

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

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November 29, 1963

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

THE ASSASSINATION OF KENNEDY

Its Political Background and Aftermath

By Joseph Hansen

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It is quite understandable that international opinion should be alarmed at the unpredictable consequences of this assassination at the very pinnacle of the main center of capitalist society.

The American public was completely stunned. To most Americans it appears beyond belief that such an utterly irrational deed could occur in the United States. Because the country escaped becoming a battlefield in World War I or World War II, because it has not directly experienced fascism or military-police dictatorship, the general image remains of an America immune to horrible deeds of this kind. What may have occurred in the past has been dimmed by time and its connection with the present has been broken in the popular mind.

This belief in American immunity persists even though few weeks go by in which the TV screen fails to bring into the living room scenes of similar violence elsewhere in the world -- Lumumba butchered in the Congo, de Gaulle the target of machine guns near Paris, Trujillo slain in the Dominican Republic, Kassem of Iraq executed in a coup d'état, the husband and brother-in-law of Madame Nhu downed in blood. . . . Such things simply do not seem quite real to Americans. They are like plots in novels about foreign countries, having nothing

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to do with the United States, a sanctuary from the political patterns that operate with strange logic in alien lands.

The Deliberate Cultivation of Violence

American ruling circles themselves share in this illusion. Thus in the postwar world they seemed to consider themselves exempt from any repercussions to their deployment of the full power of American capitalism in bolstering the most reactionary regimes, beginning with the Mikado and extending to fascist butcher Franco of Spain. Under the general banner of fighting "Communism," America's ruling families built the most powerful system of interlocking military alliances the world has known and set out in a mad race to stockpile nuclear weapons in preparation for another war. Much of this reactionary foreign policy was carried out quite openly with the Soviet Union frankly named as the principal target, as if the authors were higher beings living in a sphere that could not be touched by their mundane doings. Even the Central Intelligence Agency had its enthusiastic partisans who boasted of operations in countless areas and the "cloak-and-dagger" work which had such consequences as toppling a legitimately elected government of Guatemala.

Kennedy himself assumed direct responsibility for putting into motion the abortive invasion of Cuba, preparations for which were initiated by Eisenhower. Last year the White House subjected the entire world to a fearful nightmare when it announced that unless Khrushchev backed down, the final order would be given for nuclear war. What odd minds these rulers have to imagine that fostering and practicing violence abroad on a rising scale for two decades, after a war that closed with Hiroshima and Nagasaki, would not finally have its reflection in domestic politics!

Of course, the strenuous efforts to push back or "contain" colonial freedom and social emancipation movements abroad, which brought the U.S. into the Korean War, into conflict with the Cuban people, and into the morass of Vietnam, have long had a symmetrical form at home.

This began under Truman as a "loyalty purge" in 1947 and rose to an insane crescendo under Eisenhower as "McCarthyism." The worst witch-hunt in the history of America eventually subsided but it still exists in virulent pockets and in the form of a general erosion of democracy. It engendered dozens of fascist-like organizations. Many are small groups but some exist on a nation-wide scale. One of them, the John Birch Society, has big sources of funds and tens of thousands of members. In some areas it exerts considerable influence.

The witch-hunt atmosphere acted like a hot house in nurturing racist organizations of the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Council type. These sinister formations, with all their links to the local police and local government, especially in the South, were activated to a high degree by the most reactionary forces of the country in hope of stemming another most important development in the United States -- the rise of the Negro struggle for full equality.

The Violent Response to the Negroes

The mass movement of 18,000,000 Negroes in the United States, seeking recognition of their rights as human beings and citizens, has been met in the most ferocious way, and the spearhead of the reaction is in the Deep South where a riffraff exists thoroughly mentally poisoned with racist views (and "anti-Catholicism") overlaid by two decades and more of "anti-Communism."

A whole series of lynch murders have occurred in recent years in the South. Only the two latest need be cited as reminders: the bombing of children at a Sunday School and the murder of Medgar Evers, field secretary in Mississippi of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The latter case is particularly instructive in showing the pattern of political assassination often practiced in the South.

Unlike the classical political assassin abroad, who openly proclaims his views and sacrifices his own life to make known the reasons for his ill-advised deed, the political assassin of the South kills from ambush and runs. Medgar Evers was murdered by one of the highly skilled marksmen, so common in this region where children grow up with sporting guns. The killer used a high-powered rifle equipped with a telescopic sight. The execution instrument, which the assassin abandoned after slaying his victim on the front porch of his home, was later traced.

The trial of the man charged with the murder, Byron De La Beckwith, has been "delayed" while Mississippi "justice" decides if he should have a "mental examination." The "delay" in this case as in so many similar cases is an integral part of the atmosphere that fosters assassination as a common political tool. The line between a black Evers fighting for the Negro people and a white president who seems to favor that cause is easily crossed by an unbalanced mind.

Crisis for Democratic Party

The legitimate demands of the Negro people, and the ferocious resistance of the racists to conceding to them, gave the Democratic party a crisis of the first order. Kennedy's attempted solution was to offer further concessions to the Negro people but strictly within the limits of "tokenism," that is, small gestures largely of symbolic value. This attempted solution was embodied in the weak civil-rights measure now before Congress.

The Southern Bourbons, following their traditional course of making the record against even token concessions, which they themselves privately recognize may be inevitable, opposed Kennedy's course. Some of them did so in language calculated to inflame to the utmost their racist-minded supporters.

The result was a decline in Kennedy's standing among bigoted white voters in the South and similar elements in the North. As part of the preparations for next year's election, Kennedy had to open a counter campaign. This was the background to his ill-fated trip to Dallas.

Deep in the Heart of Texas

In selecting Dallas, Kennedy was not choosing just any city of the American hinterland. He was opening his campaign in the heartland of racism and one of its main bastions. Dallas, Texas, has a most evil reputation.

Under its motto of "Friendship" it provides a home for such outfits as "Texans for America," the founder of which favors lynching Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Another Dallas organization is the "National Indignation Convention" which has been pressuring Congress -- not without results -- to withdraw aid to Communist nations like Yugoslavia. The John Birch Society has a network of secret members in Dallas. Two of the country's outstanding fascist-minded figures live there: Oil millionaire H.L.Hunt, close friend of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy, who has financed a weekly local television program for the past ten years reflecting his reactionary views; and Major General Edwin A. Walker who has been involved in racist disturbances in other states. Outside the general's home stand five American flags. Three weeks ago he flew them upside down to protest the city's apology to Adlai Stevenson who was a recent victim of demonstrators there.

The political temper of the city was well indicated by the Stevenson incident. When the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations visited Dallas a month ago, he was mobbed by a crowd who spat at him. A woman struck him with a picket sign. It was a kind of warning of the reception that might be prepared for Kennedy.

Strange "Evidence"

In the light of all this, what kind of estimate must be made of the "evidence" that the alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, a native of nearby Fort Worth, acted as a tool of "Castro" and the "Soviet Union" in shooting the President?

Up to the moment the suspect has vigorously denied the crime although apparently subjected to third-degree methods of questioning. Whatever the truth of his involvement may be, the references to "Castro," the "Soviet Union" and "Communism" are suspect on the face of it. The whole political pattern of the crime, including the place, fits in with the ideology, temperament and long-time practices of the racists and not at all with left-wing radicalism in the United States.

The political motivation is self-evident. To the racist mind, Kennedy was "Catholic," "pro-Negro" and therefore "pro-Communist." If he were removed, Vice-President Johnson, a Southerner, would succeed him in office.

What better way to cover up such a crime, to conceal the political motivation, than by throwing the blame on the "reds"?

If Oswald is the actual assassin, and if he did belong to the "Fair Play for Cuba Committee" as some papers report, and the "Communist party" as different ones allege, then his other associations should be probed to ascertain if he did not play the role of a provocateur. The allegation in

some accounts that he "tried" to join an "anti-Castro" organization throws still further uncertainty on his real political allegiances.

The heaping up of "Communist associations" is in itself most suspicious. The Fair Play for Cuba Committee is largely a campus organization engaged in publicity work whose efforts have been supported by such figures as the late C. Wright Mills. Among its members can be found socialists but very few members of the Communist party. This is due to policy differences which the Communist party had from the beginning with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and which led it to largely boycott its activities.

An assassin whose political crime fits in with the racist violence of the South and who yet belonged to both the Communist party and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee? The combination reduces the charge to an absurdity. A police department that presents this as "evidence" should be immediately subjected to thorough investigation itself for links with the racist-minded organizations of the South capable of plotting a major political crime of this kind. Another grimmer possibility is that this note has been struck to turn the assassination to account in a fresh revival of the witch-hunt.

The New President

What does the accession of Johnson to the Presidency portend? Does it imply an abrupt shift in American foreign policy and a drastic turn in domestic politics?

Johnson is a political representative of the Southern Bourbons. He represents the reactionary Southern wing of the Democratic party. It would be an error, however, to conclude from this that a big shift in policies can now be expected, especially toward the right.

Kennedy was no "leftist." This was dramatically shown at the Democratic convention that nominated him, for his personal choice for the vice-presidential candidate was Johnson, a decision which the bureaucrats of the labor movement had difficulty stomaching.

Kennedy made no significant changes in the policies followed before him by Truman and Eisenhower. He continued the preparations for another war. He continued to back reactionary regimes abroad. He continued "right-of-center" policies in the United States. What he added was the verbal gloss of liberalism which is the stock in trade of the Northern wing of the Democratic machine.

Johnson can be expected to follow the same basic course without much deviation. It is the mainstream of imperialist politics as practiced by both Republicans and Democrats when they are in control of the White House and Congress.

Some particular variations will, however, soon become evident. Johnson, a man who worked his way up from the bottom, happens to be one of the most skilled practical politicians in the trade, a professional of the school of Southern Bourbonism with a background of generations in the art of rule. For all his autocratic and egoistic reputation, he is as calcu-

lating a politician as is to be found in any country.

As the representative of a sector of the American ruling class he will do his utmost to advance its particular interests but not at the expense of the class as a whole. His main special problems are: (1) To prove that the Southern Bourbons, after being excluded from the White House for a century, are capable of skillfully handling the general interests of the capitalist class. (2) To put the Democratic party in position to win the next election despite the loss of Kennedy. (3) To win the nomination at the next convention of the Democratic party as Truman did before him.

The principal threat to these ambitions is Nelson Rockefeller, whose public image, despite his name, comes closest to that of Kennedy.

Rather than torpedoing the course charted by Kennedy; that is, of appearing as the advocate of civil-rights legislation, Johnson is quite capable of the tactic of attempting to appear as the inheritor and executor of the Kennedy program. Moreover, he has a rather better chance than Kennedy of putting it over since it really consists largely of demagoguery anyway, and any radical statements he makes will be much more readily discounted by the Southern racists than when they were offered in the accent of Boston and Harvard.

How Will the Negro People React?

The one great unknown is how the assassination of Kennedy may eventually affect the movement among the Negro people to organize an independent political party of their own.

This movement can be quickened by the appearance of a direct representative of the Bourbons in the White House, a development that emphasizes the unsuitability of the Democratic party to express the political interests of the Negro people and the allied layers of the population.

In this major area of American politics, an area of great unrest and uncertainty at the moment, the assassination of Kennedy enters as a new imponderable. Johnson will undoubtedly place this problem at the top of his political agenda, for the Negro vote is now decisive in the key cities of the North.

One consequence of the assassination will most surely be a strengthening of the wing of the Negro movement that has become convinced of the futility and positive danger of relying on "non-violent" means; that is, foregoing effective measures of self-defense.

What the assassination most clearly points up is how much the pattern of violence, characteristic of societies in decay, has now become an element of the American political scene.

November 24, 1963

PEASANTS ATTACKED IN PERU

Peasants of the Comunidad de Ongoy, a town of 12,000 inhabitants, who took over ancestral lands occupied by landlords, were attacked October 24 by armed bands under police protection.

According to information received in Paris, thirty men, women and children were killed by the detachments in the pay of the landlords.

Lima newspapers accused "Trotskyists" of being in the leadership of the peasant movement.

Two of the leaders, Máximo Molina, head of the Comunidad, and Antonio Cartolín, president of the Peasant Federation of Ayacucho were taken to Arequipa for military trial.

The Peruvian Trotskyist movement is seeking to help rally a strong protest and defense movement among student organizations and trade unions.

During a debate in parliament over the attack, supporters of the peasants and the imprisoned leaders demonstrated in the galleries.

A mass meeting in Lima demanded release of the prisoners and punishment of the bands that attacked the peasants.

CARTOLIN AND MOLINA APPEAL FOR AID

Antonio Cartolín and Máximo Molina, the two Peruvian peasant leaders who were taken to Arequipa for military trial, after their followers were shot down October 24 by armed gangs in the pay of landlords following land seizures by the peasants, have appealed for financial help in preparing their legal defense.

The two leaders are accused by Lima newspapers of being "Trotskyists." Their real crime appears to be lack of respect for the property of landlords and a desire to implement Peru's long over-due agrarian reform.

The address to which contributions should be sent is Señor Angel Gallardo, Calle Chiclayo 121, Chosica, Lima, Perú.

"PEACE CORPS" OUSTED AT UNIVERSITY OF AYACUCHO

At the University of Ayacucho, a city of some 27,000 people in central Peru, members of Washington's "Peace Corps" were recently ousted on decision of the authorities of the University Council, according to information received in Paris.

The expulsions, which included teachers, followed denunciations lodged against them as "agents of imperialism" in Obrero y Campesino, a Lima Trotskyist publication.

Obrero y Campesino has vigorously defended peasants in the area who have attempted to take over their ancestral lands.

London Letter

LINING UP FOR THE ELECTIONS

By T. J. Peters

Along with the "emergence" of a new leader, the Tories have been pulling out of the hat a "new" program for the coming elections. Ever since Sir Alec Douglas-Home (alias Lord Home) became Prime Minister, they have been watching trends and moods in the electorate (particularly its "floaters") very closely, and adjusting policy accordingly with their usual lack of scruple or inhibition. These bold political buccaneers leave "gentlemanly" notions, inspired by their "way of life," entirely to their opponents at moments when their own fate is at stake.

The recent by-elections at Luton and Kinross provided them with ready test-tube experiments. A reverse was expected at the first of these, a sizeable industrial town formerly represented by a leading Tory publicist and minister, Dr. Charles Hill. The second was merely a platform to show the extent of the popularity of the choice of the new leader in a safe Scottish agricultural constituency. The aristocratic Sir Alec was "standing" for Kinross in order to qualify for a seat in the House of Commons, a necessary formality for a modern Prime Minister. These by-elections were so arranged that the expected loss in Luton, announced on a Thursday, would be offset in publicity media by the announcement of the "victor" at Kinross the next day. The Tory managers don't miss a trick big or small in this game of manipulating the news -- and the public.

Luton went over to Labour by a 3,000-odd majority. The Tories retained Kinross with a majority of some 9,000. A lot of juggling with the figures has been done by the psephologists, the experts in this new "science" of electoral statistics, to show that in the best case Labour is in for a landslide based on the first result, and at least for an adequate small majority based on the second, judged by the swing in voting percentages. At present the "findings" of the pollsters are most useful to the Tories to arouse their ranks to the "danger." In actual fact, however, the Luton victory for Labour was real enough. It showed that upper strata of wage workers, even where they have remained relatively prosperous, fear the effects of automation (which, by cutting down overtime -- let alone jobs -- threatens their credit payments) and are disillusioned enough with the fake promise of a "property-owning democracy," to reverse their drift towards the Tories. They are rejoining the solid 12,000,000-odd block of Labour voters who have maintained their loyalty throughout the years of "affluence." Kinross, on the other hand, shows that under the most favourable circumstances for them, the Tories have been able by changing Home for Macmillan to bring back their faltering petty-bourgeois following that has been voting with its feet -- staying away or increasing the poll of the impotent Liberals. A tough contest, with the edge still rather in Labour's favor, can be expected at the general elections.

Light-Fingered Politicians

Although they beat the drums hard for the personal "triumph" of the Prime Minister at Kinross, the Tories have shown by their subsequent

actions, particularly in the proclamation of policy that still goes under the name of "the Queen's speech" at the opening of the current session of parliament this past week, that the lesson of Luton has not been lost on them. They have been quick in fact, as The Times has pointed out, to "steal Labour's trousers." That is, they have virtually taken over wholesale the essentials of the whole carefully elaborated platform of reforms of which the late moderate leader of the Labour party, Hugh Gaitskell, was the chief inspirer and author.

Harold Wilson, Gaitskell's successor, although considerably more to the left, has not made any drastic changes in this platform beyond giving it a more militant gloss. His apologists explain this by concern not to alienate the "floating voter" in the first place, and not to antagonize his own right wing in the course of establishing the necessary unity for the electoral battle. But it is a fact that by all tests, Labour's popularity and Wilson's own standing in the public eye were highest at the very time when he was first elected Labour leader and, in the face of Tory challenges in the press, on television and in parliament, proclaimed his adherence to the famous Clause 4 (for the nationalization of the basic industries) in the party constitution, which Gaitskell had fought hard and unsuccessfully to remove. That is, a fighting stance on principle proved to be an electoral asset rather than a liability, particularly because events were moving in a direction to show its practical validity. Wilson appears to have learned nothing from this. Perhaps the Tories' grab for the Gaitskellite clothes will force him and his associates to think again.

That the Tories see fit to dress themselves in reformist garb is in itself an indication that the old gimmicks that have been their stock in trade since the early fifties cannot hope to work in the developing conditions of "stop-go" crisis. They got a sharp warning last winter.

Automation, coupled with a shrinking capitalist market for which competition is becoming ever keener, announce the need for more drastic measures in an economy already in a weakened condition. Its growing effects on housing and living conditions will not fail to find an echo in the Labour party, based as it is on the organized working class. The left wing of this party is bound to be roused to new life and to exert its pressure on the Wilson leadership. Where does this left wing stand and how does it face up to its tasks in the stormy period ahead?

Obligations of Left Wing

The left wing reached the heights of its achievements in the Labour party at the Scarborough conference of 1960, where unilateralism and the socialist essence of the original constitution (Clause 4) were successfully defended, against Gaitskell and Co. It had the rank and file of the activists (the "Constituency parties") solidly behind it and had just received powerful reinforcements in the trade-union wing of the party led by Frank Cousins of the Transport Workers union. Its weakness lay in lack of an organized and aggressive force within the parliamentary group, which Gaitskell then used to subvert and undermine conference decisions. It lacked the will and the resolute leadership to follow up its success with an organized drive to rout the right wing. Along with this weakness, and an expression of it, was the absence of a concrete program of the next

practical steps to implement its victory.

The coming elections offer the left wing another opportunity, and place upon the Marxist tendency within it the obligation to help in lending it clarity and cohesion. The capitalist class under the Tories is clearly in "ideological" retreat and trying to regain ground by giving itself a new image, to cover up its loss of credit in all layers of the population, simultaneously borrowing from the remnants of the feudal past for prestige and "stealing" from the reformists for modernization. Clearly, the threat of automation must be met not only with an appeal to the advance of science, which the Tories can ape, but with a concretization of the abstract socialist program, running from the basic proposition to take over and nationalize industries under workers' control to bold transitional measures such as, for instance, the establishment of a 30-hour week at the average weekly wage for each worker. The program of economic expansion, to be distinguished from the Tories', and to make sense, has to be tied up with a sweeping plan for trade and co-operation with the "underdeveloped" countries and the Soviet bloc, where mutual class interests make for a natural common market. Opposition to the "independent nuclear deterrent," if it is not to remain negative and if it is to continue to stir active support, has to be followed up by concrete proposals to pull out of the capitalist powers' NATO so as to free a Labour Britain's hands for world-wide co-operation with its natural allies in the former colonies and in the east, to make for a genuine drive for peace and for prosperity under world-wide socialist planning. To make such a long-range policy possible, bold measures to mop up the feudal past, like the abolition of the House of Lords and establishment of a republic, must be outlined.

The developing crisis in Britain offers a challenge to the left wing of the Labour party to work out a program and strategy that will change the whole course of history and gain not only the allegiance of the masses of the people at home, but an enthusiastic response to British socialist leadership throughout the world. It places upon the Marxists within it an obligation to take the lead in this task and gives them an opportunity to show the superiority of socialist theory and of principled revolutionary politics -- firm in essence and flexible in application.

CEYLONESE COMMUNIST PARTY EXPELS UNION CHIEF

N. Shanmugathan, secretary of the Communist-controlled Ceylon trade-union federation, has been expelled from the Ceylonese Communist party. Another old-time leader, Kumarasiri, has been suspended. The two are prominent leaders of the pro-Chinese wing of the party.

Important party branches have denounced the measures and demanded convocation of the party congress, which should have been held last December.

Defying the party edict, Shanmugathan has hired other pro-Chinese members, removed from the party press, to edit weekly newspapers of the trade-union federation.

The federation claims 150,000 members among the tea and rubber plantation workers.

THE GENERAL ELECTION IN JAPAN

By S. Okatani

TOKYO, Nov. 16 -- The names of 917 candidates have been listed for the November 21 elections to the House of Representatives. Since 467 seats are at stake in the lower House, this represents the lowest nation-wide ratio of contests since the end of the war.

The Liberal Democrats are running 359 candidates, the Socialists 198, Democratic Socialists 59, Communists 118, minor parties 64, independents 119. In the total list 18 women are contesting for office.

The Liberal Democratic party expects more than 300 to be returned. The Socialist party is seeking to win more than one-third of the 467 seats, or 156, which is sufficient to block any amendments to the constitution. The Democratic Socialist party, with only 14 seats in the Diet before it was dissolved in preparation for the new elections, is trying desperately to better its position.

Seats in the last Diet were divided as follows: Liberal Democrats, 288; Socialists, 137; Democratic Socialists, 14; Communists, 3; independents, 3.

On Foreign Policy

The two major parties remain as sharply divided as ever on foreign policy. On immediate issues, the Liberal Democratic party plans to continue efforts to normalize relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea, and to approve U.S. nuclear submarine calls at Japanese ports. The Socialists oppose both steps. While the Liberal Democrats reject any kind of neutrality, the Socialists continue to stress that the basis of foreign policy should be the liquidation of the Japanese-American security system at the earliest practical date; that is, 1970 when the present Security Treaty is due to be either extended or terminated.

The Communists are concentrating efforts on the struggle against normalization of relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea and against U.S. nuclear submarine calls. There are many Koreans in Japan, the majority of whom favor the Korean People's Republic. It is said that the Korean Communists in Japan outnumber the Japanese Communists. Although the Korean Communists in Japan have their own organizations, they strongly influence what goes on in the Japanese Communist party, especially the party's stand on relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea.

Opposition to U.S. nuclear submarine calls at Japanese ports constitutes the focus for the whole antinuclear weapons and antiwar struggle. Since the Hiroshima conference last summer, the antinuclear campaign has been divided. The Socialists and Communists are vying for leadership in the struggle against nuclear submarine calls.

On Domestic Policy

The major domestic political issue at present is the rising cost of

living. The Socialists accuse the Ikeda administration of responsibility, since prices of consumers goods began sky-rocketing after inauguration of the Ikeda cabinet.

The Socialist party handed the Liberal Democratic party a six-point questionnaire concerning government policies for coping with rising commodity prices.

In the questionnaire, the Socialists raise six aspects of the problem:

(1) In relation to price stabilization measures already on the books, the Socialists ask why price rises have continued unchecked "despite administration efforts."

(2) The Socialists note that wholesale prices should have dropped in view of increased productivity and demand to know what the factors are that are contributing to the still higher price level.

(3) In relation to public utility rates the Socialists ask the Tories of the Liberal Democratic party to make a public election pledge not to approve any further increases. If the administration feels that it cannot make such a pledge, the Socialists demand to know how it hopes to bring down the over-all commodity price trend.

(4) In reference to a projected improvement in distribution of consumer goods, Ikeda is asked whether, in his opinion, farmers and fishermen are to blame for the rises in the price of perishable foodstuffs or whether he admits government responsibility for the situation. The Socialists urge Ikeda to formulate concrete plans for renovating the system of distribution and to indicate how soon the price trend of key commodities could be stabilized under such plans.

(5) As to the alleged relation between commodity prices and wages, the Socialists ask Ikeda if he attributes the rise in prices to wage increases and if so what are his grounds for such a supposition.

(6) Concerning the effect of rising commodity prices on the national income, the Socialists demand to know if the Prime Minister admits that the low-income brackets have been hardest hit by spiraling prices.

The fact that the opposition parties are limited to mere verbal criticism of the Tories on the issue of commodity prices is an indication of the weakness of the struggle of the Japanese workers movement against the Ikeda government. The working-class parties are not expected to make any remarkable showing in the general election but the Socialist party will likely gain a few seats and the Communist party will probably win an increase in the number of votes.

JAPANESE ELECTION RESULTS

PARIS, Nov. 23 -- The press here reports the official results of the November 21 election in Japan as follows: Liberal Democrats, 283 seats; Socialists, 144; Democratic Socialists, 23; Communists, 5; independents, 12.

It is expected that some of the independents will declare for either the Liberal Democrats or the Socialists.

The electoral participation, 71 per cent, is considered relatively light for Japan.

ITALIAN SOCIALIST ACCUSES U.S. OF PREPARING NEW INVASION OF CUBA

The November 10 Mondo Nuovo, weekly organ of the Italian Socialist ("Nenni") party, accuses the United States of preparing a new invasion of Cuba.

Sergio De Santis, the journal's Latin-American specialist, charges that a systematic build up has begun for another counterrevolutionary attack on the island.

The preparations were signalled, he says, by the landing of some fifty mercenaries in Las Villas province on June 20. According to De Santis this involved a direct CIA operation, rather than a foray under leadership of Cuban counterrevolutionaries.

He points out that the dispute between Miro Cardona, head of the Cuban counterrevolutionary forces, and the Kennedy administration was not over whether or not another invasion should be prepared but over who should have final command. Miro Cardona lost out in the dispute; the CIA won.

Since the June 20 landing, the following incidents have occurred:

- August 17. Bombing of the Bolivia sugar plant in Camaguey.
- August 20. Foray in Casilda harbor.
- August 20. Firing of naval shells at Pinar del Rio installations.
- Beginning of September. Operations by counterrevolutionary bands in Las Villas province.
- September 8. Bombing of Brasil sugar refinery at Camaguey.
- September 9. Forays of planes over Santiago de Cuba and Santa Clara.

These aggressive acts have been directed mainly at industrial objectives. Their aim, apparently, was to cut small arteries in the Cuban economy, already under extreme tension due to the imperialist blockade. At the same time they recall similar military forays in the summer and autumn of 1962 which sought to probe and dislocate Cuban defensive potential.

"But to dislocate it for what purpose?" asks De Santis. "In all probability with a new invasion by mercenaries in mind, at present being prepared in various Central American countries like Nicaragua, Guatemala and Honduras."

De Santis calls attention to the following facts:

(1) Nicaragua: This time the bulk of the counterrevolutionary forces appear to be under training in Nicaragua rather than Guatemala. The site is the province of Managua (both on the coast and on the beaches of the lake), and Jinotega. There is also great activity at the harbor of Puerto Cabezas, where Brigade 2506 took off during the 1961 invasion that was defeated at Playa Girón. Tacho Somoza, son of Nicaragua's notorious late dictator, appears to be in personal command. He is in constant consultation with anti-Castro Cuban leaders.

(2) Guatemala: The notorious Finca Helvetia, a former principal training ground, has not been put into operation. Some 400 "marines" are in training on the Pacific Coast, a couple of miles from San José harbor. In the tropical forests of Petén 1,000 counterrevolutionaries are training in guerrilla warfare.

(3) Honduras: Counterrevolutionary forces are being trained in the Zamorano valley and at Juticalpa as well as El Pariso.

(4) Costa Rica: Preparations here are less open. Training sites are located at El Murcielago, a 30,000-acre hacienda owned by Tacho Somoza near the Nicaraguan border. A special camp for training in the use of military aircraft has been set up on a hacienda, El Viejo, owned by Hubert Federsfield, chief of the fascist Movimiento Costa Rica Libre.

(5) Dominican Republic: The military triumvirate that overthrew the liberal-bourgeois Bosch government has queried the CIA semiofficially about putting some territory at the disposal of Cuban counterrevolutionary commandos. Up to now the CIA does not appear to have responded.

Logistic support for another invasion also appears to be in active preparation in Panama and Puerto Rico.

Some people argue that these preparations are being undertaken against the will of the Kennedy administration. This is not very likely, De Santis holds. The State Department, the Pentagon and the CIA would scarcely permit a group of exiles to carry on such activities unless they were regarded benevolently. Secondly, the governments involved are well-known satellites of U.S. imperialism who would hesitate about such operations unless they saw a green light in Washington. Finally, the preparations fit in with the need of the Democratic party in next year's election to counter Republican propaganda about "softness on Cuba."

De Santis concludes as follows:

"Cuba is going through the most critical period of its existence today, especially after the erratic course of hurricane Flora which in four days took innumerable victims and caused hundreds of millions of dollars worth of damage. It is not realistic to believe that humanitarian considerations would keep the counterrevolutionaries or the U.S. government (which has already refused to ease the blockade) from trying to exploit this situation in order to strike what in its eyes must look like a finishing blow. It is just possible that the tragic situation would cause the

CIA to somehow postpone an operation which today would put the 'glorious freedom fighters' in the position of jackals amid ruins. But what about the situation some months from now when the unstable memory of public opinion begins to forget the desperate situation in which Flora plunged the island? Some voices say that the date for the attack (the first half of 1964) has already been irremediably set by the United States. But the outcome of the operation cannot be foreseen by the White House with great certainty because it will depend above all upon the Cubans themselves, upon help from the socialist camp and upon the capacity of the peoples of the whole world to react."

CUBANS CONTINUE TO BATTLE BLOCKADE

Despite Washington's savage policy of barring any ship that goes to Cuba from thence on carrying any U.S. government goods, the number of ships going to the beleaguered island has not decreased. In fact Senator John Stennis recently informed a Senate subcommittee that the number has even increased.

For the first seven months of 1963, the senator reported that calls had been made at Cuban ports by 80 British, 63 Greek, 31 Lebanese, 10 Italian and 10 Norwegian ships. The New York Daily News lists another 14 (four French, four Moroccan, two Swedish, three Spanish and one Finnish).

Also to be noted is the fact that not less than 18 capitalist countries have bought considerable quantities of Cuban sugar despite frowns from Washington. Among these, Spain took 500,000 tons; Morocco, 274,000; Japan, 160,000; Britain, 130,000; Egypt, 80,000; Italy, 80,000; Canada, 65,000; Iraq, 60,000; Finland, 45,000; Chile, 45,000.

These fissures in the blockade give added weight to a recent report in the Italian socialist Mondo Nuovo [see preceding article] that Washington has given the green light to active preparations for another invasion of Cuba.

NEW ALGERIAN MAGAZINE

L'Algérie dans le Monde, a new monthly magazine published in Algiers, should prove of special interest to everyone following developments in the newly independent country.

The first issue contains factual material on the rebellion in the Kabylie and the Moroccan border aggression as well as texts of important speeches, resolutions, etc. A special section reports the activities of friends of Algeria, particularly those associated with groups attempting to organize nongovernmental aid for Algeria. Their work is reported country by country.

A one-year subscription is listed at 500 old francs [about \$1 U.S. or seven shillings U.K.] The magazine is published only in French. The address: Algérie dans le Monde, 26 rue Ben-M'hidi-Larbi, Algiers, Algeria.

French CP and Algeria

A TYPICAL CASE OF SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM

By Pierre Frank

Let a few lines appear in a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois journal touching the politics of the French Communist party [FCP] and the next day its central organ l'Humanité devotes an article to it, or a short note, or box. But it was necessary to wait a month before a reply was attempted in this journal to the fourth article of the series in the Chinese press against the Khrushchevists. This article, "Apologists of Neo-Colonialism," devoted a long section to the policies of the FCP on the colonial question during a number of years. A whole month was necessary for Léon Feix, whom the Political Bureau placed in charge of colonial work, to reply to a "slandrous article" in the Chinese press, a long month of labor, so difficult was it to torture the truth about the eighteen years since the end of World War II, during which French imperialism was occupied with the Vietnamese and Algerian revolutions.

However, the Chinese article had certain weaknesses, the main one being to reproach the FCP leadership with having renounced a policy of "national struggle." It happens that it is precisely a "national" policy which the Thorez leadership prides itself with following and which brought it into the most repugnant, the most treacherous of policies towards the uprisings of the colonial peoples against French imperialism. It was precisely in the name of a "national" policy that the Thorez leadership actually came out in favor of a "genuine French Union" (Fajon, April 13, 1956), and that Feix, in the same period, opposed the Algerians, who were struggling arms in hand for their independence and for a united Maghreb [Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco], with the declaration:

"Another road is possible or better, still possible, for the peoples of North Africa: the road of the French Union." (Cahiers du Communisme.)

It was this "national" policy again that led the leadership of the FCP to characterize Dienbienphu as a defeat, whereas for every Leninist worthy of the name, this defeat of French imperialism by a people in revolt was also a victory for the proletariat of France.

Two Finds in Dusty Archives

To carry out his demonstration, Feix went back to 1932; that is an epoch when the FCP, although already Stalinized, had not yet entered the road of collaboration with the French bourgeoisie. Then he jumped to 1939, when, he pretends, "the big majority of the progressive Algerian movement held reformist, assimilationist positions."

This is a slander of the Algerian movement which, by a very big majority, was already for independence. But at that time, the leadership of the FCP identified this movement, the PPA [Parti Populaire Algérien] -- with fascism. And it was still doing this in May 1945 when the masses of Constantinois rose up and the Communist ministers of the time collaborated in the repression:

"A joint delegation of the FCP and the ACP [Algerian Communist party] were received May 10 by the chief of the cabinet of the governor general. The meeting took up the provocations of Hitlerite agents of the Parti Populaire Algérien and other agents hidden in the organizations that pretend to be democratic."

And a few weeks later, the delegate of the ACP at the tenth congress of the PCF was applauded when he declared:

"Those who demand independence for Algeria are agents, conscious or unconscious, of another imperialism."

Feix now writes that from November 8, 1954, "one week after the beginning of the insurrection, the PB [Political Bureau] clearly demonstrated that the only solution to the conflict resided in recognition of the national demands of the Algerian people and the halting of military operations."

Does l'Humanité dare reproduce the entire PB declaration of November 8, 1954?

Here is how it presented the "beginning of the insurrection":

"The FCP cannot approve recourse to individual acts capable of playing the game of the worst colonialists, if they are not even fomented by them, assuring the Algerian people of the solidarity of the French working class in its mass struggle against the repression and in defense of its rights."

Thorez's Singular Concept of Algerians

Feix, faithful lackey of Thorez, praises his master as the one who long ago saw the "Algerian nation in formation." The Algerian nation did not wait for Thorez to form itself, and above all not in the singular fashion in which he visualized the process. We are willing to bet that Feix will not reproduce these sentences from the speech made by Thorez in February 1939:

"When I say French of Algeria, I mean all of you present here, you who were born French, the naturalized French, the Israelites and you, too, the Arab Muslims and the Berbers. . . French and what French! The French of the French land of Corsica and of Savoy, those of the land of Alsace who came in 1871 in order not to be Prussians."

Pieds noirs [the French born in Algeria], and you, too, Arabs, all French -- that was Thorez' idyllic conception of the Algerian nation!

Against the "slanders" of the Chinese with regard to the lack of solidarity from the leadership of the FCP, Feix pretends that "the truth . . . is in the minds and hearts of comrades of various countries that are free today. . ." Besides that, he makes bold to speak of "actions of all kinds" during the years of the war with Algeria.

In the heart of the Algerians? A few days earlier, l'Humanité permitted itself to treat the Algerian Minister Ouzegane as a "renegade" precisely

because he dared to bare before a Chinese audience what he had on his "mind and heart" concerning the policy of the FCP during the war with Algeria. [For Ouzegane's remarks see World Outlook November 8.]

Among the "Actions"

How could the Algerians forget what a great many Communist militants haven't forgotten; namely, for example, that among the "actions of all kinds" there was the vote in favor of special powers made by the Communist deputies March 12, 1956, a vote which made possible sending contingents to Algeria and in fact introducing a fascist regime there.

"Actions of all kinds"? It would be useful to have a list of all those who were expelled from the FCP for having given practical aid to the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale].

The leaders of the FCP, replying through the pen of Feix, contend that "the leaders of the Chinese CP resurrect against the FCP many attacks which the latter had to face during the past fifteen years." Thorez and Company could not show better where the shoe pinches. During the past fifteen years, criticism came from only a small minority within and around the French labor movement. A minority whom it was very easy to slander. Today, in face of identical attacks from the Chinese CP, slimy explanations are offered: No "verbal gestures that would have cut us off from the wide masses. . . . it was necessary to proceed by allusions, in order to maintain the legal possibilities. . . ." How will Feix explain the vote in favor of special powers as a demonstration in favor of independence for Algeria? A demonstration by allusions, perhaps, to maintain legal possibilities for the party?

To conclude, it is necessary to raise a criticism that is not to be found in the Chinese material but which is all the more important since the leadership of the FCP is today trying to minimize the social transformations occurring in Algeria.

Throughout the war with Algeria, the leadership of the FCP never employed the term Algerian revolution used by the Algerian leaders. At the time of the Evian agreement, when the FLN adopted the Tripoli program, the leadership of the FCP in accordance with their manner of thinking found it too advanced and denounced the idea of a socialist Algeria as a utopia. Finally, one of the main arguments employed at meetings of the FCP to excuse not aiding the struggle of the Algerians as so many of the Communist militants desired, was that it was not a movement of social liberation, since it was not led by the ACP, but was a mere movement of national liberation. Who can forget all this?

Theoretical bankruptcy, political bankruptcy, betrayal for years, then slinking in the final fifteen minutes to help the victory -- that was the line of the Thorez leadership. If one wishes to reproach the Chinese for anything in this section of their article, it is that they did not give the full dose necessary to condemn this line and this leadership.

November 21, 1963

NOT FROM PEKING

A curious article about the alleged activities of British Trotskyists appeared in Le Figaro November 19. It is signed by Pierre Bertrand, listed as the Paris daily's "special permanent correspondent" in London.

Commenting briefly about the activities of a pro-Chinese faction in the British Communist party, he asks, "Is the Peking government seeking to penetrate the British Communist party?"

Mr. Bertrand answers his own question: "Everything strengthens the belief, whatever the facts may be, that this attempt at infiltration, of which the Communist leaders are not without uneasiness, has chosen as instrument various Trotskyist groups across the Channel who have displayed for several months a revival of activity which can be ill explained if it is not due in part to support thanks to financial aid, the origin of which remains obscure."

Following this obscure insinuation, Mr. Bertrand refers to the Socialist Labour League which, he says, was founded by members of the Communist party who left in disillusionment over the Hungarian events in 1956. After some "ups and downs" this organization lost a good part of its "elan" and the British Communist party seemed to be re-establishing its position at the beginning of this year.

"But the international Trotskyist movement, in England as elsewhere," continues Bertrand, "seems to dispose of vast resources. So that at the beginning of July again the 'Socialist Labour League' was able to launch a drive to cover the costs of its weekly organ, it has just organized a series of conferences in the principal industrial centers and announced ambitious plans for developing its activities."

The rather unusually knowledgeable correspondent of Le Figaro now turns to "another Trotskyist organization, the 'Revolutionary Workers Party,' which presents itself as the British section of the IVth International," an organization that has "just seen the light of day in England. If the number of its adherents remains rather limited, its organ the 'Red Flag,' does not hesitate at any expense to assure its diffusion. It calls for the creation of a 'revolutionary' left within the Labour Party and the Communist Party. In the best style of Peking, it refuses to exclude recourse to an armed conflict to assure the success of the world revolution."

Bertrand ends up by again hinting at the lavish use of obscure funds:

"Here is a mass of facts which, in the context of the present rivalry between the USSR and China, cannot be explained it would seem by mere coincidence. In British Communist circles, in any case, it seems that they are convinced, observes the 'Yorkshire Post,' that China is at present not sparing any effort -- including the financial plane -- to try to build a new Communist international obedient to Peking."

If Pierre Bertrand conscientiously provided himself with all the facts, he reached most singular conclusions. Red Flag is a four-page

tabloid published once every two months by members of the ultra-leftist Posadas tendency. Its principal means of diffusion is hawking at places like Trafalgar Square. It involves the activities of at most a half dozen people.

If these zealots do not "hesitate at any expense," this scarcely exceeds the sacrifices they make out of their own wages to print the paper and the wear and tear on six pairs of shoes.

As for the Socialist Labour League, the weekly publication referred to is The Newsletter, a four-page tabloid which the editors have long hoped to increase to six or eight pages. According to Mr. Bertrand, the vast sums that China is throwing with a free hand into Britain in order to subvert the Communist party through the instrument of Trotskyism enabled the Socialist Labour League "to launch a drive to cover the costs of its weekly organ." The fund drive, made possible by China, evidently did not net enough to expand The Newsletter. If they now succeed in the coming period in getting enough finances to pay for another whole four pages, tabloid size, it will, of course, be due to similar timely "Chinese" money, which, we suspect, boils down to sacrifices by the rank and file of this organization.

The Socialist Labour League like the Revolutionary Workers Party, it should be noted in passing, happens to be at odds with the majority of the world Trotskyist movement and opposed the recent reunification of the Fourth International.

The question that is really raised by Mr. Bertrand's type of reporting is what is the true source of his information? His insinuations smack of the type of slanderous attacks against Trotskyism and the Fourth International which have recently appeared in the Khrushchevist publications Izvestia and Communist. As is well-known, there is a good deal of gold available to these Stalinist rags and their international network of hacks but it is not from Peking.

[For the attacks in Izvestia and Communist, etc., see World Outlook September 27, October 4, November 8 and November 22.]

BRITISH CP EXPELS EIGHT DISSIDENTS

Eight dissident members of the British Communist party, defenders of Mao Tse-tung's position as against Khrushchev's, were expelled November 20. The grounds were "breaches of rule." The eight had distributed a document for the information of party members and at a press conference had made their differences with the party public property, including harsh attacks on the leadership.

In addition to favoring Mao, the eight praise Stalin and have attacked "Trotskyism."

Besides the leader Michael McCreery, seven others are involved: Alf Cross, Tony Hall, Malcolm Jervis, Ron Jones, Peggy Pinckheard, Hassan Sheriff and Silvia Sheriff.

A Background Article

THE AMERICAN NEGRO

Population Shifts and Economic Status

By Evelyn Sell

In 1619 a Dutch vessel brought twenty Negroes to Virginia to work as bound servants. By the time of the American Revolution of 1776 there were about 500,000 slaves comprising almost one-fifth of the nation. By the time of the Civil War in 1860 there were 4,500,000, constituting one-seventh of the nation. Today there are 18,000,000 and they make up 9% of the population.

Until the most recent period, the overwhelming number of Negroes have lived in the South. During and after World War II, however, Negroes left the South by the millions, most of them migrating to the Northeast and North Central states. In 1940, 77% of all Negroes lived in the South but by 1963 this figure had dropped to 51%. Some 3,000,000 left the South during that period so that today there are about 9,000,000 Negroes still in the eleven Southern states.*

The Negro has been tied to the land for a long time -- first as a plantation slave and then as a wage slave. Today's Negroes are concentrating themselves in the big cities of the North and South. Just a few years ago most Southern Negroes still lived on the land or very close to it. Today about 72% live in urban areas and one-half of those live in the central cities.

To give you some idea: The Negro population of Miami, Florida increased 188%; in Dallas, Texas, the increase was 138%; in Birmingham, Alabama, the increase was 54% and in Little Rock, Arkansas, 81%. During 1950-60 the 12 largest U.S. cities** lost more than 2,000,000 white residents and gained almost 2,000,000 Negroes. Northern cities exhibit a definite pattern: whites flee to the suburbs and Negroes flock into the central city. The Negro population of Philadelphia has doubled to 529,000 and makes up 26% of that city's residents; in New York City it has increased two and a half times to 1,100,000 or 14% of the population; in Chicago it tripled to 813,000 or 23% of the population; in Detroit it more than tripled to almost 500,000 Negroes or 29%. Los Angeles County underwent a six-fold increase to 464,000.

The sky-rocketing percentage increases in Negro populations in the major industrial cities of the North and South can only be understood against the background of the demand of the cities for labor and the drive of the Negroes to secure a better standard of living through industrial employment.

Northern cities needed the labor of the Negroes particularly during the two world wars when European immigration was cut off and the nation's war needs called for more manpower. The growing industrialization and urbanization of the South since World War II has, also, contributed to this population shift. Between 1940-60 Southern farm employment dropped 45%

while manufacturing employment rose 23%. Increased diversification of industry has meant wider employment opportunities. The textile industry once accounted for 25% of all Southern manufacturing employment. Today it accounts for only 18%. Growing sources of factory employment involve chemicals, transportation equipment, electrical machinery and fabricated metals.

The movement from South to North and from farm to urban areas has definitely placed the Negro in a more favorable economic position in relation to his own past. Viewing the country as a whole: Three times as many Negroes were employed in 1960 as were in 1940 in nonagricultural fields. Between 1945-61 the number of Negro families with incomes between \$4,000 and \$6,000 tripled. The number of families with incomes over \$6,000 jumped from 4% to 20% during this same time. The aggregate personal income of Negroes showed a growth of about 700% between 1939-61. Today it is estimated that Negroes have a purchasing power of well over \$22,000,000,000 a year. Retailers and advertisers have a new respect for the Negro market these days. Economic boycotts used in the civil-rights struggle today show that Negroes are well aware of this new weapon in their fight for Freedom Now.

The movement of the Negro to the city has been, in the above respects, a blessing both to the Negro and the city. But, it has also been a curse to both the Negro and the city. For a long time American cities have been absorbing a many-millioned stream of immigrants from other lands. The cities have acted as incubators for these newcomers -- disciplining them, adapting them and finally blending them into the white class structure of American life. These newest immigrants present new and different problems to the cities of postwar America. The European immigrant could lose his accent, put on American clothes and become "one of the family." The Negro can never lose himself in the crowd; he is colored. The European immigrant came to the cities as manual laborers when unskilled labor was needed. The Negro comes at a time when skilled labor is needed. The European immigrant was part of a human river that poured over a virgin continent, chopping down its forests, ploughing up its prairies, gutting its minerals, contributing to the rise of the Robber Barons. The Negro comes to the city at a time of economic and political crisis for the American colossus.

The city encourages Negro migrations during peak economic periods and then must cope with the problem of the last-hired-first-fired untrained workers when periods of recession occur. The city segregates the Negro, discriminates in a thousand and one ways and then has to cope with the ghetto with its crime rate, prostitution, drop outs from school and general deterioration from public and private neglect. The city political machines wring their hands in anguish at the whites-to-the-suburbs trend because they see in the near future that the Negro vote is fast becoming the balance of power in big city politics. The city curses the Negro.

The Negro is surrounded by the city and its outward signs of abundance and luxury. High expectations are aroused only to turn into frustration, bitterness and alienation. The city promises but doesn't give -- an explosive situation. Although he has progressed in relation to his past, the Negro soon sees that his progress is not as rapid or as great as that of the whites -- so he still remains at the bottom of the heap. Further,

in the last decade he has not progressed over-all but is running hard just to stay in the same place. The Negro curses the city.

The cold hard facts are: 28% of white families have incomes under \$4,000 but 60% of Negro families have incomes less than \$4,000. The median income for white families is \$5,981 yet 75% of Negro families fall below that figure. In regions outside the South the income of Negroes is about three-fourths that of whites; in the South the Negro income is only two-fifths as much as non-Southern Negroes but Southern whites earn about four-fifths as much as non-Southern whites. Although the income of Negro individuals and families has increased over five times since 1940, it is still only a little more than one-half that of whites.

Earnings of whites have gone up but Negro earnings went up until 1954 and then went down from that point.

The economic trends in this country have had and will continue to have an adverse effect on Negro employment and income. The source of economic improvement for Negroes has been their movement out of agriculture and into manufacturing, mining and construction fields where they worked as unskilled or semiskilled laborers and operatives. These industries have declined or stagnated between 1947-61. Increased use of automation and labor-saving devices make further cuts in unskilled and semiskilled areas of work.

As a result of the above, unemployment among Negroes is 10% -- twice that of whites. In places like Chicago and Detroit the percentage differences are even more startling. In Detroit, for example, as of April, 1963, 5.8% of the white male population was unemployed but 15.9% of the Negro male population was unemployed. Of white females 2.6% were unemployed but 6.4% of female Negroes were unemployed. Negro unemployment lasts longer than that of whites. In September 1958 Negroes were unemployed for an average period of 17.8 weeks and whites for an average of 13.3 weeks. Three years later, Negro unemployment averages went up to 18 weeks and white averages went down to 13 weeks.

A good deal of the above material was drawn from "The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and In the South" written by Vivian W. Henderson and published by the Southern Regional Council. The article explodes the myth that "things are getting better and better for the U.S. Negro." One of the major conclusions in the article stated: ". . . there is, in reality, little cause for optimism regarding rapid change in the status of Negroes in the near future."

*Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia.

**New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco-Oakland, Boston, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Washington, Cleveland, Baltimore. Now hold 31% of all Negroes in U.S.

IF THE BOMB DOESN'T GET US, DDT WILL

By Paul Abbott

At the end of World War II, DDT was hailed in the United States as a miracle chemical that could well spell the end of the insect world, especially the varieties considered to be noxious to humanity.

The use of the poison spread at an astonishing rate. It is now consumed in massive quantities on American farms and dairies, and in restaurants where customers frown on the cockroach. In some areas, low-flying airplanes apply DDT by the ton to crops and orchards.

Millions of industrious people spraying, blowing and blasting DDT on fields and gardens, homes and businesses, lawns and garbage dumps, coincided well, of course, with the humanitarian instincts of giant chemical corporations who believe that pioneering in human welfare does not necessarily stand in contradiction to serving the interests of stockholders.

In recent years it began to be noticed that the population of various forms of wild life was dropping alarmingly in the United States, some of them, including valuable species of birds, being threatened with extinction. The accumulation of DDT in certain organs of these vertebrates was suspected to have grown sufficiently high to either kill individuals outright or to render them sexually sterile.

Because of its chemical stability, DDT persists in the environment, being absorbed and stored by the forms of life it does not kill outright. Among animals DDT taken in with food accumulates in fatty tissue. It does not take many fish, sick from DDT, to give an eagle, for example, a heavy concentration of insect killer. The final link in the food chain is humans.

Medical investigators began to suspect that DDT lies at the bottom of certain new obscure illnesses. They cannot be sure, however. The truth is that the long-range effect of the poison on humans is not known.

Speaking in Kansas City on November 15, Dr. Luther L. Terry, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, revealed that the insidious chemical has now "invaded the water environment of the world."

Exactly how this has occurred is not yet known, he claims. Probably it pours off the North American continent, finding its way down rivers and sewers into the sea where it is then circulated by ocean currents. Dr. Terry even suspects "air currents," although it seems a little far-fetched to believe that enough DDT dust guns are being worked in the United States to pollute the world's atmosphere sufficiently to then contaminate the seas.

In any case, DDT has observed no passport regulations. It has spread all over the planet. It is found in fish caught off Iceland and Japan and in aquatic plants and wild life of the Arctic. Oily fish, like Tuna, contain "surprisingly large amounts."

Can anything be done about this new peril? In the United States and

England, recent exposures of the danger of indiscriminate use of insect poisons, like Rachel Carson's Silent Spring, have led to some alarm and even official admonitions about the advisability of cutting down on the use of DDT as well as other even more potent killers.

The trouble is that insect poisons do play a useful role. They are in part to be credited for spectacular declines in certain diseases such as malaria. The chemical companies, vexed by the bad publicity, have stressed this in their counterattack.

More importantly, DDT and its chemical relatives enable farmers to send crops to market unmarred by insects -- they look perfect whatever traces of exotic test-tube products may be present under the attractive exterior. A farmer who does not dump such poisons on his tomatoes and apples would soon lose out to competitors whose motto is "Let the Buyer Beware." Thus insect poisons have become much more of an economic necessity than they used to be.

An unexpected turn is that some of the worst insects develop immunity, while beneficial insects that could keep the noxious ones down prove to be most vulnerable. In some areas harmful insects have surged back in plague proportions.

The chemical corporations have not been caught unawares, however. Their solution is newer and more deadly powders and liquid concentrates -- generally at a higher price, especially if you are able to appreciate the effect of a combination of ingredients "like a doctor's prescription."

The contamination of the oceans in the few years since DDT first appeared is one more urgent warning to mankind that the establishment of world-wide controls, the kind that can only be applied successfully under international socialism, cannot be delayed much longer.

Otherwise, if the bomb doesn't get us, DDT will.

CORRECTION -- PLEASE NOTE

The editors of Fourth International, the English language edition of the theoretical organ of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, were kind enough to place an advertisement for World Outlook in the special number [October-December 1963] which carries the documents of the Reunification Congress. They correctly listed the subscription price for 26 issues as \$7.50 U.S., or 37.50 French francs, or £2/15 shillings U.K. However, they stated that this included air mail; which, we regret to say, is in error.

For air mail rates, please write us. They vary from country to country and they are in addition to the above rates.

The address, again, is Pierre Frank, 21 rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2.

ROSS DOWSON EXPLAINS ALGERIAN REVOLUTION TO CANADIANS

[Following a trip to Algeria last summer, Ross Dowson, editor of The Workers' Vanguard, a Toronto socialist publication, made a cross-country trip during which he was interviewed on radio stations in various cities. In Vancouver, he appeared for an hour and a half on CKLG's Don Wilson program, a popular feature among West Coast listeners.

[Since Dowson is a well-known Canadian Trotskyist leader, the questions asked him in his various interviews ranged over a number of topics. The liveliest interest, however, centered on his report of the Algerian Revolution.

[The transcript of the interview over CKLG, which we have just received, illustrates the response. It includes questions telephoned to the station as the interview proceeded. Below we publish extensive excerpts. -- Editor.]

* * *

[After some preliminary questions and answers about Dowson's electoral activities in Canada and his views on Canadian politics, Mr. Wilson turned to Trotskyism and its relation to the Soviet Union. The conversation dealt with the problem of workers' democracy, de-Stalinization and the concessions granted by Khrushchev in response to popular pressures.]

Wilson: You keep referring to Soviet democracy and the manner in which you refer to it indicates you believe there is no such thing existing at the present time. Do you think democracy can exist under a state where you have pretty well rigid one-party control?

Dowson: Well, I'm opposed to one-party control. I believe in a multiplicity of parties insofar as they would defend the economy and the state against capitalist encroachments. But I was in Algeria and I must tell you I saw workers' control and workers' management in operation. It does work. Unchallengeably so.

Wilson: Now getting to Algeria for a moment. You say that you have seen in operation a workers' democracy. What form of government is operative in Algeria at the present time?

Dowson: Ben Bella heads the Constituent Assembly. It came out of a referendum which okayed the Evian agreement and they're now in the process of setting up a popular democracy. When I was there I went to some of the big projects they have. The state has taken over some 3,000,000 acres of the most lush land not far from Algiers. This land was "vacated." Much of it had not been utilized for five, six years and on their own initiative the peasants went in and they started to work this land. This land is now under workers' management. They've elected popular organs of control.

Wilson: There is no actual individual ownership of land then?

Dowson: No, not in this big sector. This is not complete, of course, right through Algeria. But this is one of the key sectors, a most fertile

area, called the Mitidja valley. It reminded me of the Okanagan valley here in B.C. [British Columbia] when I saw it -- a very fertile area which had been under the control of extremely wealthy colons -- French land owners -- most of whom had left in the last period, particularly during the OAS [Secret Army Organization] terror campaign.

Wilson: You were pointing out to me earlier this afternoon that you were in Algeria because of a conference called, I think, by Ben Bella, to seek forms of aid for Algeria -- you called it Non-Governmental Aid. Would you like to elaborate on that a bit?

The Aid Conference

Dowson: The conference wasn't exactly called by Ben Bella. He appeared at some of the sessions and warmly identified himself with the conference. But it was called by various persons who over the years, even during the civil war, had identified themselves with the Algerian freedom struggle. They were given facilities with which to hold the conference. There were very eminent persons in attendance at the conference. Bertrand Russell sent his greetings to the conference but was unable to attend. Jenny Lee had intended to attend but, as you know, the Profumo scandal came up and there was a possibility of a British government crisis. Some eminent intellectuals attended such as Lelio Basso, who was the general secretary of the Socialist party of Italy, an intellectual of some standing in Italy; Claude Bourdet and Daniel Guerin, very important French intellectuals; two British Labour party MP's; the editors of Peace News, of Union Voice, of New Left Review -- a considerable gathering of persons who have identified themselves with the anti-imperialist struggle.

Wilson: Let's take a look at de Gaulle's actions in connection with this. What do you think about the situation there?

Dowson: De Gaulle attempted to stabilize the situation. It was apparent to anybody that the Algerian people were determined, no matter what terror was launched against them, to win their freedom. De Gaulle recognized this. The war had been extremely long -- seven and a half years I believe -- a very bloody one. I understand that one and a half million Algerians lost their lives. And they were going to struggle to the very end. De Gaulle decided to stabilize the situation and save what he could from the point of view of French capitalism. There are extremely important and valuable oil fields discovered in the desert areas. I would imagine he hoped, with stabilization, that maybe certain French financial interests could be maintained in Algeria.

Wilson: Are they being maintained?

Dowson: No. We have a rather interesting phenomenon. Somewhat similar to Cuba. Castro started off as a humanist, as a revolutionary in the sense that he was a man of the deed, who wanted to eliminate Batista, but he ended up as a socialist. You might say that Ben Bella, up until a very short while ago, was a nationalist. He was not a socialist. But under the pressure of events and developments -- the masses moved out on those land areas themselves and broke up the period of stalemate -- Ben Bella has moved to the left. He has identified the course of the Algerian

Revolution with socialism.

Yugoslavia in Forefront

Wilson: What part, if any, is the Soviet Union playing or attempting to play, in Algeria at the present time? Obviously they're playing a big part in Cuba.

Dowson: They're playing no role as far as I am aware in the Algerian struggle at this time. The biggest aid that's gone to Algeria and the aid that's been most warmly appreciated by the Algerians whom I met has come from Yugoslavia. Generally the Soviet Union has not made any extensive trade pacts, although, I might say, there were two Soviet trade-union representatives at the conference. They were observers. I understand that after the conference they promised the Ben Bella government a certain amount of aid. They promised to send some students to Algeria to participate in work projects. There was a big reconstruction campaign being launched at that time among the student movement and they apparently had promised they would send a considerable number of students to participate in this.

Wilson: Now getting down to the basis of all this. Your activities in Algeria were based on your belief and the belief of those present that the day of capitalism is doomed. There are a lot of people in this country and the United States, and I include myself amongst that number, who would be inclined to disagree with you very much, if that is your view. Do you feel that there can be no hope for the economy of, we'll say, North America -- Canada and the U.S. -- under the system which has created such a tremendous standard of living? I know it has its faults. I know we have situations existing in the States and Canada -- unemployment, slum conditions, and all these things -- which the majority of us don't favor at all in any shape or form. These, in our opinion, can be cleaned up. You, I take it, are thoroughly convinced that the situation will never be righted until capitalism is destroyed? Is that your viewpoint?

Dowson: I would suppose that all of us would like to see the system work. Nobody is born a socialist. I certainly wasn't. I don't believe that this system has any perspective for the great masses of the population. For instance I myself am convinced that America is going to go socialist. The American people, and the Canadian people, too, are going to come to this realization -- the necessity for it. In Canada, of course, we have extensive unemployment. I think it is clear that it is chronic unemployment, it is developing unemployment. I think we are also all aware of the great danger of nuclear war. And so I believe, I am quite convinced myself, that the Canadian people are going to come to the conviction that there is no way out but to bring socialism to this country.

Is Algeria in a "Mess"?

Question (taken over the telephone): About three weeks ago on CBC TV there were some reels shown with comments on Algeria. As was shown right there the country is in a mess. [Mr. Wilson asked Dowson if this was his impression.]

Dowson: Oh yes! This is true. As a matter of fact that was the reason for the conference. The conference was an attempt to help the Algerian people to come to grips with this tremendous problem that now confronts them -- the problem of reconstruction. You see, the Algerian people themselves were deprived of any real participation in the advanced sectors of the economy. They were pushed into the back areas. Even in the Mitidja valley they were merely farm laborers. With the continuation of the civil war, and a situation where the French saw they couldn't stabilize things on the old terms, over 800,000 French deserted the country. They were the skilled, the technicians, and the semiskilled. So now Algeria has a problem of filling in this tremendous gap, and of getting the economy rolling again.

I must say there is, of course, chaos and a "mess" as you say, but I must say they are really coming to grips with it in a most serious way. They are opening up many idle factories. I went to some of these factories. I saw these factories in operation. People who had never received any responsibilities of a technical character -- administrative character -- for the first time are doing this.

Wilson: There is a great need then for technical help of all kinds there?

Dowson: That is what the conference was attempting to organize. I understand very shortly in the city of Montreal, a committee will be launched which will attempt to recruit persons who would like to go to Algeria to help to participate in the great reconstruction of the economy there.

Ban of Communist Party

Question (taken over the telephone): Mr. Dowson has described Algeria as a socialist and a revolutionary country. He has told us how democratic he thinks the workers' control of the factories is. How come, if it is such a democratic country, and so revolutionary, the government bans the Communist party?

Dowson: Yes, the Communist party is banned. But I must say that the act of banning the Communist party hasn't any relation whatsoever to anti-Communism as we know it on this continent, which tends to lead to the suppression of all minority opinion, to witch-hunts and RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] investigations. You see the Communist party has been banned on the basis, according to the spokesmen of the government, that they want a one-party government. And they have picked up some of the arguments that Communist parties themselves have put forward to justify the banning of other parties in the Soviet areas. I think mistakenly -- quite mistakenly. But the Communist party is not suppressed. As a matter of fact, I saw Henri Alleg who was the editor of the Communist party press for many years in Algeria, and he is now editing a newspaper called Alger Républicain. This paper is openly circulated. It's really an attempt on the part of the FLN [Front de Libération Nationale], mistakenly in my opinion, to set up one party and to compel all persons who support the general progress of the revolution to go into this one party.

Question (taken over the telephone): [This question was an extensive one along the following lines: Socialism is government control. People are not going to be free under socialism. Everything is going to be controlled by the government and we have too much government control now. Freedom of ideas, freedom of speech is going to be lost. It will destroy our initiative and we will lose out on TV sets, cars, etc. Socialism wants everybody to be the same and under such a regime we will never know self esteem.]

Workers Gain Control

Dowson: This is a big question. I would like to assure our listeners that socialists have answered these questions many times or they would never have been able to sustain their viewpoint at all. They are somewhat classic questions against socialist views in support of capitalism. You call it private enterprise which is really just a fig leaf to cover the naked form of capitalism. You have identified freedom with private enterprise. Well, you ask a small grocery store owner who has an "A & P" or "Stop and Shop" marketaria around the corner how much freedom he has, how much enterprise he is allowed to develop under the pressure of such monopolies.

As for the ordinary working man -- the only real freedom he has is to find an employer who will hire him. And many thousands of workers in Canada today haven't even this freedom -- which of course is a basic freedom -- because without a job you can't sustain your family. You certainly can't have a TV set you talked about. You can't have a car.

But I would prefer to answer parts of this question on the basis of my experiences in Algeria. There they have instituted socialist forms in an important sector of Algeria. For instance, in a biscuit factory that I went to. This biscuit factory was operated before under "private enterprise." It was owned by a wealthy French colon who left the factory -- deserted it -- left it inoperative for quite a period.

The workers themselves moved in. Under the socialist concept the workers themselves, who heretofore had worked in this factory, moved in and set it into operation.

I spoke to a woman who was in the management committee and through a translator I learned that under the previous owner -- under free enterprise -- the ordinary workers had only been allowed to work, had only been allowed to have two or three days work a week. Now they are working a forty-hour work week in this factory. Now the workers are able to have sufficient funds in order to meet their basic needs.

I sensed a great freedom in this factory. But they themselves told me about the situation. They are running the factory. They are deciding matters -- conditions of work, production pace. They haven't lost their TV sets. They haven't lost freedom of expression. As a matter of fact persons who never before had an opportunity to express a single thought in their life before, who came to work, who punched a clock, who did what they were told to do under conditions that were laid down to them -- and went home again to bed and came back again are now interceding in the whole process. They are determining the conditions. They talk very freely --

let me tell you that. They have a management conference at any time any group of workers want to hold one. And they discuss detailed problems of this whole shop -- the conditions in the shop, the wage rates -- every matter.

They are training one another. When I was at this factory, I was met by a man who was a technician. He was a skilled baker who had a knowledge of plant co-ordination. This man was in charge of five plants. He had been appointed by the government but he had been accepted by the workers councils in these five plants. He was operating on the basis of spending a month in each plant in very close collaboration with one of the workers who had been appointed the director of that plant. He was explaining to this person the entire operation. By this method, they were training cadres to extend the participation of the workers in the industry. This to me is the most meaningful type of democracy that one could possibly visualize.

Wilson: Now you mention that you felt a sense of freedom, that these people could express themselves whenever they felt like it. How about any attempt on their part to criticize the government? Have they complete freedom of political expression?

Case of Boudiaf

Dowson: Yes. My impression is that there is certainly more political freedom in Algeria than I would say we have even in Canada. In Canada we have just had a very unfortunate experience, rather a revelation -- it's fortunate when we know the truth -- a revelation of extensive investigations by the RCMP into the private life of individuals, persecution, their harassment from employment that persons have sought.

In Algeria I wouldn't attempt to suggest to you that there's no restrictions of any kind. There are many problems in Algeria. As a matter of fact since I left Algeria there were reports in the press that Boudiaf, who was one of the leaders of the FLN, has been put under house arrest by Ben Bella. Ben Bella announced this to the Constituent Assembly. What the meaning of this is I am not yet sure. The press have been very skimpy on it, and some of them have tried to play it up as a most ominous action. In my opinion, if Boudiaf is guilty of plotting against the state, then it's the responsibility of Ben Bella to bring him to the public bar to present the charges. This is an instance which is getting some play in the press.

But generally I would say, from what I saw, there is considerable freedom of expression. When I was down in one of the cafes in Algiers I met persons who spoke both French and English well and they told me that one can meet there all kinds of tendencies, persons of widely varied viewpoints, expressing their views quite openly.

Question (taken over the telephone): What is the place of the church in this proposed socialistic state?

Dowson: I must say it was rather an interesting experience when I was in Algeria. I'm very much interested in telling you some of my experience.

In Algeria the Moslem religion prevails. As a matter of fact when I went into Algiers I saw some of the big mosques. They had been returned to Muslims, to the people of Algeria.

In fact the state has brought into play much of the code of the Muslims -- the Muslim creed. Gambling is forbidden by the Muslim religion. Drinking of alcoholic beverages is forbidden. And so is it in the Algerian state.

But I would make a statement of the attitude in general of socialists, and the tendency which I represent, toward religion. I would say that socialists, Marxists, believe that religion is a personal matter. They are very much opposed to any form of religious persecution, of any tendency, any religious belief, in any form whatsoever. They do, however, believe that the church should not be a vested interest in society, shouldn't be a property owner; so, therefore, they are firmly on the side of freedom of religion.

Khrushchev and Trotskyism

Question (taken over the telephone): I think the signing of this nuclear test-ban agreement is a great step forward in the prevention of nuclear war. Mr. Dowson might comment on that. I agree with Mr. Khrushchev on this peaceful coexistence business. I wondered if Trotskyism had any role to play in the dispute between China and the Soviet Union. I'd like to ask your guest if he is a Trotskyist?

Wilson: The third part of your question Mr. Dowson already answered at the start of the broadcast when he indicated, that is, what he might be called. Is there such a thing as a Trotskyite party?

Dowson: In many countries of the world there are Trotskyist parties. There is an international called the Fourth International to which many groups and parties calling themselves Trotskyist adhere.

Wilson: Getting back to the first part of the question. She mentioned the initialing of this test ban. Do you think Khrushchev is sincere in signing this agreement or do you think that he's been forced into the situation because of the growing attitude of hostility to his regime by the Chinese Communists? Do you think there is any Trotskyist influence? Do you think there is any Trotskyite influence in Russia today that you know of? Has that been exterminated or is there influence there?

Dowson: I think that Khrushchev was not forced into this agreement at all. Khrushchev's always been for it. There's no doubt in my mind that the Soviet government under the Khrushchev leadership is for a **test ban**. They are for nuclear disarmament. I believe the record shows this indisputably. In my opinion the responsibility for the situation the world has been faced with over the last period -- the intensive cold war -- lies at the foot of Wall Street and the American State Department. I'm certainly glad that this treaty is going to be signed and I'm now looking forward to the Canadian people mobilizing massive support behind the demand that nuclear arms be withdrawn from Canadian soil. That's the next move that we want to see carried out in this direction.

On the Sino-Soviet dispute and on the question of Trotskyism in the Soviet Union: I would say that the situation inside the Soviet Union shows that Trotskyism is on a great wave of development in the Soviet Union. That's what this is about. The big pressure that's developing on the Khrushchev leadership could be called, in general, Trotskyist -- in the sense that it's not for the restoration of capitalism -- not at all -- it's for the strengthening of the economic situation in Soviet society and for the development of working-class democracy. That's the big direction of the forces in Soviet society today. So Trotskyism is an extending force.

Now one other point that you have raised on the Sino-Soviet dispute. I might add with regard to the positions put forward by the Chinese -- they're not for nuclear war either. Nothing that they did or said pressed Khrushchev into this signing. The Chinese don't want a nuclear war. To say they do is a distortion of their position -- a malicious distortion of their position.

Moscow's Charge

Wilson: I think there are some statements very definitely made by leading Chinese Communists and made to the Soviet Union, if the reports we are getting are at all correct. Khrushchev is quoted as having charged this. He has produced a letter which was widely distributed and shown to newsmen to the effect that the Chinese Communists apparently believe -- it's a very cruel sort of belief -- that a nuclear war could only result in the complete destruction of the capitalist state. It would leave enough Chinese and, presumably, Russians alive to create a new Communist state on the ashes of the old world.

Dowson: That's quite a different thing from saying you want a nuclear war. I would say that is an erroneous position. This is a view that's been expressed by the Chinese. I've seen it in Peking Review and I would say that this is a false position that they have put forward. It underestimates the tragedy that would come with a nuclear war. And, of course, it's absurd to say that a nuclear war will destroy one sector of the world and not another. So this position is a weak one -- a poor formulation. But you see it's quite different from saying they want a nuclear war.

The dispute here is a question of whether we should support the unfolding colonial revolution. This is one of the big issues of dispute between the Soviet government and the Chinese government. The Communist party of China says that we have to identify ourselves with the developing colonial world -- we have to give aid to it. Khrushchev has tried to put the damper on it, suggesting that if the colonial revolution moves forward the American imperialists will nuclear-bomb it. He's being charged with being a nuclear blackmailer.

Well, the Chinese correctly point out that nobody's going to be able to stop the colonial revolution. It's not controlled by China or by the Soviet Union. It comes from forces that are at work in the colonial world.

The Chinese have some positions which are poorly thought out, which are somewhat euphoric, you might say. But I'd say their position on the question of the path to power in the capitalist world, their position on

the cause of war, on the nature of imperialism is substantially close to orthodox Marxism. There's many parallels to the Trotskyist viewpoint in the Chinese position.

Question (taken over the telephone): [This question was a long and involved one, suggesting among other things that socialism aims to impose government ownership of everything.]

Dowson: We are not interested in strengthening some anonymous and removed government. In Algeria, what the government did in Algeria with regards to the three million acres, it didn't say, "We own it and we are telling you what to do." They said, "We have okayed" -- we have approved the fact that you peasants of Algeria, you workers of Algeria, are now moving in on this property and that you are now operating it. We agree."

You see, nobody owns this property. Neither the persons who work on it nor the government. It is owned by all, collectively. And that is the objective of socialism.

TWO PAMPHLETS TO SEND FOR

From Toronto we have received two attractive pamphlets which have just been published by The Workers Vanguard.

The one is "The Communist Manifesto Today," the introduction written by Leon Trotsky in 1937 to the famous document that is often considered to mark the birth of the Marxist movement. The 14-page pamphlet sells for \$.15 [Canadian].

The other is "The Moscow-Peking Dispute and the Fourth International." It contains the text of Izvestia's September 13 attack on Trotskyism, the answer by Pierre Frank, and the article by Ernest Germain "Forward to Lenin -- Not Back to Stalin in the Fight Against Khrushchev." This is Germain's analysis of the article praising Stalin which appeared in the September 20 issue of Peking Review. The price of the 34-page pamphlet is \$.25 [Canadian].

The material in the latter pamphlet appeared first in World Outlook. We are pleased to note that the socialist vanguard in Canada thought highly enough of it to reprint it.

For copies of these two beautifully mimeographed pamphlets write The Workers Vanguard, 81 Queen St. W., Toronto 1, Ont., Canada.

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