

L'INTERNATIONALIST

Published by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International.

February 5, 1963

ALGERIA AIDS ANGOLAN REVOLUTION

ALGIERS, Feb. 3 -- A public office of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) was opened here today. Premier Ben Bella, several cabinet ministers, ambassadors of the USSR, China and Czechoslovakia, and representatives of Portuguese antifascist movements attended the ceremonies.

Ben Bella expressed pleasure over the official establishment of Angolan revolutionary headquarters in Algeria. He stressed the fact that the Algerian minister of Youth and Sports Affairs had trained the first cadres of the Angolan Liberation Army.

Insisting on the necessity of combining the struggle against colonialism with the struggle against fascism in Europe, which is of importance to Algeria because of the nearness of the continent, Ben Bella declared: "It is not by accident that the fascist colonels Faulks, Trinquier, etc., were associated in Katanga with the sinister Tshombe. This aspect of the Angolan struggle is very important in our opinion. By striking at the fascist regime of Salazar, we strike the Achilles heel of fascism in Europe."

"At present," the head of the Algerian government continued, "we are in a period of ebb in Africa, which has repercussions even inside the African vanguard movements. This presents us with grave dangers that will become even worse if a radical, revolutionary solution is not found for the Angolan problem. There will be no real construction of our country domestically without an active struggle on the side of the African liberation movements in general and the Angolan struggle in particular."

At the end of his speech, the premier said that he wished to say something as "a militant" instead of as head of a government. Turning towards the ambassadors present, he reminded them that "our Angolan brothers need arms and money, not pious motions."

Correspondents in Algiers report that many Algerians have expressed readiness to serve as volunteers in the Angolan Liberation Army if they are needed.

FRENCH COMMITTEE CALLS FOR HELP TO NEW ALGERIA

PARIS, Feb. 1 -- An Association of Solidarity with New Algeria (ASAN) has just been set up in France. Among the prominent figures sponsoring it are the outstanding mathematician Prof. Laurent Schwartz, the well-known writers and journalists Claude Bourdet, Colette Audry, Robert Barrat, Robert Davezies, A-P Lentin, Albert Memmi and Maurice Pèju, as well as various trade unionists and leftists who gained public attention for their defiance of persecution in helping the Algerian Revolution in the past.

The committee has issued a call to workers, peasants, technicians and intellectuals in France to help the Algerian people in combatting illiteracy, taking care of war orphans, and reconstructing the country along socialist lines.

The committee is planning an intensive educational campaign to help bring to the French people a better understanding of the enormous needs of Algeria after more than seven years of devastating war.

COLOMBO ELECTION RESULTS

COLOMBO, Feb. 1 -- The capture of seats by rightist parties in recent municipal elections here has been pictured in the capitalist press as a crushing defeat for the left, including the Lanka Sama Samaja party, Ceylon section of the Fourth International. The UNP, a right-wing bourgeois party, won forty seats against three for the LSSP, one for the Communist party, one for the government party (the left-bourgeois LSFP), and three for various independents.

(The three candidates of the LSSP who were elected were comrades Bernard Soysa, who is a member of the LSSP Political Bureau, Vivienne Gunawardena and Ananda Premasinghe.)

However, tabulation of the votes shows that the truth was somewhat different from the picture presented by the big press. In most constituencies, only two candidates ran in opposition to each other, so that our comrades won a much higher proportion of votes than they did of seats.

In eighteen wards where a straight contest occurred between the UNP and the LSSP, the Trotskyists polled 22,704 votes against 29,093 for the capitalist candidates. In thirty-two wards where LSSP and Communist party candidates united their forces, they polled 40,187 votes against 56,043 for the UNP.

However, as is confirmed by other local election results, it is clear that a definite swing to the right is taking place in Ceylon. During the first part of the SLFP government's tenure in office, our Ceylonese comrades failed to differentiate themselves sufficiently from the government. This resulted in the UNP appearing as the main opposition force and it was able to cash in on the discontent among the petty-bourgeois layers that was aroused by the corruption, maladministration and inflation that has characterized the SLFP regime.

NEWS ABOUT HUGO BLANCO

LIMA -- Guerrilla fighters in the Valle de la Concepcion, led by the young revolutionist Hugo Blanco, who publicly declared himself to be a Trotskyist and a member of the Fourth International in an interview granted to a Lima daily paper some time ago, have recently been broadening the scope of their operations.

At the end of October, as a demonstration in behalf of the Cuban Revolution when Kennedy was threatening nuclear war, Hugo Blanco led a march of 5,000 campesinos from villages in the Andes into Cuzco. They occupied this important city for a few hours before withdrawing.

At the beginning of November, some 500 fighters of Hugo Blanco's forces stormed and conquered a local police commissary, capturing arms and ammunition.

Since then, the military junta which seized power in Peru has sent several regiments into the region armed with airplanes and helicopters supplied by the U.S. But thanks to widespread support among the peasant communities of the descendants of the Incas, Hugo Blanco's guerrilla fighters have evaded capture up to now.

Hugo Blanco is immensely popular in Peru today and his fame as a promising young revolutionary leader is spreading throughout Latin America.

At the beginning of January, a Chilean Communist party magazine "Vistazo," which "distinguished" itself not so long ago by its scurrilous attacks against Trotskyism, felt forced to print a two-page article about the guerrilla struggle led by Hugo Blanco in Peru. "Vistazo" admitted without comment that Hugo Blanco is a Trotskyist.

The organ of the Communist Youth of Italy "Nuova Generazione" recently devoted its entire first page to an enormous photograph of Hugo Blanco.

LEFT-WING PERUVIAN UNIONISTS SCORE SUCCESS

LIMA, Jan. 10 -- The ruling military junta in Peru dropped its "benevolent" and anti-imperialist" mask at the beginning of the month. Hundreds of trade unionists, intellectuals, workers and students and well-known leftist political figures were arrested and interned under very harsh conditions in concentration camps in the Amazon area. This was the junta's way of attempting to stem the strong rise of militancy among the workers and peasants at the end of the year.

One of the indications of this rise in militancy occurred at a National Conference held by various unions as part of an effort to build a new trade-union confederation following the collapse of the

trade-union center led by the APRA. The left wing scored a big victory at the conference when it was decided to elect a new central trade-union leadership. This meant a definite break with the old APRA leadership.

The Communist party opposed the move but had to submit to the decision under strong pressure from the rank-and-file delegates.

Among the almost 200 delegates who attended the conference, the Communist party had a fraction of around ninety. The left wing, which included Trotskyists and so-called "Leninists," led a minority of about thirty-five.

Our comrade Oswaldo Valderram, secretary of the Metal Workers union, was elected to the central trade-union leadership as "secretario de trabajo."

TROTSKYISTS MAKE GOOD SHOWING IN BOLIVIAN TRADE-UNION ELECTIONS

LA PAZ -- Members of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, Bolivian section of the Fourth International, made an impressive showing in recent trade-union elections in Bolivia. At Oruro, a leader of the POR was elected secretary of the miners' union and representative for workers' control. At La Paz, in an election among factory workers, the POR candidate, Comrade Camacho, was defeated by only a few votes. The official left MNR candidate polled 4,100 votes; Camacho 4,070.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL STATEMENT ON THE CONGO

ROME, Jan. 30 -- The International Secretariat of the Fourth International released the following statement today on the situation in the Congo following the formal dissolution of Katanga as an "independent" puppet state of Belgian imperialism:

"Eighteen months after the accession of the Congo to formal independence, the Congolese people are still not masters of their destiny. The legally elected government of Lumumba was overthrown by imperialist stooges; the actual murderers of Lumumba are still free. The country is divided into zones of influence by international trusts. U.S. imperialism is moving in deeper and deeper, actually running the central government through UN advisers and UN military forces. Corruption is rampant. Political freedom is denied to the revolutionary nationalist organizations, whose leaders are in exile or in jail like Gizenga. Each day the masses become more conscious of the fact that they still have to conquer real independence.

"Despite their rapid disintegration, Tshombe's forces have not been completely disarmed and Tshombe is retained as a puppet to govern the Katanga province, and it is even proposed that he join the Central government. These facts confirm once again that the UN used the

mandate given it by the General Assembly to eliminate the Katanga secession and to restore the unity of the Congo, in order to foster the Balkanization of the country, to prevent the Central government's armed forces from completely crushing imperialist puppets like Tshombe and Kalonji, and to maintain and protect the big domains of the imperialist trusts in the country. The aim of the UN intervention in Katanga is to save the Adoula government against a revival of the authentic revolutionary nationalist Lumumbist mass movement.

"The IS appeals to the Congo people to fight under the present conditions for:

"(1) The arrest and trial of Tshombe and all accomplices for the murder of Lumumba and other nationalist leaders, including the accomplices inside the Adoula government.

"(2) The immediate release of Gizenga and all arrested or exiled national revolutionaries.

"(3) The complete disarmament and disbandment of Tshombe's 'gendarmerie'.

"(4) The nationalization of the Union Minière and the other big Belgian and international trusts.

"(5) The withdrawal of the UN forces. The IS calls upon the peoples and governments of the independent African states like Algeria, Ghana, Egypt, Guinea, Tanganyika, etc., to answer the appeals of the popular forces in the Congo to provide the Congolese people with material and military assistance, in order to enable them to form a government of their own free choice. The IS calls upon the international working class to support these demands."

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT

PARIS, Feb. 5 -- Several new developments in the rift between the Soviet and Chinese Communist party leaders have recently come to the knowledge of left-wing militants here.

Since Jan. 25, the Hsinua News Agency has printed the French edition of its Bulletin in Brussels instead of Prague. (New address: 72 rue Antoine Bréart, Brussels 6, Belgium.) It is not yet known if the office of the Hsinhua News Agency in Prague has been closed. We hope to report further about this development in an early issue.

The British Communist party leadership is said to be deeply split over the Soviet-China rift, with the differences going down deep into the ranks. Gollan, one of the main British CP leaders, is in Peking at present.

In New Zealand the CP is reported to have taken a public stand in favor of the international conference of all Communist parties

called for by the Chinese CP leaders as their principal organizational demand at the present stage of the struggle.

The chairman of the Indonesian CP, Aidit, took a similar stand Jan. 6 during a New Year's gathering of the municipal committee of the CP at Djakarta.

"Akahata," the central organ of the Japanese Communist party, printed an article attacking "public criticism of another brother party by a CP." In this way the Japanese CP registered its support for one of the main planks in the Chinese CP criticism of the Khrushchev leadership.

ANTINUCLEAR DEBATE AT DUTCH LABOR PARTY CONGRESS

THE HAGUE, Jan. 25 -- Broad opposition against the extreme right-wing pro-imperialist leadership was expressed at the annual congress of the Dutch Labor party held here Jan. 18-19. Debate centered around problems of military policy. An amendment to the main resolution, supported by several members of Parliament, urged the party to come out in favor of unilateral nuclear disarmament. The vote was 307 "for" and 2,128 "against."

A minority of more than fourteen percent at a party congress has not been heard of for many years in the Dutch reformist party.

SPANISH RADIO DROPS FASCIST SLOGANS

Since the beginning of the year, the Spanish radio has dropped use of the fascist slogans "Viva Franco" and "Arriba España" which formerly brought all news bulletins to a close. This is another step in cleaning up the Franco regime in anticipation of closer integration into West European capitalism and the Common Market.

CANADIAN SOCIALISTS IN TORONTO ELECTION

TORONTO -- The League for Socialist Action reports encouraging results in its campaign behind the candidacy of Ross Dowson for mayor. Editor of the Workers Vanguard, a national monthly publication, Dowson is well known in Canadian labor circles as a revolutionary socialist.

The League announced that it was supporting Dowson for two reasons: (1) To uphold the principle of independent labor political action when this was not done by either the Toronto Labor Council or the New Democratic party. (2) To rally support for the defense of Cuba against the threat of attack from the U.S.

The Cuban crisis was a burning issue throughout the campaign but the defenders of the Cuban Revolution -- no doubt because of their position on this question -- found it difficult to break into the columns of the daily press. Dowson did succeed, however, in getting

several short appearances on TV.

Most of the campaigning was done in the streets. Some 60,000 leaflets were distributed at factory gates and door to door in working-class areas. A special leaflet in Italian was distributed in the Italian community. Almost a thousand posters were pasted up throughout the city.

Two days before the election, demonstrators carrying placards paraded through the heavily crowded downtown areas. A sound truck was also used on major streets of the city.

The revolutionary-socialist candidate received 1,119 votes. The low vote was not unexpected. Workers were little interested in the election as a whole since the labor bureaucrats urged support of Tory and Liberal candidates. With limited resources and a complete press and radio blackout, it was difficult to bring the socialist alternative to the electorate.

However, the League for Socialist Action reports that the direct response to its campaign was greater than in any previous campaign.

IN THE WAKE OF THE INDO-CHINESE BORDER DISPUTE

By A. J. Singh

NEW DELHI, Jan. 1 -- The unilateral declaration of a cease-fire by the Chinese People's Republic, followed by withdrawal of troops from some parts of the occupied territory, has eased the nightmarish tension. The proposal of the Colombo conference of neutral powers can serve as a face-saving device for the Indian government to start negotiations. This gives the forces of the left a breathing space.

Contrary to general expectations, the Nehru government has come around to the idea of exploring a negotiated settlement of the border dispute -- though not formally as yet.

Although the imperialists rushed military aid to India, it is obvious that long-term military assistance is dependent on Nehru agreeing to give up his present nonalignment policy in addition to reaching a settlement with Pakistan over the Kashmir issue.

The Indian government, despite the heat from the right-wing is not prepared to succumb to these "pressure tactics."

The bourgeoisie at one stage seriously considered the possibility of ousting Nehru, especially after former Defense Minister Krishna Menon was made a scapegoat for the initial military reverses suffered by the Indian armed forces in the North East Frontier Area. Further advances of the Chinese forces there would have certainly meant a coup in India, inviting massive intervention by the American imperialists and possibly triggering off a world war.

But Nehru's position has been considerably strengthened since the Chinese cease-fire. His nonalignment policy has been salvaged also by the overt political support extended by the Soviet Union and Khrushchev's categorical statement that the Soviet commitments with regard to the controversial MIG deal, economic aid, etc., would be kept. Moscow's pressure undoubtedly influenced Peking in ordering the troops to withdraw.

That Nehru won a victory, maybe temporary, over his right-wing opponents, is evident from the declaration he made to some American newspapers recently, suggesting that Menon would be soon rejoining the Indian cabinet. (Characteristically enough, he modified his stand later when he was attacked from the right.)

This does not mean that the government will stop using the emergency measures against the working class and revolutionary forces in the name of boosting war efforts. Negotiations with the Chinese will not alter this. The attitude of utter surrender adopted by the Communist party of India (CPI) and also the failure of smaller Marxist and left groups to rise above petty-bourgeois chauvinist pressure has emboldened the bourgeoisie in its offensives against the masses. The government banned strikes. All central trade-union organizations bowed to the decree by agreeing to a complete moratorium on strike struggles. Even normal trade-union activities have been abandoned pending settlement of the emergency.

Coupled with this is a general witch-hunt. More than 400 CPI leaders, known for their left leanings, have been rounded up and detained under the Defence of India Act all over the country.

The tragedy of the left movement is that it appears to have lost its powers of resistance. This is the outcome of the class-collaborationist line of the CPI for the past decade and more.

Petty-bourgeois socialist parties like the Praja Socialist party (PSP) and the Socialist party (SP) have been spearheading the witch-hunt against the Communists for their alleged "extra-territorial loyalties."

Another sorry spectacle was the right-wing leadership of the CP itself using the indirect police protection extended to it by the government to fight and isolate the so-called "pro-Peking" left-wing faction through disciplinary action and other means.

The Khrushchevite leadership of the CPI is utilizing the "legal" status given to it by the government to isolate the left wing and take control of party units even in left strongholds like Bengal, Andhra and Punjab. In its efforts to suppress criticism, the Dangeite leadership (S.A. Dange is chairman of the CPI) goes so far as to provoke arrests of left elements. Those who evade arrest are forced to surrender to the police under threat of expulsion.

On the Indian political scene these are some things to watch: The rightist reaction centered around the Swatantra party and Jan Sangh considerably strengthened by developments, is seeking to oust Nehru preparatory to a military coup. They bank on support from former army generals now associated with the "defense" apparatus of the government. The Nehru wing is, of course, putting up a fight. But the reactionaries know that in the absence of an effective revolutionary leadership, any mass resistance to a military coup can be suppressed. These parties incessantly demand the banning of the CPI.

In the wake of the hysterical chauvinistic propaganda, the PSP and the SP have come closer. A serious attempt is under way to merge these two petty-bourgeois parties on the basis of an essentially anti-Communist program. In Uttar Pradesh the two have already merged.

The crisis created by the India-China border conflict has exposed the organizational weakness of the Marxist left in general and the ideological confusion prevailing in its ranks. Fortunately the present lull offers an opportunity for clarification and regroupment.

§ § §

Editeur responsable: Pierre Frank, 64 rue de Richelieu, Paris 2^e

Supplément de "Quatrième Internationale."