

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 11

March 13, 1964

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

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translation of the full text:

* * *

The discipline and organization of the peasant masses of the Sicuani region are described in Correo by Carlos Martelli, a journalist who was in the area some days before the tragic events in which 17 peasants lost their lives and more than 30 were wounded.

Martelli reports that the "comuneros" [communalists] who raised the slogans of "land or death" and "we will win," were backed by the peasant masses.

The special correspondent sent by Correo to Sicuani says that "in the flats at Onoccora I was filled with admiration at the perfect military drills." "Encircling marches, formations in circles, semi-circles, rectangles, were executed rapidly, efficiently by both men and women."

He then says that "when the assault guards moved their forces up, the peasants remained unafraid, almost indifferent, and stayed at their posts. They did not become intimidated as have some peasants in other places in face of the threat of gunfire."

Martelli observes that they "remained for whole nights under a torrential rain, sustained by their decision to keep their land."

In another part of his account, the reporter stresses that in response to signals given by whistles and horns, "the women and the men marched apart, guided by their respective leaders."

Martelli says that he saw no arms among the peasants dislodged from their land but he did see arms among the landlords organized in the Asociación de Defensa Agropecuaria headed by the landlord Meza who recently launched a violent campaign against the authorities and comuneros of Sicuani when they backed the right of the peasants to stay on the haciendas inherited from their forefathers.

In addition to this, the daily Expreso tells how the landlords opened fire on the 8,000 peasants of Sicuani.

Expreso declares that "some of the 17 dead suffered wounds from .22 caliber dum-dum bullets, which are not utilized by the police," and he noted that among the victims was a one-year-old infant, Rafael Apuma Colquehaanca.

After the slaughter, the authorities suspended constitutional guarantees for 30 days in order to arrest peasant, trade-union and student leaders in the zone.

Among those arrested was Luchi Blanco, sister of the guerrilla leader Hugo Blanco, who was captured some months ago by the Peruvian army.

Meanwhile, headquarters of the Federation of Peasants and Workers of Cuzco as well as the headquarters of other organizations of the people remain occupied by the police.

Among the hundreds arrested, 18 were sent to the grim Sepa prison in the Loreto Department in the Amazon jungle. Among them, besides Luchi Blanco, were Florentino Lazarele, secretary general of the federation of Cuzco; Alejandro Vila, chairman of the University Federation of the department; Hugo Miranda, secretary of the Farmers Union; the lawyer Lazarte; Victor Angles; Marcos Arriola, Agustín Mamani Quispe; Herbert Vidal Castillo; Vladimiro Valer; Fausto Cortijo and Urbano López.

AN ASSIST FOR BIG BUSINESS IN ITALY

ROME --- At its February 22 meeting, the Council of Ministers decided on several immediate measures to combat current economic difficulties, including inflation.

The price of gasoline was increased 15% and the registration fee for new automobiles was boosted on a scale progressing from 7% to 15%.

New regulations were announced on installment buying (limitation to 12 installments, down payment of 30%, etc.) Provisions were made to lower the prices of meat, butter and other essential commodities (through imports and controlled sales).

By amending tax legislation, the registration of stockholders' shares was practically ended, thus legalizing tax evasion. The money thus freed will go into the financial structure of state industry and at the same time capital will be freed for private industry through credit channels.

The center-left government is seeking by these means to (1) stabilize the stock market (abolition of registration), and (2) ease credit for the big private monopolies already favored by the policies of the Bank of Italy.

Without doubt these measures, particularly the strictures on installment buying, will initiate a crisis among some sectors of small or medium industry (for example, household electric goods, television, etc.) already hard hit by the tightening of credit. Unemployment will increase as a result.

Thus conditions will be created for a policy of pressure against wages ("revenue policy"), something that is being demanded with increasing insistence by the bourgeoisie and their economists.

The Communist party [CPI] has strongly protested these measures,

yet remained content to renew its proposal for structural reforms, without posing imperatively the need to oust the government.

The Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity [PSIUP] has also come out against the measures, finding them to be fresh justification for its split from Nenni's Italian Socialist party [PSI].

Even within the PSI, the government measures have been strongly criticized. It is no secret that the Socialist Minister of the Budget, A. Giolitti, is personally very doubtful about the efficacy of the measures, and the editor of Avanti, R. Lombardi, wrote that the compromise over the registration of stocks will prove to be not the last of its kind. One more like it and the Socialists will be forced to leave the government.

In fact Nenni and his party find themselves in an unfavorable situation and it is now being said everywhere that it will not be long until a government of the right comes in with a policy of austerity and a wage freeze.

At present any move in this direction would meet with a hostile reaction from the unions, above all the CGIL [General Confederation of Italian Labor, the main trade-union organization in Italy dominated by the PCI, PSI and PSIUP].

JOHNSON CALCULATES THE RISKS

By Joseph Hansen

Should Johnson extend the undeclared war now being waged by the United States in South Vietnam into another undeclared war with North Vietnam? The question is being debated among the circles who head the Pentagon, the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department and the Democratic party.

The insane logic of this discussion is even affecting such ordinarily staid journalists as C. L. Sulzberger, the New York Times specialist on foreign affairs. Recalling with approval the "showdown" over Cuba in 1962, Sulzberger declares: "The question is whether it has not become imperative for a similar showdown with China over South Vietnam." [New York Times February 26.]

Here is what he advocates: "It is time to proclaim our intention of standing by our commitments and to destroy foreign bases of insurrection. We should not contemplate invading North Vietnam or east Laos but we should deliberately pulverize both bases and communications, thus moving the counter-guerrilla war into the third dimension."

That "third dimension" may escalate into the "fourth dimension"

of war with China which in turn would bring in the Soviet Union and the exchange of nuclear weapons that would leave this planet a smoking ruin. The possibility is frankly acknowledged by top Washington circles.

Yet Johnson surely will not want to endanger his election plans by plunging the United States deeper into a war adventure at this time. Surely the risk is much too great that a swift popular reaction will sweep the United States as it did during the Korean War, when the Democrats lost the White House in face of General Eisenhower's campaign promise to end the conflict.

Johnson no doubt hesitates about taking such a gamble. Most likely he calculates that it is sufficient to make a show of "firmness" by threatening talk and menacing moves.

But a far bigger question looms over his election problem. The military morass in which the United States finds itself in South Vietnam is a consequence of its whole bankrupt policy in the Western Pacific since the end of World War II which has hinged on backing the Chiang Kai-sheks and opposing the colonial revolution. The mightiest imperialist power the world has ever seen now faces another defeat, this time at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese who have had to tear most of their arms from the foe seeking to keep them enslaved.

Can Johnson permit the United States to suffer this "indignity"? Can Wall Street afford to "lose" South Vietnam after "losing" Cuba, and North Vietnam and China, not to mention Eastern Europe?

The issue, as U.S. imperialism sees it, is growing sharper and sharper. "If we let the Communists train and equip guerrillas in safe havens and then march them in," says Sulzberger in his graphic way, "we are doomed to be first nibbled, then gnawed to death."

Can this situation be reversed by extending the war? The dilemma that faces Johnson is whether to risk a probable election victory next November by undertaking a monstrous gamble in Wall Street's mad effort to avoid a military defeat that can hasten the doom of the entire system it represents.

The Chinese government issued a stern warning through a front-page editorial in the People's Daily [March 4] that Johnson was engaging in an "extremely dangerous game." This was a direct reply to a belligerent statement made by Johnson in Los Angeles February 22.

The Soviet government also timed a sharp statement directed at the West German government March 7 to coincide with the crisis over South Vietnam.

These warnings may cause Johnson to hesitate long before plunging the American people deeper into the hopeless adventure in South Vietnam.

ALEXANDER DEFENSE ANSWERS SOUTH AFRICAN SLANDERERS

The Cape Town witch-hunt trial against one of South Africa's foremost colored intellectual figures, Dr. Neville Alexander, and ten other defendants, is slowly grinding on, the verdict being expected before the end of March.

A new element in the case is the South African government's indications of concern over the widening defense movement in West Germany where Dr. Alexander is known as a brilliant student at Tübingen University from 1958 to 1961. Students, intellectuals and trade unionists have been collecting money for the defense and publicizing the case on a wide scale.

One of the high points in this campaign was the mailing of an open letter to United Nations Secretary General U. Thant signed by more than 1,000 prominent West German figures. Some 35,000 Deutschmarks [\$8,750] were collected to help the defendants meet legal costs.

The South African authorities have responded with a venomous attack in West Germany as well as in South Africa.

This move bears witness to the effectiveness of the defense campaign in behalf of Dr. Alexander in West Germany and to the impact this is having upon wide layers of the South African population.

Dr. Alexander at the moment is being held at the forced labor prison on Robbin Island near Cape Town although sentence has not yet been pronounced. He was placed there to increase difficulties for the defense since his lawyer has to make time-consuming trips there between court sessions.

Despite the difficulties of his situation, Dr. Alexander has not let the new move against his case pass by without responding. He has lodged a slander suit for 30,000 Rands [about \$42,800] against Afrika Post, a South African monthly, which proclaims that it is dedicated to fostering better relations between South Africa and Germany.

According to the February 12 Cape Times, Dr. Alexander's attorneys, Ress, Richmann & Co., said that the claim for damages had been brought because of an article in the February issue of the magazine alleging that Dr. Alexander engaged in or advocated terrorist activities when he was a student at Tübingen.

Through such allegations, the stooges of the Verwoerd government hope to weaken the defense movement in West Germany by frightening away liberal and religious student organizations which, while ready to fight against racial discrimination and segregation, might not want to help a defendant charged with "terrorist activities."

The German-African Student Association, an organization of German and South African students in South Africa which is under the influence of the pro-Nazi Broederbond, the secret group behind the Verwoerd

government, sent a letter to the Verband Deutscher Studentenschaften [Confederation of German Student Organizations], to which all West German student associations belong, protesting the campaign in favor of Dr. Alexander.

The letter said that it wanted to "inform" the West German students that Dr. Alexander is a dangerous "Communist" and "terrorist," who faces the death penalty not because of opposition to segregation but because of "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force; sabotage; guerrilla warfare; conspiracy to commit murder; conspiracy to commit robbery" and other heinous crimes.

An extreme right-wing nationalist West German student association's paper called Deutscher Studenten Anzeiger has even put out a special issue to "denounce" the "agitators" who have "organized the campaign in favor of Dr. Alexander."

The Cape Town correspondent of that paper, one Dr. Peter Kleist was granted a long interview with Vorster, the South African minister of justice, who showed him important "proofs" of Dr. Alexander's "criminal activities."

According to Vorster -- whose opinion the right-wing paper swallows hook, line and sinker, of course -- Dr. Alexander is "potentially a mass murderer." Here is Vorster's "proof" for the assertion: Communism signifies preaching class struggle. Class struggle signifies the "physical destruction of whole layers of human beings." Since in Vorster's view, Dr. Alexander is a "Communist," he is ipso facto a "potential mass murderer"!

This quotation from the Deutscher Studenten Anzeiger indicates what kind of thinking guides the administration of justice today in South Africa.

In case it seems unbelievable that South Africa's minister of justice could have really made such declarations, his background should be borne in mind. In 1942 he was interned by the British authorities as a pro-Nazi. As leader of the extreme right-wing organization Ossewa Brandwag, Vorster never hid his sympathy for Hitler. He even attacked Verwoerd's nationalist party for many years for taking "too mild" an attitude toward the "Kaffirs." Only such a fascist-minded obscurantist could identify the class struggle -- a historical phenomenon described by conservative French and British historians many decades before Karl Marx -- with "mass murder."

In fact, the real nature of South African justice is apparent in the case brought against Dr. Neville Alexander. He is on trial for his life not because of the actual commission of any of the crimes he is charged with. He is actually being tried for allegedly distributing pamphlets and newspapers, and for organizing meetings of -- a students' scholarship and loan fund! That and the possession of such "monstrous" books as Karl Marx's Capital.

The scurrilous campaign waged by the partisans of South Africa's apartheid system against defense efforts for Dr. Alexander in West Germany have not met with the success its instigators hoped for. The West German student groups have remained faithful to their humanitarian vision and have reaffirmed their solidarity with Dr. Neville Alexander.

The Tübingen General Students Committee (representing all students at the university) started proceedings against the Deutscher Studenten Anzeiger for slander. On top of the friendly interview with Vorster, the right-wing paper accused the students of collecting money for the Dr. Alexander case under false pretenses!

At Marburg University, the student paper Sine Sine printed a slashing and most convincing answer to the Vorster interview, demonstrating from the very facts admitted by Vorster, that Dr. Alexander is innocent of any crime under all the normal democratic practices of any civilized country.

The Horrenvolk "counterattack" in West Germany thus proved to be something of a boomerang. The result of their activity was that still wider circles of students rallied to the defense of the South African colored and black fighters for freedom against the barbaric system of race segregation and oppression in which their people are held under the fascist-like rulers of their unfortunate country.

BOLIVIAN VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE RESIGNS

The deepening political crisis in Bolivia took another sharp turn March 3 when Senator Federico Fortun Sanjines, who was nominated by the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario] at a recent congress to run as vice-presidential candidate in the coming election along with Paz Estenssoro, suddenly resigned because of "differences of opinion" in the party.

The congress was the scene of violent conflict between various factions of the MNR. [See World Outlook March 6.] Fortun was the candidate of the most numerous group, the state and party apparatus. They won the day over the army forces who sponsored René Barrientos Ortuño, commander in chief of the Bolivian air force.

It took the MNR leadership four days to fill the sudden vacancy. On March 7 the National Political Committee of the MNR announced that it had selected Barrientos to replace Fortun. The general had previously been denounced by the Minister of Labor as "the candidate of the Pentagon."

Juan Lechín, who was vice-president under Paz, but who was expelled from the MNR at its January congress, has been chosen by a new leftist party backed by the miners to run for the presidency in opposition to Paz Estenssoro.

Second Strike Since 1861?

POSTMEN MAY PLACE "STOP DELIVERY" ORDER ON BRITAIN'S MAIL

LONDON, Feb. 26 -- In this pre-election period, one might think the Tory government's policy towards the organised labour movement would be one of appeasement and compromise.

Not so! Postmaster-General Bevin, with the full support of the Cabinet, and in line with the government's policy of restricting wage increases to no more than four per cent, has served an ultimatum to Britain's 120,000 post office workers, "Not a penny more than four per cent this year and three and a half per cent for each of the next two." Bevin is trying to blackmail the workers with the threat that all pension rights will be lost if the union takes any industrial action.

The Union of Post Office Workers [UPW], traditionally one of the more conservative and weaker unions has responded in a most remarkable way. Yesterday, General Secretary Ron Smith received a standing ovation from 1,066 delegates, representing postmen, girl telephonists, counter clerks and cleaners, when he finished his address with the fighting words, "I said earlier there might be an element of bluff in these negotiations [referring to recent negotiations with the Postmaster-General]. Today I want to say that there is no element of bluff on the part of our people now. We are not going to be beaten by being poor and not having enormous strike funds. You do not need them when there are injustices to be righted. We can tackle the job if we have to do it and I believe we can call on our other trade-union colleagues for help if need be."

We shall pursue our current wage claim, he continued, "by all means including the withdrawal of labour. . . . we have made what is the most momentous decision in the history of the union."

As "Servants of the Crown" having "national responsibilities," and negotiating direct with the government in power, wages and wage increases of the post office workers have always lagged far behind industrial workers in wages. Many are forced to work excessive overtime in order to take home a living wage. The Times of February 23 cites one 30-year-old postman who normally works from 2 p.m. until 3:45 the next morning -- an average of 6 hours and 15 minutes overtime daily. Postmen have to work up to 18 hours a week compulsory overtime if required. If suspended, they cannot get unemployment benefits, nor can they claim national assistance.

In Fighting Mood

The rank and file are in a fighting mood. At a special wage conference, by a card vote of 8,584 to 96, delegates turned down an amendment proposing acceptance of the government's wage offer. A further amendment seeking to prevent a withdrawal of labour went down to

defeat by 9,024 to 84 votes. The big London and Glasgow branches see no alternative solution but to take strike action.

Under the union constitution, the executive has sole authority to determine the nature and course of any strike engaged in. Now that such action is posed in a meaningful way, this clause is meeting opposition. More than 35 amendments, many of them seeking to name the date for action, were ruled out of order.

To date, the pay increase to be demanded has not been specified by the UPW. The executive has been given authority to take whatever action deemed necessary to bring about a "substantial" increase.

Whether Ron Smith and the rest of his 29-man executive can deliver the goods remains to be seen.

Under pressure from workers on the one side and government officials on the other, Smith has been expressing both points of view. Whilst making militant statements about his union being the first victims of the 1964 Tory wage-freeze policy, he also speaks against "any 'needless' militancy," and hopes that Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home will save the day by conducting an inquiry into the post office pay structure.

Home will probably stall for time by pressing for the dispute to go to arbitration or try and get negotiations between the UPW and Bevins renewed.

Harold Wilson, leader of the British Labour party and almost certainly the next Prime Minister, has remained virtually silent on the subject.

Even if the UPW stage a "work-to-rule" tactic [applying the rules book to the letter] as they did in 1962, it would immediately create much confusion. Many businesses would suffer. Within hours, post offices and sorting depots would overflow with undelivered parcels and letters -- that is if they ever got there.

The last time postal workers went on strike was in 1861. Even the present talk of strike action reflects the changing mood of not only the traditionally passive government employees but of the vast majority of the British working class.

IRAQ GOVERNMENT TO RELEASE POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Iraq government announced March 1 that it will release 450 political prisoners who have been held since hostilities were resumed last year against the Kurdish people. The announcement, which provides for the immediate freeing of the prisoners, follows a ceasefire order and the resumption of negotiations with General Barzani for a settlement with the Kurdish nationalists.

ALGERIAN MILITANTS LOOK FORWARD TO MARCH 28 CONGRESS

By Henri Dumoulin

ALGIERS, Feb. 25 -- The self-managed socialist sector constitutes the backbone of the Algerian Revolution.

Alongside the self-managed agricultural enterprises which constitute the main sector [see World Outlook February 21], an industrial sector is developing. About twelve per cent of the industrial workers are employed in it -- some 10,000 in approximately 450 enterprises. They are now getting ready for their first congress, scheduled for March 28. This is to be preceded by general assemblies in each enterprise, and, on March 15 by four precongresses in the big Algerian centers: Algiers, Oran, Constantine, Annaba.

Spearhead of the Revolution, the self-managed sector is also a school for cadres and revolutionary militants. To all revolutionists it is of special interest because of the democratic aspect it gives the Algerian Revolution.

With this in mind, I interviewed several militants to get their impressions as preparations proceed for the Congress. The remarks I jotted down only deal, naturally, with partial aspects of the problems and contradictions facing the Congress.

* * *

Q. -- How is your enterprise organized?

A. -- Our people's enterprise consists of several construction-material yards and shops -- a rock quarry, facing and paving stones, lumber, etc. Altogether there are about sixty of us working at it. The European owners left a little while after independence was won. The enterprises were reopened thanks to the initiative of the city administration.

At the end of '63, a management committee of six members and a chairman was elected by an assembly of all the workers. The UGTA [union federation] was present and took part in the assembly. Besides the committee, there is a director who was designated by the city administration and is responsible to it.

Q. -- Have you begun to prepare for the Congress?

A. -- Yes. One of those in charge came here. He told us about the agricultural Self-Management Congress which took place in October '63. This strengthened that sector and led to improvements in functioning for self-management from the point of view of democratic organization, efficiency in production, the real power granted to the management committees, etc. What was possible for the agricultural sector must likewise be possible in the industrial sector. I hope that the Congress will be able to strengthen the socialist industrial sector.

In our enterprise, for example, we are having some difficulties. Mainly, for the past couple of weeks, we haven't had enough orders. But there are shops and yards that are under the administration, particularly on the communal level. Public organisms must not hand out orders to private business; because what is the administration? It's the state, the government, so we should be able to tighten things up in the socialist sector. That's not always the case today; but in the course of things the congress should be able to improve this side of the situation.

* * *

I interviewed a member of a management committee in a shop of some twenty workers making food products. I asked him about their problems.

A. -- One of our present problems is to find new markets through export channels for the summer. Our orders tend to diminish in the summer.

Q. -- Do you see any relation between this problem and the next congress?

A. -- Certainly. We're going to talk about it at the Congress. It will be taken account of. Others will speak about it. This will all help.

Q. -- But this won't be enough to open up economic markets?

A. -- Maybe it will help to loosen certain brakes, to bring some force to bear, the necessary pressure to open certain doors; get a hearing from certain elements in the government, the administration (He said the latter with a certain amount of irritation.)

* * *

Since this interview, the Preparatory Commission of the Congress held a press conference at which it was emphasized that specific commercial problems will be taken up at a national conference on trade during April. This will not prevent the problems raised by these two workers from being posed earlier at the March 15 and March 28 gatherings.

These contradictions between the socialist sector and certain structures of the administration, were already stressed at the Congress held by the agricultural sector: "The French administrative tradition, and particularly the French methods of government in Algeria have left their mark in mental attitudes and habits."

In fact it is not only at the communal administrative level that brakes still exist, a bureaucratic style of work, ill-will, even willful sabotage with regard to the socialist sector. It was not without reason that the special February 20 issue of the UGTA newspaper

Révolucion et Travail [Revolution and Labor] underlined the danger arising from the bureaucratic spirit and the infiltration of counter-revolutionary elements in the administrations.

The Self-Management Congress can contribute in fighting the after-effects of colonialism. As against the old structures, it represents an affirmation of the new structures, the management committees, which, despite their imperfections, constitute the first genuinely democratic, organized representative bodies of the producers.

The Self-management Congress can be a big step toward the formation of a united front in the socialist sector. Both as an economic motor for the development of socialism and as a political base for the defense of the socialist acquisitions, this front can be a double rampart for the Revolution.

CP WINGS MOVE TO LEFT IN LATIN AMERICA

SANTIAGO, Chile -- The Communist parties in Latin America continue to manifest further differentiations as a result of the Sino-Soviet conflict. At the end of January, a split occurred in the Peruvian Communist party. The pro-Chinese majority defeated the old revisionist leader Jorge del Prado and general secretary Raúl Acosta.

Saturnino Paredes, secretary of the new Communist organization declared that a "hard" line will be followed, with strong support for the Cuban Revolution. They have broken with Belaúnde, president of Peru, who was supported by the pro-Khrushchev wing.

The journal of the new Communist party is Bandera Roja [Red Flag].

The new split follows a similar one several years ago which led to the formation of a Marxist-Leninist group that is now working together with Trotskyists in the FIR [Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario].

In Argentina, various groups have split away from the Codovila leadership as a result of the Sino-Soviet conflict. One group is led by Juan Carlos Portantiero. Another in the province of Cordoba is headed by José Aricó. It publishes a magazine called Pasado y Presente [Past and Present]. Another small group, but one that has a most progressive revolutionary Communist line is functioning in Buenos Aires. It is called the "Recabarren" group.

The new Communist party of Brazil which broke from the old leadership headed by Luis Carlos Prestes in 1962 has grown to include thousands of members. It is now calling for the "formation of a united front of all the revolutionary forces."

The party has been campaigning in recent issues of its newspaper

for the release of Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian Trotskyist peasant leader imprisoned at Arequipa.

INDIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS RESHUFFLE FORCES*

Mr. Asoka Mehta's expulsion from the Praja Socialist party [PSP] marks yet another phase in the chequered, crisis-ridden history of "social democracy" in this country.

For almost a decade now, Mr. Mehta has been exploring "areas of co-operation" between him and the Congress leadership. He did not find much support from among his own party colleagues in this task.

Finally, when he was offered the Deputy Chairmanship of the Planning Commission last year, he accepted it.

"Incompatible"

Protesting against this, the National Executive of the PSP "requested" him to resign from the party, since his new post, in the words of the chairman of the PSP, Mr. S. M. Joshi, was "incompatible" with the role of the PSP as a "militant" socialist opposition to the Congress, "controlled by capitalists and vested interests."

But Mr. Mehta turned down the "request," expecting perhaps that the party would never take any action against him. Now that he has been expelled, his supporters have announced their decision to resign from the party en bloc.

Mr. Joshi, however, hopes to neutralise these "losses" by seeking unification with the Socialist party [SP], led by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, who split away from the parent body nine years ago.

Dr. Lohia's Advice

Dr. Lohia, on his part, has already advised his followers to join the PSP "unconditionally." His advice was endorsed by the National Executive of the SP at its recent Lucknow meeting without waiting to ascertain the views of members through a convention.

A decision on unification is now expected to be taken at the national conferences of the two parties.

The return of the prodigal to the party fold has its own significance, insofar as it lends a semblance of unity to forces of "social democracy" in India. The fundamental question is whether the united socialist party to be set up will act as a new pole of attraction to the entire left movement, now in the throes of an ideological and

*First published in Tide [February 22], a Bombay weekly.

organisational crisis.

Nine years ago, Dr. Lohia, then launching his new party, had held out the assurance that it would capture power in seven years.

"Seven-year Itch"

Fascinated by his "seven-year-itch," which was reinforced by his emotional speeches and fire-eating antics, many young people joined the SP only to be disillusioned sooner or later. Ostensibly to realise his objective, Dr. Lohia launched mass campaign after mass campaign -- in pursuit of what he called a technique of "permanent satyagraha" -- on every conceivable issue, not excluding that of abolishing English as an official language.

Dr. Lohia soon realised that his "permanent Satyagraha" was a poor substitute for a real socialist movement with a well-defined political and ideological perspective. When his isolated "struggles" failed to attract followers, he began to flirt with extreme right-wing parties like the Jan Sangh and Swatantra party in a vain bid to form a national front with the twin objective of defeating Communism and denigrating Prime Minister Nehru.

Futile Acrobatics

When he detected signs of a split in the CPI [Communist party of India], he thought he could draw the so-called "left" Communist into a militant opposition party to fight the Congress. Both the attempts misfired.

These acrobatics in the political arena have not brought the SP anywhere near power. Dr. Lohia is more bitter and more frustrated than ever before. He has realised that he has failed to make a real impact on the Indian people in spite of his radicalism. He is now anxious to send his followers back into the fold of the parent party, with which he never had any fundamental ideological differences. The PSP and the SP were two poles of "social democracy."

This raises an important question with regard to the role of "social democratic" parties in an underdeveloped country like India. In advanced countries of Europe, social democracy did play a role by offering "prudent" opposition to the ruling classes in a period of capitalist prosperity. The prospects of social democracy emerging as a serious challenge to the ruling class in India are limited.

When the Congress Socialist party [CSP] was formed in the thirties in opposition to the Gandhian leadership of the Congress, the CSP was described as a product of the "sectarian sins" of the Indian Communists. Had the Communists remained loyal to the Indian revolution, instead of acting as "faithful interpreters" of the Kremlin's foreign policy in the Stalin period, the left movement as a whole would perhaps have taken a different turn altogether in this country.

When the CSP came out of the Congress to form the SP in 1948, it gave promise of emerging as the main force of left opposition to the Congress. Its electoral debacle in 1952, however, dashed all such hopes to the ground.

"Anti-Communist" Shell

Soon the Socialists merged with the Praja party, a group of dissident Congressmen, to form the PSP in 1953. This was countered by the Lohia-ite split in 1954.

Historically speaking, the CPI as a "party of the proletariat" should have played the role of a consolidator of the Indian left, but its subservience to Moscow isolated it from the social democrats who withdrew more and more into a rigid anti-Communist shell.

In that sense, the entire left in India is facing a serious political crisis at the present moment. What is happening inside the PSP and the SP, and for that matter even inside the CPI, is a reflection of the wider political crisis outside, which has resulted in a new process of permutations and combinations among the numerous left groups.

The left as a whole lacks a correct political perspective at present; it has not been able to define its political tasks in relation to the Congress which despite being controlled by vested interests, claims to be building socialism. What is required is a realignment of left forces in the country on the basis of a clear-cut programme of action to bring about speedy socialist transformation of Indian society.

Common Endeavour

The PSP-SP merger, should it materialise ultimately, has only a symbolic value. The merger is no guarantee in itself against future splits, so characteristic of social democracy.

Genuine socialists, whether they are in the existing traditional left parties or outside, must come together to assume leadership of the classes they claim to represent in their common endeavour to bring about a "socialist revolution" in India.

ZANZIBAR TO NATIONALIZE LAND

Zanzibar's President Karume announced March 8 that all the land in the island is soon to be nationalized. No exemptions will be made for the grounds of clubs owned by foreigners. The announcement was made immediately following tea with British minister Duncan Sandys at the famous English Club. This Club, too, said Karume, was marked for nationalization.

RISING WEST GERMAN INFLUENCE IN AFRICA

By Ilizwe Lesizwe

A few weeks ago it was announced in Bonn that the budget of the West German War Ministry envisages for "economic-military co-operation" and "military development aid" 150,000,000 German marks for 1964, to assist in maintaining neocolonialism in Africa. According to Die Welt this means that appropriations for this item have increased more than tenfold within two years; i.e., since 1962.

The following are just a few facts on the stepped-up military penetration of Africa by Bonn militarists: West German weapons are used against the freedom fighters in Angola and Mozambique; in Nigeria, there are West German Air Force officers; in Malagasy, there are West German naval units; in South Africa, West Germany is supporting the Verwoerd Herrenvolk government in rocket- and poison-gas production.

The German militarists are especially interested in Africa as a rich source of strategic raw materials, as a training ground for troops and as a military base.

They first began operating through their NATO ally Portugal. Salazar gave them concessions to exploit the rich mineral sources of Angola. The Krupp enterprise and the federal government invested \$100,000,000 [€280,000,000] in various concerns in Angola. In return, Salazar received military equipment, including aircraft with launching devices for rockets as well as trucks and arms for his colonial war. A further \$150,000,000 credit was granted by Bonn to Portugal to enable the fascist Salazar regime to continue and even to intensify its oppressive campaign. Salazar was again ready to grant further concessions. He placed military bases in Portugal at the disposal of the West German "Bundeswehr," where especially Air Force units, including West German paratroops, are trained. Most probably, it is only the expected wave of protest that prevents Erhard from sending troops of his own directly to Angola.

Herr Jaeger, vice-president of the Bundestag and leading member of the Bonn government party, the Christian Democratic Union, showed the drift of West German dreams around Portugal in the following cynical declaration after a visit to Portugal and Angola: "If Portugal continues to possess these territories for another decade, it will have won the struggle for them; because within one or two decades so-called sovereign Africa will perish in chaos, since these states are not able to govern themselves." What arrogant imperialist contempt for Africans is expressed in these abominable words!

In 1957, the Bonn military journal, Wehrkunde, recommended that in view of the atomic menace to European industrial centers, advantage be taken of relations with France to install "a peripheric arms production in North Africa."

German members of the Foreign Legion who served in Algeria were

employed as instructors by the Bundeswehr to enable them to pass on the experience they had gathered in Africa. As early as 1960, the British Defense Minister announced that the Bonn Bundeswehr could use military bases in East Africa, particularly in Kenya.

Today the German imperialists are attempting to penetrate Africa directly by means of their military development aid, as can already be seen in Nigeria and South Africa. Some time ago, the Bundeswehr journal, Visier, expressed its great interest in "ideal training grounds" in South Africa as follows: "The Namib desert near Walvis Bay in the former colony of German South West Africa is an ideal training ground for desert warfare. The desert offers space enough for tactical training with service ammunition. Unlike here, no training ground problem exists there."

The news that West Germany is taking part in the development of rocket production in South Africa was a great shock to Africans. Several West German firms, among them Messrs. Boelkow, near Stuttgart, are already engaged in the development of rocket and other power units, and have sent technicians and scientists to Pretoria.

On February 27 the Deutsche Zeitung, a German economic newspaper, published a letter received from Pretoria, South Africa, under the heading "South Africa Wants Emigrants." It revealed the following facts: "The Lufthansa brings about 50 German emigrants each week to South Africa. . . . Each month about 1,000 British emigrants receive permits to leave for South Africa. . . 30,000 -- Italians, Greeks, Dutch, Belgians, Portuguese and Swiss citizens -- emigrated to South Africa last year. . . . However, these are not yet enough to satisfy the enormous need for people and workers. The steel and machine industry has a shortage of 2,000 skilled workers. . . . By 1970 South Africa will need 2,345,000 skilled technicians. . . . a third of the South African population are Germans. . . ." (As can be seen, the coloured peoples are not human beings, only the whites are counted and regarded as the "population" here.) "A beautiful suburb with one-family houses -- about 1,500 -- is being built on the level ground, where Sophiatown (Johannesburg) once stood." (For this reason 70,000 Africans had to be driven out of their homes and a whole township transplanted to Meadowlands, miles away; in short, to make place for European emigrants.)

Due to the high percentage of Germans in South Africa, West Germany counts on being able to play an important role there in the future.

Bonn press chief, Herr von Hase stated at a press conference that "military assistance had been agreed upon in detail" with NATO. Hence the whole Bonn military penetration of Africa is a carefully prepared NATO campaign which, among other things, is aimed at incorporating Africa as a **strategically** important area in the military preparations of Western imperialism.

THE BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA

By Evelyn Sell

I.

Superficially the Black Muslims are markedly different from most other Negro organizations in America. The other groups are often forced to have an all black membership because of racial segregation patterns. The Black Muslims are all black by choice. No whites may join, attend their temples of worship or participate in their activities. Most Negro organizations are struggling to achieve integration. The Black Muslims' goal is the separation of the races and the creation of an independent black nation on either American or African soil.

The world has been stirred by the Negro sit-in movement, the picket lines, boycotts and mass demonstrations. The Black Muslims do not engage in such actions. Thousands of Negro freedom fighters have been thrown into jail in their struggle against racist laws and the racist-controlled police power. The Black Muslims are pledged to obey all constituted authority. The only exception is their refusal to serve in the armed forces because this violates their religious teachings. Their belief in Allah as the Supreme Being is, also, a feature which sets them apart from most American Negroes who are Christians.

The ideas and actions of the Black Muslims would seem to run counter to the whole drive of the Freedom Now revolution, yet they are undoubtedly an increasingly important factor to be reckoned with by the Negro community, the white capitalist power structure and revolutionary socialists.

Their significance lies in the fact that they articulate most clearly and symbolize most dramatically important new attitudes among American Negroes. The Black Muslims are the most radical expression of the new moods of self-reliance, self-confidence and racial solidarity in the struggle against white capitalist oppression. They are the most advanced interpreters of the Negroes' rejection of the American Way of Life.

Seek Independence

They insist (and prove in their temples and businesses) that black people can lead themselves and develop themselves socially, economically and intellectually without the direct guidance of white men. In their schools and publications they emphasize the true history of black people in America, the past record of black peoples' contributions to world culture and the present struggles and achievements of colored peoples throughout the world.

Their religious beliefs and fervent nationalism may seem bizarre or reactionary but they do serve to link the Muslims with their co-

religionists and racial brothers in the east, to provide a substitute culture for the hated American Way of Life and to gain a feeling of being part of the world-wide majority of colored peoples.

Their repudiation of the white man's religion and the slave masters' country is a part of their rejection of the crippling and corruptive aspects of capitalist society. They are not committed in any way to any of the institutions or leaders of this country and they therefore feel perfectly free to tell the bare ugly truth about this country's hypocrisy and cruelty towards black people.

The Black Muslim movement is not new; it has existed for 33 years. It is not a particularly unusual phenomenon in the Negro community; exotic religious cults and fervent nationalist groupings are familiar products of America's capitalist racial oppression.

The Black Muslim movement was born in Detroit, Michigan, during the early years of the Great Depression. Sometime during the summer of 1930 a fair-skinned Arab peddler began circulating his wares and his ideas among Detroit's ghetto Negroes. He was known by a number of different names but the one most frequently associated with him was W.D.Fard.

Fard soon began holding informal house meetings to tell interested Negroes about their true country, Africa, and explaining the laws and creed of their true religion, Islam. These reports were then coupled with bitter denunciations of the white man and his Christian religion. Caught in the vise of degrading segregation and economic depression, his listeners responded to the two main points of Fard's teachings: pride in the history of the Negro race and disgust at the ways of the white man.

The Movement Is Born

A meeting hall was rented and named the Temple of Islam, membership standards were set, a religious ritual was laid down, a hierarchy of leadership was established -- the Black Muslims were on their way. The earliest recruits were unemployed Negroes from the most deteriorated sections of the city; most of them were on public welfare; the great majority were recent immigrants from the rural south; a good number were ex-members of other nationalist groups such as the Marcus Garvey Back-to-Africa movement which boasted two million members just after World War I.

Within three years the Muslims organized a University of Islam to provide schooling for children in the elementary and secondary grades. A Muslim Girls Training Class was created to train proper Muslim wives and mothers. The Fruit of Islam defense guard became the elite corp of the organization. There were at this point 8,000 members.

Fard retired from active leadership and some time in June, 1934, he disappeared. His leaving was as veiled in mystery as his coming.

The new head of the movement was Fard's most trusted officer whom he had appointed Chief Minister of Islam, Elijah Muhammad.

Parents Had Been Slaves

Muhammad's background was fairly typical of the Muslim's earliest recruits. Born in Georgia in 1897, his parents had been slaves of a man named Poole and, as was the custom, the slaves were given the last name of the master. During his life in the south Elijah Poole worked as a field boy, in a saw mill and brick works, as a railroad laborer. For a while, he was a Baptist minister.

His schooling did not go beyond the fifth grade. He married in 1919 and then migrated to Detroit with his family. From 1923-1929 he worked in the Chevrolet auto factory but was on relief for the next two years. During that time he became a follower of Fard who, he said, took him "out of the gutter in the streets of Detroit and in three and a half years taught (me) the knowledge of Islam." Fard, also, revealed to his disciple his "true" African name and ever since Elijah Poole has been known as Elijah Muhammad.

Imprisoned Because of Views

After Fard's disappearance, Muhammad deified his teacher, perpetuated his teachings and set up Temple No. 2 in nearby Chicago, Illinois. The movement declined and stagnated, however, during the boom-time years of World War II. There were only several hundred members when Elijah Muhammad and some of his followers were jailed in 1942 for refusing to serve in the armed forces. Muhammad served a five-year sentence in a federal prison and almost 100 Muslims were similarly imprisoned between 1942-46.

During the fifties and sixties a spectacular growth took place. There were four temples in 1945, fifteen by 1955. At the beginning of 1959 there were thirty temples and by the end of the same year there were fifty. Real estate holdings in the Chicago area alone rose from \$150,000 in 1954 to \$500,000 by 1960. In December 1960 the movement embraced sixty-nine temples or missions in twenty-seven states ranging from California in the west to Massachusetts in the east, to Florida in the south. The main strength of the movement has always been and still is concentrated in the ghettos of the large urban Northern centers.

The Muslims are now considered to be the fastest growing group in the country. Membership figures are carefully concealed but estimates vary from 100,000 to a quarter of a million. The scope of Muslim influence does not lie in numbers alone, for in addition to the considerable numbers active in temple life there are many more thousands who sympathize and support Muslim ideas, who visit temple and public meetings, who read the 24-page tabloid newspaper Muhammad Speaks and who listen to the many Muslim radio broadcasts.

Wherever Muhammad speaks he attracts an audience of at least

8,000 to 10,000 persons. The movement has come far from its humble beginnings in Detroit's Negro ghetto.

[Next week: The Black Muslims Today.]

ARE NEW "REHABILITATIONS" IN PREPARATION IN THE SOVIET UNION?

In its February 10 issue, Le Drapeau Rouge [The Red Flag], daily newspaper of the Belgian Communist party, published an intriguing item from its Moscow correspondent: ". . . according to Pravda, the repression which struck Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and other comrades was absolutely unjustified."

Careful search of preceding issues of Pravda reveals nothing of the kind. Had we missed a sentence indicating such a judgment it could scarcely have likewise been overlooked by the many Western, Yugoslav and Chinese specialists who go through Pravda each day with a fine-tooth comb.

It is probable, therefore, that the correspondent of Le Drapeau Rouge, who is well known for his "liberal" Khrushchevite views, either repeated a rumor circulating among the ranks of the bureaucracy in Moscow, or obligingly ran up a trial balloon for the "ideological" department of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union [CPSU].

The item, however, falls into a certain context.

First of all, Khrushchev has been constantly increasing the number of rehabilitations of old Bolsheviks murdered in the "Yezhov period" [the years when Stalin's murderous purges reached their height]. When the rehabilitations began, after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, they were limited principally to leaders of the Stalinist faction in the Central Committee whom Stalin eliminated as vestiges of the Bolshevik party of Lenin's time (persons like Yenukidze, Yaroslavsky, Rudzutak, Postychev, and others), and military figures murdered by Stalin (Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Blucher, etc.). In the recent period, old Bolsheviks who were never direct associates of Stalin -- the diplomat Krestinsky and the old Ukrainian Bolshevik leader Skrypnik, are examples -- have been rehabilitated.

In addition, the first showing February 12 of The Blue Notebook by the well-known movie director Kazakievitch, created something of a sensation in Moscow. The movie is about the differences between Lenin on the one hand and Zinoviev and Kamenev on the other on the eve of the October Revolution when Lenin urged organization of an insurrection and Zinoviev and Kamenev strongly opposed it.

The movie does not present the two old Bolshevik leaders as

"traitors," or "enemies of Bolshevism," as is called for by the Stalinist stereotype. On the contrary, the movie stresses their friendly relations with Lenin. The title of the production refers to the blue notebook which Lenin used in writing State and Revolution and which he asked Kamenev to edit in case anything happened to him. The request was proof of the great confidence Lenin had in Kamenev, who, incidentally, was Trotsky's brother-in-law.* In the movie, Kamenev is shown handing Lenin the notebook after locating it in Stockholm.

It is quite possible that remarks like the one quoted by the Moscow correspondent of Le Drapeau Rouge were made by high Soviet officials in talking about the preview of The Blue Notebook. The film obviously does not conform to the official party line still maintained in the latest version of the History of the CPSU (which is still silent about the Moscow frame-up trials); namely, that Zinoviev and Kamenev were "enemies of Leninism" and "enemies of the party."

In any case, the problem of what to do about the old Bolsheviks who were victims of the Stalinist terror in the thirties presents Khrushchev and the present leaders of the Soviet bureaucracy with a sharp dilemma.

They have denounced Stalin and Stalinism, begun to open the archives, to publish minutes of Central Committee meetings and party and Soviet congresses after the October Revolution, to permit a certain amount of free research and discussion about party history. It thus becomes difficult to maintain even traces of the slanders which the Stalin school of falsification used to besmirch the memory of those who led the party during and after the Revolution.

But if these falsifications are purged from the history books, and the old Bolsheviks are rehabilitated, this cannot be done without at the same time rehabilitating Leon Trotsky and allowing at least an objective examination of the political positions defended by Trotsky and the Left Opposition against Stalin and his faction in the CPSU. This would prove devastating to the prestige of Stalin's lieutenants

*Lenin's letter to Kamenev, first published in 1924, was suppressed in the editions of the "complete works" of Lenin published under Stalin, being included only after the dictator's death (volume 36 of the fourth edition). The letter reads as follows: "To Comrade Kamenev. Between us -- if I am liquidated, I ask you to publish my notebook: 'Marxism and the State' (it was left in Stockholm). It is a notebook with a blue cover. All the quotations from Marx and Engels, as well as those of Kautsky against Pannekoek, are collected here. There is also a series of remarks, of notes, of formulations. I think that the work can be published within a week. I consider this important, because not only Plekhanov but also Kautsky have confused everything. Conditions: all this must remain absolutely between ourselves."

The letter is not dated, but the Russian editors assume that it was written before July 5 (18), 1917.

during the purges -- several of whom are leaders today of the ruling layer of the bureaucracy. Among these are Khrushchev himself, who conducted the purge in Moscow, Suslov who played a prominent part in the purge in Leningrad, and Mikoyan, who kept silent while all his former comrades were murdered, although he knew the truth.

And, of first-rate political importance, it would lead the vanguard of the Soviet youth to the conclusion that Trotsky and the Left Opposition were right after all!

How to meet this dilemma? Various expedients are open to the leaders of the Soviet bureaucracy, none of which can prove durable. They have tried to stop the rehabilitations half way -- rehabilitating only Stalinists and not genuine opponents of Stalin. They may now go further, rehabilitating the Bukharin and Zinoviev factions, but not the "hard-core" Trotskyists or Trotsky himself. At a certain point they may even concede partial rehabilitation of Trotsky, attempting to set up a dividing line between his activities before and after he was exiled from the Soviet Union by Stalin; above all insisting on slanderous characterizations of Trotsky's supporters today. Something like this may have been implied in the venomous campaign opened against the Fourth International last year in Izvestia, Communist, and other Khrushchevist journals.

Such expedients are only stopgaps. Once it is admitted that Stalin falsified Soviet history, that he murdered innocent Bolsheviks, that the Moscow trials were frame-ups, it is impossible to stop half way. The logic of such admissions is to strengthen the clamor of young Communists for a general re-evaluation of everything in the official Stalinist history books concerning the post-Lenin period in the Soviet Union.

This re-evaluation cannot be blocked from including Trotsky, with whom Zinoviev and Kamenev were closely associated in the leadership of the United Left Opposition in 1926-27, in which Lenin's widow, Krupskaya, also participated. It cannot be blocked from making an objective examination of Trotsky's ideas and program. And that will have a shattering effect on the bureaucracy's capacity to control the thoughts of the younger generation.

It is fear of these consequences that has made the bureaucracy proceed so slowly and hesitantly with "de-Stalinization." The promise to "erect a monument to the victims of Stalin's crimes," made in 1961 at the Twenty-second Congress, has not yet been kept. Eight years after the denunciation of the "personality cult," Zinoviev and Kamenev have not yet been officially rehabilitated. Eleven years after Stalin's death, the infamous Moscow trials have not yet been officially repudiated. A striking indication of the true feelings of the Khrushchev bureaucracy was their generosity in arranging to bring Trotsky's assassin, on his release from prison in Mexico, to Prague from where he was presumably flown to Moscow.

But there is no escape from the dilemma in which the bureaucracy

was trapped when, under the pressure of the masses and to strengthen his rule, Khrushchev initiated "de-Stalinization." History is moving forward, if slowly, yet inexorably. Sooner than some think, the very violence of the persecution vented on Trotsky and his followers may become the greatest asset of the Trotskyist movement in the eyes of the Soviet youth.

INDONESIAN CP ADOPTS "FOUR AMULETS"

One of the big contradictions in the international campaign of the Chinese Communist party in the world Communist movement is the uncritical support which the Mao leadership has extended to D.N.Aidit, chairman of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist party.

Very little is known, of course, about off-the-record relations between Peking and the Aidit group. The Chinese Communist party leadership consistently follows a policy of publicly criticizing only those Communist party leaderships who have previously "publicly attacked" the Chinese Communist party. Towards other Communist party leaderships, a line of "live and let live," or of "secret diplomacy" is maintained.

Yet it is well known that the Indonesian Communist party leadership is not monolithic and that important differences exist between a completely "pro-Peking" wing and a wing that takes a more conciliatory attitude towards the struggle between the Khrushchev and Mao tendencies. Aidit himself has even been thought to lean toward Khrushchev.

Whatever may be the real internal situation in the Indonesian CP leadership and their relations with Peking, it is a fact that publications of the Chinese CP have been giving full support to the Indonesian CP's opportunistic, class-collaborationist policy of "tolerating" the Sukarno regime.

The Indonesian CP happens to be the strongest Communist party in the capitalist world. It controls trade-union and peasant organizations embracing millions of members. It is by far the strongest political power in a country in which, ever since the conquest of political independence, mass pressure for a complete break with imperialism and capitalism has never let up, where occupation of the land on imperialist-owned plantations and seizure or occupation of imperialist-owned industrial and mining enterprises have repeatedly been initiated by the masses.

At the same time, the economic situation in Indonesia is characterized by stagnation, rampant corruption, increasing inflation and growing reversion among large parts of the population to forms of "natural economy" to eke out a bare livelihood. There is no lack of discontent among the masses over the Sukarno regime, and its popular

base has undergone steady erosion.

Sukarno has reacted to the decline in support by launching one nationalist campaign after another against foreign imperialism, first accusing it of collusion with rebel secessionist forces like the Darul-Islam on Sumatra, Celebes and other islands, then trying (successfully) to again include West Irian (the Papua area of Dutch New Guinea) into Indonesia, finally launching his present campaign in North Borneo against inclusion of the British colonies established there into Malaysia and for their return to Indonesia.

These campaigns have been contradictory. Since they were anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist, they won great popularity and were correctly supported by the Communist party. At the same time, they were used to build up the Indonesian army, navy and air force, so that Indonesia is today by far the strongest military power in South East Asia, while the armed forces themselves constitute the only important obstacle standing between the Indonesian Communist party and its conquest of power.

By collaborating with Sukarno, by accepting his scheme to dissolve the elected parliament and replace it with an appointed "Council of National Guidance," by participating in the Sukarno government, the Indonesian CP has in fact helped strengthen the army around General Nasution, who is the strongest potential counterrevolutionary figure in the country and who maintains close relations with American imperialism. This is an important thread in U.S. policy in South East Asia as was demonstrated when Robert Kennedy in his recent trip there succeeded in initiating tripartite negotiations between Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia to stop the fighting in Northern Borneo.

The Indonesian CP is said to have infiltrated the army and to have some influence in the lower echelons of the officer corps. Nevertheless, the lack of any consistent policy of distinguishing itself politically from the Sukarno regime, of any course aimed at toppling the regime, or of any proposal for an alternative to the existing government, converts the Communist party into a strong brake on the movement to overthrow capitalism and establish a workers and peasants government in Indonesia.

Up until recently, the orientation of the Indonesian CP, at least the orientation in which the leading cadres were indoctrinated, was to prepare for succession to Sukarno -- after his eventual death!

Possible indications of a change of policy have now appeared. At a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist party, held December 23-26, a resolution was adopted which for the first time speaks of a "revolution" in Indonesia, of the "tremendous responsibility of the Indonesian Communists" in the whole "revolutionary situation" developing in South East Asia. And it criticizes the "national bourgeoisie."

The resolution ends on a cryptic note: "In order to achieve

victory in the popular revolutions of South East Asia, the Plenary Session reaffirms the necessity of utilizing the four amulets for overthrowing the four demons: imperialism, feudalism, comprador capitalism and bureaucratic capitalism."

The phrase "four amulets" refers to four "fundamental tasks" previously specified in the resolution: "(1) To rally the masses in the greatest possible numbers and to organize them into a national front. (2) To penetrate as deeply as possible into the villages in order to consolidate the alliance between the workers and the peasants. (3) To strengthen the leadership of the party over the masses and to show adroitness in utilizing all forms of struggle. (4) To strengthen co-operation among the peoples and the Marxist-Leninist parties of South East Asia."

Several interesting aspects of the resolution should be noted. Although national independence was won in Indonesia some time ago, the resolution speaks about the "revolution for national independence." Yet a new note is sounded: "The victory of the revolutions for national independence in South East Asia will be of great importance for the victory of the socialist world revolution."

Nowhere in the resolution is the permanent or "uninterrupted" character of the revolution in South East Asia indicated. The formula "socialist revolution" is not applied to any specific South East Asia country either. But the resolution does state that "in this part of the world, there exists a vast zone where the capitalist system has already been overthrown, and where the socialist system has been solidly established. The revolutionary situation develops and constantly matures there [South East Asia]."

The resolution also puts "compradore capitalism" and "bureaucratic capitalism" [either state enterprises run by private capitalists or mixed enterprises in which private "national" capitalists participate side by side with the state] among the main enemies of the revolution. It also stresses the "weakness" and "ambiguity" of the national bourgeoisie and proclaims that the Communist party should lead the revolution.

In other words, the cryptic language of the resolution reads like a translation of Mao's algebraic formulas of the forties which permitted him to pass from a policy of proposed alliance and collaboration with Chiang Kai-shek towards a policy of outright armed struggle against the Kuomintang regime and overthrow of capitalism, without changing his "theoretical" formulations.

If this is true it could signify that the "theoretical" line of the Indonesian CP has been adjusted so as to make possible either continued support of Sukarno or a turn toward a struggle for power. To determine the true significance of the resolution, the actions of the Indonesian Communist party must now be followed very carefully. Up to now there have been no concrete indications that the Indonesian Communist party is preparing to shift from support of Sukarno to revolutionary opposition.

SHELL OIL PICKS UP CASTRO'S BID

Fidel Castro announced in an interview February 23 that the Cuban government was prepared to negotiate with British-Dutch Shell Oil on indemnification for its refineries which were nationalized in July 1960.

"We are ready to seek a solution," he said, "if the representatives of Shell come here to discuss the question. We will agree to negotiate if the indemnification is extended over a certain number of years."

"This offer is sincere," said Castro. "I made it in order to strengthen Cuba's international credit rating."

Actually, the offer repeated the stand taken by the Cubans at the time they undertook the sweeping nationalizations that ended capitalism in Cuba.

There was some speculation that Castro might not receive an answer. "A certain solidarity exists among the big international oil companies," said the Paris Le Monde [February 25], "and Shell could find itself 'advised' to adopt a rigid attitude."

If "principles" were involved, Royal Dutch Shell decided that they were not as weighty as its estimated \$49,000,000 in former assets in Cuba. On February 25 the London office of the company announced that it was willing to negotiate.

The grinding of teeth in Washington was something to hear. On February 28 the Commerce Department put lard on the list of commodities which must receive a government export license before they can be shipped to Cuba.

Up to now Washington has maintained a thin pretense that Cuba has permission to buy food and medicine in the U.S. and that only "strategic" goods are banned.

The Commerce Department move blocked negotiations by U.S. companies to sell \$2,000,000 worth of lard to the Cuban government.

This snip of the scissors should draw pained cries from some of the packing companies whose noses were thus caught in the spite of the State Department. Cuba happens to be one of the few areas in the world where the people prefer lard for cooking purposes. And the U.S. packing plants have suffered a glut of lard ever since the soap companies shifted from the old-fashioned lye-and-lard product to modern detergents.