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## OUR STAND

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## ALGERIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE ELECTION OF BEN BELLA

A little more than a year after the proclamation of independence, the people of Algeria voted twice within a single week, once in favor of a Constitution adopted by the National Assembly, the second time in favor of Ben Bella as president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria.

The participation was massive, over eighty per cent of the adult population turning out to vote on the Constitution and an

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even higher percentage for the presidential election. Out of 6,322,532 registered voters, 5,547,905 voted for the single candidate. Abstentions were listed as 753,289 and 21,338 ballots were declared null and void.

The highest percentage of abstentions occurred in Kabylie where certain opponents of the Ben Bella government openly called for such action. In some areas abstentions constituted a majority. The problem indicated by this reaction is one for the Algerian government to consider.

As a whole, the results were a demonstration of the great authority enjoyed by the Ben Bella government among the masses.

On the eve of the election the revolutionary orientation of the government was strengthened by the break with the pro-bourgeois wing represented by Ferhat Abbas. This break, bringing to a complete end the so-called Tlemcen agreement made last year during the crisis that followed the proclamation of independence, marked an important step forward for the revolution.

The changes in Algeria also find their expression in the composition of the leadership in the government. The old leaders of the period before the revolution have gone. With the prominent exception of Ben Bella and a few others, the principal leaders during the war for independence have also left the stage. Coming to the forefront now are young men, quite radical in views, who played important roles during the freedom struggle but usually in the second ranks of the leadership.

The Constitution ratified by the referendum tends to strengthen the bonapartist features of rule in Algeria today, all the more so since the head of government represents a single party. Voting on the Constitution, however, did not take place on the basis of an analysis of its text but on the simpler basis of approval or disapproval of Ben Bella and his revolutionary orientation. Opponents of Ben Bella, whether from the right or the "left," assisted in this by similarly reducing the issue to a vote of confidence.

In an interview printed in the September 17 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde, Ben Bella made some declarations of interest following his election as president. They indicate the policies that can be expected in the coming period:

"I will not tolerate some people buying villas while others are starving. I have already made them disgorge and it is not yet finished. In Algeria a possessing bourgeoisie like that in most African countries will not be created. I am in this post to prevent that."

+ + +

"The first measures which I will take concern a fundamental question, agrarian reform. A bill will be submitted to the

Assembly. It will concern this time all lands without exception. Holdings will be limited to so many acres -- the figure has not yet been set. Of course the reform will be spread out over many years. In addition we will adopt a bill relating to the civil service which will enable us to mobilize the Algerian youth beginning in the fall for reforestation and against erosion of the soil.

"Finally our action against speculation will be stepped up on the political level and a first congress of self-management committees -- a kind of 'peasant congress' -- will be held in October. It will enable the best elements to come forward and constitute dynamic elements for the party. As for the party gathering, it will take place in 1964. Such a congress cannot be improvised. . . ."

+ + +

"No, there is no place in Algeria for an opposition. A person can disagree with our view and every Algerian has the right to criticize me. But there is a framework set for this -- it is the party. There can be tendencies inside the party. When a tendency becomes a majority, it will orientate the FLN. But a plurality of parties is not possible. Some say that you can't express yourself freely in the party. Let's be serious. Militants who have fought for seven years cannot suddenly be changed into sheep like those of Panurge, following a big chief, a kind of big sorcerer. That's absurd."

+ + +

"We cannot apply democracy in the classical and liberal meaning of the term. We live in a world where problems have become important and are posed in conditions different from those when these democratic principles were established. An outstanding instance is the executive power which has acquired an importance and means which were denied it in the past. Every day it must resolve economic and social problems of exceptional gravity. This is especially true for underdeveloped countries and notably for Algeria. What our people want is concrete and rapid achievements. They don't care if we gauge our actions according to the classical schemas of democracy. But understand well, I am not making any apology for dictatorship. Do you know any place outside Algeria where a revolution has so transformed a country without recourse to force? How many political prisoners are there? Boudiaf, three others in the Sahara, and the few 'guerrillas' of Dra-el-Mizan. And they are detained because they sought to resort to arms. I will never arrest anyone under pretext that he said I'm wrong -- I meet such people every day. But if someone is organizing assassination, that's something else again."

+ + +

Following Ben Bella's election, the government at once nationalized the three French daily papers still printed in Algeria and some big hotels and restaurants. The latter were

either French-owned or had been sold at the end of the war to wealthy Algerians.

The seizure of the newspapers touched off bitter protest from the French government and from the French capitalist press, of course in the name of "freedom of the press."

During the French occupation, the daily papers represented various French interests in Algeria. Such competition as existed was the competition of reactionary groups. None of them raised the question of "freedom of the press" for Algerians or even for liberal views. (During the Algerian war, the "socialist" Lacoste banned a weekly liberal paper.)

Towards the end of the war, as the defeat of French imperialism became evident, the ultra-reactionary Echo d'Alger was banned by the French authorities because of its support for the terroristic OAS. The three remaining papers belonged to French capitalist politicians operating in Algeria. (Schiaffino, a shipowner of Algiers; Morel, a senator from Constantine; and Laffont, a former member of parliament from Oran.)

After the country won independence, they followed a very cautious policy, taking their lead from the French government. They avoided taking direct positions on Algerian affairs and in general held to the only course open to reactionary editors in such circumstances -- they did their best to turn their readers away from politics.

The nationalization of these three newspapers does not involve "freedom of the press" at all. Newspapers from France continue to be admitted (with the occasional seizure of an issue found objectionable by the government). It represents nothing but the liquidation of vestiges of the colonial past. The land held by the Borgeauds had to be nationalized; it was equally necessary to take over the printing plants that published their reactionary views.

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## THE SOVIET LOAN TO ALGERIA

The loan of \$100,000,000 to Algeria marks a welcome and significant turn in the policy of the Soviet government toward the newly independent country. The loan runs for twelve years at two-and-a-half per cent interest, which is in line with the usual low-rate interest terms of Soviet help.

Despite Algeria's desperate needs during the first year of its hard-won freedom, Khrushchev made no move to help relieve distress beyond a few gestures such as sending technicians and equipment to help clear the huge mine fields left by the French forces. During the same period, Kennedy likewise remained aloof because of Ben Bella's courageous display of friendship for beleaguered Cuba.

Thus the Ben Bella government was forced to rely on assistance, calculatingly doled out, from the former master of the country, French capitalism.

Soviet confidence in the future of Algeria should help the country to establish its credit rating with other powers, thus further relieving the heavy pressure from France. In any case, the Soviet move, coming on the eve of a projected visit by Ben Bella to the United Nations, is undoubtedly highly appreciated by the government and people of revolutionary Algeria.

## ALGERIA ON THE EVE OF THE DECISIVE STAGE

By Michel Pablo

The decrees of March 1963 on self-management, plus the tour of Ben Bella from one end of the country to the other after promulgation of the decrees, marked the highest point so far reached by the Algerian Revolution. Granting to the Algerian workers the broadest rights now in existence in the entire world in the field of management of the economy, the March decrees greatly stimulated the movement known as "Management Committees" while consolidating and extending to the utmost under present conditions the "vacated" sector of the economy that has been brought under self-management.

More than 4,000,000 acres of European and Algerian land are at present under such administration, constituting already a decisive sector of the agricultural economy.

In addition, many industrial enterprises are functioning under the same administration, among them some very important ones such as the Verreries (glass works) de l'Afrique du Nord and the steel foundry Acilor, both in the Oran area.

The March decrees unleashed a veritable revolutionary remobilization of the peasant and worker masses of the country, illustrated in the most striking way at the time of Ben Bella's

April 1963 tour, a tour interrupted at its height by the assassination of Khemisti, the militant young minister of Foreign Affairs.

Then came the formation of ONRA (Office National de la Réforme Agraire) whose function it was in principle to organize the first phase of the Agrarian Reform, already begun on the "vacated" lands (nationalized de facto in reality), under the present form of self-managed farms, of "people's farms."

Shortly after, came the launching of the national campaign for democratic reorganization of the self-management bodies, which started on May 15 and which was interrupted temporarily in some places because of the harvest season.

This campaign aimed at reorganizing self-management everywhere on a genuinely democratic basis, in accordance with a strict procedure relating to the designation by the workers themselves of an electoral commission entrusted with conducting elections.

The electoral commission registered the slates of candidates in each agricultural or industrial enterprise, whether submitted by the trade-union local of the farm or factory or by any group of ten workers (or jointly).

It posted these slates three days before the vote, printed single ballots listing all the candidates according to slate and held elections by secret vote. Each worker had the right to choose the candidates of his preference all printed on the same ballot (by encircling the number preceding the name of each candidate).

Next the electoral commission counted the ballots before the Workers Assembly, posted the results of the vote for another three days, registering any possible contest of the outcome by the workers, and then transmitted the completed paper work of the elections to the proper authorities for validation or possible rejection (in case of fraud or irregularities committed during the election) of the electoral results.

Thanks to this electoral campaign for the democratic reorganization of self-management, many farms and factories now have regularly and democratically constituted bodies of self-management.

But during the development of this campaign, many other lessons were drawn concerning the functioning and the future of self-management.

It would be pointless to conceal the existence of certain dangers.

For self-management to succeed, it is necessary for the state and national organizations, the trade unions and the FLN (Front de Libération National) in particular, to help the workers overcome

the difficulties which they face in the fields of credit, of merchandising and the necessary technical staffing of the farms and plants.

Now the difficulties in these areas can serve as a pretext for the bureaucratic elements of the Administration and the national organizations to deprive self-management of an essential part of its prerogatives and reduce it to mere workers control in the framework of a statized economy, centralized and directed in an authoritarian way from above.

In the absence of a powerful ideological and political structuring of the workers through a genuine revolutionary party and democratic trade unions, the growth of bureaucratism is almost automatic and irresistible.

The inability of the workers, under these conditions, to resolve on their own all the questions posed by self-management becomes the reason for being of the administrative and political bureaucracy, which appears as the force that makes up for the failures and weaknesses of the workers.

In Algeria, a vast field of particular revolutionary experience marked by the absence of a revolutionary Marxist party and leadership, a battle, sometimes confused, is now going on between the democratic and bureaucratic forces of the Revolution, centering especially on the question of self-management.

This battle will be decisive not for the social but for the political fate of the Revolution.

The Revolution can continue to progress toward the economic and social structures characteristic of a workers state, that of an economy largely nationalized and planned, freed from imperialism, either in the form of an economy democratically managed by the workers or in the form of an economy managed by a centralized bureaucratic state.

It is on the issue of these two roads of the Revolution that the debate and the struggle among the forces of the Revolution is now taking place.

This, however, should not lead us to forget the wholly counterrevolutionary struggle, which is becoming sharper and more aggravated in Algeria as imperialism and the native feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reaction gain awareness of the danger that threatens their economic, political and social positions.

The transformation of Algeria into a workers state is not an enterprise which imperialism will accept without the most violent reactions.

Those who forget this and who analyze and judge the Algerian situation light-mindedly, superficially, by limiting themselves

solely to the phenomena of the superstructure, fall into gross error.

Algeria is caught in the convulsions of a struggle to the death between the Revolution and the counterrevolution, in a very specific context, dominated by the absence as yet of a conscious Marxist-Leninist vanguard and leadership.

Algeria is advancing on the path of the Revolution empirically, under the instinctive drive of social forces clashing in great ideological confusion.

Those who seek to judge the real advance of the Revolution by phenomena of the superstructure -- religion, status of women, form of the Constitution, and even form of the political power and of the party -- could reach the conclusion that the game has already been won by the definitively counterrevolutionary forces.

In despair over such a conclusion they can resort to all kinds of "ultra-left" "releasing of the repressed," including, arms in hand, "camping" in the "underground" of Dra-el-Mizan (1), in the company of elements under command, consciously or unconsciously, of imperialism.

This is the case with the "friends" ("copains") so dear to G. Martinet (2), who, before seeking to impose on the Algerian Revolution the ideal form of their juvenile dreams, would do much better, for example, to work to rid France of the Gaullist dictatorship or Spain of bloody Francoism.

To intervene with arms in the present course of development of the Algerian Revolution, against the government of Ben Bella, which promoted self-management and the Agrarian Reform, which is defending courageously and loyally the most resolute anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle in Africa and supporting the Cuban Revolution, is the height not only of the light-mindedness characteristic of "ultra-left" confusionism but of provocation, pure and simple.

In face of such actions, the mildness of the regime in reality still remains great.

The real course of the Algerian Revolution cannot truly be judged from the Marxist point of view except by the way the structural transformation of the country has or has not progressed. That the adopted Constitution sets up an almost absolute bonapartist political power; that the emergence of the FLN, a little unexpectedly, as the party controlling the government and even the Assembly (before this party yet exists as a revolutionary democratic organization holding a clear socialist ideology) is a move of bureaucratic character; that Boudiaff and his comrades of the PRS (Parti de la Révolution Socialiste), a political tendency which can be characterized by certain of its aspects as "ultra-left," have been placed under house arrest, however comfortable it may be, without an early regular trial (which, in our opinion, will



soon take place); and that all these recent political manifestations do not square with socialist political democracy is certain.

But so far as we are concerned, we were from the beginning conscious of the inevitable limitations of political democracy of the regime in Algeria without thereby concluding that the course of the Revolution would necessarily be blocked.

The Algerian Revolution is again at a turning point. In a few days the President, holding all the necessary powers, will rebuild his government, already abandoned by the most pro-bourgeois wing.

He will have to recreate a governmental team more homogeneous, more efficient, more dynamic which will have to promote the extension of the Agrarian Reform on all the European and Algerian lands above a certain ceiling; reorganize the system of credit and wholesale trade in relation to the needs of the socialized sector of the economy; support and extend the socialized industrial sector; promote the formation of skills on a mass scale at an accelerated rate through the radical reform of technical and general schooling; reorganize the administrative system of the country, simplifying it, on a community basis, the economico-administrative unit indicated by the Constitution; decide on the fate of self-management on the basis of the experience acquired and against the attempts of the bureaucratic wing of the Revolution to alter it in favor of a statized, authoritarian economy administered from above.

We are firmly convinced that this new stage of the Revolution will likewise be passed through successfully and that the process of transforming Algeria into a workers state will again be accelerated and will experience veritable leaps ahead.

After all, this fundamental revolutionary process has not ceased up to now to be the most rapid of all the postwar socialist revolutions.

May the genuine revolutionists of Europe and the world be ready to defend more energetically than ever the Algerian socialist revolution in its decisive phase.

August 28, 1963

(1) Dra-el-Mizan is the village where an armed group was recently captured. The government charged that they were linked with foreign agents.

(2) Gilles Martinet, editor of the weekly Parisian France-Observateur and member of the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié), recently wrote an article accusing the Ben Bella government of now holding more European defenders of the Algerian Revolution in prison than the Gaullist government.

## HUNGER STRIKE WINS RELEASE OF PERUVIAN PEASANT LEADERS

A hunger strike conducted by 63 peasant leaders in the central prison of Cuzco ended in victory, according to a report in the August 27 issue of Hsinhua. They were released by local police and judicial authorities.

The 63 were arrested by the Peruvian government after the large-scale land-seizure movement last winter and spring.

Peasants in the area staged meetings demanding the release of their leaders. The 63 were joined in their hunger strike by 610 inmates of the same prison.

No news has been received of Hugo Blanco, the main peasant leader held by the Peruvian government. It is to be assumed, therefore, that he was not among those released at Cuzco.

## MOSCOW-PEKING DISPUTE AFFECTS SCANDINAVIAN CP'S

The Communist party of Denmark has lined up solidly on Khrushchev's side in the dispute with Peking. Gelius Lund, a leading spokesman, stated the party position in Land og Folk July 19: "Discussion is generally a good thing. In the present case, however, the conflict is disadvantageous. The Chinese leaders have no positive or constructive proposal to make. It is not constructive to make oneself an opponent to general and complete international disarmament or to attack peaceful coexistence as the general line of the Communist parties. It is grist for the mill of the cold war. The Chinese attacks against other parties, denouncing them for having ideas which they have never asserted, can also be most damaging. The only good thing is that the discussion establishes what is the line of the Communist world movement in general."

The famous Danish Communist writer Hans Scherfig, who, like Lund, is a member of the editorial board of Land og Folk, declared in an interview July 1: "We scarcely know what the conflict is really about. The policy of the Soviet Union seems most favorable to us, because it offers more chances of avoiding war. The Chinese only stick more to the texts, more to Marx and Engels, and probably do not recognize that all these clever words were written before anyone thought of the atomic bomb."

Land og Folk has reported the conflict quite one-sidedly. While the viewpoint of the Communist party of the Soviet Union has been explained carefully and presented with big tendentious headlines, important declarations of the Chinese have either not appeared at all or have been highly condensed.

In Sweden the approach has been more cautious. At the end of July Ny Dag, organ of the Communist party of Sweden published an

interview with Hilding Hagberg, chairman of the party. Among other things he said, "I think that the reason for the disagreement is differences of opinion over the possibility of preventing a new great war. The Communist party of China cannot possibly desire war, on the other hand the leadership of the CPC does not seem to believe in the possibility of preventing a new great war."

"In my opinion," the Swedish Communist party leader continued, "they are thus overrating the possibilities open to the imperialist bloc and underestimating the possibilities held by both the socialist camp and all other forces of peace. The Communist party of the Soviet Union does not deny the danger of a new great war; on the contrary it warns the people against this danger. Besides increasing the belief in the possibility of preventing a great war, an agreement on a test ban will reduce the danger of war considerably and increase confidence in negotiation and willingness to engage in it."

Referring to the possibility of a world gathering of Communist representatives to discuss the differences, Hagberg was of the following opinion: "A world conference is inevitable and might come as soon as the end of this year."

In contrast to the Danish Communist party, which has three times postponed a tour to study conditions in China, the Communist party of Norway sent a delegation at the end of 1962. After their return, the central committee passed a resolution which avoided taking a forthright stand on the Moscow-Peking dispute.

The resolution nevertheless praised the Soviet stand during the Cuban crisis, describing it as "an initiative which saved the world from a nuclear war and at the same time protected the independence of the Cuban people."

The resolution declared that the parties in the discussion "must endeavor to avoid use of language and initiatives which unnecessarily aggravate the situation." It also appealed to the participants to avoid transferring "differences of opinion on ideological and tactical questions. . . to the political plane."

After negotiations between the Communist parties of China and the Soviet Union were broken off, Friheten, the organ of the Communist party of Norway, declared: "Though our parties form a united international movement, this does not limit their independence and does not prevent different opinions and points of view from arising. Therefore each party has the same right to demand respect for its point of view; but it will be to everyone's advantage to thoroughly and objectively discuss divergent opinions on important international questions. Therefore the discussion between the Communist parties of China and the Soviet Union is of great importance to all Communist parties. It is part of the common discussion which is carried on in our movement. The two parties that have broken off negotiations thus ought to seriously

consider their responsibility toward the Communist parties of all other countries."

### CUBA DISPLAYS INDEPENDENT POSITION

While visiting Algeria in July, Che Guevara indicated the neutrality of Cuba's revolutionary leadership in the dispute between Moscow and Peking. The split he said, "brings nothing good to the revolutionary movement, but we shall not say who is right in this conflict because we are small."

Since then the Cuban government has gone to the unusual length of delaying to sign the test-ban treaty. This tactic has placed Cuba conspicuously beside China, North Vietnam, North Korea and Albania. Even though the Cubans were now to sign the treaty, the delay is sufficient to indicate that they are not exactly Khrushchevites.

As further indications of the real views in Havana, it is worth noting that the Cuban press and radio have refrained from praising or even discussing the test-ban treaty. At a meeting of United States students touring Cuba in August, Guevara told the visitors that the Soviet-Chinese rift was "one of the saddest events for us." He said that Cuban students were right in refusing to discuss the differences with them.

A short-wave radio appeal by Juan Marinello for international support for the test-ban treaty was not reported in the Cuban press. Marinello is a former leader of the Cuban Communist party now rector of the University of Havana.

On September 10, Fidel Castro told an Associated Press correspondent in Havana that the Cuban government was still not ready to sign. "This is an important decision. . . and we are not ready yet to make up our minds. We are taking into account the current world situation, which of course involves the Caribbean situation, which has been deteriorating the last few days due to piratical attacks by the United States against the Cuban people."

Castro said that world affairs "had seemed to be entering a more peaceful climate a few days ago, but this trend has changed with the attacks."

As if in response to this declaration, the September 12 Pravda printed an article on recent air attacks on Cuba which began by praising the test-ban treaty and declaring, "The world public awaits from all governments further steps, normalizing the situation, relaxing international tension and strengthening peace."

The article argued that Cuba's best hope in the face of U.S. aggression was the test-ban treaty and Soviet military strength.

The article again called attention to the Soviet promise to defend Cuban independence and said that the Soviet government would "act on its word in case of an aggression against Cuba."

While the Cuban leaders refrain from praising the test-ban treaty, they have not refrained from continuing to appeal to the peoples of Latin America to follow the example of Cuba in overturning capitalism and taking the road to socialism. This continues to be the main policy on which they rest the defense of their country and its revolutionary gains.

### HE WAS "WANTED" WASN'T HE?

By Larue Gervais

Professor Dennis Brutus, president of the South African Non-Racial Committee for Olympic Sports, was shot and gravely wounded by Johannesburg police September 17. The police said they were bringing him to the Marshall Square police station when he suddenly broke away and started running.

The colored professor fled for four blocks, according to the white police. Apparently he was gaining on his pursuers. They shouted to him to stop but he made no apparent response, again according to the white police. To uphold the renowned law and order of South Africa, they had no recourse but to fire. A single carefully aimed shot brought the fleeing man down, the white police said.

At the hospital, a doctor performed emergency surgery. He was much puzzled at the character of the wounds. Professor Brutus had been shot twice squarely in the stomach, at close range and from the front. The two bullets had passed through his body.

During the emergency operation, policemen in surgical masks stood guard in the operating room. They did not say whether this was done to protect the surgeon from the dangerous fugitive from justice or to block the victim on the operating table from leaping up under anesthesia and fleeing once again. Apparently they were satisfied on conclusion of surgery that the condition of Professor Brutus was so serious that they need not worry for the time being about possibly having to expend more bullets on him.

How did the well-known Professor Dennis Brutus happen to be in the hands of the Johannesburg police? Was he guilty of some exceptionally grave crime?

Unfortunately, this happened to be the case. He was alleged to have done nothing less than attend a meeting that had been banned by the racist South African government. Even worse he was said to have planned to present a case for the expulsion of South Africa from the Olympic Games.

Five weeks ago, while awaiting trial for these monstrous violations of South Africa's racist code, Professor Brutus fled to the neighboring British protectorate of Swaziland. There he applied for political asylum.

Fortunately for South African justice, while the decision was still pending on granting him asylum, he took a trip to the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. In Lourenço Marques the secret political police of dictator Salazar nabbed the "wanted" man.

Professor Brutus was born in South Rhodesia and had British passport status. Therefore, according to the Swaziland government, his visa for Mozambique was in perfect order. However, the Portuguese authorities decided that he was really a citizen of South Africa and thus his visa was obtained under fraudulent pretenses.

Acting with exemplary dispatch, they hauled him to the border town of Ekomatipoort and handed him over to the South African cops. Later the same night the professor lay bleeding in the street, his stomach perforated.

Thus it was, through an act of international police solidarity, that this dangerous public enemy was brought to heel and law and order maintained in South Africa in accordance with the highest standards of present-day capitalist society.

#### A SAMPLE ISSUE

We are sending World Outlook for a few issues to a select list of publications, institutions and persons especially interested in a press service of this kind. We hope that you like World Outlook and that you will respond by taking out a subscription.

#### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL GREETES CEYLONESE DEVELOPMENT

The United Secretariat, the highest body of the world Trotskyist movement, sent the following message September 1 to the Ceylonese Trotskyists, who are organized in the Lanka Sama Samaja party:

"The United Secretariat of the Fourth International greets the formation of the United Left Front in Ceylon and the participation of its section, the Lanka Sama Samaja party, in it.

"The rally which was recently held on initiation of the United Left Front shows that the Ceylonese masses have great hope that this formation will become a genuine socialist alternative to the present government and that it will help mobilize the people in all their ranks in a struggle for the major aims indicated in the platform of the United Left Front.

"We hope with the Ceylonese masses that the United Left Front will succeed in becoming a rallying point for uniting in struggle all the working masses, both the city workers and plantation laborers and poor peasants, regardless of their nationality or of their particular trade-union and political affiliations."

### CEYLONESE EXPRESS SOLIDARITY WITH PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM

The newly formed United Left Front in Ceylon set aside September 14 as a "Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of South Vietnam." They appealed for nation-wide demonstrations. The leaflet distributed by partisans of the United Left Front reads as follows:

"The people of Vietnam won their freedom from the French colonialists, and the 1954 Geneva Agreement guaranteed them free, country-wide elections and freedom from foreign interference.

"But the U.S. installed the puppet dictatorship of Diem and his family in South Vietnam, with unlimited power to painted, vicious Mme Nhu who likes Buddhists to be 'beaten down hard' and 'roasted.'

"The U.S. sent 14,000 specially trained troops and spend about five million rupees a day to keep the dictatorship in power, enough to feed all the hungry, restore the farms, build industries, schools and hospitals in South Vietnam.

"But instead, the money goes in bombs and napalm for peaceful villages;

"for helicopters carrying gangs to pillage, rape and murder;

"for poisonous chemicals to destroy crops and animals;

"for concentration camps, 1,700 so far, in which the people are herded behind barbed wire, bamboo stakes and armed guards;

"for arms and poison gas to shoot down all who fight for their rights;

"to suppress the religious rights of Buddhists, desecrate and burn their temples, murder and beat up monks and nuns.

"THE UNITED LEFT FRONT was the first to give the lead to the people of this country to express their indignation, and solidarity with the people of South Vietnam.

"Buddhist and other organizations have protested in various ways. The Government has decided to raise the matter at the United

Nations. Parliament has resolved to call for the enforcement of the Geneva Agreement and the withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

"But we can and should do more.

"The undersigned organisations call on all the people of this country and their organisations to observe Saturday, September 14, as a National Day of Solidarity with the people of South Vietnam in their struggle against the U.S.-imposed dictatorship.

"We ask you to support the mass demonstrations and meetings organised on that day jointly with the six main trade union centres or organise your own --- in order to

"Demand an end to the suppression of the freedom of the people of South Vietnam, and especially the religious freedom of the Buddhist masses by the U.S. puppet dictatorship;

"Express solidarity with the people of South Vietnam in their struggle;

"Demand the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Vietnam, and, Call on our Government to demand in the U.N. that no government should supply troops, arms or equipment to the dictatorship in South Vietnam.

"We also ask everyone to fly a white or black flag in homes and work-places, on cars and bicycles and in any other suitable place on September 14.

"The people of South Vietnam are fighting back against repression and military attack with unexampled courage and determination.

"We cannot let them down. We must do our bit to help them.

"Make September 14 solidarity day with the people of SOUTH VIETNAM."

The leaflet is signed by the United Left Front and the following organisations: C.C.T.U.O., P.S.L., C.C.C.T.U., C.W.C., C.T.U.F., P.S.W.T.U.F., D.W.C. and the Sri Lanka Jatika Guru Sangamaya.

### THE TEST CASE OF JAMAICA

In the capitalist press of the United States, anti-Cuban propagandists pound away steadily at the theme that the Castro government has "betrayed" the people by installing a planned economy and taking the road to socialism.

They are discreetly silent about the island of Jamaica which lies only ninety miles from Cuba and which enjoys virtually similar conditions of climate and soil plus having the world's largest known supply of bauxite, from which aluminum is derived. In addition both British and American capitalist interests are deeply entrenched in



the island's economy. How have things been going there in comparison with Cuba?

From a pamphlet Why Tolerate Poverty and Oppression? issued by the Unemployed Workers Council of Kingston, Jamaica, we learn the following:

More than 300,000 men and women are without a secure means of existence in Jamaica -- some permanently without jobs, some finding jobs for only a few weeks of the year.

More than 60,000 families lack homes while 250,000 other families live in over-crowded rooms under extremely unhealthy conditions.

Nearly half the families in Jamaica have only one meal a day.

Throughout the country hundreds of young and old beggars wander. Prostitution, involving girls as young as twelve, is rampant. More than 71 per cent of the children born in Jamaica are illegitimate.

Out of a population of 1,700,000, some 1,200,000 are recorded as attending the country's public health institutions, which gives an indication of the disease-ridden conditions.

More than 80 per cent of the children above the age of five never have milk.

More than two-thirds of the country's 400,000 children between the ages of five and fourteen lack shoes.

Today Jamaica has 169,000 persons above the age of ten who cannot read or write, an average of one out of six. For the past eight years, some 7,000 children reaching the age of seven have had no schools to go to.

A common daily occurrence is the seizure of furniture and other belongings because of the failure of families to keep up time payments.

Economic crimes such as burglary, housebreaking, shop-breaking, fraud, general theft and traffic in narcotics, which stood at 24,680 reported cases in 1959-60 rose by 5,035 in 1960-61 and 3,019 in 1961-62 -- a rise of more than 32 per cent in two years.

Coupled with this is a steep rise in the cost of living. From December 1959 to December 1962 the cost of living went up by twenty per cent above the rise in wages.

Profits plundered by an alliance of foreign imperialists and native capitalists rose from £60,000,000 in 1956 to £100,000,000 yearly by 1962. During this same period wages rose from £84,000,000 to £124,000,000; but this is accounted for mainly by an increase in the work force of 50,000. Yet almost 20,000 workers were

"retrenched" from industries during this same period.

### "IZVESTIA" ATTACKS THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

In the language of Stalinism, the word "Trotskyism" is about the strongest epithet that can be hurled at an opponent. Both Moscow and Peking have referred to "Trotskyism" in this way during their current dispute. Neither of them, unfortunately, have offered to discuss the real positions of the world Trotskyist movement or even to present them accurately although they relate directly to the great questions of war and peace, revolution and socialism which lie at the heart of the conflict on its ideological side.

On September 13 Izvestia printed an article signed by "S. Ivanovitch," taking up almost half the second page of the issue, purporting to give its readers an account of the present status of the world Trotskyist movement. This is the first time this has occurred in the Sino-Soviet dispute and the first time in many years that a Soviet publication has offered anything so extensive on "Trotskyism" to its readers. Below we print a translation of this article. Watch for our follow up on its meaning -- and its departures from factual accuracy.

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### THE SPLITTERS FORM A BLOC

#### The Fourth International -- Association of Trotskyist Renegades

Lately in articles in our press and the press abroad dealing with the subversive activity of the leaders of the CCP /Chinese Communist party\_7 in the ranks of the revolutionary world movement, and their propagation of anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist points of view on the most important problems of current world developments and on the struggle of the forces of progress against the forces of reaction, more and more has appeared about the existence in the political arena of a certain Fourth International and its support of the adventurist position of the Chinese leadership. In the open letter of the CC of the CPSU /Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union\_7 dated July 14 of this year, addressed to all the Communists of the Soviet Union, mention was likewise made of the favorable attitude of this international toward the campaign of slander launched by the leaders of the CCP against the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties.

What is it all about? What brought the so-called Fourth International to the surface? What does it represent and why has it intervened with such zeal to support the pseudo-revolutionary slogans of the Chinese dogmatists? What connection does it have with the CCP?

The answer to this happens to be very simple. The Fourth International is the international association of the Trotskyist elements, a gathering of the most unmitigated opportunists of leftist style, who formerly operated in the Communist and workers movement and who were thrown out of its ranks for propagating ideas alien to the working class and to all the workers. It was founded in 1938 by the political friends of Trotsky with the aim of opposing the Communist International which was then active and of taking as its principal task the undermining of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

Lacking any social base and any mass support, the Fourth International has through almost the entire period of its existence lived underground, acting in conspiratorial fashion, occupying itself principally with regrouping its broken odds and ends of cadres and secretly spreading among a certain layer, the most backward from the political point of view, material propagating rotten opportunist theories on the questions of the struggle against capitalism and appealing for struggle against the Communist vanguard of the working class of the world. It was only comparatively recently and above all when the Chinese leaders began slipping from the positions of Marxism-Leninism a few years ago that it started to emerge and with other splitters increased its attacks against the Communist parties.

Today the leaders of the Fourth International try to present their association of renegades as a certain international organization of people claiming to defend the interests of the working class and struggling for the ideas of Communism. The fact is that they are, as they used to be, rabid enemies of Marxism-Leninism, bearers of arch-reactionary conceptions, tearing down the class consciousness of the workers and playing the game of the imperialists. The Fourth International is likewise a philanthropic organization of the saboteur type, bringing together Trotskyist groups acting in the capitalist countries, particularly in France, Italy, England, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, Japan, Ceylon, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and other countries. The majority of these groups call themselves a party although they are composed mostly of a dozen or few dozen "members," acting as a rule in secret, on the sly, and enjoying the support of certain bourgeois circles and political parties that engage in anti-Communist policies.

The Fourth International is not even itself a united organization. In 1953 it again split into two main groups hostile to one another, the so-called "International Secretariat" and the "International Committee," each acting independently of the other. In 1961 a new split in the international took place, the result being that all the Trotskyists acting in Latin America left the "International Secretariat" and broke off all relations with it. The causes of these differences and these quarrels are to be found in the different conceptions of the above groups on tactics to be followed by the Trotskyists in the workers movement and their

relation to the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the Communist parties and the workers of the world. The Trotskyists belonging to the "International Secretariat" are for a hidden struggle against the Communist movement and the forces linked to the socialist camp; the partisans of the "International Committee" are for the road of direct struggle against the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class of the world, against the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. The Trotskyists of the Latin-American countries showed their discontent with the policies of the Fourth International in general and with infractions of their "rights" and their "interests" in particular. As a result the Trotskyist organization is on the verge of complete collapse. A struggle for the leadership is now underway among the heads of the hostile groups, one being located in France (leader Walter Germain), another in the United States (leader Cannon), the third in Argentina (leader Posadas).

Nevertheless, as the facts prove, the Trotskyists have acted and continue to act unitedly under a single leadership in the organization, reinforcing their work of undermining in the revolutionary world movement, developing their attacks against the Marxist-Leninist parties. To this aim the Trotskyist renegades have dedicated all the congresses and conferences of the Fourth International, above all the latest (fifth and sixth) so-called "world congresses" which took place in 1957 and 1961. These gatherings elaborated the tactics and forms of penetration of the Trotskyist agents in the mass organizations of the workers in the capitalist countries and in the ranks of the Communist parties, the creation therein of conspiratorial groups and antiparty groupings. Likewise adopted were so-called "manifestos" and "political declarations" the aim of which was to discredit the Communists, to undermine the positions of the Marxist-Leninist parties among the masses and in all dirty ways to denigrate their policies and their actions.

The Trotskyists compose and circulate various slanderous lucubrations addressed to the Communist parties, declaring in cynical fashion that the latter are on a wrong road, have betrayed the cause of the working class, contributing to safeguarding the rule of the bourgeoisie in a certain number of countries of the world. In the documents of the fifth and sixth "congresses" of the Fourth International, it is affirmed with effrontery that after the second world war the Communists "helped to preserve European and American capitalism," paved the way for the offensive of reaction against the democratic forces, that the Communists abandoned the class struggle, were for restricting the struggle of the workers movement and of national liberation, were for collaboration with the enemies of progress, etc. The sharpest and most venomous arrows have always been aimed by the Fourth International at the CPSU, campaigning against all the measures which it undertakes with the aim of reinforcing the forces of socialism, of peace and of democracy on a world scale. In the "manifesto" of the fifth congress, the Trotskyist renegades affirmed in provocative fashion that the USSR had an "understanding" with the imperialist powers and that by its policy of defending peace it "prevented" the work-

ers in a series of capitalist countries of Europe from taking power from the bourgeoisie in the years that followed the war.

The Fourth International invariably characterizes our epoch as the epoch of imperialism, of wars and of proletarian revolutions, leaving out of account the fundamental changes in the relation of forces in the world arena that came about through the liquidation in a series of countries of Europe and of Asia of the rule of the bourgeoisie and of the creation of a world socialist system. Recognizing the weakening of the forces of capitalism, it at the same time holds that the positions of the forces of socialism are precarious and denies the inevitability of the victory of the latter in peaceful economic competition.

It is from an adventurist position that the Trotskyists approach the examination of the problems of war and peace, of the peaceful coexistence of states, different social systems, the passage from capitalism to socialism, the outcome of socialist revolutions, etc. According to the most rabid ideologists of the Fourth International, a new world war is inevitable and in consequence the working class must determine what must be undertaken to exploit the armed conflict between countries that will break out in order to seize power. According to them peaceful coexistence is not only impossible, it is even injurious to the working class because it allegedly leads not to the reinforcement of socialism but to the weakening of its positions and plays the game of imperialism. The sixth congress of the Fourth International likewise opened up a campaign in brutal fashion against the conclusions of the twentieth and twenty-second congresses of the CPSU and the Moscow conferences of the Communist parties in 1957 and 1960 on the various ways of achieving socialism. The Trotskyists consider armed insurrection to be the only means to liquidate the rule of the bourgeoisie, rejecting all other roads of mass struggle for the socialist transformation of society.

To get out of the present situation in the world, and to guarantee the victory of socialism, the Trotskyist international advocates carrying out so-called "urgent" measures, as they formulate it, measures by the workers, and above all the organization of the armed intervention of the masses and the acceleration of the revolution in the colonial and dependent countries, and this independently of the situation in which these countries find themselves and of the possibilities of accomplishing socialist revolutions. Even more, the Fourth International affirms that the national liberation movement is at present the central element, the "vanguard and principal force of the world revolution" to the development of which must be subordinated all the efforts of the popular masses of the world, all the other aims of the working class and the tasks of its political parties.

As is to be seen, the Trotskyist elements now, as in the past, hold completely rotten opportunist positions of which the enormous harmfulness has long been clear to all the Marxist-Leninists, to all the battlers for the great ideas of Communism. Nonetheless, the

fact that the genuine battlers for the radiant aims of humanity are thrown overboard as vermin, as putrescence poisoning the consciousness of man, all this, according to all the evidence, seems to suit the present leftist, pseudo-revolutionary shouters, the leaders of the CCP. On reading their verbiage about the "general line" of the Communist movement, it is not difficult to discover that it clearly resembles the Trotskyist theories, that their conceptions on the fundamental problems of current world developments are to a great measure similar to the conceptions of the Trotskyist ideologists.

Facts are facts. The Fourth International, which in the past attacked the Communist parties, including the CCP, rapidly changed its attitude and more and more approved the splitting activity of the Chinese leaders. Again in 1960, it sent an open letter to the CC of the CCP in which it flatly stated that the Fourth International "greeted the discussion" begun by the Chinese dogmatists and "places itself on the side of the CCP." In the declarations adopted in February and July 1963, the Fourth International appealed to the Chinese leadership to unite in common action for the so-called "revolutionary renewal" of the workers movement, underlining in flattering fashion that the theses preached by the Chinese leaders are "progressive" since they bear "an evident resemblance" to the Trotskyist positions.

The entire Trotskyist press is likewise exulting with joy over the undermining activity of the leadership of the CCP. On the pages of the different dirty little papers, edited by the Trotskyist renegades in France, Italy, the United States, Brazil, Chile and a series of other countries, are published many articles praising the reactionary points of view of the Chinese leaders and calling on them to reinforce the struggle against the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties, for the regroupment of the present "Communists of the left" with the old-style opportunists, with the splitters of all stripes.

Obviously the Chinese leaders possess "worthy" allies.

-- S. IVANOVITCH

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