outlook June 26.] The main action was to have been a half-day general strike of the National Railway workers -- and it would have been, as everyone agreed, the biggest strike since the end of the war. In fact, it would have been one of the major struggles among the advanced countries since 1945.

Just one week before the deadline, as the preparations were mounting, the CPJ announced that it was opposed to the strike; and it started a furious campaign to stop the action, declaring that the proposed strike would drive a wedge between the labor movement and the broad layers of the population. Instead of a struggle of the workers alone, they advocated a people's movement against a treaty between Japan and Korea and for national independence. They ordered union members under their influence to immediately withdraw from strike preparations and do their best to disrupt it.

This gave a welcome excuse to the leaders of Sohyo to submit the issues finally to the Arbitration Committee and thus avoid a historic struggle.

The CPJ's sudden switch just before the big showdown undoubtedly reflects a line determined in Peking which is now vying with Moscow for the favor of the Japanese capitalists, seeking to interest them in the Chinese market. Peking must have told the leaders of the Communist party of Japan not to irritate the Japanese rulers and capitalists at this moment when so much seems to be at stake. They showed that they will not hesitate to inflict deadly blows to the labor struggles in other countries if it appears to favor their own national interests. The workers of the world should note this.

\* \* \*

The leaders of the SP and Sohyo are jubilant over having found a most unexpected excuse for denouncing and expelling Communist acti-

vists and members of unions and thus being able to firm up their control. In fighting this anti-Communist campaign, it is necessary to patiently explain to Communist activists the international history of Stalinist betrayals of the world labor movement. This has to be done with facts -- not abstract theory, but concrete facts.

\* \* \*

The CPJ is now facing a grave crisis due to the Sino-Soviet dispute. Yoshio Shiga, one of the five CP members of parliament, in violation of a party decision, voted for the treaty for partial cessation of nuclear tests. With Nosaka and the late Tokuda, Shiga was part of the former triumvirate that headed the party. He is one of the oldest and most influential leaders of the CP and now heads the pro-Khrushchev minority faction.

\* \* \*

In the Literary Association of New Japan, an organization of progressive writers and critics, a revolt has broken out. Discontent had been brewing for some years against Stalinist interference in the Association's literary activities. On March 27-29 it held its eleventh national conference in Tokyo with more than three hundred participants. The CP tried to dominate the conference, summoning supporters from all over the country. But it ended in complete rout for the party. The latest issue of the Association's magazine is filled with articles, reports and letters expressing disgust and resentment over the tactics of the small Stalinist minority at the conference.

Mitsuharu Inoue, a young vigorous novelist, said at the conference, "There is a tendency among us, especially among revolutionary writers of Japan, to avoid criticizing Stalin. . . but without this, no new theory of art can be produced."

But no one, including Inoue, referred to Trotsky. Still, this belated revolt is symptomatic.

\* \* \*

### Fascist Threat

The other recent event of importance here is the decision of Sokagakkai to put up thirty candidates for the next parliamentary election. This is a fanatic, ultrachauvinistic sect that has no parliamentary illusions. Sokagakkai has grown with phenomenal speed, especially after the great uproar against revising the Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty. Its rise is one of the consequences of national frustration at losing that great struggle.

Sokagakkai boasts that more than three million families adhere to it. The youth sector, embracing hundreds of thousands of members,

many of them students of big universities, are receiving vigorous military training, regimentally organized. This is by far the biggest fascist organization in the world today. It must be closely watched.

\* \* \*

Despite the striking growth of postwar industry, the base of Japanese capitalism is quite shallow. Two or three years' growth of investments always ends in overproduction. Many small businesses are going bankrupt while still showing a profit on the books. The breathlessly rapid growth of giant industry, coupled with the way the middle classes are ruined by this expansion -- this is the hotbed of Sokagakkai, the mushrooming fascist movement.

This presents the Japanese vanguard with two important tasks. The first is a correct attitude towards the two workers states, China and the Soviet Union. Negotiations with these two countries should not be left unchallenged to the capitalists. The Japanese labor movement should speak up. The Japanese workers have full right to present a plan to link Japanese industry with the planned economies of the two workers states, not on a narrow capitalist base but on a wider base transcending these limits such as Trotsky so clearly presented more than thirty years ago.

If Trotsky were alive today, he would surely propose an incisive, imagination-catching economic plan of gigantic scale embracing all the workers states. He would scarcely limit himself to merely weighing the arguments of the leaders of Peking and Moscow.

The second task is to explain clearly and vividly the whole history of the German tragedy in the early 1930's. I saw every phase of the development of that tragedy under the illumination of Trotsky's analysis.

At the same time it is necessary to explain that if even under the Hitler terror Germany could mobilize such strength as to conquer a whole continent, though only for a time, what might not have been done if that energy had been mobilized by a socialist Germany, a socialist Germany united with Soviet Russia!

But today we have even more reason to appeal to the peoples of both worlds to visualize the far greater potentialities in combination with a huge federation of workers' countries -- thirteen on the Asia-European continent alone! There can be no reason, no convincing reason, for either Peking or Moscow not to press in that direction.

MEXICO'S JACKAL PRESS UNLEASHED ON CUBA

By Manolo Sarmiento

MEXICO, D.F. -- The declarations made here by the sister of Fidel Castro, who went into voluntary exile, bode no good for the revolutionary island. The Mexican press has been unleashed in one of the most vicious campaigns yet undertaken against the Cuban Revolution.

The tremendous publicity given the incident compelled the Mexican government to affirm through a spokesman of the Foreign Relations office that "Mexico holds no rigid position in relation to Cuba."

The truly reactionary character of the "declarations" made by Juana Castro indicates that she was prompted by the U.S. State Department through its agents in the embassy here.

Fidel replied, exposing the Machiavellian aims of the State Department maneuver. It was another attempt to sell Latin-American opinion on the idea that the Cuban Revolution is so "monstrous" that it breaks up the "immemorial and holy institution" of the family. Imperialism did not want to miss playing this card.

It is rumored that Juana Castro may even go to the July 21 meeting of the OAS [Organization of American States], where Mexico will be under increased pressure to break relations with Cuba. The imperialist and national press are in strange and unanimous agreement that "this is the worst blow yet suffered by Castro." The yellow press is even more hysterical than in May when the projected invasion by Artime and Ray was supposed to take place.

Before next November (the U.S. elections are in November), Johnson will present the head of Fidel to the American electorate, the reactionaries are predicting with one voice.

This is the atmosphere in which the State Department will seek the total isolation of Cuba at the July 21 hemispheric conference of foreign ministers. Mexico, Bolivia, Chile and Uruguay are being pressured to break relations with Cuba.

It is Mexico above all that will decide this question. The government of López Mateos resisted the pressure for five years, and he evidently wished to leave the office without having buckled to the State Department on this issue. He began office with reformist ambitions but had to give up his projects one after the other under the heat from Washington, watering them down to mere topics for speech-making. Only the diplomatic tie with Cuba remains.

Díaz Ordaz, the new president, who is highly approved by the imperialists, seems almost certain to concede this.

If Mexico breaks relations, Cuba's isolation from the continent will be virtually complete, since Uruguay, Bolivia and Chile, even if they maintain relations, are far away. And the State Department will still not remain content. Everything that happens to Cuba particularly affects the political situation in Chile, just as events in Chile echo in Cuba. State Department pressure will be heavy in Chile, in Uruguay, in Bolivia.

Yet great events are looming on the Latin-American horizon, events that can prove decisive for the development of the revolution throughout the continent. North American imperialism is aware of this and hence will do its utmost to deal a finishing blow to the Revolution which the heroic Cuban people dared to start.

The defense of the first workers republic of the Americas thus becomes a most vital matter. This holds not only for the men and women in the Cuban militia armed with machine guns. And not only for the peoples of Latin America. Today the defense of Cuba is a world-wide duty. Today the fate of Cuba can determine the fate of international socialism for a long time. The revolutionary capital of Cuba belongs to revolutionists everywhere. In Cuba the fate of mankind can be decided.

Every revolutionist in the world must be conscious of the fact that a mortal peril faces the island called the "pearl of the Antilles," the vanguard island of the world socialist revolution.

### FRENCH-CANADA'S "RIN"

By R. Brock

MONTREAL -- The most likely contender for leadership of the left in Québec at present would appear to be the mass separatist party, Le Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale [RIN].

Although only four years old, the Movement shows vitality. At the annual congress in Québec City at the end of May, the RIN elected as president a 31-year-old socialist-minded journalist, Pierre Bourgault. They decided to run candidates in all 95 constituencies in the next Québec election (expected in 1966), and set out to convert their Movement into a disciplined political party determined to take power in Québec. The official membership is 7,000; and the preiphery at least as large again.

The RIN plans a programmatic congress next February in preparation for the coming elections. The present program, adopted in October 1962 is similar to the program of the federal New Democratic party, including its faults as well as good points.



The planning it advocates would be worked out through a "council of economic orientation" composed of "representatives of commerce and industry" as well as farm, labor, and consumers' spokesmen. Planks include opposition to nuclear arms, encouragement of union organization, support of the right to strike among civil servants, medicare, equal rights for women, free university education, nationalization of public services, and encouragement of producers' and consumers' co-operatives.

The RIN developed in Québec parallel to the New Democratic party. Founded in September 1960 by about thirty persons led by André d'Allemagne, a former Ottawa civil servant, and the well-known Dr. Marcel Chaput, the new formation at first simply advocated the idea of independence.

"However," says d'Allemagne, now a national director, "the movement evolved over time, and within eighteen months, we had adopted a party orientation."

Chaput and his more conservative tendency split to form the right-wing Parti Républicain du Québec, which was later dissolved. "Chaput," according to d'Allemagne, "wanted our accent to be exclusively on independence -- for example, he took issue with the RIN's espousal of neutral [nonconfessional] schools, and for 'strategic and political' reasons omitted such from the PRQ's program."

The RIN has an efficient organization, represented in almost every county. It holds annual conventions, has changed presidents each year. At the beginning its membership was mainly intellectuals, students and civil servants. D'Allemagne estimates that the present composition is about one-third youth (students and workers), one-third intellectuals and professionals, and one-third manual workers, housewives, etc.

He claims that although at first workers tended to look askance at separatism, being more interested in "bread and butter" issues, they are now taking greater interest in RIN's objectives. At the recent Victoria Day rally, many dock workers were noted among the demonstrators.

The fact is that the daily working-class issues tend to converge with national independence aims. Most capital in French-Canada speaks English (sixty per cent of the Montreal workers, who are mostly French-Canadian, must speak English at work). To demand the use of French as the language of business and industry is a way of opposing the boss, who is usually English-speaking.

D'Allemagne believes that this tendency will continue. "In the past, when a new member joined the RIN, national independence was his sole interest. However, he would quickly find out that independence would not solve a single one of the problems facing Québec; in itself, it is only a first step, although a crucially

important one. But independence without any further changes would not be a real independence at all. Thus, the logic of the struggle obliges us to ask questions about what sort of society we want -- what sort of policies to follow, what sort of social and economic structure, in short, what sort of government."

Through experience, the national struggle tends to develop a social content. Inevitably certain political lessons follow. D'Allemagne cites the current strikes at the newspaper La Presse and the department store Dupuis Frères, two of the biggest enterprises owned by French-Canadian capital. Both strikes demonstrate, he says, that "the national bourgeoisie in Québec cannot play a progressive role, and in fact is now making it clear that it will be less and less willing to make compromises and concessions." The separatists must look to other classes in society for their allies.

It is from this point of view that d'Allemagne projects a growing liaison between the working class and nationalist movements: "The current strike struggles will oblige a greater solidarity and unity between the anticlerical, pro-independence and protrade-union forces."

Kinship with similar struggles throughout the world is recognized. The same issue of L'Indépendance (Official organ of the RIN) containing their political program also featured an article on the colonial struggle of the Puerto Ricans in which the RIN expressed solidarity with that country's Pro-Independence Movement.

Pierre Bourgault has announced publicly that the party has invited organizers from the American Negro Congress of Racial Equality [CORE] to come to Québec to teach their demonstration techniques to RIN militants.

D'Allemagne has told this writer that in his personal opinion a RIN government in Québec would have the best chances of co-operation with the Canadian government in Ottawa if that government were held by the New Democratic party. "After all," he said, "our thinking is the same on a great many issues."

But, d'Allemagne went on, "I find it impossible to explain the abysmal miscomprehension and ignorance of English-Canadian socialists when it concerns developments in Québec." He has a point there.

#### MINE STRIKE IN CHILE

Some 3,000 workers at the "El Teniente" mine in Chile owned by Braden Copper declared an "unlimited" strike July 9. They charged the company with not living up to a wage agreement.

LEADER OF FILIPINO FREEDOM FIGHTERS CAPTURED

[The following report is taken from the June 5 Laging Una, published in Los Angeles, California.]

\* \* \*

Dr. Jesus Lava, top leader of the rebel Hukbalahaps, is confined in a maximum security cell in Manila, awaiting trial on charges of subversion that could send him to the electric chair.

The Huk leader, 50 years old, was captured May 21 when 30 policemen surrounded a house in the Sampaloc district of Manila where he was staying. He had been hunted for 15 years.

Lava presumably had left his jungle fastness in the Sierra Madre of central Luzon to seek medical treatment for acute malaria and other ailments that was not available except in a city. He is himself a medical doctor.

It is assumed that the tip of an informer who recognized Lava led to his capture. Press reports said Lava surrendered without a fight.

Four days after his capture Lava was charged under the anti-subversion law, which outlawed the Communist party and decreed death for its leaders. The prosecutors also revived and amended old charges against the captive, substituting a charge of simple rebellion for "rebellion complexed with murder, kidnaping and arson," which the Supreme Court in another case had ruled invalid.

The subversion charge alleges that Lava, from 1942 until his capture, was the leader of the Communist party and its military arm, the Hukbong Mapagpalayang Bayan (HMB or Huk) and as such led these organizations in taking up arms against the government "by making and conducting raids, ambushes and armed attacks against civilians and upon the Philippine Constabulary, Armed Forces of the Philippines and local police forces."

While government investigators claimed they had positive proof that Lava had direct links with Communist leaders in the Soviet Union, China and Indonesia, Lava reportedly denied this. He was quoted as saying that the Communist party of the Philippines, of which he was secretary-general, was "most independent and most isolated."

Lava lived and worked in the "underground" with a galaxy of talented rebel leaders who, one by one, were killed or arrested. When Huk Supremo Luis Taruc voluntarily surrendered to the government in 1954, Lava succeeded to the position of top political and military leader of the rebel movement.

Lava's brother, José, 51, a lawyer, is serving a life sentence for rebellion. He also was prominent in the rebel movement.

Although the backbone of the Huk movement was broken militarily, fear that it may revive haunts the dreams of the propertied classes. This fear was expressed April 24 by Manila Times columnist Alfredo R. Roces. He wrote: "Today the Huks remain a sinister ghost, hiding in the shadows, mocking the law; and like the proverbial dark horse awaiting a climate when they can burst forth to make this entire archipelago a Vietnam."

Roces asserted that Huk "liquidation squads" were busy in Tarlac and Pampanga provinces and had in one week killed three plantation overseers and two Constabularymen.

### "WE GO AFRAID, YET DEDICATED"

By Evelyn Sell

"We're hoping for the best and preparing for the worst," say students engaged in Freedom Summer Project in Mississippi. There are now 400 students, black and white from North and South, working in Mississippi. Their goals: to develop local Negro leadership and organization to carry out voter registration drives; to set up community centers to provide educational and cultural programs for Negroes; to establish "freedom schools" for political education.

The young civil-rights workers were recruited and trained by the National Council of Churches and the Council of Federated Organizations [COFO], an alliance of civil-rights groups. The director of COFO is Robert Moses, one of the leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee [SNCC], who has been active in Mississippi civil-rights projects since 1961.

Mississippi officials prepared to meet the Freedom Summer Project with the full armed might of the state. New laws were passed and police forces were augmented. Gov. Paul Johnson asked for and got from the state legislature the first state police force in Mississippi history. Thousands of Ku Klux Klan members and "Americans for the Preservation of the White Race" armed and readied themselves for the summer. Federal authorities estimate that there are 60,000 armed whites prepared for guerrilla warfare against the students and Negroes.

Most of the students have been assigned to Southern Mississippi -- the most feared section of the state. In the week before the bulk of the students arrived, five Negro churches in the area were bombed, three Negro homes were dynamited, Negro men, women and children were beaten and three young civil-rights workers vanished.

A spokesman for COFO said that each student volunteer "knows he is taking a chance of physical violence." The students, recruited during the spring, were warned of the dangers. The depth of their dedication to the civil-rights cause can be gauged by the fact that in order to participate in the project they had to bring \$130 for living expenses, be able to raise \$400 to bail themselves out of jail in case of arrest, and be willing to put their lives in jeopardy. Before they left for the South, they attended courses to prepare themselves for their work and to learn about techniques of passive resistance.

At one of these sessions, Attorney John Doar, a key man in the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, told them: "There is no federal police force. We can't keep a crime from occurring. I suggest that you accept that for a fact and guide your conduct accordingly."

Doar was roundly booed and hissed by the students. But it wasn't long before the predicted crime (that the powerful U.S. government was helpless to prevent!) happened.

On June 21, three civil-rights workers disappeared. One was Andy Goodman, a 20-year-old white student from New York who had just arrived with the first group of summer volunteers. Another was Mickey Schwerner, 24 years old and also a white student from New York who had been working in Mississippi since January as a field worker from the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE]. The third missing person was James Chaney, 22, a Negro member of CORE who had been active in civil-rights work for nine months.

These three young men had gone to the small town of Philadelphia to see a church which had been burned by racists because it was scheduled for use as a freedom school. The three were arrested by police for "speeding" (a typical harassment tactic against civil-rights workers). Then, again according to the local police, they were released after paying a \$20 fine. The deputies said they followed the trio "several blocks to make sure they got out of town all right." This occurred at the unusual time of an hour or so before midnight. Their fire-gutted car was found two days later.

As a search got under way, President Johnson expressed "deep concern" for the students' safety. He ordered FBI agents and 200 men from a nearby naval base to help the State Highway Patrol comb swamps and woods for the missing three. He also sent Allen Dulles, former head of the Central Intelligence Agency, to Mississippi to confer with Gov. Paul Johnson.

Dulles advised the president that more FBI agents should be sent to Mississippi, and that closer contact should be established between the White House and the Mississippi government, and also with the other civil-rights groups active in the area.

Meeting with representatives from the National Council of Churches and other civil-rights leaders, Dulles said that students going to Mississippi should "stay out of danger areas" and conduct themselves in such a way as not to provoke incidents. (All of Mississippi is a "danger area" and the mere presence of the students "provokes" the racists.)

Gov. Johnson, for his part, stated that Mississippi "will maintain surveillance of the activities of all extreme groups. . . This includes Negro groups as well as white groups." (He equates unarmed Negroes with armed terrorists!)

Groups across the country have demanded that the federal government protect the students and Negroes in Mississippi. When Johnson spoke at a Democratic fund-raising meeting in Detroit, he was picketed by some 200 Negroes and whites who demanded that the president send federal marshals to Mississippi. The same demand was raised by similarly integrated marches and sit-ins in Boston; Greenville, Miss.; New Brunswick, New Jersey; St. Louis; Chicago and Washington, D.C.

Jesse Gray, leader of the Harlem rent strike in New York, told the Chicago demonstrators that the federal government should "return all troops from South Vietnam and Europe" and send them to Mississippi. "Every black soldier should leave the army and go to Mississippi."

In Washington, 2,000 members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] marched on the Department of Justice to demand stronger federal action in Mississippi. Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, who is head of the Department, watched the demonstration and then walked over to shake hands with some of the marchers.

Seeing this, parade marshals shouted, "Don't smile; give him hell; don't smile." The previous evening, Kennedy had rejected demands to send 2,000 specially deputized agents to assure the safety of the students working in Mississippi. His excuse was that "it is a local matter for local law enforcement."

Mississippians claim that the trio's disappearance is only a hoax. Sheriff Rainey of Philadelphia, the town from which the three vanished, said: "If they're missing, they just hid somewhere, trying to get a lot of publicity out of it I figure." This idea was echoed by Southern representatives and senators in Washington.

Robert M. Shelton, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, dismissed the matter as "another promotional gimmick." He said it was all a "plot" of the NAACP and hinted that behind the whole thing was the Communist party.

A minister, recently returned to Michigan from the civil-



rights front in Mississippi, said that the biggest fear among the Negroes was not of the armed terrorists but the police. "The Negroes fear more than anything else being dragged from the car by police."

Asked about the three missing civil-rights workers, the minister said, "For the present, we can only assume the police killed them."

Tensions are rising higher and higher, both sides girding for sharper conflicts this summer. Despite the threats, the bombings and the disappearance of their fellow workers, more students continue to enter Mississippi determined to carry out their civil-rights projects. As one of them said, "We go afraid, yet dedicated."

#### NUCLEAR ARMS IN WEST GERMANY

The nuclear weapons held by Washington and Moscow are sufficient to obliterate all mankind many times over. In addition, Great Britain possesses nuclear weapons and France is well on the way.

Nevertheless the illusion persists that the further dissemination of the monstrous weapons might be halted by a gentlemen's agreement between the governments of the USA and the USSR.

Khrushchev has fostered this illusion in many ways. He even went so far as to block Soviet aid to the People's Republic of China in the production of nuclear materials. Washington helped foster the illusion, too, but acted in a different way toward its capitalist-allies. Last New Year's Eve the Pentagon sent sufficient nuclear warheads to Canada to make that country a major nuclear power overnight.

In the past several weeks, two more significant items showed Washington's real policy. On June 30 the Canadian government revealed that a Canadian air division stationed in West Germany is "often" equipped with nuclear arms. Its nuclear bombers are held in a "constant state of alert."

On July 9 the U.S. Air Force announced that it has completed a number of "hardened" missile bases in "central Europe." The silos, which are now "operational," are loaded with "Mace-B" missiles containing "conventional" nuclear warheads capable of striking targets up to 1,200 miles away.

Khrushchev had hoped by his policy to prevent the U.S. from arming West Germany. But it seems that Johnson will be able to boast to the American electorate that the aim of giving nuclear arms to West Germany has been practically completed.

Cuban Notebook

THE CAMILO CIENFUEGOS SCHOOL CITY

By Ernest Mandel

It was born from a vow made by Fidel Castro during the revolutionary war.

The Batista tyranny had killed 20,000 revolutionists. To commemorate their sacrifice, Fidel resolved to construct a city in which 20,000 children of the Sierra Maestra could receive nine years schooling (three primary grades, three secondary, and three years of high school technical training).

But not only training in the literal sense. The Cuban Revolution was aware of the lamentable state of the peasant population of the Sierra Maestra under the semicolonial regime. It knew that what the youngsters of the Sierra lacked was not only schools, books, educational equipment. It was above all adequate food, decent housing, clothing, an environment containing the material acquisitions of contemporary civilization. These were youngsters who had never known electricity, running water, nor chocolate, a bike, movies, a campus.

It was to bring them all this, and at the same time general training and a progressive, socialist education, that the Camilo Cienfuegos School City was conceived.

The children board there for nine years. Each year they have a one-month vacation to go home; and a big hotel is in the blueprint stage so that parents can visit the youngsters from time to time.

Everything has been conceived for the children and their needs. When the School City is completed in 1969-70, it will have a population of 35,000 to 40,000, including 20,000 students. The other inhabitants will devote themselves to the duties necessary to the well-being and instruction of the youngsters. In addition to teaching personnel, there will be farm workers to produce food for the City, carpenters and construction workers to put up buildings and make furniture, shoemakers and textile workers, drivers and laundry workers, administrative personnel and postal and communication employees.

The Camilo Cienfuegos School City was conceived as a model socialist center, bringing together both city conveniences and quasi self-sustaining food production. It was built on a big ranch (latifundium) of the former regime covered with weeds. Today it has a farm of 8,000 hectares [one hectare = 2.47 acres] which grows all the rice, vegetables and potatoes necessary for the City. It has big poultry yards and 8,000 head of cattle, sufficient to provide not only all the fresh milk and meat needed by the City, but all the surrounding villages.

When it is completed, the City will have 35 school units of nine grades each, all under one pedagogical administration. Today it already has four units, containing 2,400 students, including 200 little girls. Some 11,000 workers, employees and teachers already live in the City. The buildings they have constructed, both colorful and audacious, are extremely attractive like all the architecture of revolutionary Cuba.

The pedagogical system followed in the City brings an element of physical labor into the curriculum. Each day a different class in each school unit goes to work on the land, in the fields in the morning, in the orchards in the afternoon. It does this on the average of once each three weeks. This is to familiarize the students with physical labor and to prevent them from becoming completely detached from the family background which is agricultural, so that they do not become disdainful of peasant work as their level of culture and education rises.

The School City pays special attention to leisure and relaxation. The 2,400 students have available at present 800 bicycles made in China and an equal number of roller skates. Each school unit has a gymnasium that also serves for music. A botanical garden is being set up; a zoological garden will complete it. A big swimming pool is being built, a stadium with 25,000 seats and a theater. Projection rooms for movies are already functioning and abundant sports equipment is available, as well as many libraries.

The City was conceived for the children and not for the teaching personnel, who do not have an easy life. They must do their own laundry; they have only one day off each two weeks; they must live under constant self-discipline; each man and woman is constantly under the eyes of dozens of children, in and out of class.

Thus a severe selection occurs among the personnel. Many of them cannot keep it up; they are free to leave. But we talked with men and women teachers who came to visit the City and who have not returned yet, who wanted to participate at once in the most noble work that the Revolution offers -- to bring a ray of culture and well-being for the children of the poorest people in the country. . .

#### CANADIAN STUDENTS FIND CUBA A FREE COUNTRY

A group of 46 Canadian students, now touring Cuba under the auspices of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, have been much impressed by what they have seen. Said David Adams, a student at the University of Regina, after visiting the Otto Barroso high school, "What a marvelous feeling of liberty and optimism. We found ourselves surrounded by friendly people and smiling children. Are these people prisoners!"

NENNI ACCIDENTALLY KICKED OUT THE PROPS

By Tullio Venturi

ROME, July 6 -- The difficulties lodged in the "Center-Left" government when it was constituted [see World Outlook December 20, 1963] wrecked the project after little more than six months. Something had to be done about the worsening economic situation. As a bourgeois government, there was no choice but to attempt this at the expense of the working class by lay-offs and a wage squeeze. But this exposed the reformist pretensions of the government as demagoguery, thereby discrediting the "socialists" who had joined it.

The crisis flared over the vote in parliament on Chapter 88 of the Ministry of Education's Budget, which allocated 149 million lire [100 lire = U.S.\$0.16] for private schools (which are mainly Catholic. This was rejected, but by a vote that split the government majority. The DC [Christian Democratic party, the party of big business] voted in favor, while the other three government parties; i.e., the PSI [Nenni's Socialist party], the PSDI [Saragat's Social-Democratic party] and the PRI (Republican party, a small petty-bourgeois party) abstained. The Communist party, the PSIUP (the new Socialist party formed by a split from the PSI), and all the right-wing parties opposed the measure. After the vote June 26, the Prime Minister resigned.

A chain of "accidents" led to this crisis. As Nenni revealed in a speech at the Central Committee meeting of his party July 3, when the PSI decided to abstain, they did not expect that the PSDI and the PRI would follow suit. But these parties were concerned about being outflanked from the left with regard to clericalism. Nenni criticized this as "absurd," pointing out that these parties also declared that they did not agree with the PSI as to the substance of the matter.

Once again Nenni thus revealed the true nature of his now rare references to principles. It is a matter of lip service. His problem this time was that he overlooked the possibility that his lip service might knock out the props holding up this government.

What are the prospects at the moment? After the usual consultations made by the president of the Republic, former Prime Minister Moro has been asked to try again. The National Congress of the DC, which was scheduled to be held just as the crisis broke, was hastily postponed. The PSI took similar action, postponing a national organizational conference since "in such circumstances it would have transformed itself into a congress."

The PSI is now divided into three tendencies holding the following positions: The majority, lead by Nenni and De Martino (the party's secretary), which obtained 52 votes at the last session of the Central Committee held July 3-4, is determined to back another

"center-left" government and is ready to pay for it with further capitulations. Another tendency is lead by Giolitti, who held the post of budget minister in the government that resigned, and I.M. Lombardi, the editor of L'Avanti, the party's daily. This tendency favors continuing the coalition but under certain conditions. Eleven in the Central Committee voted for this. The third tendency is the left wing, which won 23 votes in the Central Committee. Although it is not in principle against the "experiment," the left wing considers that support for a "center-left" government is a negative policy in the present stage and it therefore favors keeping the party out of the government.

As for the Communist party, although it is against the government and criticizes the PSI for entering the coalition, it lacks an alternative solution. This is due to the fact that it does not oppose the policy of a coalition as such with the bourgeoisie. In a public speech July 3, Togliatti openly stated this, declaring that "we already entered a coalition government with bourgeois parties and we shall do it again when we think it should be done."

The class-collaborationist line of the Communist party is also reflected in the statement made by Togliatti July 1, after having been consulted by the president of the Republic. "The central problem in the present situation," said Togliatti, "is that of re-establishing a relationship of confidence between the government and the working masses, regardless of the political tendency they belong to."

#### CANADIANS BACK NELSON MANDELA

TORONTO -- a half hundred young people demonstrated here June 20 against the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and seven others in South Africa's recent witch-hunt trial.

The demonstration was organized by the Toronto Area Council of New Democratic Youth [NDY].

Among the placards: "Support Black Freedom Struggle in South Africa"; "Protest Racist Policies of South Africa"; "NDY Urge You to Protest Apartheid."

The demonstrators, mostly in their late teens, called for a boycott of South African goods.

Besides marching in front of the office of the South African Trade Commissioner on Yonge Street, the picketeers demonstrated in front of the Loblaw Groceries Co. Ltd. store on St. Clair Avenue. They were protesting statements made on apartheid by Garfield Weston, holder of controlling interest in the Loblaw Companies Ltd. [See World Outlook May 8.]

## LONDONERS PROTEST MANDELA SENTENCES

By John Powell

LONDON -- The first of a series of local public meetings to protest the savage life sentences given to Nelson Mandela and his seven comrades in South Africa was held June 20 outside the Dalston Odeon (Hackney, London).

Leaflets were distributed in the shopping centre opposite the cinema by members of the Young Socialists. An audience built up as the speakers put the case on behalf of the local Hackney Labour parties against apartheid and race hatred.

Speakers included the present and past Labour mayors of Hackney, a representative of the Greater London Council and one of the key activists of the Young Socialists.

A leaflet headed "Apartheid and Race Hatred" stated: "You can help by supporting the Labour Party in their fight to ban arms exports to South Africa, and by boycotting South African goods, something that all organisations fighting apartheid in South Africa have called for."

The leaflet continued: "The Tories and their friends in industry are spending millions to defeat Labour. The Labour Party relies on its members for financial support. If you are Labour supporters, join now."

Another leaflet, "Don't Buy South African Goods," was also distributed. It listed brand names.

This active approach to recruiting for the Labour party has always yielded positive results.

The crowd responded in a lively way to the speakers, who called for a boycott of South African goods and demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners in South Africa.

The case of Dr. Neville Alexander and his ten comrades, who recently received long prison terms for their opposition to the Verwoerd regime was also brought up.

Hackney, located in the East End of London with its mixed population, has always reacted in favor of united Labour and trade-union action against fascism and race hatred. Ridley Road, the scene of many prewar and postwar battles between fascists and antifascists is located in Hackney.



SHASTRI CONTINUES ON NEHRU'S PATH

By S. R. Singh

NEW DELHI -- Lal Bahadur Shastri, who succeeded Nehru as Prime Minister of India, has said that he will continue Nehru's tradition of "nonalignment" in international affairs and "democratic socialism" on the domestic front.

Khrushchev, cautious at first, greeted Shastri's statement enthusiastically. This line has been faithfully echoed by the Secretariat of the Communist party of India [CPI] headed by S.A.Dange. The CPI has given assurances that it will "support" the "progressive policies" of the new government.

It could not be otherwise so far as the Khrushchevists are concerned. Committed to building a "national democratic front" to fight what they describe as the "monopolists and imperialists" of India, they must trail behind the "national bourgeoisie." It is really a policy of surrender.

The "unanimous" choice of Shastri as Nehru's successor by the Congress parliamentary party was the outcome of a great deal of back-stage manoeuvring by the right-wing politicians. The American lobby in New Delhi actively canvassed for Shastri. The Industrial House of Birlas -- the real "king makers" in India -- also backed him four square.

The hard core of Congress leaders who promoted Shastri consisted of men like S.K.Patil (included as the Railway's Minister in the new cabinet); Atulya Ghosh, a reactionary from Bengal; Sanjeeva Reddy of Andhra (also included in the cabinet); and Kamaraj Nadar, president of the Indian national Congress. These men are openly pro-American.

The challenge to Shastri's bid came from another right-wing faction led by Morarji Desai, former Finance Minister, who is extremely unpopular in India because of his reputation for ruthlessness. He seems to have incurred the displeasure of the U.S.State Department and the Birla House. He was outmanoeuvred by the Kamaraj-Patil group, who at present control the Congress party apparatus at the centre.

Desai, despite his reactionary ideas and anti-Communist rating, may not have been acceptable to the American lobby because he was not prepared to change his unbending attitude toward Pakistan on the question of Kashmir. U.S. interests and a powerful section of the Indian bourgeoisie, it would seem, want to come to terms with Pakistan over the Kashmir issue on the basis of the efforts made by Sheikh Abdulla, the Kashmir leader released from prison some months ago after serving more than ten years. Sheikh Abdulla has been demanding self-determination for Kashmir. This could mean secession

from India and unification with Pakistan.

The Indian capitalists have good reasons for seeking a settlement with Pakistan. Together with U.S. investors, they are interested in the undeveloped markets and industrial potential of Pakistan.

Desai represents the section of the Indian bourgeoisie who fear that a permanent settlement with Pakistan would mean loss of the counterrevolutionary weapon of anti-Muslim Hindu communalism, which can always be wielded to divide the rank and file of the revolutionary masses. There are still 60,000,000 Muslims in India. Muslim-baiting is the stock-in-trade of parties like Jana Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha in India, just as Hindu-baiting is the stock-in-trade of their counter parts in Pakistan. The ruling classes in both countries use communalism to destroy mass movements.

The ferocious communalist riots recently in industrial cities like Calcutta, Rourkela, Jamshedpur, undoubtedly fomented by Hindu communalists as a "retaliating measure" against persecution of the Hindu minority in East Pakistan, demonstrate the extent to which the Indian bourgeoisie and their reactionary parties can still exploit communal sentiments to destroy the working-class movement in this country.

But whether Shastri will be able to fulfill his promise of a lasting settlement with Pakistan remains problematic.

Shastri has also said that he will endeavour to seek a settlement with China on the border question on the basis of the "Colombo proposals." But such a settlement means giving up another vehicle for stirring up chauvinistic sentiments against the Communist and radical movement in this country. Probably the Sino-Indian border dispute will never be settled, and for obvious reasons.

The Shastri government has, on the other hand, taken steps that should please Washington. An unofficial parliamentary mission was allowed to visit Taiwan some time ago, and there are now indications that New Delhi might establish diplomatic relations with the Chiang Kai-shek regime.

The government is moving fast to remove all the "irksome regulations" that have allegedly prevented foreign capital, mostly U.S., from flowing freely into India. All "leftist" talk in the Congress party concerning state trading in cereals, nationalization of the banks, etc., has been given up and the capitalists are being assured of a big role in the "democratic socialist pattern" under construction in India!

The period of relative stability in the political life of India, which existed under the unique leadership of Nehru, has come to an end. Already prices of cereals and other essential commodities

have begun to sky rocket. Food riots and looting of shops have occurred in some parts of the country.

Half-hearted regulations on food distribution, introduced by various state governments, have not yielded any positive results. But then the state governments are thinking not so much of bringing trade in cereals under control as importing grain from the United States under the so-called "PL 480 Programme" to meet the present deficits.

The Shastri government seems to hope it can solve these "domestic" problems through aid from U.S. imperialism. But this must eventually mean a more and more repressive policy in relation to the working class and other progressive movements.

The new government is still feeling its way. What might upset Shastri's apple cart, perhaps, are the internal conflicts in the Congress party. The "battle for succession" did not end with the defeat of Morarji Desai, who is only biding his time. In Delhi, there is already talk that the Shastri team might not last more than six months.

The working-class movement, happily, is demonstrating new signs of militancy although there is as yet no strong and united leadership capable of bringing the isolated struggles of workers in different parts of the country into a powerful national movement to challenge the bourgeois leadership. Only a few weeks ago, there was a general strike in Calcutta to protest the failure of the government to solve the food problem.

Partly due to pressure from the masses and partly due to factional considerations, the Dangeite leadership of the CPI has now begun a campaign for united action among all trade unions on immediate economic problems. Any all-India struggle of the working-class organizations would unleash new revolutionary forces despite the manoeuvres of the reformist leadership.

The recent merger of the Praja Socialist party and the Socialist party (two wings of the reformist socialist movement) into the Samyukta [United] Socialist party, although on the basis of a limited perspective of reformist struggles against the bourgeois regime, has nevertheless inspired a bit of militancy among the petty-bourgeois masses who are being drawn into the vortex of struggles.

A positive consequence of the "end of the Nehru era" has been a regroupment movement among various left parties. This can help the process of constructing a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist leadership.

Another positive development has been the emergency of an organized left wing within the CPI, which has published its own programme, openly challenging the class-collaborationist and opportunist politics of the Dangeite leadership.

The emergence of a new Communist party might be yet another rallying point for the revolutionary forces in India.

### CASTRO'S OFFER TO WASHINGTON

An "18-hour interview that took place over three days" with Fidel Castro created a world-wide sensation when it appeared in the July 6 New York Times. Two key items were: (1) An alleged offer by Castro to "withhold material support from Latin-American revolutionary movements if the United States and its hemispheric allies would cease their material support of subversive activity against Cuba." (2) An allegation that the offer was inspired by Khrushchev. ". . . Dr. Castro hinted strongly that the Soviet Union had been counseling a bettering of relations with the United States."

The following day a State Department spokesman brushed the offer aside. Two issues are "not negotiable," he said. One is "Castro's promotion of subversion elsewhere in the hemisphere" and the other is his "ties of dependency with the Soviet Union. . ."

The official Spanish version of the interview says nothing about any offer to withhold "material support" from revolutionary movements. Such an offer is quite contrary to the line Castro and his government have followed. The truth is that tiny Cuba can scarcely offer much in the way of material support to revolutionary movements, no matter how willing.

Material aid is not what bothers American imperialism, since in this field it pours out more material aid to counterrevolution in Latin America and elsewhere in one day than Cuba could send in ten years. What American imperialism is concerned about is the living example of the Cuban Revolution, and this is all that the Castro government can really "export."

Other points in the interview such as Castro's offer to indemnify owners of nationalized properties (out of funds derived from sugar sales in the U.S.) are not new. Castro has repeatedly sought to reach a settlement with Washington.

That Khrushchev may be attempting to force Castro into making extraordinary concessions may well be true. It would fit in with his drive for a deal with American imperialism. Castro in turn may have decided he had to go to unusual lengths to demonstrate his willingness to negotiate.

It would thus appear that it is now Moscow's turn to say something, for the State Department reply to Castro's offer was really a slap in the face of Khrushchev and his policy of "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists who rule in Washington.

On Ceylon

THE WEARING OUT OF A REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

By Pierre Frank

[Pierre Frank, a founding member of the Fourth International, is a former secretary of Leon Trotsky. He attended the Special Conference of the Lanka Sama Samaja party which was held in Colombo June 6-7. As the official representative of the Fourth International at that gathering, he supported the struggle of the Left Wing against a proposal by N.M.Perera, or any variation of it, to support a bourgeois coalition government. (See World Outlook June 19, June 26.)]

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The vote at the Special Conference of the Lanka Sama Samaja party June 7, authorizing Perera and his friends to enter a bourgeois government, was a blow against the Fourth International and the Ceylonese masses. It was the end result, as we shall see, of the wearing out of a revolutionary leadership.

The Origin of the LSSP

The LSSP always occupied a unique place in the Fourth International. Its origin was completely different from that of all the other sections of our movement. In brief, our movement everywhere else was born in more or less profound struggles within an established labor movement. In Ceylon, the labor movement itself was created toward the end of the thirties by a team of young revolutionaries educated in the English universities, who, attracted toward Communism just as the great struggle of the Left Opposition against Stalinism reached its height, decided in favor of the theory of the Permanent Revolution.

It is necessary to add that they came to national prominence in a period when the Ceylonese bourgeoisie did not itself attempt to mount the least struggle against British imperialism, not even by way of imitating their Indian neighbors.

During the war, the leadership of the LSSP expelled the Stalinists, who wanted to collaborate with imperialism. The Trotskyists were persecuted, arrested. Some of them escaped to India and continued their struggle in the underground. Thus, following the war, they returned to their own country with great prestige and at the head of the labor movement.

Like every political formation, the LSSP underwent many internal struggles. Petty-bourgeois currents were eliminated, while the majority of the leadership likewise held in check the well-known opportunist tendencies of N.M.Perera, who gained his authority through systematic trade-union work.

The real leadership of the LSSP, composed of a group of figures that included Colvin R. de Silva, Leslie Gunawardene, Bernard Soysa, Doric de Souza, and Edmund Samarakkody, was of high intellectual capacity and great militancy. It was recognized throughout Ceylon as constituting the genuine leading team. This team has now broken up, the majority having gone to pieces politically. This is the real tragedy which the LSSP has just experienced. What were the causes of this event? How did it come about?

It is necessary to say that alongside most excellent qualities, this leadership had weaknesses, the consequences of which have now become fully apparent.

In the first place, on the level of political education there was a big gap between these men, who followed the activities of the international Trotskyist movement, and most of the party rank and file, who knew no English and lacked adequate material in their own language for a political education. This leadership followed the life of the International, but was not sufficiently immersed in it nor inclined to bring the party as a whole into it.

This weakness was well-known among the leaders of the Trotskyist movement on an international scale. Whatever other issues temporarily divided them from time to time, there was common concern about this problem. The general organizational and financial weakness of the Fourth International made it impossible to bring more vigorous measures to bear such as sending Trotskyists of top capacity for sustained work in Ceylon to help bring up the political level of the party. The split in 1953 did not help, as was recognized by both the International Secretariat and the International Committee; and the reunification undertaken last year was not granted sufficient time to bring new united efforts to bear in a strong healthy way in this situation.

The second weakness of the majority of the LSSP leadership was that the parliamentary successes following the war developed parliamentary tendencies which were not combatted vigorously from the beginning and the ultimate consequences of which were not visualized. Even the intensive activities of the party centered on struggles for the conquest of seats in parliament.

A third weakness was, so to speak, the exclusively "labor" character of the party during its first years. Through their activities, the leaders of the LSSP had won the confidence of the majority of the Ceylonese workers (workers of Colombo, transport workers, white-collar brackets, etc.). But for a long time they have not tackled the most important part of the proletariat of Ceylon, the plantation workers, consisting of Indians "imported" originally by the British and who today have no citizenship -- neither Ceylonese nor Indian. The LSSP at one time registered good gains in this field, controlling a strong trade-union organization of these workers. But, with this exception, they scarcely penetrated the rural masses who



constitute the majority of the population.

Ceylon, it might be mentioned, does not have a poor peasantry like India or so many other underdeveloped countries. However low the standard of living is among these masses, they do not suffer from famine, from despair. The situation is quite variegated and to our knowledge no serious study has been made of it. In any case, the LSSP never developed a program for these masses. (The Communist party of Ceylon is in the same boat.)

### After Independence

In Ceylon, as in India, British imperialism granted independence following the second world war. Power passed into the hands of the UNP [United National party], the party representing the thin layer of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie directly linked through their plantations, their export trade, with British imperialism. The first elections gave the LSSP the leading place among the opposition formations. From this followed not only parliamentary illusions but also the idea that with the wearing out and the bankruptcy of the UNP its hour would come.

But during the fifties another formation developed, the Sri Lanka Freedom party [SLFP]. To the surprise of the leaders of the LSSP, this new party won an election victory in 1956 that brought it to power. At the time, the leaders of the LSSP characterized the SLFP as a bourgeois party based on wider layers than the UNP, but they thought that this party would also be rapidly worn out in power and that the LSSP would then move forward.

This perspective was demolished by the outcome of the elections of March 1960. The majority of the leading team of the LSSP lost their bearings and began to vacillate. At the same time Perera, with his reformist concepts, began to press forward more and more. At the time he proposed a coalition government with the SLFP. This was rejected, but the parliamentary group of the LSSP did cast a vote of confidence in the government. The Fourth International publicly disavowed this vote. (1)

With the evolution of the Bandaranaike government towards the right, the LSSP resumed its opposition, without, however, undertaking any serious self-criticism of its previous stand. It raised the slogan for a genuine socialist government. Then, together with the Ceylonese Communist party and the MEP [Mahajana Eksath Peramuna -- People's United Front], a petty-bourgeois formation, it constituted what was called the United Left Front [ULF]. This was a political combination with an insufficient program, which did not bring in the trade-union formations involving the citizenless Indian workers, and

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(1) See Quatrième Internationale, special number of the Sixth World Congress (1961).

this combination did not conduct itself as a candidate for power, in opposition to the SLFP government, although the broad Ceylonese masses gave the ULF a warm welcome precisely in anticipation of this perspective.

Finally, about three months ago, Perera secretly opened personal negotiations with the Prime Minister. While the left wing of the LSSP, organized about a year ago, firmly opposed any suggestion of a coalition, the majority of the leadership favored a coalition, not with the LSSP alone, but with all the formations of the ULF.

To justify this position, they argued that the SLFP was a petty-bourgeois formation, although it had already governed the country within the framework of capitalism for eight years; and they made a false analogy with the examples of Cuba and Algeria. But they did not want the LSSP to carry out the operation alone. As in the case of Perera, what was involved here was a gross error characteristic of all reformists. To reach the petty-bourgeois masses, the rural masses of Ceylon in this instance, they hoped -- instead of winning them through a fighting program -- to gain them through a combination with a bourgeois party that does not represent these masses but exploits them, playing on their reactionary sentiments, especially against the minorities of the country, in order to maintain the capitalist regime.

#### The Conference of the LSSP

Perera became all the more audacious in the LSSP as the vacillating, indecisive attitude of the majority of the leaders caused them to lose ground in a party which they had stopped educating for some time. The party conference, hastily called it is true, provided a striking illustration of this.

Three resolutions were offered. After a two-day debate, it was decided to present the Samarakkody-Tampoe motion first because it was opposed in principle to any coalition. It received 159 votes, about 25% of the party.

Then, in second place, the De Silva-Gunawardene motion was presented; that is, the motion of the men who had actually led the organization for more than twenty-five years. It was presented by Gunawardene as in "the nature of an amendment" to Perera's motion. It got 75 votes, some 10% of the party.

This was not all. Perera's resolution received 65%; but among the 75 votes for the De Silva-Gunawardene motion, about two-thirds voted for the Perera resolution. Thus, the men who had played such an eminent role in the past, who had won so much prestige, found themselves, after a quarter of a century of leading the party, with around 25 votes, less than 4%.

During the debate, while the other two tendencies displayed

confidence in their positions -- the Perera group in their reformism, the Samarakkody-Tampoe faction in the program of revolution -- the centrist tendency could only express their own uncertainties, their demoralization. Forgetting what they had written with regard to the Permanent Revolution, they did not see that a bourgeoisie which failed to struggle for national independence would do everything possible to maintain its social domination. They no longer saw the SLFP as a bourgeois party.

The most tragic aspect of this crack up was that it occurred in the face of the most brilliant opportunity yet provided the leadership of the LSSP. The governmental crisis in Ceylon is one of the signs that the colonial revolution that has rocked the world all the way from China, across Africa to Cuba, is ripening in this island. The very necessity felt by the bourgeoisie to seek a coalition with the leaders of the labor movement is an indication of how close these same leaders stand to the possibility of establishing a workers and peasants government in Ceylon. The tragedy consists in their failure to see this and their readiness to give way to the demand that the opening for which they had prepared for a quarter of a century should be converted into the small change of posts in a bourgeois government.

#### Ceylonese Trotskyists Continue the Struggle

With this conference, a team of revolutionary leaders came to an end. Perera won the vote for his reformism and the majority of the old leaders decided to follow in tow. The banner of the socialist revolution in Ceylon passed into the hands of the comrades of the left wing, who left the conference following the tally and at once proclaimed the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section).

This organization, which constitutes the continuing body of the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, begins in a difficult situation, inasmuch as illusions in the politics of Perera exist among the masses. The over-all conditions, however, are not unfavorable. First of all, the split was made in the full light of day over a decisive political issue and all of Ceylon was aware of it. The leadership of the organization contains figures known to the whole country: Edmund Samarakkody, one of the earliest leaders of the LSSP, as well as another member of parliament, Meryl Fernando; Bala Tampoe, one of the main leaders of the trade-union movement in Ceylon, and other well-known leaders such as Karalasinghe and O. Jayaratne. The organization includes many trade-union cadres plus the biggest part of the young militants, including the students.

After solving its immediate organizational problems, the young party will face important political tasks. The situation in Ceylon was marked not only by the split in the LSSP, but also by splits in two other formations of the United Left Front. The Ceylonese Communist party split into a rightist, pro-Khrushchevist organization which supports the coalition government and a pro-Chinese

organization that is opposed to it. The MEP also split over the issue of supporting or opposing the coalition government.

We greet the new formation which is continuing the best revolutionary traditions of the old LSSP. The entire world Trotskyist movement is with it in its task of reconstructing a new revolutionary leadership capable of assuring the victory of socialism in Ceylon.(2)

July 7, 1964

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(2)The crisis in the LSSP was taken by Healy, leader of the Socialist Labour League of Great Britain, as an occasion for an attack against the reunified Fourth International, which he has not ceased to campaign against since he refused to participate in the Reunification Congress held in 1963.

First of all, we will take up a small lie. The June 20 News-letter asserts that Healy "requested admission" to the conference, "but when it was discussed at the conference presidium, Pierre Frank . . . joined hands with the coalition renegades and urged that Healy's application be rejected." The rejection of Healy's request was made by the entire Presidium, which included left-wing representation. On this point, all the tendencies, for once, were unanimous and my opinion was not asked.

A second point: Healy does not reveal that he demanded that the revolutionary tendency, after leaving the conference, should break not only with Perera, de Silva, etc., but also . . . with the Fourth International. This happened to be the real aim of Healy's trip to Colombo, where he hoped to fish in troubled waters. He does not mention this, because he met with a rebuff.

We now come to another lie, which has all the appearance of being calculated. According to him, the representative of the Fourth International, who took the floor at the conference of the LSSP to voice the opinion of the world Trotskyist movement, supported the De Silva-Gunawardene resolution advocating a coalition of the whole United Left Front with the SLFP. It happens to be a matter of public record that the Fourth International opposed any coalition whatsoever with the SLFP and supported the left-wing tendency which is now functioning as the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

The reasons for Healy's departure from the standards of truthful reporting are clear enough. This is not an instance of The News-letter's habitual carelessness with facts. In Colombo Healy announced his support for the left wing of the LSSP. But the left wing has been conducting its struggle for the past year in consultation with the United Secretariat of the Fourth International where it has had direct representation. Healy has been denouncing the United Secretariat as guilty of all kinds of "betrayals." Thus if he were

logical, he would have to admit either that he had decided to participate in a "betrayal" perpetrated by the United Secretariat, or admit that he had been mistaken about its politics, at least in the case of Ceylon. In fact of this dilemma proletarian morality lost out to political expediency. Healy chose to amalgamate the position of the United Secretariat with the very proposals which in fact it was battling against! Thus he was free to display himself before the readers of The Newsletter as the champion of the left wing of the LSSP against. . . the United Secretariat!

However deliberate the lie may be, it happens to cast a most revealing light on the nature of Healy's politics. The Fourth International -- both before and during the conference -- in opposition to the proposal for a coalition with a bourgeois party, advocated the positive slogan of a workers and peasants government, and did this in the concrete instance by suggesting that as against a coalition with the SLFP, the Trotskyists should advance the formula of a government of the United Left Front.

For Healy such a slogan is identical to a coalition with the bourgeoisie, hence constitutes betrayal. This is not one of Healy's passing aberrations; it is part of his general concept, a manifestation of his failure to understand the Transitional Program of the Fourth International and his failure to properly appreciate the colonial revolution. He thus excludes governmental transitional slogans and any possibility of a transitional government coming into existence.

Even without a detailed examination of his policies in England, it is easy to gather, simply from reading his newspaper, that to him the Tories and the Labour party amount to one and the same. He never comes out in favor of going through the experience of a Labour government.

In the field of the colonial revolution, basing himself on the premise that in the absence of a revolutionary Marxist party, there can be no successful revolution, he denies the triumphs registered by the theory of the Permanent Revolution in Algeria and Cuba. He likens Castro to. . . Batista, Chiang Kai-shek and Ataturk. In Zanzibar, he reduces the revolution to a comic opera, and so on.

Healy's politics is very simple. You cannot open any issue of his newspaper without finding the very latest on how someone has betrayed something somewhere. The Newsletter deals in "sell outs" the way some papers deal in sex. It appears to keep standing headlines in which it is necessary only to replace the names of those who have sold out each week. Castro, we are told, has betrayed the Cuban masses; it is necessary to construct a revolutionary leadership. Ben Bella has betrayed the Algerian masses; it is necessary to construct a revolutionary leadership. The Socialist Workers party has betrayed the American masses; it is necessary to construct a revolutionary leadership. The United Secretariat has betrayed Trot-

skyism; it is necessary to "reorganize" the Fourth International. On this political level, where -- outside of Healy -- the whole world is committing betrayals, there is no need for profound analysis, no need even for cerebral effort. Each side in the two camps -- Healy and the rest of the world -- follows its predestined course. In any case, for such politics, there is no need to belong to an international organization, to take part in its congresses; it is sufficient to turn on the phonograph and place the needle in the groove.

Healy has really invented nothing novel. He simply represents today's version of the insular British sectarianism which Engels and Marx's daughter fought in the nineties and which Lenin scored in the twenties in The Infantile Disease.

A final word. In Colombo Healy sought to debate me on numerous questions, including Marxist "philosophy." The Ceylonese workers movement, obviously, ought not to be denied the opportunity to witness the capacities of such a genius in action.

#### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL BACKS EMERGENCY CONGRESS IN CEYLON

[The United Secretariat of the Fourth International sent the following letter to the Emergency Conference of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section), scheduled to be held in Colombo July 18-19.]

\* \* \*

Dear Comrades,

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, in behalf of the world Trotskyist movement, expresses warmest fraternal greetings to your gathering. Your firm stand in support of the basic principles of revolutionary socialism in face of the blow struck by N.M.Perera and the figures associated with him has been hailed by Trotskyists everywhere. Your principled actions have clearly demonstrated that you represent the revolutionary socialist future of the workers and peasants of Ceylon.

In connection with your struggle, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International has passed the following motions in addition to the ones contained in its declaration made public June 22:

(1) To approve the decision that was made to hold a conference at the "Workmen's Resort" in Colombo on June 7.

(2) To approve the decision of those present at this conference to "hereafter function as the L.S.S.P.(R.S.) on the basis of

the programme of the L.S.S.P. which had been abandoned" by the group headed by N.M.Perera.

(3) To approve the election by this conference of a Provisional Committee.

(4) To approve the scheduling of an Emergency Conference of the L.S.S.P.(R.S.) for the purpose of electing the permanent bodies of the party and carrying out other tasks proper to such a conference.

(5) To recognize this Emergency Conference as officially constituting the continuing body of the Trotskyist movement in Ceylon and to empower it to speak for and conduct any matters pertaining to the section of the Fourth International in Ceylon.

(6) To approve the continued publication by the L.S.S.P.(R.S.) of the Sinhalese language weekly Sama Samajaya in accordance with the positions adopted by the Reunification Congress.

(7) To appeal once again to all those who voted for Perera's proposal to enter a bourgeois coalition government, or who have not yet broken with him because of fear of a "split," to rally to the L.S.S.P.(R.S.) which is the only organization in Ceylon that stands on the programme on which the Ceylonese Trotskyist movement was founded.

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We should like to make the following brief observations to your Emergency Conference, reserving other points and more extensive remarks for subsequent elaboration:

There is no doubt that the capitulation of N.M.Perera and his group constitutes a serious setback for the Ceylonese vanguard. It can help relieve the political crisis facing the Ceylonese bourgeoisie. In combination with some concessions from the Prime Minister it can help create illusions among a sector of the population about the possibility of reforming capitalism structurally. Thus Perera's policy of supporting and entering a bourgeois coalition government can serve to give Ceylonese capitalism a longer lease on life.

However, the path of concessions and reforms will in reality prove to be a short one in Ceylon. The scope of the problems demanding solution transcends by far the resources and capacities of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie and landholders. The need to turn to revolutionary solutions will be seen more and more clearly as an imperative that can be postponed only at the risk of political and social disaster. The vanguard will presently be faced with the immense duty and opportunity of taking power in Ceylon.

In light of this perspective, the prognosis for the Ceylonese Trotskyists is early recovery from the injuries inflicted by the Perera leadership. To assure this, however, it is necessary to draw the proper lessons from the experience, to work with redoubled energy, and to find ways toward common action with other militant currents on the basis of transitional demands. A correct transitional program, it must be stressed, remains of central importance for resolving the crisis of proletarian leadership in Ceylon.

In this course you can count on the solidarity and comradely support of the entire world Trotskyist movement, which is keenly interested in Ceylon and its future.

At the same time, we are sure that Trotskyists throughout the world feel that the L.S.S.P.(R.S.) will open a new chapter in offering help and support to the Fourth International. As you are well aware, under the previous leadership, fraternal relations were often a matter of lip service. This signified weakening the Fourth International as a world organization and bolstering the rightist tendency in the L.S.S.P. as well as fostering similar nationalist or regional tendencies elsewhere. This disregard of internationalism deepened during the years in which the world movement was split. Observance of the principle of democratic centralism suffered especially.

With the reunification of the world movement last year, a stronger force came into operation against all the centrifugal, nationalist tendencies, which in Ceylon were represented to a high degree by N.M.Perera. This new force could not but appear to the right wing as a danger to their tendency that would surely mount with the firm consolidation of a reunification based on the revolutionary-socialist principles laid down at the Reunification Congress. Undoubtedly, the prospect was an additional consideration in their decision to rush into a bourgeois coalition. In their flagrant breach of discipline, the Perera tendency found common ground with tendencies elsewhere in the world, some of them of ultra-left coloration, whose "Trotskyism" does not extend to something as serious as observance of the principles of democratic centralism.

The L.S.S.P.(R.S.) has already demonstrated its capacity to live up to these principles, and its example has thereby strengthened the Fourth International and helped to consolidate the reunification on the basis of the program adopted at the Reunification Congress. We count on your playing a more and more important role in this respect in the future.

You have already made an auspicious beginning in assuming responsibility for publishing Fourth International, the official theoretical organ of the world Trotskyist movement. With your cooperation we hope now to regularize its appearance and to make it the full success it deserves to be.



In struggling against the opportunist tendency led by N.M. Perera, the main cadres of the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International have set an example in which Trotskyists everywhere can take pride. We expect that as you move forward on the basis of what was accomplished and learned in this battle, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section) will not only reconstitute itself as a mass organization based on the principles of revolutionary socialism, it will serve this time as a model in the international arena in helping to construct the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky.

Fraternally,

United Secretariat  
of the Fourth International

July 10, 1964

#### THE PRIME MINISTER'S NEW SERVANTS

[The following statement to the press was released by Edmund Samarakkody on June 12, immediately after certain LSSP leaders entered the SLFP government in Ceylon. Edmund Samarakkody is secretary of the Provisional Committee of the LSSP (Revolutionary Section).]

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Our erstwhile Comrades, N.M. Perera, Cholmondeley Goonewardena and Anil Moonesinghe, have now become Honourable Ministers of Her Majesty the Queen. Henceforth, vested with the authority of the capitalist state, they will serve Her Majesty and their new leader Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, in keeping the Ceylon masses in subjection to the capitalist class. This is only the formation of the abandonment of the L.S.S.P. and its revolutionary programme by Dr. N.M. Perera and his followers like Mr. Leslie Goonewardena, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Mr. Bernard Soysa and Senator Doric de Souza.

Three of the fourteen points accepted by the Hon. N.M. Perera and his colleagues were not mentioned by them at the Party conference where they got the mandate for the abandonment of the program of our Party. These are the points relating to religion, language and citizenship rights, which the S.L.F.P. leadership is reported to have insisted upon. The acceptance of these points makes it clear that the Hon. N.M. Perera and his colleagues have capitulated completely to the ideology of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie. Furthermore names like N.M. Perera, Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Goonewardena can no more be associated with the fight for democratic rights of the minorities in Ceylon.

As for the workers the vast mass on the plantations who were deprived of their citizenship and voting rights by the citizenship laws of D.S.Senanayake's U.N.P.Government, will now remain deprived of these elementary democratic rights with the support of the Hon. N.M.Perera and his followers.

The workers in the private sector are to get nothing that has been thought worth mentioning. Workers in government employment and in state enterprises are merely to be given the right to form committees to advise their bosses on how to get the best results from the sweat of the workers.

For the rural masses, there is no promise of land or jobs. All they are offered is the right to form Vigilance Committees. What these committees will be expected to do for the Government remains to be seen.

For the rest the masses will be invited to be patient and to back whatever candidates the Hon. Sirimavo Bandaranaike may select from the S.L.F.P. or from the Hon.N.M.Perera's Party to ensure that she will be able to form a government after the next elections.

The British Imperialists, in particular, must be quite pleased at the turn of events. The Hon.N.M.Perera and his Party are now pledged to play the game of capitalist parliamentary politics under the leadership of the Hon. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, so that capitalism in Ceylon will be maintained either under the blue flag of the S.L.F.P., or, if the new combination fails, under the green flag of the U.N.P.

Thus Messrs. N.M.Perera, Leslie Goonewardena, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and their Party have completely betrayed the working class and the toiling people. Rarely has treachery by leaders of the working class been so naked.

#### UNITED NATIONS MEETS THREAT TO PEACE IN ROME

ROME -- The United Nations, which is dedicated to maintaining peace and democratic rights in all parts of the globe, sometimes has difficulty preserving these ideals in its own staff. However, it has learned to handle some sticky problems, as a recent case here has demonstrated.

In Italy, inflation has undermined the purchasing power of everyone dependent on wages. The local staff of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization found they were not immune to this despite the glamorous nature of their work. To put it crudely, the shrinking lira would no longer stretch to cover the family budget. So, in polite and civilized ways, in accordance with their job train-

ing, they began calling the attention of United Nations officials to their plight.

The response was most chilly. In fact the Director-General didn't act much different from any boss who feels that in this world the stockholders always come first.

In Italy it happens to be a widespread custom among people dependent on wages to seek help in such a situation from a union. An area that is unorganized -- like the staff of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization -- is considered abnormal; in the Italian labor movement it is even considered morally commendable to try to remedy the situation forthwith.

Staff member Sirio Di Giuliomaria responded in the Italian way. He worked actively to impress on the United Nations brass the fact that the staff needed a 20% wage boost.

The UN brass did not like this. Unionism in the staff? It smelled of gunpowder, revolution and Communism!

But Di Giuliomaria refused to concede. In fact he had the temerity to write a round-robin letter to members of the staff, making some proposals for the next meeting when the question was to come up again.

Worse still, he dared to put the following down in writing: "As for me, I am considering the idea of joining one of the unions existing at present in Italy and asking that organization to look after my interests. . . ."

This showed the brass what was up. Nothing less than a deteriorating situation. If permitted to drift, it might worsen into a crisis requiring the blue helmets!

At once, troublemaker Sirio Di Giuliomaria was given a taste of the famous United Nations democracy and know-how in meeting a threat to the peace. He was fired. And the notice specified "summarily."

The charges, besides "serious misconduct," were "lack of discipline and insubordination" plus "gross disrespect and impertinence to the Director-General."

That should be proof enough of the capacity of the United Nations to measure up to the ugliest of challenges -- even the grave possibility that its own staff members might join a union.