

## RUSSO/SINO SPLIT MAY BE IMMINENT

The unity of the world Communist movement threatens to be disrupted as never before. The claim by Nehru that India will still receive Russian Migs and that the Russians will help India to build a factory to make these planes and the fact THAT THIS REPORT HAS NOT BEEN DENIED BY THE KHRUSHCHOV REGIME make it clear that far from being 'neutral' in the Sino/Indian border war the Khrushchovites are more favourable to the Indians. Thus the responsibility of any public split and the subsequent damage to the unity of the workers states will be entirely the that of the present Russian ruling clique. To do this at this time, when the U.S. imperialists have adopted a most aggressive policy, is a most dangerous exercise. We should not be surprised however at Khrushchov continuing the policy of Stalin in putting the interests of the ruling bureaucracy above those of the fight against imperialism. He will be merely repeating at a higher level his action in isolating Albaina and thus objectively working for the restoration of capitalism in that country. Only the action of the Chinese in coming to the aid of Albania prevented such an eventuality and, <sup>what</sup> no matter the terrible features of the Hoxha regime, the Chinese were correct to do this.

No doubt the Chinese have committed many errors and their Stalinist background and training leads them to rely more on military strength than an appeal to the masses. However, in relation to the present Sino/Indian border war everything points to the whole affair having been blown up firstly, to divert the attention of the Indian people from their miserable conditions, and secondly, at behest of U.S. imperialism, whose aid has enabled the Indian bourgeoisie to avoid complete bankruptcy. The timing of the affair, coming as it did at the time of the U.N. debate on China's membership of that organisation and the Cuban crisis, lends weight to the latter supposition. In the hue and cry of the capitalist press the continued boasts by Nehru and his military leaders that they would clear the Chinese out of territory which <sup>China</sup> had occupied for years without any question being raised (that is until 1959) have been completely forgotten. The whole campaign of jingoism and national hysteria which the ruling class of India has tried to whip up points to the aim of their exercise. When Nehru talks of the 'spirit of Dunkirk' and calls upon the Indian people to tighten their belts he is playing the typical role of capitalist politicians the world over - that of shouting stop thief and picking the pockets of all those who are foolish enough to have their attention diverted.

Revolutionaries can use this development, whether it comes to an open split or not, to carry out a campaign to explain the nature of Stalinism to the ranks of the Communist Party. No matter what advantage may seem to come from such an open split in making these explanations OUR STARTING POINT MUST BE A CONDEMNATION OF THE DISRUPTING OF THE UNITY OF WORKERS MOVEMENT BY THE KHRUSHCHOVITES. Secondly, to the forefront of our activities must be defence of the Chinese workers state, and this will be of immense importance as the likelihood of U.S. aggressive action against China will be immensely increased in the event of open split in the camp of the workers states. The leadership of the British Communist Party will certainly continue to follow their policy of blindly following whichever clique is in control in the Kremlin, and many sections of the so-called left wing of the Labour Party are vying with the right wing in their denunciation of China (the series of articles in Tribune by Murarka being a typically poisonous example). The attitude of both these tendencies shows the danger of a lack of a class approach in analysing such questions. In particular we must oppose the sending of war materials by the Tories to India, and the parallel to this we must call upon Communist Party members to fight, through their organisations, the sending of war material to India by the Khrushchovites.

J. (Nottingham)

## CONTROVERSY OVER BORDER WAR CONTINUES IN DAILY WORKER

The polemic between the pro-Indians and the pro-Chinese in the columns of the letters section of the Daily Worker continues. On Monday, 5th November, 4 more letters on the subject appeared: the first from R. Bevan, London N.W.3, is unambiguously on the side of China, seeing the hand of America in the affair; the next from S.E. Maitland, Feltham, starts "The Chinese may have a case - I don't know..."; Sharaf Athar Ali of London S.E.19, criticise China and India for taking away territory from India; Muriel Seltman of London N.4., says the answer lies "in the declining influence of the Congress Party....and...the need to alienate the Indian masses from the C.P....." Friday's D.W. contained another 6 letters; 2 anti-Chinese from Leeds and London S.W., 3 pro-Chinese from Dagenham, Kenton and Manchester, and one from former oppositionist Monty Johnstone pro-leadership.

Except in isolated areas where individual Labour Parties have been led by Marxists, the reaction to the war threat over Cuba was noticeably -- at least in London -- channelled through organisations outside the mainstream of the Labour Movement. For the first two or three days leadership of the campaign remained disastrously in the hands of the Committee of 100, who fatuously paraded their supporters from Embassy to Embassy protesting in approved sitting posture against the three governments held equally responsible for the war threat: those of the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and of revolutionary Cuba!! Only by Saturday, and against the Russellite leadership, had the protest begun to be directed against Macmillan at Admiralty House; and hardly anyone lobbied Transport House to demand of the "leadership" of the working class that they do their duty! The overriding weakness of the campaign, as led by C.N.D. and the Committee of 100, was that the issue was presented as primarily a horrified squeal against nuclear bombs, instead of a determined defence of the Cuban anti-imperialist revolution at any cost. The plain fact emerged that at this stage Marxists are still trailing behind the pacifists. When the dust has cleared, a sustained campaign of propaganda in explanation of the revolution against neo-colonialism must be begun. Defence of this revolution and of the workers' states, by whatever means, must be seen as the primary issue, rather than panic-stricken snivelling over the spread of the mushroom.

F. (London)

#### DISCUSSION GROUP ORGANISED IN LONDON

Two meetings of a new Marxist discussion group in London have got off to a good start. On September 25, Geoffrey Worthington opened a discussion on The Labour Party and the Trade Unions, and on October 30 Theo Melville led on The Labour Party and Parliament. Next meeting will be on November 27 at the Westbourne Hotel, Spring Street, London W.2., when Patricia Sutherland will introduce The Labour Party and War.

#### RIGHT WING JOURNAL TALKS OF DANGER TO PARTY'S RADICAL IMAGE OVER COMMON MARKET

This month's issue of Socialist Commentary, a right wing journal of the Mark Abrams type of Gaitskellite, talks of the "grave" and "immediate" dangers to the Labour Party's radical image arising out of the Party's (and presumably Gaitskell's) attitude towards the Common Market. Number one it lists is the danger to its internationalist reputation; the second being risk of being considered a defender of the status quo; thirdly they pose the question of a return to austerity if Britain stops out of the Common Market which would mean Labour once again being known as the 'austerity' party; fourthly, they claim that the Tories could divert the attention of the voters away from their miserable record if the Common Market becomes the main election issue; fifthly, using the argument that Labour cannot win elections by the working class vote alone they say that opposition to the Common Market will alienate the modern-minded of all classes; and sixthly, saying that Labour has been embarrassed in the past by the old-fashioned attitude of the trade unions, they claim that now the T.U.s are showing a will to change it will appear that the Labour Party is becoming cautiously conservative.

Two things come out of this, on the one hand this trenchant attack shows that the right wing is going to maintain its pressure on Gaitskell and co. to get them to modify their attitude, and on the other hand apart from the point on internationalism, the whole tone of the criticism is concerned with the forthcoming general election. This is, of course, directed at what really concerns the leadership of the Labour Party - getting back into office.

#### TWO UNOFFICIAL STRIKES IN SWEDEN SAME WEEK AS T.U.C. VISIT

Comrades will have read of press reports of the visit by T.U.C. leaders to study how the unions in Sweden avoid industrial strife. What comrades will not have read is that the same week there were two unofficial strikes, very much on the pattern of those which occur in Britain. At Stenungsund in the South West of the country, 500 construction workers walked off the Esso now cracker site. This action was taken in protest against the dismissal of two men. In Gothenburg, on November 1st, over 70 stevedores staged a 'wild-cat' strike in protest against the sending home of a longshoreman who stopped work before time. It should be noted that unofficial strikes are illegal in Sweden, but in neither of these cases is legal action being taken. Perhaps the 'Swedish miracle' isn't so miraculous after all!

ITALIAN WORKERS STRIKE AT VOLKSWAGEN WORKS: On November 5th, over 4,000 Italians employed at the V.W. works at Wolfsburg staged a lightning strike, complaining of inadequate medical facilities in their hostels. During the day most of them returned but only after getting an assurance from the management that their grievances would be investigated.

We produce herewith an article from the Sunday Citizen of November 4th because of the importance of the facts that it brings out:

"Admiral Sir David Luce, who becomes "Supreme" of British forces throughout the Far East this month, may need second thoughts about the imminent planned withdrawal of the R.A.F. fighters in Siam, stationed there since the Laos emergency five months ago. For American military chiefs, encouraged by the result of their "get tough" strategy over Cuba, are now trying a similar policy against Communist guerillas in South Viet-nam, adjoining Siam and Laos.

"They have issued secret orders which give a more actively belligerent role to U.S. forces in the country - still nominally, "technicians" and "military advisors." Instead of opening fire only in self-defence, as hitherto, they have now been told to shoot first when they think fit. Fast, rocket-armed helicopters have also been sent in to strengthen them.

"The Danger is that, this time, the "enemy" is backed not by Russia but by Communist China. And in two weeks or so, when the onset of winter "freezes" the Indo-Tibetan front, the Chinese will be free to give fuller attention to this other war. First hint of the changed American policy was given when the U.S. Defence Department said that its helicopters in South Viet-Nam were being armed because of the increased guerilla attacks on them.

"But it is now known that the machines which have gone into action in the Mekong delta were not, as implied, merely helicopters which had freshly been equipped with guns. They were new Bell helicopters - the HU 1A - armed with heavy machine-guns as well as 16 rockets.

"Since these machines are being used mainly to escort Viet-Nam troop carrying planes, there can no longer be any disguising of the American's active combat role. Another secret which the Defence Department has tried to keep is the extent of U.S. casualties in South Viet-Nam. In the past ten months alone, these amount to at least 49 killed and 58 injured."

COMMENT: This remarkably frank report coming from a source which is by no means pro Chinese shows the extent of U.S. aggressiveness in the post-Cuba crisis era. We have here another potential crisis area which could flare up at any time. In that event the press would no doubt make a big hue and cry about Chinese aggression and completely obscure the fact that U.S. is actively intervening in bolstering up a completely rotten and unpopular regime. The facts about U.S. intervention here must be made as widely known as possible, for instance, if a series of letters were sent to Tribune perhaps the editors could be persuaded to pay attention to something other than attacking the Chinese.

#### THAILAND (SIAM) TO RECEIVE U.S. MISSILES

The Thailand Defence Minister, General Thanom Kittikachorn, announced in Bangkok on November 9th, that the United States would give his country the Sidewinder guided missiles under special military aid as promised in October. The Sidewinders can carry a nuclear warhead. Also being sent are M-41 tanks, T-28 planes and transport aircraft, amphibious landing ship and minesweepers.

Thailand is separated from both China and the North Viet-Nam by only a narrow strip of Laos territory. If the so-called aggressive Chinese chose to apply the 'Kennedy doctrine' of what constitutes offensive weapons they could say they were justified in blockading Thailand. What a howl would go up from the capitalist press if they were to even threaten such action.

#### LEICESTER DEBATING SOCIETY BACKS UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT from A. (Leicester)

The Leicester Parliamentary Debating Society organised a debate on unilateralism on Friday 2nd of November. The motion was moved by Harry Soan the B.B.C. commentator and seconded by Alf Watson, the vice-president of the Trades Council. A.A. Johnson, the chairman of the Leicester Liberal Party was the main speaker against the motion. He accused C.N.D. of being 'blatantly anti-British' and made a violently anti-Communist speech. Soan told the meeting that the Government's nuclear policies were "totally, utterly and monstrously irrelevant" against the background of 70 per cent of the world's population living at or below starvation level. Alf Watson said that the cold-war was started by the West in 1945 when the United States took their unilateral action in dropping the A.Bomb on Japan, he called for the end of N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw Pact, and the making of the U.N.O. into an effective force for peace. The resolution was passed by 51 votes to 7.

LEICESTER INDIAN COMMUNITY HEARS CHAUVINISTIC PROPAGANDA: 200 Indians attended a meeting called by India League to raise money for the Defence India Aid Fund. Dave Hurakha, assistant editor of New Commonwealth told a tale of how an Indian captain related that in one battle his unit was attacked by 10 waves of Chinese. The first seven waves were wiped out and the last three attacked without weapons picking up the rifles of their dead. (Truth is the first casualty in any war.)

## WHAT HAPPENED IN LATIN AMERICA DURING THE CUBA CRISIS?

We have already noted in the last issue of the Bulletin that the press suppressed Lord Russell's letter supporting the Cubans. It is now coming out that the British people were kept in ignorance about the extent of the anti-American protest movement in many parts of the world especially in Latin America. We have reproduced here two extracts from the Economist and the New Statesman which give some kind of a clue to the extent of the protest movement. In our opinion the explanation given by the New Statesman as to why reports were so fragmentary can be discounted, hardly any reports appeared of the Italian and Ceylonese demonstrations and strikes. Quite clearly the suppression was of a political nature.

The Economist of 3/11/62 states:

".....the consequent wave of left-wing protest is believed to be very much more serious than the newspaper reports would suggest. The blowing up of four power stations belonging to the Creole Petroleum Corporation in Venezuela .....was a major incident, but not an isolated one. In Chile, where left-wing parties are well organised and full of fire, riots are believed to have ended with many casualties."

The New Statesman of 2/11/62 states:

"Whatever comfort the President may have derived from this show of hands (the vote by the Organisation of American States in favour of the blockade) in the oakpanelled headquarters of the O.A.S. in Washington, he must have lost part of it when he heard of the popular reaction in the continent. The Bolivian revolutionary government, for instance, could hardly afford to vote against the U.S. and risk loss of American aid, but their emphatic approval of the U.S. decision was somewhat tarnished by widespread rioting and a toll of several dead and many more wounded. Despite Chilean 'approval' of the U.S. stand on Cuba, Santiago last week was the scene of street demonstrations and clashes which, for one reason or another have not been reported in the British press. Finally Venezuela, in addition to riots, had some of its oil installations sabotaged. Latin American governments are extremely sensitive to foreign opinion and are willing to go to great lengths to prevent press reports of street riots and the like. This, added to the fact that there is not a single full-time professional journalist covering Latin America for the British press, explains why popular reactions against the U.S. have received so little attention in London."

### SOUTH PADDINGTON LABOUR LEADS ON CUBA

from a London Correspondent

At the earliest opportunity, on Wednesday October 24, Labour Party speakers ensured that an open-air meeting called by Paddington anti-Fascist Committee was transformed into a protest against the threatened U.S. invasion of Cuba. The crowd was asked to accompany Committee members to Grosvenor Square, where trade-unionists were demonstrating outside the U.S. Embassy. On Sunday afternoon, October 28, South Paddington Labour Party called a march from Bayswater to Trafalgar Square, where the Hands Off Cuba Committee and the Union of Democratic Control held a joint meeting. The Paddington march was well supported by members of North and South Paddington C.L.P.s, the Young Socialists, South Paddington Communist Party, local trade-unionists and members of tenants' organisations.

### SOUTH SHIELDS LABOUR PARTY AND TRADES COUNCIL DENOUNCES U.S. ACTION OVER CUBA

(from a Durham correspondent)

At an emergency meeting the South Shields Labour Party and Trades Council passed a resolution denouncing the U.S. blockade of Cuba and described its action as piracy on the high seas. The resolution also condemned the negative attitude of the British Government.

### MID-TERM ELECTION DEFEAT FOR "INVADE CUBA" CANDIDATES.

Three Republican candidates in America's Mid-West, who had either advocated or hinted at invasion, and whose re-election was a foregone thing, were defeated in the mid-term elections for the U.S. Senate. Senator Homer Capehart of Indiana, the President's "self-appointed general," was defeated. So was Senator Wiley, of Wisconsin, the dean of the Senate and for long the senior Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. And so, in Minnesota, was Walter Judd, a former Chinese missionary and latter-day idolator of Chiang Kai-shek who was the Republicans' keynote orator at their Presidential convention. It seems that even Senator Everett Dirksen, the Republicans' leader in the Senate, would lose, but he eventually gained a narrow majority over a liberal Democrat.

### INDONESIANS ATTACK U.S. CONSULATE.

During the 'Cuba crisis' Indonesians demonstrating against the US Blockade of Cuba broke windows and burned furniture at the US consular buildings in Surabaya, East Java.

"I LOOKED FOR WORK BUT WENT TO JAIL". from CONTACT 18th Oct 1962.

In June this year Pretoria journalist Peter Motsoane experienced what happens to thousands of Africans every day in South Africa. He was arrested and charged with a pass offence. Because his occupation was not one understood by the type of official in a pass office his pass was overstamped "Tsotsi-loafer". He was arrested again this month. "On Monday 8th October, I was again arrested for being a loafer and sentenced to R4 or 20 days. I was to be sold to a farmer in Ermelo, I understand.

"This time I was arrested outside a firm that has just opened and had promised me a job there. While waiting at the gate for the personnel officer to supply me and some other Africans with engagement documents, the Kwela Kwela arrived and I was picked up for looking for work without a permit. Four of my colleagues were left free.

"I was taken to the Marabastad police station with more than 30 others where I was fined R4. As I didn't have it, I spent a very unpleasant time there. I was given a heavy clap for not being 'sharp' when called to lead a line of prisoners. I was told this is not my mother's home. We were all searched and those found with knives had extra charges added to them. I was arrested at 9.35 a.m. and had my first meal of badly cooked tasteless, stiff porridge when it was only dark. The porridge was dished out on our bare hands and it was take it or leave it.

"We spent the night without blankets and used our remaining clothes as cover. We were only provided with mats and there was a latrine bucket in the cell. The last meal before we went to court was dished the same way the next day. An Influx Control policeman kept beating me with a cane for being slow. My back is aching right now. At the Bantu Affairs court on 9th October I received a sharp blow from a constable and as a result my right eye drips with tears. I was told I was a small man, and the police were not afraid of me - whether I had a B.A. or Matric, they'll put me straight.

I spent a week in hospital recovering and I've asked the people who paid my fine to wait until I get employment before I repay the debt. I still don't know what will happen to me. I'VE COMMITTED NO CRIME EXCEPT TO TRY TO GET WORK.

NEWS FROM THE CONGO - UNIONS DENOUNCE UNO. from ICFTU Bulletin 15.10.62.

Strong criticism of the United Nations plan for the creation of further provinces in the Congo was voiced at a recent joint press conference of the three trade union centres FGFK, CSLC and UTC, the first two being affiliated to the ICFTU. In a prepared statement they denounced any further moves by the United Nations towards further fragmentation of the country on political and economic grounds. The plan they said, has been "concocted by Washington, London and Bonn", and supported by Congolese politicians who hope to profit from it personally. The three organisations insist that the government occupy itself with the far more important economic problems facing the country. Their statement concludes with an appeal for national unity.

A long standing dispute between the textile factory Utexteo and the trade union centre CSLC led recently to a strike when six active union members were dismissed by the management. The dispute concerned a bonus promised by management to the workers for having continued at work during the serious disturbances which followed independence. The bonuses were in fact only paid to a selected few.

"WE MUST HAVE COLONIES" - Adenaur's Lebenstraum. From German Democratic Report. 26. 10. 62.

"The German Reich must definitely strive to obtain colonies. In the Reich itself there is too little space for the big population. We are constantly losing just those adventurous and pushing people who find no field for those activities at home; in the colonies they would find a field for their activities. We must have more space for our people, and therefore we must have colonies. ADENAUER".

This striking call for colonies for German imperialism was made 34 years ago by Konrad Adenaur, today Chancellor of West Germany. He can scarcely claim that this was a youthful indiscretion (sic) since he had then already reached the ripe age of fifty-two.

ADEN TRADE UNION PAPER BANNED.

ICFTU Bulletin 15.10.62.

Following the agitation which the Adenese labour movement has been carrying on against the incorporation of the colony in the South Arabian Federation, the government has again withdrawn the license of the TUC newspaper "Al Amal". In connection with this we note a newspaper report of the 9th Nov. which reads: "Two Aden Trades Union Congress leaders - Abdulla Alasnag and Idris Ahmed Hambala - were remanded in custody charged before the Aden chief magistrate yesterday with 'seditious publication'".

The Economist of 27/10/62 in an article entitled "Ghosts in the Kremlin" reported the rehabilitation of more Old Bolsheviks and other victims of Stalin's terror. Herewith the main points of the article:

"...Until quite recently the posthumous rehabilitation of Stalin's victims was limited to two groups. Marshals, such as Tukhachevsky and Blusher, were rehabilitated first, probably under military pressure at a time when Marshal Zhukov was still influential. The other group consisted of good Stalinists, like Kossier and Chubar, who had served their master as faithfully as Mr. Khushchov or Mr. Malenkov did; yet he had them executed. Towards Stalin's true opponents the official attitude has been more ambiguous. It was his method of eliminating rivals, not the fact of their elimination, that was being condemned. On October 17th, however, the Moscow correspondent of the Yugoslav newspaper Politika revealed that last summer, without any publicity, the families of some men sentenced at the great Moscow trials of the nineteen-thirties were informed of their posthumous rehabilitation. True, this surreptitious rehabilitation refers to the criminal charges and not to the political reproaches against these men - Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsy, Radek and Pyatakov. Of these, Nikolai Bukharin is the most famous. Lenin, in his testament, described him as the party's "favourite" and a most valuable theoretician despite "scholastic" tendencies. At the time of Brest-Litovsk, towards the end of the first world war, he was one of the leaders of the so-called left Communists who rejected the German peace in the name of socialist ideals and in the hope of a European revolution. When that revolution failed to materialise and Russia started to "build socialism in a single land", Bukharin became a leader of the right wing, preaching slow industrialisation and advocating concessions for the peasants (The dialectical causes of this seemingly strange conversion are explained in Mr. Doutscher's biography of Trotsky.)

"It is in this second role, as the protector of the peasants, that Bukharin is best known. Together with Alexey Rykov, who had succeeded Lenin as head of government, and Mikhail Tomsy, who led the trade unions, he was Stalin's indispensable ally in the Politbureau until the start of collectivisation. Then came defeat and disgrace. Their recantations bought them breathing space, but no more. Only Tomsy, by committing suicide, escaped Vyshinsky's prosecution and the firing squad. Bukharin and his allies represented the Right in the struggle with Stalin. Through Pyatakov, one of the organisers of Soviet heavy industry and Karl Radek, the most brilliant and biting of Communist pamphleteers, the finger of history points Trotsky's way. The time may yet come for a revision of his case. Indeed, the documents now being published make it increasingly difficult to play down the part played in Soviet history by either Trotsky or the Bolshevik old guard. It is not only a question of the men themselves. The issues discussed - the pace of industrialisation, the attitude towards the peasants, the amount of freedom to be allowed within the party - though altered by circumstances, are more topical than ever.

"Since the anti-party group was eliminated in 1957, and attacked ever since, the Soviet public has never heard the case for the defence, only its parody presented by the prosecution. Learning from documents about these past controversies, the new Soviet generation will ask questions about the present. No wonder, in these circumstances, that rehabilitations are carried out surreptitiously and that the documents are accompanied by a host of explanations. "We have thrown Stalin out of the mausoleum, but how shall we sever him from his heirs," writes Yevtushenko. Mr. Khrushchov's anti-Stalinist supporters are becoming awkwardly radical. They are demanding the rapid elimination of the vestiges of Stalinism and, by the same token, the rehabilitation of the victims. Le mort saisit le vif, say French jurists to explain the continuity of the legal personality in inheritance. In the Kremlin the ghosts of Stalin's victims are haunting his living heirs, forcing their hand and threatening the party structure."

#### EISENSTEIN FILMS RESTORED

from Militant of 5/11/62

Two films of Sergei M. Eisenstein are to be restored and edited this year in Moscow. The plan to issue October and Que Viva Mexico was announced in October 28th by Grigory V. Aleksandrov, co-director with Eisenstein of these and other films. Aleksandrov said that Stalin had appeared in the cutting room a few hours before the film October was to be shown for the first time in 1927 and demanded that more than 3,000 feet be cut. "When Eisenstein and I asked why the cuts had to be made, Stalin said evasively, 'you don't know what is going on. This is not the right time for Lenin's liberalism,'" the director recounted.

#### PURGE IN BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

In what has been described as a 'purge of Stalinists', the Prime Minister, Anton Yugov, and six other leaders of Bulgarian C.P. have been removed from their government jobs and from the party's central committee. The leader of the Bulgarian Stalinists' Vulko Chervenkov, was expelled from the party altogether. The dismissals, announced at the beginning of the party's congress, were said to be for violations of socialist legality. We wonder if they were allowed to defend themselves?