

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 3, No. 3

January 15, 1965

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

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The Indonesian Herald said editorially that besides this, the withdrawal was a protest "against the utilization of the UN by the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist powers in extending their policy of domination. In the eyes of Indonesia, the entry of Malaysia in the Security Council is an extreme manifestation of the fact that the international organization has become a mere instrument of the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist powers, particularly the United States and Great Britain. . . .

"Indonesia's gesture is a new manifestation of lack of confidence in the UN as an organization intended to watch over the security and well being of the entire world, of all countries, big and little."

Sukarno said bluntly January 7, "To hell with the UN!"

On UN assistance, he observed: "The new rising forces, China, North Korea, Indonesia, have no need for the UN. What does UNESCO mean to us? And the UNICEF? It means canned milk. We drink fresh milk."

Indonesia's withdrawal met with expressions of dismay from many of the new countries that have joined the world organization. On the other hand, the People's Republic of China and North Vietnam immediately hailed the event.

Washington chose to say little about Indonesia's action, leaving it up to the unctuous Stevenson to make some comments in the UN. But the fact is that Indonesia's withdrawal constitutes a big defeat for U.S. imperialist policy.

With the connivance of Stalin, the United Nations was set up principally to divert the struggle for peace away from the road of revolutionary socialism into the blind alley of pacifism, "peaceful coexistence" and maintenance of the status quo as decided at Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam at the close of World War II.

But the United Nations never succeeded in establishing the "peace" aura associated with the League of Nations (which Lenin did not hesitate to characterize as a "thieves' kitchen").

Its standing policy of barring the People's Republic of China from membership made it difficult for the imperialists to play the carrot game with the Chinese revolutionists.

The policy of utilizing the UN as a direct instrument of U.S. imperialist policy in foreign adventures likewise undermined its pretenses as a "peace" organization. U.S. intervention in the Korean civil war, for instance, took place under the flag of the UN. The game was repeated in the Congo.

In other instances, the imperialist powers have simply by-

passed the UN. This happened in a spectacular way when Britain, France and Israel launched an assault on the Suez Canal in 1956. The U.S. has repeatedly disregarded the UN, as in bringing down the government of Guatemala in 1954 and Brazil in 1964 and in invading Cuba in 1961.

On the other hand, revolutionary movements around the world have had the lesson driven home, often in most tragic fashion (the murder of Lumumba!), that the UN cannot be relied on for help, being in fact a deadly trap.

In recent months, the UN was further weakened by Washington's determination to haggle over paying the expenses of the Congo operation. The financial blackmail placed a big question mark over the continued existence of the UN.

Can the White House straighten out the shambles? It would seem highly doubtful. To do so would require a major turn in foreign policy; namely, an effective bid for the co-operation of Peking.

However, Johnson appears to be drifting. If he maintains "creative inertia" as the projection abroad of his domestic "Great Society," it is certain that the glittering structure housing the UN will soon be regarded everywhere as nothing but what it was destined to be from the first -- the world's most imposing mausoleum.

STRIKES FLARE IN ALGERIA

ALGIERS -- In recent weeks strike action has flared in various parts of Algeria. In most instances, the workers were encouraged by the tacit support of the government in struggles for economic demands against private owners, generally French.

The strike of 5,000 dock workers which broke out January 5 in the port of Algiers was somewhat different. On the one hand, the action, organized by a commission set up by the strikers themselves, went a little beyond the regular bodies of the UGTA [Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens]. On the other hand, the strike threatened to upset exports of Algerian citrus fruits and thus injure the country's national economy.

The general causes that brought the dockers to launch this economic action were a rise in the cost of living due to speculation just before Ramadan, the religious holiday, in which wholesale dealers succeeded in cornering certain products thus provoking a rise in retail prices; and the constant threat of unemployment facing the dock workers due to the level of shipping in the port.

Following discussions between the dock workers committee and

officials of the municipality and the government, including representatives of the Political Bureau of the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale] and the UGTA, the dock workers agreed to return to work January 9.

When this was announced over the radio by R. Djermame, national secretary of the UGTA, he expressed his reservations about the strike action in the following terms:

"I am utilizing this occasion to appeal to all the workers in the port. We understand the difficulties they face. I assure them that we are going to seriously take up the problems that disturb them. But we condemn spontaneous strikes and strikes undertaken without reflection which can hobble the national economy."

In an editorial in the January 9 issue entitled "Prevention Is Better than Cure," Alger Républicain, the organ of the former Algerian Communist party, wrote:

"How then does it happen that the conscious workers come to utilize, in a country that is building socialism for them and their children, the ultimate weapon of the strike, in a period when it cannot fail to injure the country's finances and development? . . . Too many economic actions are unleashed without the officials of the UGTA being consulted or even notified. Without going so far as to talk of a rupture between the ranks and the leaders, one cannot help but be uneasy over this weakening of the ties between the trade unionists and their officials, which is certainly not intended by the ranks, particularly in the case of the dock workers.

"Clearly there is a lack of explanation which leads the workers to make bad judgments. Whatever their degree of consciousness, they need explanations, both detailed and frequent, in order to understand the complex problems affecting our country, in this period of transition, in which capitalism stands side by side with socialism, in which there is a daily struggle between the private sector and collective property, between the old that is dying and the new that is developing.

"Under these conditions, an order or a slogan is not enough. It is all the more difficult -- let us state it frankly -- to have to admit that the worst off must continue to make sacrifices when (and this is likewise one of the plagues of transition periods) a fringe of nonproducers pays no attention to the policy of austerity. This makes necessary the promulgation of a law on wages and salaries which, without ending up in equalitarianism, would be in better relation with the means of the country and the necessary and just division of sacrifices."

WITCH-HUNT IN INDIA

By Himoo Kalani

CALCUTTA -- Sensing that a revolutionary party is going to strike roots among the Indian masses, India's ruling class has declared a virtual war on the left Communists. In a countrywide crack down on the left Communist party of India, started in the small hours of the morning of December 30, the police rounded up hundreds of the party's leaders and active workers. The arrests were made under the emergency powers assumed by the government in October 1962 on the outbreak of border hostilities.

It is highly significant that India's Home Minister has openly linked up these arrests with the adoption of a revolutionary programme by the left Communists at their recently held Calcutta Congress and their repudiation of the earlier Amritsar thesis advocating the parliamentary road to socialism. It clearly indicates that all those who stand for revolutionary doctrines are in for serious trouble henceforward in this country.

The total number of arrests in the first raids was 660. More were scheduled. Most of the left CP's central and state leadership were thus taken into police custody; in some cases even district leaders were arrested. The editorial staff of party organs in various states have been the special targets of attack in view of the growing popularity of the ideas of the left CP among the masses.

Of the party's Political Bureau of nine, elected after the Seventh Congress, all are now in jail, with the conspicuous exceptions of E.M.S.Namboodiripad and Jyoti Basu, the leaders of the "centrist" faction inside the left CPI. Namboodiripad more than once characterized China's military action of October 1962 as an "aggression" against India, while Basu maintained a position of equidistance from Moscow and Peking in the Sino-Soviet conflict and he has always been noted within the party for his parliamentary predilections.

As regards the new Central Committee, at least a half of its membership is now in detention. Political Bureau members who have now been arrested are P. Sundarayya, General Secretary; A.K.Gopalan (Kerala), M.Basavapunniah (Andhra), P.Ramamurthi (Madras), H.S.Surjit (Punjab); B.T.Ranadive (Maharashtra), the brain behind India's left CP and the originator of the famous "Ranadive Period" of 1948-50 in CPI-history, and Promode Dasgupta (West Bengal).

Detailed reports, indicating the total number of arrests as well as the important leaders arrested in the different states, are given below:

West Bengal: Arrests were made in this state in three rounds. The first round occurred just on the eve of the party congress in Calcutta, involving the State Secretary Promode Dasgupta and the

entire top leadership of the state party [see World Outlook November 6, 1964]. The second round of arrests took place in the first part of December when eight members, including two editorial staff members of the party's Bengali organ and one member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly, were taken in. Now the third round of arrests has taken place, involving Mohit Moitra, the editor-in-chief of Desh-Hitaishi, weekly organ of the state party, and M.A.Rasool, the new State Secretary (in place of P. Dasgupta) and vice-president of the peasant front organisation. Total arrests exceed 40.

Maharashtra: Total arrests number 63, of which 28 are in Bombay city alone. Those arrested include Vimal Ranadive, wife of Political Bureau member B.T.Ranadive; D.P.Kashyap, Secretary, Nagpur branch; Shyam Patil, Secretary, Wardah branch; and D.Tukaram Patil of Amaranati; some peasant workers also have been arrested from the villages.

Andhra: Total arrests, 146, including T.Nagi Reddi and Guntar Bapanayya, leader and deputy leader respectively of the left CP group in the state Legislative Assembly. Others include three MP's [Members of Parliament], eight MLA's [Members of the Legislative Assembly], and two MLC's [Members of the Legislative Council]. Also arrested are M.Hanumantha Rao, State Secretary; A.B.K.Prasad and K.Rama Rao, editor and assistant editor respectively of the party organ Jana-Sakthi.

Madras: Eighty-six arrested, including Rama Raj, the State Secretary; K.Ramani, Secretary of the District Committee of Coimbatore, a famous textile industry centre; and L.G.Geeta, secretary of the local textile workers' union.

Kerala: Total arrests 127, including C.H.Kanaran, State Secretary and a member of the Central Committee; A.Raghavan and E. Balanandan, members of the State Secretariat; K.Gouri, an ex-Minister in the Kerala CP ministry; K.P.R.Gopalan and Govindan Kutty, editor and publisher-printer respectively of the party's daily newspaper Deshabhimani.

Punjab: Thirty-two arrested, including Gurcharan Singh Randhwa, secretary of the Bhatinda district committee.

Rajasthan: Seven arrested, including Mohan Punnamia, the State Secretary.

Orissa: Two arrested; Lakshman Pattanaik, the State Secretary, is one of them.

Uttar Pradesh: Total arrests 19, including Sankardayal Tewari, a Central Committee member; T.Rahman, a State Committee member; Mela Ram, a trade-union leader and State Committee member.

Bihar: Central Committee member S.B.Srivastava.

Assam: Thirteen arrested, including Gouri Sankar Bhattacharyya, an ex-MLA and one of the prominent state leaders.

Gujarat: Twenty-six arrested, including Chimanlal Mehta, a state leader.

Tripura (a centrally administered area): Six arrested.

Delhi (a centrally administered area): Nine arrested.

Madhya Pradesh: Three arrested.

Jammu and Kashmir: Two arrested.

Reactions to the Arrests

It is worth noting that the only person to come out openly in support of the government's action at the time of the raids was M.S. Golwalkar, the saffron-robed leader of a fascist current, based on the ideology of Hindu revivalism and run on the model of the Nazi storm troopers.

The Central Secretariat of the right-wing Communist party of India has issued a press statement, expressing its "shock and revulsion" over these "wanton arrests and detention." N.C. Chatterju, an MP and president of the Civil Liberties Association, characterized the arrests as "illegal" and "an abuse of the emergency powers" assumed by the government in the name of defence of the country.

Kanai Pal, a Trotskyist member of the West Bengal Assembly, declared in a press statement that the real aim of these arrests is to behead and suppress the growing movement of the masses against high prices, food scarcity, and the government's callous attitude towards the masses' problems.

He has appealed to "the democratic and progressive forces in the country" to unite "to resist this onslaught as a common danger to their integrity and existence."

The reactions among other parties were not immediately clear cut. The social democrats are now on the verge of a split again; the right-wing PSP [Praja Socialist party] component being expected to acquiesce willy nilly in the government's action. A similar policy is to be expected from the right-wing opposition parties; e.g., the communalist Jan Sangh and the big business mouthpiece, Svatantra party. However, the left wing of the social democracy, led by the eccentric Ram Monohar Lohia, is most likely to take exception to the government's action and to demand the release of the prisoners.

The Government's Alibis

Immediately after the Calcutta Congress of the left CP, a number of bourgeois dailies started circulating, at the none-too-

concealed promptings of the government, hair-raising stories about the alleged plots being hatched by the left CPI, to stage "Telengana-type revolts" all over the country, particularly in the border areas. (This is an allusion to the peasant uprisings in Andhra organised prematurely by the CPI during the Ranadive period in 1948-50). P. Sundarayya, the General Secretary of the left CP, in his press statement of November 22, categorically repudiated these insinuating news reports.

Even so, the reports continued to appear off and on in the papers, which indicated that the government was sedulously cultivating the ground to deliver a decisive blow, at the opportune moment, against the left CP. The pre-Congress arrest of West Bengal leaders of the party, which appeared to many as straws in the wind, now appears fully in its true sinister light.

In his radio speech January 1, G.L.Nanda, India's Home Minister, defended these arrests on the following grounds:

(1) The need of ensuring the country's internal law and order and external security.

(2) The left CP's consistent pro-China stand on a series of issues, including that of China's nuclear test.

(3) Since the Tenali convention, the left CP has shown itself to be an instrument of Chinese design.

(4) The adoption of a revolutionary line at the Calcutta Congress and rejection of the pacifist thesis of 1958.

(5) Attempt to synchronize internal revolution with external aggression; and, with that end in view, to elaborate plans for conducting insurrectionary movements.

(6) Establishment of a network of underground cells which were developing so fast that after two or three months their extermination would have been a more difficult operation.

(7) The government's present action was not the result of a sudden decision, but of long deliberation and watch over the left CP's activities.

Left CP's Warning against Adventurism

It seems reasonable to assume that in the last few weeks the left CP leadership had a premonition of the shape of things to come. As late as December 24, the West Bengal State Committee of the left CP issued a printed circular to all district committees and party units, reminding the party members about the danger of impatience, of loose talk, emphasizing the need of laborious and ceaseless work in the mass front to win the confidence of the major sections of the

toiling people and finally warning them against the government's sinister machinations to unleash repression against the party by building up a false case of insurrectionary plots against them.

The circular cautioned the party members not to fall into the government's trap and to beware of the activities of agents provocateurs who were probably active even within and around the party.

"We must remember that the broadest mobilisation of the masses remains our central task today," the circular concluded.

The Government's Real Worry

It is precisely this realistic, hard-headed and serious political approach of the left CP leadership, rather than their alleged attempt to engage in insurrectionary movements here and now, that is most worrisome to the government. Anybody who is conversant with the developments inside the left CP knows that insurrection is not what is engaging their attention at the moment. The main Political Resolution, adopted at their Seventh Congress, gives an idea of their current thinking. It is a sensible and mature document.

The government is alarmed at the growth of discontent among the masses and the occasional outbursts occurring in various parts of the country, through which these deep-seated discontents now manifest themselves. The ruling regime knows too well their own incapacity to solve a problem of this magnitude. And they are afraid that of all the available parties in India, the left CP is most likely to assume leadership of these movements and that their militant approach will evoke the heartiest response from the masses. The left CP's political resolution devotes considerable attention to these growing movements and the need of the left CP's leadership in them. It is this and not "insurrection" that has made the Congress government nervous and panicky.

However, there is a long-term aspect of this problem as well. Through these arrests, the ruling class seeks to ensure its survival not only for today but for tomorrow as well. Because, they know, between the scattered economic struggles of today and a conscious and mighty political movement of the masses tomorrow there is no sharp line of demarcation and that a countrywide political movement, backed by the toiling classes, can quickly give rise to a prerevolutionary situation which again can easily escalate into a revolutionary upsurge.

What is essential in all this process is the existence of a revolutionary leadership. Construction of such a leadership was long blocked in India by both the traditional left parties here, the SP and the CPI, who followed basically the same reformist line. But the split in the CPI and the formation of the left CP has introduced a completely new element in the Indian political scene.

The left CP has now declared, in its political resolution,

its aim of developing a mass revolutionary party in India. This declaration has struck terror in the hearts of the Indian bourgeoisie which is historically doomed.

The Struggle Ahead

The arrest of a few hundreds or a thousand cadres and leaders of the left CP is not going to solve the problems of India's ruling class. They are still reckoning without the host -- the Indian masses. These arrests may or may not have much effect on the course of movements in the immediate period ahead. The ruling class has already shown its teeth unmistakably; its attempt to shed off the bourgeois-democratic façade, to surrender to the demands of foreign capital, to follow a path of growing intimacy with Anglo-U.S. imperialism in defiance of the peoples' desire -- all these are becoming increasingly clear.

But, despite all these calculations and machinations of the ruling class, the actual course of developments in the country may take an altogether different road. Thus, within nearly seven or eight months of the declaration of "national emergency," the country witnessed a unique strike in Bombay in 1963, led by a nationalist left party, the Socialist party of R.M.Lohia and later on, in the teeth of severe governmental opposition, an All-India strike in September 1964, supported by all left parties. All this demonstrates once again how irrepressible are the mass movements in India as elsewhere in today's world conditions.

Thus, the temporary creation of a cleavage between the masses and their advanced leadership cannot lead to the complete subjugation of the masses or the destruction of their fighting potential. The reserve of fighting power of the Indian masses still remains, by and large, intact, not to speak of being exhausted or destroyed, because the masses have not yet engaged in any serious combat with the ruling class. The real struggles lie still ahead of us, maybe in the not too distant future. And when that day comes, the thousands of militant, revolutionary-minded cadres of the left CP, as well as revolutionary elements working inside other left parties despite the sell-out by their official leadership, will know how to play their due role in that process.

The events of the last two years have taught the left CP cadres much of the art of functioning, under difficult conditions, in a variety of forms, legal as well as extra-legal. All these experiences will now stand them in good stead; it will steel and temper them and equip them fully to assume the leadership of tomorrow's upsurge. The present difficult period should, therefore, be regarded as a dress rehearsal.

PRO-MOSCOW INDIAN COMMUNISTS REFURBISH DANGE

By Kailas Chandra

BOMBAY -- The Seventh Congress of the Communist party of India (right-wing Dange faction) which concluded its ten-day session in Bombay on December 23 pledged itself to build "national democracy," within the capitalist framework of capitalism, in India "as a stage in which the growth of capitalism will be progressively restricted and the prerequisites created for putting the country on the road to socialism."

The "new programme" adopted by the party congress "clarified" the "dynamic process by which the National Democratic Front will emerge, and the vital role to be played by the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the revolutionary middle class, in leading the front in which the patriotic section of the national bourgeoisie will also find a place."

"On assuming power and forming the National Democratic Front," said an official press release summing up the "programme," "the Front will see to it that the octopus grip of foreign monopoly and Indian monopoly combines is eliminated, that all necessary land reforms are fully carried out and democracy is extended and strengthened."

Thus, the building of capitalism and not socialism is the immediate programme of the "Dangeite" wing of the CPI which draws its inspiration from the broad strategy of "peaceful coexistence" pursued by the Soviet bureaucracy in international politics. There were indeed amendments moved to the programme, suggesting that the character of the Indian revolution is "peoples democratic" under the "hegemony of the working class" (on the lines of the programme adopted by the left CPI at its Calcutta congress in October); and some amendments even characterised the revolution as "socialist." But all of them were defeated.

There was also a "supra-right" tendency as represented by a former general secretary of the CPI, P.C. Joshi, who advocated a "formal alliance with the ruling Congress Party and a virtual merger with it," perhaps as a logical culmination of the steps to build "national democracy" in India. This tendency was also defeated.

The outcome of the deliberations was a "personal triumph" for S.A. Dange. Not only has he been re-elected as the chairman of the CPI but he managed to "rehabilitate" his prestige, which had been badly damaged by the controversy raised over the "letters" he wrote from prison forty years ago to the then British Viceroy of India "offering" his services to British imperialism. (Dange said that they were "forged.")

A great deal of money was spent by Dange to make a spectacular show of the congress. Boris Ponomaryev, secretary of the Central

Committee of the CPSU, led a big delegation which participated in the congress and it was even rumoured that the delegation stayed till the end to see that Dange was re-elected as chairman, not to give a sense of surrender to the left CPI which had made an issue of the letters. Ponomaryev also refused to meet an informal delegation of the left CPI.

Fraternal delegates from twenty-four Communist parties, all known for their pro-Moscow sympathies (including the CP's of Italy, France, Argentina, Canada, Australia, the United States, Belgium, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Mongolia, Sudan, Syria, Iraq, Uruguay and Yugoslavia) attended and messages were received from thirty-five pro-Moscow Communist parties.

The pro-Chinese parties, including the CPC, the Indonesian CP, the Japanese CP and parties of Albania, North Vietnam and North Korea were not invited for obvious reasons.

Although the Cuban United Party of Socialist Revolution was invited it sent neither a fraternal delegate nor a message.

It was indeed an "impressive" show, intended to make up for the lack of revolutionary fervour among the participants in the deliberations, in contrast to what was witnessed at the left CPI congress at Calcutta (which was preceded by a series of arrests of prominent CP leaders of West Bengal). Dange and his colleagues also carefully planned the selection of delegates and observers to the congress to ensure smooth sailing.

Some interesting statistics were provided by the credentials committee of the congress. Of the 581 delegates, 229 represented party bodies, 140 were from trade unions and 100 from the Kisan front. Out of these, 443 were "whole-time functionaries." Naturally their votes could be counted on as safe, since they would not oppose the leadership employing them.

There were other interesting details: of the total number of 593 delegates elected to the congress, 581 attended (because their travel expenses had been met). Some 40 per cent belonged to the age group of 35 to 55. In the age group above 55, there were only 30 delegates. While 296 delegates joined the party before independence, 24 were members with over 30 years' standing. There were also 187 observers at the congress.

There were some talks during the congress about Dange stepping down in favour of a less controversial leader, Dr.G.Adhikari, the theoretician of the party. But the new national council of 101 which was elected by the congress decided that he should continue. C.Rajeshwar Rao of Andhra (who was the general secretary of the "united CPI" for a brief period in 1951) was elected as the general secretary. P.C.Joshi, who was the subject of a great deal of criticism at the congress for being a "tailist" of the Congress party was

dropped both from the 11-member secretariat and the 25-member central executive committee although he finds a place in the national council. In the new leadership, Dange and his faction have made common cause with a relatively "left" tendency associated with Bhupesh Gupta (who campaigned for rapprochement between the two CP's in India) and Rajasekhara Reddy of Andhra.

The leadership cleverly manoeuvred to see that a report submitted by a seven-member special commission on the "Dange letters" was not presented to the congress. The report was considered by the outgoing national council which seemed to have given a certificate of good conduct to Dange. It was well known that the special commission was divided on the authenticity of the letters attributed to Dange. Although the majority of five had absolved Dange of the charge that he had worked for the British government (while not going into the question whether the letters were forged or genuine) two of its members (Bhupesh Gupta and Sohan Singh Josh) had in a dissenting note said that the letters were "not proved to be forged." The "letters" issue was brought before the congress at the fag-end of the 11-day deliberations, during a night session, and the congress adopted -- despite some opposition -- a national council resolution that the letters were "not genuine."

An attempt was made by Sohan Singh Josh to get the post of chairman eliminated -- as a move to oust Dange from the leadership -- when the congress was discussing amendments to the party constitution; but his move was defeated. P.C. Joshi, it would appear, submitted a charge-sheet against Dange but the charges were never discussed.

On the organisational questions, the CPI congress did take some positive decisions, demonstrating that it was breaking from its old bureaucratic practices perhaps as a concession to the social democracy. The newly amended constitution seeks to give the CPI the character of a "mass party," to "extend democratic functioning inside the party" and generally "tone up discipline and collective bargaining."

A provision has also been made to launch an internal bulletin, in various languages, and to start a central school for training cadres. There was a great deal of debate on the organisational structure of the party and the concept of inner-party democracy, especially in the context of the "post-Stalin" developments in the Soviet Union. This was possibly an indication of the growing ferment inside the right CPI on organisational questions, although the party ranks have not shown a similar vigilance on the question of the strategy and tactics of the Indian revolution.

All the foreign fraternal delegates, except the Yugoslavs, avoided any direct reference to the Chinese CP and some of them, including the Soviet delegation, called for "normalisation of the situation in the communist movement. . . [to] facilitate the end of open polemics, especially in the forms it was waged so far." The Yugoslav

delegate, however, declared himself against the "hegemonistic, dogmatic, sectarian and tearing policies of the Chinese leadership."

The CPI congress, in its key document on the "ideological controversies in the international communist movement," however, did not fail to open a broadside against the Chinese CP leadership for bringing the "international communist movement almost to the brink of a split." The document also emphatically expressed the CPI's disagreement with the positions taken by the Chinese leadership on all vital questions, "namely, the character and significance of the new epoch, war and peace, peaceful co-existence, national liberation movement, national democracy, forms of transition to socialism, cult of personality, and the unity of the socialist camp and world communist movement."

On the eve of the congress there were some vague talks about the possibility of a re-union between the right and left CP's in India, in the context of the changes in the Soviet leadership. A section of the "centrists" attached to both parties sought to bring about some understanding; but at the CPI congress itself no initiative to that effect was mooted, except to the extent of suggesting the creation of a united front of all left parties in Kerala (including the left CP, Revolutionary Socialist party, etc.) to fight the coming mid-term elections in the state scheduled in February. Even this limited united front between the two CP's appears to be difficult.

For all practical purposes the two Communist parties, one wedded to the pro-Moscow policy of class collaboration in relation to the Indian bourgeoisie, and the other inspired by the Chinese line of thinking and advocating the necessity of militant class struggles to overthrow the present bourgeois-landlord regime of the Congress party, have come to stay, to serve as two poles of the working-class movement in India in the coming period.

MAMMOTH RALLY STAGED IN CALCUTTA

CALCUTTA -- This city witnessed its biggest rally in recent years on December 18 when hundreds of thousands of employees of the Central and West Bengal governments protested against soaring prices, scarcity of food and rapidly declining living standards.

About fifteen huge processions, including a large number of women, came from the different parts of the city to converge in a mammoth rally at the foot of the Ochterlony Monument. The authorities tried initially to declare the rally illegal but gave it up later on the advice of their legal experts. Even so, the Chief Secretary of the West Bengal government issued a circular on December 18 warning employees against staging demonstrations within the premises of government offices and also against leaving the office

before time. The massive demonstration, organised jointly by the two co-ordination committees of the Central and State government employees' unions, gave a fitting reply to the government's attempt at intimidating the employees.

Presiding over the rally, K.G.Basu, who is also the President of the Central Co-ordination Committee, declared that in today's world no force was strong enough to suppress the voice of the hungry masses, and the policy of repression, exploitation and intimidation pursued by the government must fail.

Earlier, the representatives of the employees' unions submitted a 40-point charter of demands which included the following major demands:

- (1) Effective measures to bring down prices of essential commodities.
- (2) Punishment of hoarders and profiteers.
- (3) Nationalization of banks.
- (4) Take-over of the food-grains trade by the government.
- (5) Automatic grant of dearness allowance commensurate with the rise in the cost of living.
- (6) Full trade-union rights for all government employees.
- (7) Revision of the employees' service conduct rules to make it democratic.
- (8) Reinstatement of dismissed employees who were office bearers of the employees' unions, etc.

The government employees constitute relatively a more sheltered section of the community. The stirring in their midst is, thus, an indication of the depth of mass discontent with the government's economic policy and as such it heralds much bigger struggles to come in the days ahead.

WEST BENGAL TROTSKYIST WINS MUNICIPAL ELECTION

CALCUTTA, Dec. 29 -- Samiran Jadav, a member of the West Bengal Trotskyist group and a veteran trade-union worker, has won in the recently held municipal election in Khardah, an industrial suburb of Calcutta. Jadav secured 634 votes and defeated his nearest rival by a margin of 370 votes, there being four candidates in all. Out of 2,400 voters in his constituency 1,500 voters exercised their franchise rights. Municipal elections are now being held throughout West

Bengal, for the first time, on the basis of adult franchise.

Samiran Jadav, aged 30 years, is the first factory worker to become a municipal commissioner in his locality. He joined the Trotskyist movement about fourteen years ago and distinguished himself, from the very beginning, as a militant trade unionist. He created history in the Khardah working-class area, where he is employed as a worker in a jute mill, by defeating his employers in a long drawn out legal battle which carried him finally up to India's Supreme Court and got back his job last year against his arbitrary dismissal.

The news of Jadav's victory was carried in all leading national dailies. To the workers in Khardah and the neighbouring industrial area, his fight became a symbol of proletarian determination. His municipal victory is a token of the love and esteem in which he is held by his worker friends.

It may be recalled here that Samiran Jadav resigned, in April 1964, together with nearly one hundred of his Trotskyist comrades, from membership in the Revolutionary Communist party of India, in protest against the nationalist degeneration and the new, class-collaborationist line pursued by its leadership on the plea of "national defence" against China.

The Khardah election was fought in close collaboration with the local left Communists who, though very weak in the industrial front, helped considerably by supplying middle-class cadres.

Samiran Jadav's victory has created great enthusiasm among the working class in Khardah. About eight thousand workers gathered on the day of polling to greet him when the news was announced.

NORTH OR SOUTH -- POLICE ARE THE SAME

By Evelyn Sell

"Mississippi is not just a geographical location but also a state of mind, one which is much too prevalent in our police department." These words, from the president of the Detroit branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP], sum up years of Negro experience with police brutality in northern cities of the USA. Civil-rights stories in the American press tend to give the impression that all or most police brutality against Negroes takes place in the Deep South. Northern police departments are equally racist but they are forced to operate in a somewhat different social climate.

Let's just take some recent examples from the area in and around Detroit, Michigan. Here we have an illuminating picture of

typical police-community relations in a highly industrialized urban "progressive" Northern area.

Barbara Jackson, a Negro woman, was taken into a police station accused of accosting and soliciting. She claims that two white policemen kicked her. The police claim that they merely restrained her when she tried to kick the citizen who had lodged the complaint against her. After investigating the case, the police commissioner reprimanded and transferred the two policemen because they "failed to . . . properly protect the prisoner."

Both the NAACP and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission objected to the closing of this case. The president of the NAACP stated, "This is further proof of the reluctance of the Detroit Police Department to dispense justice when a Negro had been brutalized. This decision supports the argument that Mississippi is not just a geographical location but also a state of mind, one which is much too prevalent in our police department. . . . Commissioner Girardin knows of the frequency with which the so-called 'accidents' occur because he has and has had for some time a number of cases in which police brutality is charged against police officers, but to this day, after very long and extensive investigations by fellow officers, the charges of brutality are never substantiated."

Shortly after the Barbara Jackson case was closed, another case of police brutality was being investigated by the department. On December 12 a white policeman was killed in a gun battle with a Negro fugitive. Among the persons drawn to the scene was a Negro photographer employed by the city. Edgar Taylor describes what happened to him when he started to take pictures of the slain policeman:

"I noticed this man pacing up and down in an excited manner. He didn't look like a policeman. He was wearing a jacket and wasn't in uniform. Suddenly he ran up to a man (Negro) and straight-armed him. I shot a picture of it, you might say by instinct. Then I saw this same man running back and forth. Suddenly he sprinted toward me. He ripped the camera strap from my arm, took my camera, held it over his head and smashed it on the street."

At this point Taylor was grabbed by two uniformed officers. "They held me by the arms. I made no attempt to struggle. They weren't rough or anything, they just walked me to a squad car. I was standing by the open front door of the car with the officers still holding me. This man came up to me again, grabbed me around the neck with his left arm and smashed me in the face with his other fist." Taylor crumpled into the police car and lay dazed across the seat. "I started to get my wallet out to identify myself but this man dived on me. He rammed his knee into my groin and hit me again in the face. . . . grabbed another camera and smashed it."

"The next thing I remember was hearing somebody say 'Get him out of here!' and one of the officers pulled me out of the car and

stood me up. He walked me toward the back of the car. My son (six years old) was screaming and yelling, 'Why are they hitting Daddy?' Then they let me go."

What happened to Taylor was reported to the mayor's office and the Michigan Chronicle, a weekly Negro newspaper. Another Negro, a university student, Sidney Fields, was also attacked by the same man and Fields filed a complaint with the police department. The attacker was positively identified from film salvaged from Taylor's smashed camera. He was Joseph Michalski, a member of the Detroit police force since 1955. When confronted with the complaints against him Michalski explained he "lost his head and became very emotional" after seeing a fellow officer killed by a Negro. He admits breaking all the cameras but denies beating anyone. Taylor's physician reported that his patient had a fractured jaw.

When Fields filed his complaint, the investigatory machinery of the police department began rolling. (The policemen who were holding Taylor and who witnessed the assault evidently did nothing about it.) Michalski was suspended pending further investigation by the department. As NAACP Wadsworth has noted, however, "after very long and extensive investigations by fellow officers, the charges of brutality are never substantiated."

Just ten days after the Michalski-Taylor-Fields case, another white policeman shot and killed Nathaniel Williams, a 15-year-old Negro who was caught at the scene of a burglary. Patrolman Berry explained that he shouted "Halt!" and when the boy tried to run away, the policeman fired, shooting Williams in the head. Wayne County Prosecutor Samuel Olsen said the officer was merely doing his duty.

The Detroit NAACP issued a statement declaring, "Nathaniel Williams becomes another in an all too long list of persons who have been killed by police officers when neither the officer's life nor that of anyone else was in jeopardy. These killings are senseless and in some instances border on being wanton. They can be stopped but only by city officials concerned enough to take a strong, unequivocal stand that requires police officers to exercise restraint and responsibility."

The NAACP said it recognized the importance of a good police department "but it is impossible to place confidence in an organization that so frequently and readily demonstrates its complete disregard for persons of color."

High-ranking officials in the Detroit area have already taken "a strong, unequivocal stand" -- exactly contrary to the one demanded by the NAACP and others. Prosecutor Olsen issued a statement December 14 to all police agencies in Wayne County, including the Detroit city government, advising that they need not permit the newly established Michigan Civil Rights Commission [CRC] to question officers or witnesses in criminal cases. The CRC is currently checking on 64

complaints of police violations of civil rights in Detroit.

Adjacent to Detroit is the small city of Dearborn which has long boasted of its lily-white composition. On December 18 Dearborn's two top police officers, Police Chief Clayton and Safety Director Lewis, were indicted by a federal grand jury for failing to act properly in a civil-rights incident which occurred Labor Day, 1963. Giuseppe Stanzione had rented his upstairs apartment to a young couple. They hired Negro movers and when the neighbors saw Negroes carrying furniture into Stanzione's house they assumed the Negroes had bought the house. A mob quickly gathered (reaching 400 at its height) and hurled rocks, bottles and eggs at the house, poured sugar into the gas tank of Stanzione's parked car, littered the lawn and porch with debris and physically assaulted Stanzione "while police stood idly by," and made no effort to protect Stanzione or disperse the mob.

Stanzione charges the public officials with deliberately encouraging Dearborn racists by demonstrating that they would not afford police protection to anyone selling or renting property to Negroes. Dearborn City Attorney Ralph Guy, Jr., stated that Lewis and Clayton were "present and in charge" during the events but that the city's investigation showed that the officials "at all times used the best judgment and proceeded in a proper legal manner under the circumstances."

Legal or not, the police acted in a typical manner during this Northern racist attack. The only thing missing to make this a "classic" example was shooting one of the Negro movers "to preserve law and order."

A STEP TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN SPAIN

[The following editorial, entitled "Unity: A Step Forward," has been translated from the November issue of Frente Obrero, a Spanish workers' journal now being edited by a joint board of Frente de Liberación Popular and the Juventudes Socialistas Revolucionarias.]

* * *

First issue of a new sequence for Frente Obrero. Why a new sequence?

For some time we have maintained that the Spanish proletariat feels the need for a revolutionary organization of the vanguard. The creation of this revolutionary party of the proletariat has become the fundamental task.

It is clear, certainly, that an organization based on ideological compromise can never become the revolutionary vanguard; and Marx-

ism constitutes the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, that is, the science that studies the development of human societies, which must never be confused with any of the dogmatic or "religious" deviations that have appeared, are appearing, and will continue to appear.

The creation of the Revolutionary Marxist party, vanguard of the proletariat, we repeat, is the fundamental task of the revolutionary militants. The FLP [Frente de Liberación Popular] cannot be this party. The party cannot and must not be just one more group. The first steps in its creation presuppose discussion and collaboration among all the revolutionary Marxists scattered today in various organizations.

The party can be built only on the basis of a program that reflects the historic interests of the working class; that is, the historic necessity of political leadership by the working class and the historic necessity for the conquest of the entire political power by the working class. This program will be the platform for ideological unity, clarifying the political objectives, without which we will not be able to take a single step along the road of the Revolution.

The party can be created and consolidated only through political action, by struggle against the repressive machinery of the regime, by effective propaganda, education of cadres and organization.

It is clear that the party cannot be built with a sectarian spirit, but only on the basis of theoretical principles that reject Social-Democratic reformism as well as Stalinism and neo-Stalinism (that is, Khrushchevism, or what is appearing now. . .).

With this first issue of the new sequence of Frente Obrero we have taken a firm step along the road of unification. In working up this number, comrades of the JSR [Juventudes Socialistas Revolucionarias] and the FLP collaborated; and this collaboration on the theoretical level reflects long and close collaboration in the daily struggle against capitalist exploitation in Spain and the current repression under the Franco regime.

Revolutionary Marxist comrades, we are convinced that this is the road to the Revolution. The period of Franco's "peace" is coming to an end and the Spanish working class is beginning to become conscious of its own strength. Big capital is uneasy, realizing that the police terror can no longer keep down the workers. It will try to use the tactic that has always given good results; i.e., widening the penetration of bourgeois ideology within the working class, creating confusion and divisions in the working class. In this enterprise, the Catholic hierarchy is actively collaborating through the HOAC [Hermandades Obreras de Acción Católica] and the JOC [Juventudes Obreras Católicas]. It must be recognized that certain elements in the FLP have not been very clear about this. Along with the hierarchy, appear the old currents of Social-Democratic reformism and

some that are not so old such as the recently organized FUSE [Frente Unido Socialista Español]. The Política de Reconciliación Nacional and the Frentes Nacionales Antifranquistas are also a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the workers organizations.

Revolutionary Marxist comrades, today we are convinced more than ever of the correctness of the slogan: "Without revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary action, and without a vanguard organization there is no revolution."

Long live the party of the working class!

Long live the socialist revolution!

HELP NEEDED IN NIGERIAN CASES

LAGOS, Nigeria -- The political turmoil here, following government efforts to intimidate political opposition and repress the revolutionary left, has made it difficult to organize an effective defense for the defendants in what has become known abroad as the Victor Allen case. It is to be hoped that an effective defense committee can be set up abroad, particularly to collect needed funds. Those involved are:

Jonas Abam, 37, general secretary of the Nigerian Stevedores and Dockworkers union. After living in England, where he was known in socialist circles, he returned in 1959 to Nigeria. He was one of the main figures in the organization of the Socialist Labour party in 1960. Later he became the national organizer of the Revolutionary Socialist Workers party, a member of the central committee of the Nigerian Labour party and secretary of a committee in charge of relations with the unions.

Olushegun Adebayo, 34, a high-school teacher who was black-listed a year and a half ago because of his political views. He is a member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Workers party and a member of the secretariat of the Nigerian Labour party.

Sidi Khayam, 35. After living in England, he returned to Nigeria in 1958. He is secretary of the National Council of Dockworkers and Seamen, and a founder of the Nigerian Labour party. He was the main founder of the Revolutionary Socialist Workers party.

Victor Allen, 41, a lecturer at the University of Leeds in England, who was in Nigeria gathering material for a book on the labour movement in Africa.

They were arrested last June 30, following the general strike

that shook Nigeria earlier in the month, and charged with conspiring between March 1 and June 10, 1964, to effect the overthrow of the Nigerian government by subversive means, drawing up plans for the same purpose and having in their possession a seditious publication setting out a scheme aimed at the realisation of this objective.

Convicted November 10, they were sentenced to one year in prison at hard labor. The victims are seeking an appeal which will probably be heard in February.

Another prominent case involves Baba Oluwide, 27. A student at the London School of Economics and at the Inner Temple, he returned to Africa without completing his studies. He was in Algeria for a time and then came back to Nigeria. He was one of the founders of the Socialist Workers and Farmers party, a member of the secretariat of the Nigerian Labour party, and first secretary of the youth wing of this party.

His trial is scheduled to open January 14. He is charged with knowingly publishing false rumours on June 12 during the general strike with a view to disturbing the peace and causing disaffection among the population.

In this trial, it will probably turn out that the real issue will not be the alleged activities of Baba Oluwide, but his Marxist views and the programs of the organizations with which he is associated.

ALGERIAN WORKERS ON THE LAND HOLD CONGRESS

By Henri Dumoulin

ALGIERS -- The founding congress of the Workers on the Land [Travailleurs de la Terre], organized by the UGTA [Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens], was held here December 25-27. The gathering of delegates of the agricultural workers, the administrative services and the ONRA [Office National de la Réforme Agraire] discussed the most important contradictions affecting Algerian agriculture.

However difficult it may be to continue along the necessary road of the agrarian reform today, it is encouraging to see the way in which the problems were posed, self-criticisms were voiced, and efforts made to find revolutionary solutions.

First of all, in the self-managed sector, the contradictions derive fundamentally from the rise of a government bureaucracy that tends to seize prerogatives that, according to the decrees on self-management, belong to the workers. The lack of experience in work-

ers' democracy among the agricultural workers, many of whom are illiterate, explains this in part. The lack of technical training, the insufficiency of competent cadres in the guiding bodies (ONRA, the former SAP [Sociétés Agricoles de Prévoyance], etc.) fosters disorganization, corruption and the flight of capital. Some of the new officials exploit these difficulties for personal ends.

In addition, the nonsocialist environment of the self-managed sector utilizes these deficiencies to the utmost in order to carry on sabotage and to increase the difficulties.

"The workers are crushed by certain people in charge," said one delegate. "It is necessary to reconstitute the organization of the former SAP [this body was attached to the ONRA] so that the workers can gain freedom in management." He proposed that sincere agricultural workers be chosen to control each farm and department.

Another delegate spoke "against the kind of excessive life led by some of those in charge."

The same problems were taken up by President Ben Bella in his introductory speech: "On the question as to whether or not self-management has been effectively applied, I will reply no. The workers do not yet play the role that belongs to them; the organisms of self-management do not yet carry out their functions. But everything will be possible when everything is based on the rank and file."

In the final resolutions of the congress, the workers showed the maturity they have acquired: "The Congress denounces the maneuvers and plots of the enemies of the working class who are trying to sabotage the construction of socialism by setting up obstacles to prevent self-management from functioning, either through opposing genuine democracy in management or through not furnishing the socialist sector the cadres it lacks, or through denying self-managed enterprises the financial autonomy granted them by law."

The resolution protested against "the bureaucratic methods that aim at concentrating in the hands of state functionaries the powers of management that should be transferred to the organs of self-management."

A second series of contradictions is developing in the private sector. While the Algerian Revolution has nationalized the lands formerly held by the Europeans, the big Algerian holdings have not yet been touched by the agrarian reform. Moreover a large number of fellahs [peasants with small holdings] "owning five or six hectares cannot survive if they are not helped and regrouped in the form of co-operatives."

"By the time of our next congress," said Ben Bella, "these fellahs must be among us."

The Ben Bella government passed an important milestone in the struggle against the counterrevolution when it succeeded in neutralizing the enormous mass of small fellahs and landless peasants and preventing the big proprietors from switching their allegiance away from the revolutionary government.

This success forced the counterrevolution to retreat and to reveal its true features as when it attacked volunteer brigades engaged in medical care for the rural population in the Grarem region of the Constantinois.

It is now up to the Revolution to definitively win the poor peasants by deepening the agrarian reform.

This is what the final resolution of the Congress advocates. It must now be converted into deeds as soon as possible. For let there be no mistake. Many social inequalities, often crying ones, still continue. Inequalities between the big land owners and the unemployed; inequalities between the agricultural workers and the new bureaucrats of the administration; inequalities between the less favored mountain regions and the formerly colonized fertile plains under self-management today; inequalities between the countryside and the towns.

Thus it is clear that if it wishes to remain popular, the Revolution must be continued, must open the new stages advocated by the Congress in its final resolution as for example in the following:

"Whereas it is necessary to suppress the big land holdings that constitute an obstacle to the development of socialist relations of production in the countryside and that favor the maintenance of the material privileges and ideological influence of the big owners, perpetuating the exploitation of the poor peasants and bringing about poor utilization of the agricultural surplus product;

"And whereas the peasant masses of the so-called 'traditional' sector of agriculture constituted the main base of support of the liberating action of our glorious ALN [Armée de Libération Nationale] and were special victims of the colonial regime and the repression;

"And whereas the misery and destitution which the peasants still suffer from in these regions are likewise considerable obstacles to the national economic development;

"The Congress,

"Appeals for the consummation of the agrarian reform through the limitation of private property in such a way that any building up of a privileged class of owners in our countryside becomes impossible;

"Appeals for democratically associating the agricultural work-

ers and landless peasants on a local level in applying the law of the agrarian reform;

"Appeals for the promulgation of a statute on small peasant co-operatives."

The primary aim of the Congress was to found the Trade Union Federation of Workers on the Land [Fédération Syndicale des Travailleurs de la Terre]. This union must play its role within the framework of the development of the socialist revolution. This means that it must play a role in management, organizing and developing production through the participation of the workers in management of the enterprises. But the union must not be converted into a mere transmission belt between the workers on the one side and the state and party on the other.

The union must become, through an independent, democratic structure, an instrument of the workers in their own defense and in the struggle against the abuses committed by certain bureaucratic tendencies that have already been denounced. It must, in addition, play an effective role in workers' control of production.

FRENCH COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS FORM SEINE ELECTORAL BLOC

By Pierre Frank

PARIS -- The political scene in France is at present dominated by the approaching spring elections and the presidential election scheduled for the end of the year. [See World Outlook December 18.] To this should be added the parliamentary cretinism of the SFIO [the social-democratic Section Française Internationale Ouvrière] and the PCF [Parti Communiste Français], their struggle against the de Gaulle regime being reduced to seeking posts and votes. Nevertheless, even within this cramped framework, the tactics of the two big workers' parties are of importance.

The campaign for the municipal elections has now been opened. It has been considerably affected by modifications in the electoral laws passed by the de Gaulle government. In communities of more than 30,000 inhabitants (there are 159), it will no longer be possible to present one slate for the first round of voting and then reach deals on presenting different slates for the second round. Slates presented for the first round must remain unchanged for the second round.

This provision was designed to help the UNR [de Gaulle's Union pour la Nouvelle République], which is weak on a local scale, by preventing or making more difficult combinations among opposing formations. Consequently agreements must now be made before the first

round if voters are to be presented with mixed slates that would have a better chance of beating the slates backed by the UNR.

The SFIO has not adopted a uniform tactic for all of France. In certain towns, it is blocking with the Radical party and the MRP [Mouvement Républicain Populaire]. In other towns, it is blocking with the PCF.

The PCF, on the other hand, is seeking to advance its policy of "genuine democracy" by trying to get slates of the "left." Negotiations have been under way for some weeks.

Out of this jockeying came a move that is destined to resound throughout 1965. The Seine federations of the PCF and the SFIO decided to present a common slate in Paris and the 39 communities of the Seine under the name of a "Democratic Union." This decision alone affects more than ten per cent of the electorate and cannot fail to have repercussions in other regions.

It should be noted that to obtain this agreement, the PCF had to make concessions, granting the Socialists a greater number of candidacies for the office of mayor than they are entitled to according to the voting pattern.

The agreement was at once characterized as a "Popular Front" by the bourgeois press and it is certain that as the time for balloting nears, the term "Popular Front" will be used as a scarecrow to whip up bourgeois and petty-bourgeois support for the candidates of the UNR.

The main interest, however, is attached to another question: Does this decision portend the formation of a neo Popular Front?

In reply, it can be said with certainty that this is not the intention of the leadership of the SFIO. The secretary of this organization, Guy Mollet, has clearly defined his policy on this point. He declared that his party is ready to make electoral agreements with the PCF in order to defeat the Gaullist candidates but that there would be no agreement on anything that could lead, as in the case of the Popular Front, to the establishment of a program for a governmental coalition. It must be granted that up to now the SFIO has not succumbed to rather strong pressure to move toward a "Popular Front."

The policy of the PCF contains nothing designed to mount such pressure on the leadership of the SFIO. But de Gaulle's policies, which aim at reducing to nothing the positions of other parties whether bourgeois or labor, tends to bring the two big workers parties together with consequences that could go beyond the intentions and objectives of the two leaderships. It would be an exaggeration to contend that this could come about rapidly, but the rapprochement of the workers parties is a tendency that is now fundamental in the

French political scene.

What is the forecast for the outcome at the polls of the agreement that has just been concluded for the municipal elections in the Paris region? It can be assumed that the "Democratic Union" slate will enable the PCF and the SFIO to maintain the positions they now hold. The number of votes and the development of the electoral campaign will provide new data for closer estimation of the situation.

ANGOLAN MOVEMENT FACES CRITICAL SITUATION

By Livio Maitan

The Angolan movement continues to be affected by a crisis. On the one hand the dramatic events in the Congo have had grave repercussions on the situation of the forces of the GRAE [Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile] stationed there. On the other hand, the internal conflicts dividing the movement -- with their projection on the scale of the African states -- are far from having reached a full solution.

As was recently reported [see World Outlook December 18], the Committee of Nine, after again going into the Angolan dossier, decided to adjust the preceding position taken by the African states and grant material and technical aid to the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] as well as the FNLA [National Front for the Liberation of Angola]. The decision was not unexpected. It was known for some time that certain African states had posed the problem of at least an adjustment of policy toward the Angolan movement.

It can be asked whether the decision was inspired by a substantial change in the objective situation of the Angolan movement. It is known that the recognition of the GRAE and aid for the FNLA associated with it were determined essentially through ascertaining that they controlled the overwhelming majority of the fighting forces, while the MPLA had only greatly reduced influence. Is the situation now different? Has there been much change in the relation of forces following, among other things, the Savimbi affair [see World Outlook September 18] and other splits experienced by the FNLA?

The situation is undoubtedly complex and the factors involved in each side are naturally quite different, even contradictory. However, no one up to now has been able to report a big advance by the MPLA and it is generally admitted that its control is limited to the Cabinda enclave. As for the repercussions of the Jonas Savimbi affair, they were rather important from the political point of view and on the level of relations of the FNLA with the African states and revolutionary movements. The effect is not tangible -- at least

up to now -- in the relation of forces in the resistance movement inside the country.

The factor that most likely influenced certain shifts of position was the desperate situation in which the FNLA has now been caught. The difficulties which the GRAE faced in a Congo ruled by the neocolonialist Adoula were noted in the past. These difficulties could only be worsened to the extreme after Tshombe came to power, especially after the November-December 1964 events which aroused all of independent, progressive Africa and the entire international workers movement.

It was rumored at the time that the leadership of the FNLA was pro-American and that Holden Roberto himself was an American agent. The Soviet press, moreover, said that Tshombe had requested Roberto to participate directly in repressing the Congolese guerrillas and that he did not refuse.

It is certain that in the leadership of the FNLA there are elements under neocolonialist and imperialist influence. It is also extremely likely that Tshombe imposed very hard conditions on the FNLA. Finally, it is evident that certain decisions of the FNLA -- which could support the hypothesis it was making a turn (above all its decision to appeal to the workers states and especially China for military aid) -- remained without practical consequences. (It is said by some that this was a deliberate bluff. Others, however, estimate that a retreat occurred under pressure from well identified quarters.) But, in the final analysis, all this is relatively secondary. The Trotskyist movement, for instance, has never determined its attitude toward a mass movement on the basis of an appreciation of its leadership or a tendency in its leadership; and imperialist agents have never prevented such a movement from developing according to its own dynamics.

What is more important and, in the final analysis, decisive, is that objectively the FNLA is now in a real blind alley. Whatever its intentions, whatever the aims of this or that leader, it is becoming more and more prisoner to Tshombe; and its perspective is to become even more tied up. There is not the least doubt that the present premier of Léopoldville has every interest in compromising the FNLA to the bottom and even, under certain conditions, of trying to openly crush it. There is no need to point to the links this sinister person has with the partisans of the most hideous colonialism such as Salazar and the racist rulers of South Africa and it would be absurd for the Angolans to have the least illusion about this.

The problem is then, we repeat, an urgent one. The FNLA must make a substantial turn and set all its forces in motion within Angola, occupying, if possible, wide zones of the country, or at the very least developing a guerrilla struggle. We are aware of the enormous difficulties that exist. We know that an operation of this

kind has high probability of entailing serious losses. But there is no other way out. The alternative is either capitulation to Tshombe or being crushed.

As to the decision of the Committee of Nine, it appears correct to us. In reality, as we have said in the past, whatever may be one's appreciation of the strength of this or that movement or the nature of its leadership, it is necessary without any reservations to favor material and technical aid to all the forces that struggle effectively against Portuguese imperialism.

January 6, 1965

PLENUM OF THE IEC OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Fourth International reports that the International Executive Committee of the world Trotskyist movement recently held its second plenum since the Reunification Congress of 1963.

The plenum decided to convoke a World Congress of the Fourth International during 1965. It opened the discussion period in preparation for the congress. The discussion will take place on the following subjects:

- (1) The crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy and the international Communist movement, including the Sino-Soviet conflict.
- (2) The situation in Western Europe and the tasks of revolutionary Marxists.
- (3) The African revolution and the class nature of certain African states.
- (4) The situation in Latin America.

In addition to these questions, the discussion will include the main subjects dealt with at the two plenums of the International Executive Committee following the Reunification Congress; namely, the balance sheet of the reunification of the world Trotskyist movement and the crisis in the Ceylonese section.

The plenum approved the measures taken by the United Secretariat following a vote at the June 6, 1964, conference of the ISSP [Lanka Sama Samaja Party] concerning participating in a bourgeois coalition government in Ceylon.

In accordance with these measures, the ISSP (Revolutionary Section) now constitutes the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

A motion from the LSSP (Revolutionary Section) expelling Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Gunawardena on charges of following the betrayers in Ceylon was placed before the International Executive Committee for consideration and the body declared that in view of the action of the LSSP (Revolutionary Section), which was uncontested by either Colvin R. de Silva or Leslie Gunawardena, the two are no longer within the ranks of the Fourth International and are consequently no longer members of the International Executive Committee.

The plenum heard a report by Livio Maitan on a trip which he made through Latin America and approved a series of measures taken there to carry out decisions of the Reunification Congress.

The plenum decided to appeal to the entire International and sympathizing circles for financial aid for the Bolivian Trotskyists who were in the vanguard of the struggles that brought about the downfall of the Paz Estenssoro regime.

The plenum discussed new developments in recent months among the freedom fighters in the Angolan Revolution and charged the United Secretariat to follow the situation closely and to adjust the position of the Trotskyist movement in accordance with new developments if necessary.

The report of the United Secretariat on its activities in many fields since the preceding plenum was approved.

The plenum paid homage to the memory of Jules Hénin who died in June 1964. Born in 1882, he joined the Belgian Workers party while very young. In 1919, as a miner, he became one of the founders of the Belgian Communist party. In 1927 he became a founder of the Belgian Trotskyist movement. He was a member of the Control Commission of the Fourth International for fifteen years.