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## BEN BELLA REAFFIRMS SOCIALIST AIMS

The fresh nationalizations in Algeria [see last issue of World Outlook] touched some sensitive nerves. The loudest screams came from Pierre Petitjean, head of the company that ran the luxury Hotel Aletti. At a press conference which he called, he told sympathetic reporters: "The spoliation of which we were the victims constitutes a violation of the Evian agreement and the guarantees that were given the rights of French interests. It's robbery pure and simple."

In France the take-over of three French-owned newspapers became the theme of the week for the professional moralists of the press. An uglier note was the threat issued by Valery Giscard d'Estaing, Minister of Finance. The French government is committed to give Algeria one billion francs (about \$204 million) aid a year until June 30, 1965. But said d'Estaing, nothing prevents France from deducting amounts sufficient to "compensate" French citizens for losses in Algeria due to nationalizations or "spoliations."

Displeasure over the course of the Ben Bella government extended, not unexpectedly, to ruling circles in the United States. The influential New York Times declared editorially (in the Sept. 25 international edition) that Ben Bella "promises to leave room for a private economic sector and even invites French and other business aid. But he makes no secret that this is only for a time. Such an approach will not encourage the foreign investments the country so desperately needs."

The Algerian people, however, give no evidence of being easily seduced by the proffered carrots of "foreign investments." The colony "enjoyed" the "benefits" of foreign investments for some 130 years. This was a powerful factor in converting them to socialism. The popular pressure, therefore, is very strong for continuation of nationalizations.

The mood in Algeria was well reflected in the press interview which Ben Bella granted September 23 to some 250 journalists who arrived aboard the Soviet ship Litva to hold an inter-

national conference in Algiers. Some of the highlights of the interview as published by the Algiers daily Le Peuple:

In his welcoming speech, Ben Bella declared that Algeria was "engaged irreversibly on the road to socialism."

"The workers," he said, "run their own plants. The peasants, yesterday still crushed by the colons, are at this moment gathering the best harvests Algeria has ever known. Today, throughout the country, the land belongs to those who till it. Committees of self-management, democratically elected, that bring the workers together in conducting the enterprise, have been created.

"A particular effort has been made in favor of the youth. The young people, long disinherited, are discovering the joy of living, dignity and the certainty of growing up strong. School has opened its doors to a new generation, the builders of socialist Algeria. In this connection I want to state once again our staunch determination to carry through to the end the establishment of a socialist Algeria, an Algeria cleansed of all that remains of colonial rule, an Algeria completely devoted to the cause of international peace but also resolved to combine the imperative of peace with unfailing solidarity with the freedom movements of the colonial peoples. Peace, in short, means driving back atomic war. But it also means peace for homes menaced by the colonialist madness in Angola, in so-called 'Portuguese' Guinea, in Rhodesia, in Mozambique, in South Africa, too."

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A reporter asked Ben Bella, "How can you reconcile Islam and socialism?"

"This question," Ben Bella responded, "is an important one. It can, in effect, seem incomprehensible to you to speak of socialism while relating it to the religious factor. As one holding responsibility, as secretary of the Party, we have weighed this problem. There was the miracle of the national liberation struggle, of the revolution. This miracle was due to the peasant, the laborer, since the economy of Algeria did not permit the formation of a revolutionary working class. It was the peasants who were the vanguard of the armed struggle. The peasant didn't fight for a presidential regime, nor for this or that constitution, nor even for this or that regime. The essential motive, what the peasants felt, was that the colonialists were aiming at what was valuable, most sacred to them -- Arab Islamic reality.

"Leave us with our Allah, and we are ready to move faster in our socialist revolution. Islam did not prevent us from setting up self-management. Islam likewise did not prevent us from nationalizing properties, the existence of which was against our morals. On the contrary it helped us to go forward in our socialist revolution."

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Asked about the crisis in the Caribbean and the threats to Cuba, Ben Bella responded:

"First of all, I must say that we were the first to applaud the action initiated by Moscow, just as we will applaud any solution in favor of peace.

"We sent telegrams of support that very same evening.

"But I must say that the specter of the atomic bomb has not prevented statesmen from making war, just as the specter of gunpowder did not prevent wars in the past. We don't have that much confidence in the nature of men. Peace is indivisible. You don't sign an agreement in Moscow and maintain tension in the Caribbean, make threats. They sign in Moscow, but men die in Angola, in Mozambique, in Portuguese Guinea, etc."

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On the proposal by East Germany to create a denuclearized zone in Central Europe:

"We are for every denuclearized zone. The whole planet should be denuclearized."

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On Israel: "We think that it is an injustice to present us Arabs with the bill for racism, for Nazism. It is to be noted that Israel is taking up all the positions abandoned by colonialism. The problem is clear but so are the rights of the Arabs. Our position will never change."

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Ben Bella said that legislation is being drawn to limit private property in land still further. "Thus the area of land placed under authority of management committees will be brought to 3,000,000 hectares [one hectare = about two and a half acres], some 2,700,000 hectares belonging to colons and 300,000 to Algerians."

"The socialist sector," Ben Bella remarked, "will be so strong by 1964 that it will quickly absorb what remains of the private."

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On relations with France: "We are on the side of France when she wishes to be a respectable and respected country, but we have the right to eliminate privileges. I hope that the French government understands that. We are for loyal, sincere co-operation and as equals to equals."

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On possible resumption by France of nuclear tests: "I would be against it, but I would not make war on France. Another explosion would serve to accelerate socialism. We would put our hands on the rest of the privileges."

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On the Evian agreement: "The Evian agreement constitutes a bottleneck, but it did not prevent us from placing Bourgeaud's domain under self-management.

"Algeria and France have an interest in easing things, in establishing valuable relations of co-operation. It is of mutual interest to study the agreement and readjust it in the light of Algeria's socialist option.

"They say that the self-management measures were injurious to the Evian agreement; but it's just the contrary. The self-management measures liquidated certain negative sides."

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On neutralism. "The creation of a bloc would not be desirable. The neutralism of Algeria is to be neutral even with the neutrals."

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On the role of the press: "The first role of the press is to provide information. Just because we have suppressed certain newspapers, we have not prevented the press from giving information. We are for objective information.

"The role of the press is tremendous. It must contribute to forging a reality, to singling out what can be useful, to helping the development of what is important; and what is important on the political plane is peace.

"We have no confidence that bogies can stop war. We are for peace, for those who are being bullied, for those against whom violence is exercised."

IN REPLY TO "S. IVANOVITCH"

Last week World Outlook published the text of an attack against the Fourth International which appeared in the September 13 issue of Izvestia. The following is the text of a letter in reply, addressed to the editor of the Moscow daily by Pierre Frank, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

September 30, 1963

Editor:

We read with considerable interest an article in the September 13 Izvestia devoted to the Fourth International. We appreciated the fact that for the first time in the history of your newspaper you decided to inform your readers that the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, is alive, that it is active in more than thirty countries, that it holds conferences and world congresses and discusses the profound political problems and difficult tactical questions facing the world working class in our epoch. Anyone familiar with the history of the international labor movement, on reading this article carefully -- especially between the lines, as has been customary in the Soviet Union since Stalin seized power -- will see at once that the Fourth International is a genuine workers' organization characterized, like many of the past, by a rich internal life and struggles of tendencies; i.e., the sometimes painful but irreplaceable method of proletarian democracy. Such an organization, of course, is the complete opposite of those created under Stalin as the official Communist movement; i.e., organizations characterized by monolithism, in which genuine debate or discussion is prohibited and in which decisions are reached through deals behind the scenes. The Fourth International indeed is following the road blazed by the Communist International in its first years before Stalin imposed his absolute control on it preliminary to destroying it and finally dissolving it.

No doubt many of your readers will be interested in the information thus conveyed. However, the article written by your contributor, the well-known S. Ivanovitch, is in error on some points. This may be due to the difficulty of finding Trotskyist newspapers and magazines on the newsstands in the Soviet Union because of the censorship. We therefore request

that you publish this letter in an early issue so as to provide your readers with more accurate information about the Fourth International and its positions.

First of all, while it is true that the Fourth International suffered a serious split some ten years ago, as S. Ivanovitch reports, a reunification of the movement took place at a World Congress last June. The united organization brought together the overwhelming majority of Trotskyists throughout the world. Several minor groups which refused to accept the basic positions adopted by the Reunification Congress are now confronted with a crisis of perspective. Some of them may be lost completely to the revolutionary-socialist movement; but others, perhaps most of them, will eventually find their way to the reunited organization.

The Fourth International is accused by the distinguished Mr. Ivanovitch of being a subversive organization in view of its ideological differences with Soviet officialdom. He accuses the organization of carrying on slanderous campaigns. He cites, for instance, our charge that various Communist parties after World War II helped maintain the capitalist system in key areas like Europe by their policy of blocking the workers from taking power. This is a charge based on facts. If Mr. Ivanovitch, who is widely known to enjoy digging in archives, wishes to study by comparison some genuine slanders, we suggest that he go through back issues of the Soviet press, including your own, especially for the years 1936-38. Let him note in particular what was published in that period of the infamous "Moscow frame-up trials" about Lenin's collaborators in the October Revolution and in the leadership of the Communist International -- Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin and thousands of others who were the glory of the Russian and international working-class movement.

There is not much point debating what the distinguished Mr. Ivanovitch chooses to characterize as "arch-reactionary conceptions" of the Fourth International, which he holds to be inimical to the class-consciousness of the workers. As an example, the impressively alert Mr. Ivanovitch cites the following: "The Trotskyists consider armed insurrection to be the only means to liquidate the rule of the bourgeoisie, rejecting all other roads of mass struggle for the socialist transformation of society." Another example cited by him is the important role which the Fourth International considers the colonial revolution to hold in the great struggle for the emancipation of mankind.

If these are "arch-reactionary" conceptions, the Fourth International is in good company. They were held by such outstanding Marxist authorities as Marx, Engels, Lenin and -- with your permission -- Trotsky. But, Mr. Ivanovitch and his kind may reply, this just repeats old formulas and displays dogmatism.

Times have changed. Besides, didn't Marx himself say that perhaps in England violence might not be necessary in view of the absence of militarism and bureaucratism in that land? To this argument Lenin did not hesitate to reply in 1918, denying the possibility suggested by Marx, since in the meantime both militarism and bureaucratism had developed in England. Have they disappeared anywhere in the world since 1918? The only country that comes to mind where this might be the case is San Marino which also enjoys the distinction of being one of the first countries to sign the nuclear test-ban pact.

S. Ivanovitch, whose theoretical qualifications are, of course, beyond praise, cites in his article the power of the socialist camp as a new factor in world politics. We were pleased to note this, for the concept is quite familiar to us. In truth the Fourth International was the very first in the world to call attention to the change in relationship of forces in favor of socialism following the victory of the Chinese Revolution.

The Fourth International, however, unlike Mr. Ivanovitch, holds that the imperialists are not ready to recognize that their days are numbered. Nowhere have we seen the capitalists prepared to abandon power to the workers in a peaceful takeover, desirable as this would be. We think that Fidel Castro was completely correct when he observed that the world has not yet seen a single example of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

What Marxist would deny that in a contest limited to economic competition the victory would inevitably go to socialism? The historic justification of more than a century of struggle by the working class against capitalist exploitation resides precisely in this economic superiority of socialism over capitalism. But the crucial question is whether capitalism, with the forces and positions still at its disposal, has no alternative but to graciously accept the predetermined doom of its system in a peaceful economic race. American imperialism in particular -- which we think Mr. Ivanovitch will agree is a "paper tiger" that has nuclear teeth -- scarcely seems to have accepted the alternative of fatalistically accepting the disappearance of the capitalist system and granting the future to world socialism with peaceful resignation.

Imperialists of lesser size do not seem inclined to demonstrate more peaceful inclinations. This can be observed among the British in Kenya, the French in Algeria, the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique, the whites in South Africa (and, we may add, the whites in the Deep South of the USA).

Oppressed and exploited peoples in the world today want their freedom now. They prefer to get it peacefully; but if

peaceful means fail they will not hesitate to resort to more effective methods. This is one of the outstanding conclusions to be drawn from the whole historical period since the end of the second world war. The Fourth International believes that revolutionary-socialists should recognize it despite the opinion of the S. Ivanovitchs that the conception is "arch-reactionary."

It was perhaps inevitable that the world-famous journalist S. Ivanovitch should accuse "the most rabid ideologists of the Fourth International" of holding that "a new world war is inevitable and in consequence the working class must determine what must be undertaken to exploit the armed conflict between countries that will break out in order to seize power."

This accusation is almost as old as Marxism itself. It was employed before 1914 against socialists who defended the antiwar motion of the international congress held at Stuttgart in 1907. It was habitually used by the Social Democrats against the Communist International. Finally it was employed by Stalin to slander Trotsky. The argument has always served the demagogic aim of diverting consideration from the real means of preventing imperialist war.

Revolutionary Marxists long ago came to the conclusion that the only effective way to prevent imperialist war is through the revolutionary struggle of the masses for power. To tell the masses that they can win disarmament by putting pressure on capitalist governments, that imperialist rulers will respond to petitions bearing interminable lists of signatures, sows dangerous illusions. The only disarmament that is won is the ideological disarmament of the masses and in the final analysis the imperialist preparations for war are aided.

We come to the principal theme of the article by your star correspondent. According to S. Ivanovitch the Fourth International has formed a bloc with the leaders of the CCP /Chinese Communist party / against the Twentieth and Twenty-second congresses of the CPSU /Communist party of the Soviet Union /.

The Fourth International has expressed without reserve exactly what it thinks about the dispute between the governments and parties of China and the Soviet Union, particularly our opinion that the Chinese position is more progressive than the Khrushchev line on the colonial revolution and the road to socialism. But the Fourth International has also made clear on what points it considers the Chinese positions to be gravely erroneous.

While speaking about the Fourth International in relation to the Twentieth and Twenty-second congresses, S. Ivanovitch

did not bring up two rather important questions, "peaceful and parliamentary roads to socialism" and "de-Stalinization." Was this impudence, or simply an oversight? It was already a little heavy to make out that the Chinese are both Stalinists and Trotskyists at one and the same time, but to imply through this omission that the Fourth International, the Trotskyists, are opposed to de-Stalinization -- that they seek to defend the memory of Stalin -- is really laying it on with a trowel.

The Fourth International could not but applaud in the most enthusiastic way the denunciations made at the Twentieth and Twenty-second congresses of the crimes of Stalin against the revolutionary militants who held the highest posts in the Soviet Union and the Communist International and who were liquidated because they were opponents or potential opponents of Stalin or because in some cases they simply knew too much about these terrible purges.

The Fourth International likewise applauded the denunciation of the concentration camps, the lies, the frameup trials, and similar things under Stalin's rule that injured the first workers state and the cause of communism.

The Fourth International expressed its exultation over the rehabilitation of Stalin's victims, the liquidation of the arbitrary regime, the re-establishment of a certain number of elementary legal norms.

Yes, the Fourth International applauded everything in the Twentieth and Twenty-second congresses that justified the struggle which Trotsky and the Left Opposition carried on against Stalin and the Soviet bureaucracy beginning in 1923.

But the Fourth International also stated that the denunciation of the "cult of the personality" did not go far enough. The cult was not the cause of Stalinism but one of its manifestations. In moving from Stalin to Khrushchev, from the regime of the grossest lies to the regime of half lies, the working class won some big and much-appreciated concessions but did not regain the rights it enjoyed in the first years of the Revolution in Lenin's time -- workers' democracy was not re-established, political power still remains today in the hands of a privileged and conservative bureaucracy, hostile to the international proletarian revolution.

The Twentieth and Twenty-second congresses, so important in the domestic politics of the Soviet Union, did not take up Stalin's international policies, which for immediate gains that most often proved illusory, sacrificed numerous workers movements, led to the crushing of the second Chinese Revolution (1925-27) through the policy of the bloc of four classes,

helped Hitler come to power through the concept of "social fascism," and led the Spanish Revolution into a blind alley through the Popular Front. Stalin's ill-fated foreign policy, carried out under the banner of "building socialism in one country" in opposition to going forward in the struggle for world socialism, destroyed the Communist International.

And this brings us to our last point: The generous S. Ivanovitch credits the Fourth International with profiting from the dispute between Moscow and Peking. We would suggest that this expert in the politics of Trotskyism is really incapable of distinguishing between the objective causes of the dispute between Moscow and Peking and the causes for the growth of the Fourth International under present conditions. The period of Stalin's rule was not only a cruel one for the Soviet people but one of grievous defeats for the international workers' movement in many countries. These defeats were a powerful objective factor in consolidating the Stalinist regime. Things are different today. The mighty upsurge of revolutionary forces after the second world war is incompatible with maintenance of bureaucratic domination. Neither the Yugoslav Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, nor the Cuban Revolution of today -- none of these victorious revolutions could submit to the yoke of the Moscow bureaucracy. These winning struggles, which shook the Communist world more and more powerfully, posed the problem of creating a new revolutionary leadership. But it is the Fourth International, which through sections and groups in thirty countries, through its "dirty little papers," through the activities of thousands of devoted members, has kept high and firm the banner of revolutionary Marxism in the face of Stalinist degeneration.

Despite himself, the distinguished S. Ivanovitch, whom we thank again for his article about us, provided sufficient indication of the real role of the Fourth International to attract attention and even sympathy from many independent-minded Soviet Communists for Trotskyism. We venture to predict that his article will be gratefully remembered by many when the Fourth International becomes the rallying point for all those who wish to definitively liquidate what is left of Stalinism in favor of the restoration of Leninism.

Pierre Frank

#### MEMORABLE SCENES DEPARTMENT

JAKARTA, Sept. 16 -- Thousands of demonstrators stormed the British Embassy in Jakarta today. Stones were thrown through the windows. Slogans denouncing the new Federation of Malaysia filled the air. The police fired tear gas. Through it all

Major Roderick ("Red Rory") Walker, the assistant Military Attaché, went on playing the bagpipes.

He marched up and down outside while stones whizzed past his head. The police chief and the leader of the demonstrators both begged him to stop. A policeman tried to drag him behind a pillar. But he broke away and went on piping.

His gesture delighted British diplomatists when they heard of it in Singapore. One said: "At least we have come out of all this nonsense with dignity."

### INDIAN WORKERS PROTEST INFLATION

NEW DELHI -- More than 100,000 demonstrators, carrying red banners, marched to the Parliament House on September 13 to protest against anti-people policies of the Nehru Government. Demonstrators drawn from all parts of the country carried placards with such slogans as "Nationalise Banks," "Nationalise Oil Companies," "Nationalise Foreign Trade," "Increase Dearness Allowance 25 Per Cent," "Down With Corruption," "Change Anti-People Tax Policy," "Scrap Compulsory Deposit Scheme," etc.

The "great march," first of its kind since India achieved independence, was organised by the Communist party of India /CPI/. It proved a success far beyond the expectations of the organisers themselves. On behalf of the marchers, the Communist MP's presented a "great petition" to the Speaker of the House of the People signed by more than 10,000,000 citizens protesting against rising prices and demanding immediate relief. A Praja Socialist MP quipped in the House: "Since when one-time revolutionaries have become petitioners?"

Slogans were deliberately designed to conform to the present CPI line of critical support to the Nehru regime and to avoid any direct criticism of Nehru's basic policies. But it was obvious that the "great march" was undertaken by the CPI's national chairman, S.A. Dange, a staunch Khrushchevite, under pressure from left-wing and centrist currents within the party. The success of the demonstration must be attributed to the growing popular discontent against the bourgeois regime which has cleverly exploited the Sino-Indian border dispute to heap an unbearable tax burden on the workers and peasants.

The military expenditure has been doubled, taxes on fixed income groups have been raised 200 to 300 per cent and all wage earners are being forced to forego 5 to 10 per cent of their meagre incomes under a scheme called "Compulsory Deposit Scheme." Prices of essential commodities have shot up 25 to 50 per cent during the last one year. There have been country-wide strikes

and demonstrations against the tax policy of the Government.

There was in fact a spectacular general strike of nearly 1,000,000 industrial workers and office employees in Bombay City on August 20, initially sponsored by the Socialist party but later supported by other opposition parties. The CPI-controlled All-India Trade Union Congress equivocated at first but supported the strike at the last moment when it was obvious that it was going to be a tremendous success. But the Congress Government in the State ruthlessly suppressed the strike by resorting to mass arrests of leaders and recruiting of blacklegs [scabs] to run the transport and municipal services.

In accordance with its policy of critical support to Nehru, the CPI has held aloof from mass action against the Government, thus helping the extreme rightists to channelise popular discontent along reactionary lines. When the various opposition parties in Parliament brought a non-confidence motion against the Nehru regime, the CPI group remained neutral during voting.

Prime Minister Nehru recently reshuffled his Central Cabinet, ostensibly as a move to permit some of his senior colleagues to take up responsible party posts. In effect this led to the exclusion of certain unpopular rightist figures like Finance Minister Desai and Food Minister Patil from the Union Government. The Cabinet reshuffle came in the wake of mass demonstrations against a Government decision to undertake joint air exercises with the American and British forces and set up a "Voice of America" transmission station in Calcutta. An agreement to this effect is being revised now and might even be scrapped.

In the circumstances the cabinet reshuffle looked like a leftward shift. Actually the Nehru regime has moved very close to Washington since the Sino-Indian border war.

The Soviet press hailed the reshuffle as a triumph for "progressive forces" and a rout of the reactionaries. The Khrushchev bureaucracy has offered massive economic and even military aid to India, including building a new steel plant turned down by America and financed by the Fourth Five Year Plan to the tune of Rs. 500 crores [1,000,000,000]. The Dangeite leadership naturally harps on the same tune and even claims that it was responsible for the dismissal of the rightist Ministers from the Cabinet, a fact which is hotly denied by Nehru himself.

In the face of growing mass discontent, India's new Finance Minister Krishnamachari has announced some minor concessions in the tax policy and also relaxation of an omnibus Gold Control Order banning the use of gold above 14-carat purity, which has

rendered jobless more than 2,000,000 goldsmiths all over the country. There is also a move to pay higher dearness allowances to public servants.

All this helps the CPI to foster illusions about the Nehru regime and its progressive character. Also in view of the failure of the left wing within the CPI to put forward an alternative line of militant action, the Dange leadership appears to have emerged considerably stronger after a period of prolonged faction struggle. A leftist faction in the West Bengal unit of the CPI has been defeated in its move to split the party on the basis of the present Sino-Soviet ideological controversy. The centrist tendency led by Kerala's E.M.S. Namboodiripad (former general secretary now undergoing medical treatment in Moscow) has opposed the leftist move to split the party. This has given a decisive majority to the Dange faction within the leadership in the present internal struggle.

Although Dange toes the general line of the Khrushchev bureaucracy in the polemics against the Chinese CP, he is shrewd enough to understand that an image of complete subservience to Moscow would undermine his own position in the eyes of the Indian masses. Of late he has been more vocal in his support to the Togliatti line of "polycentrism" in the world Communist movement.

At a recent workers' rally in Bombay, he said, "We shall not be dictated to either by the Soviet party or by the Chinese party; we shall pursue our own line in relation to our country and if we find we are wrong we shall correct ourselves."

Addressing the "great march" in New Delhi on September 13, he said, "If we do not get our demands by peaceful means we shall use force."

This might sound demagogic but it also reflects the relationship of forces within the CPI. In face of the witch-hunt by the right reactionaries there is a tendency among the party ranks to close ranks. Also the CPI made a demonstrative move by publishing all the documents in connection with the Sino-Soviet controversy, including all the Chinese documents. A serious discussion has been initiated. This is indeed a healthy sign.

Another significant development is that most of the CP leaders arrested for their alleged pro-China views last November have been released in all States except Bengal and Maharashtra. Some leaders of the Revolutionary Communist party(1) in Bengal and a few Socialist trade unionists in Bombay are still detained.

(1) Kanai Pal, an RCP member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, is still under detention. He is a Trotskyist.

## STRIKERS TORTURED IN SPAIN

On September 26 the Kennedy administration and the fascist regime of dictator Franco issued a joint declaration announcing the renewal of American military bases in Spain for another five years.

Among other items in the declaration:

"The United States Government reaffirms its recognition of the importance of Spain to the security, well-being and development of the Atlantic and Mediterranean areas. The two Governments recognize that the security and integrity of both Spain and the United States are necessary for the common security."

The document provides for "appropriate" action in case of a "threat to either country." The "two Governments" state that they have "reaffirmed their friendship and mutual trust, and their determination to establish a close co-operation in order to strengthen the common defense. . . They have reaffirmed their recognition of the common dangers, and their determination to maintain a close working relationship on all matters affecting their common interests and security."

The blood with which this pact of mutual understanding and friendship was signed was provided by the long-suffering Spanish workers. An indication of conditions in Spain can be gathered from the report published below. The source of the report, in underground circles in the fascist-ruled country, asks that it be given the widest possible publicity. It deals with the repression in Asturias where the miners are on strike.

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The principal head of the repression is a captain of the Civil Guard, Fernando Caro, 28, a native of Melilla [Morocco], son of an army colonel, who until recently was a captain of the Civil Guard in Málaga. It was because of his talent as a torturer that he was transferred to Asturias. One of his assistants, well-known for his cruelty, is Corporal Pérez, a Galician.

On September 3 at four o'clock in the afternoon, a miner, Rafael Gonzalez, 36, died at police headquarters in Sama de Langreo following torture.

The same day at the same place another miner, Silvino Zapico, 34, was castrated (presumably by the system in general use of burning the hair and skin in the genital area). He is in a hospital in grave condition. This miner was accused of

being a "Communist." His wife, similarly accused, was submitted to having her head shaved.

Still another miner, whose name we have not yet learned, is also in the hospital in grave condition from burns in the genital area..

A miner, likewise unidentified, was sent to a mental hospital, suffering from a nervous breakdown due to torture.

Vicente Baragaña, who lives in the Lada, a quarter of Langreo, was reduced to sexual impotency by burning of the testicles during a torture session. (This may refer to the unidentified miner mentioned above.)

Alfonso X., a former watchman at the Fondón mine, retired because of silicosis, who is at present a cashier in an insurance company, Previsora Bilbaino, was savagely beaten during the strikes last year. This year after his arrest he was tied up and then beaten by Corporal Pérez in the presence of his wife.

The wife was incapable of enduring the sight. She attacked the corporal.

Leaving the unconscious husband, the corporal beat the woman brutally. She is at present in prison in Oviedo, her head shaved like many other wives of miners.

Her husband was released later in the day to a certain Senén in bad condition. After taking the victim home, Senén, a fellow worker, called a doctor. The tortured body of the worker was in such shape that the doctor said he scarcely knew where to begin.

Antonio Zapico of Lada was brutally manhandled. His cheekbone was broken and his mouth torn open during torture. He is in the hospital.

Jerónimo Fernández Terente, married and father of a son, and Jesús Ramo Teva, together with ten other miners are now in the Carabanchel prison at Madrid after having been brutally mistreated.

Everardo Castro, married and the father of three boys, is in La Cadellada, a provincial mental hospital, following the ferocious torture inflicted on him. (This may be the person unidentified above.) He had climbed up the rainspouts of the Duro Felguera Company to paint the slogan, "The people will avenge themselves. Franco, murderer."

Surprised by the Civil Guard while he was doing this, he was ordered to climb down. The miner had the coolness to reply, "Wait until I finish." He was terribly beaten.

Tina Martínez, who lives in the quarter of La Jocara in Sama de Langreo, was tortured and her head shaved. Her husband has been in prison since the strikes last year.

Juan Alberdi of Lada was arrested along with another miner nicknamed "Chocolatina." To amuse himself Captain Fernando Caro ordered them to fight each other. Since the fight, naturally, was not carried on in earnest, the torturers of the Civil Guard took over and completed the beating which the two miners had sought to evade. Later they were brought before Captain Caro who ironically reproached them, "But what beasts you are to beat each other like this!"

A woman, whose name has not yet been learned, tried to escape the ill treatment they were preparing to inflict on her at police headquarters in Sama de Langreo, by revealing that she was pregnant. Captain Fernando Caro punched her with all his force in the stomach, shouting, "One Communist less!"

It should be added that this captain wears sport clothes to "work" more comfortably during his "interrogations."

Out of the miners who have been arrested, the whereabouts of more than five hundred is unknown. Some sixty miners of Hullera Española in the Aller basin asked for death in order to end the torture and bad treatment.

On September 10 twenty miners were arrested at the Camocha mine in Gijón. They were brought to police headquarters where they were beaten until three of them lost consciousness.

María del Rosario García, 55, was arrested for lodging a miner, her brother-in-law. On being asked where she was being taken, they replied, "First to police headquarters and then to jail."

If companies not on strike hire a striker, they are punished by a first fine of 1,000 pesetas, a second of 6,000. On the third offense the place is padlocked.

Captain Fernando Caro utilizes an "original" system to select his victims. He calls in the watchmen of a mine and orders each one to bring in five men to go to work. Since they generally show up the next day without any recruits, the captain asks them whom they went to see. The watchmen report the names of the miners who did not respond and Captain Caro orders these

men to be brought in immediately and then begins the session of torture.

On Saturday morning September 4 some 50 per cent of the miners went down into the Camocha mine. Once inside the workings they decided that rather than come out and expose themselves to the police repression they would stay in the mine, but without working. Although they had made no preparations for this tactic, most of the miners agreed to accept the collective decision. They stayed in all day and night. The demonstration did not end until Sunday morning. The police reaction to this move is not yet known.

"In recent weeks a wave of violence has swept the Asturian basin," declares a leaflet signed by "A group in the trade-union opposition." An Asturian correspondent writes, "The people are both angered and terrorized."

Our informants add that the above report barely indicates what is going on in Asturias.

This is the information that has reached us up to now. Naturally there is some lack of precision in details in view of the conditions under which news must be gathered. All the reports end with appeals for national and international solidarity, asking in particular that the whole civilized world denounce the atrocities being committed in Asturias.

#### NEW THREAT FACES ESKIMOS AND LAPPS

At the closing session September 24 of a conference of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, held in Nairobi, Kenya, Francis Bourliere, president of the organization, reported on the extreme concern felt by the world's ecologists over the possible effect of nuclear explosions on the balance of species.

An early discovery, he said, was that lichens are natural collectors of fallout material. The poisoning of lichens endangers reindeer that feed on them in Canada and Scandinavia. Reindeer were found to have strontium-90 and cesium in their bones three or four times the lethal dose for humans.

People who eat such meat, he said, therefore risk absorbing a lethal dose.

Reindeer are not widely eaten in countries that have been producing nuclear fallout; but they are part of the diet of Eskimos and Lapps.

DENNIS BRUTUS TAKEN TO "THE FORT"

Dennis Brutus, president of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, who was shot twice in the stomach at close range by South African police, was reported to be convalescing September 28.

The Johannesburg police said that they fired a single shot at the well-known teacher to stop him after they had chased him for four blocks as he sought to escape by fleeing. [See last issue of World Report.]

Although the victim has far from recovered, he was bundled into a wheel chair at the hospital and security police pushed him to a waiting ambulance. He was then taken to Johannesburg's principal jail, "the Fort."

In accordance with the fascist-like laws in force in South Africa, Mr. Brutus is being held without charge. He is alleged to have attended a banned meeting. In addition he has sought to have South Africa barred from the coming Olympic games.

The case continued to reverberate internationally. Dr. George Msibi, the prominent Swaziland political figure who was seized together with Mr. Brutus by Portuguese secret police in Mozambique, cabled the British Colonial Secretary Duncan Sandys and Harold Wilson, head of the Labour party, demanding a full inquiry.

Dr. Msibi was badly injured by the Portuguese police and a woman companion was beaten.

All three had been cleared by Portuguese officials at the border. Mr. Brutus was on his way to Europe. Later he was seized by the Portuguese secret police, PIDE. When Dr. Msibi saw his friend being handcuffed, he demanded an explanation. The answer he got was a beating and solitary confinement in a cell.

His condition became worse and a doctor ordered an operation. Dr. Msibi refused, demanding his own medical kit so that he could treat himself. This was refused for several days.

The British consul was not informed of the arrest for five days. When he protested the delay, Portuguese authorities justified their action by alleging that under Portuguese law political suspects are denied contact with anyone for five days.

Dr. Msibi and the woman were finally allowed to return to Swaziland. Meanwhile Portuguese police had handed Mr. Brutus

over to South African police although he was a political refugee in Swaziland and came under British passport jurisdiction.

NEXT ISSUE

For the first time: "A Soviet Artist Speaks His Mind." Full text of a speech by a leading Soviet film artist against those who seek to preserve Stalinism. Made at a meeting in Moscow.

SCHOLAR ARRESTED IN SOUTH AFRICA

The September 29 issue of The Observer, a London weekly reports another startling case in South Africa. The account is as follows:

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Dr. Neville Alexander, a prominent non-white scholar who was detained in Cape Town under the 90-day detention clause in July is to be tried for sabotage. He will appear in the Supreme Court on November 4.

Dr. Alexander was committed for trial at a brief hearing in a magistrates' court. Bail was refused.

In 1958 Dr. Alexander became the first non-white from South Africa to be awarded an Alexander von Humbolt bursary for post-graduate study at a West German university. He took a Master's degree and in 1961 was awarded a Doctorate of Philosophy for a thesis on the German dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann.

BITTER STRIKE STRUGGLE IN BOLIVIA

LA PAZ. -- Bolivia's mine workers engaged in a big struggle for several weeks in August. The international press seems to have given it little coverage although it was one of the most important in years.

The basic reason for the struggle was the so-called "rehabilitation" problem; that is, the application of measures demanded by the Triangular Plan (Bolivia, Germany, the United States) for modernizing mines faced with economic and technical difficulties which have affected production for some years. What the management (Comibol) of the nationalized mines wants, in agreement with the government of Paz Estenssoro and the

imperialists, is that the miners should bear the cost of "rehabilitation" by giving up, among other things, some of the conquests of the revolution of 1952.

The struggle began with a work stoppage on the "650 level" of the Siglo XX mine, ordered by the local trade-union leadership under the influence of the Communist party. Comibol's reply was rather violent, the suspension of 1,051 miners, the expulsion of two local leaders, Pimentel and Escobar, the modification of a system of contracts in the mine, the elimination of overtime work, etc.

A special meeting of the general secretaries of the union at Catavi decided that work should be resumed on the "650 level." But Comibol did not withdraw its measures. The strike then spread by chain reaction.

A congress was called which decided to continue the strike and to elect a national strike committee. A general mine strike was the next step. The COB decided to support the action of the miners by national strike action. This affected Tarija, Tupiza, Potosí, Cochabamba, Oruro and La Paz.

The struggle was headed by 25,000 miners and developed in a very militant mood. Rather serious conflicts took place following brutal attempts by the government at repression.

Thus at the beginning of the struggle, the government sent police agents and soldiers in civilian clothes to an area near Catavi with the aim of mobilizing peasants against the miners through the offices of certain trade-union bureaucrats at the head of union locals of the peasants.

The militia of the miners at Catavi and Siglo XX mobilized and opened a real battle against the government forces of repression. There were deaths on both sides.

The head of the official group was taken prisoner and shot by the miners in revenge for the death of Octavio Torricos, secretary of the militia of the union at the Siglo XX mine.

The general strike of the miners lasted fourteen days. According to a circular distributed by the Executive Committee of Revolutionary Workers party (POR), Bolivian Section of the Fourth International, the strike suffered several weaknesses. It was ill prepared and even the beginning was improvised. There was no genuine organization of the ranks. With some exceptions there were no meetings, no election of strike committees nor mass demonstrations. The national leadership set no common goals that could unify the miners in their struggle.

Consequently the strike appeared essentially as a defensive struggle in solidarity with the miners at Catavi and Siglo XX.

This explains the outcome of the strikes. The reinstatement of Escobar and Pimentel was not won. Still worse, workers control was suspended. The authority of the unions was brushed aside. Overtime work was eliminated. As for liquidation of jobs, this will take place in a less brutal way but it will be applied in agreement with the FSMTB. Job ratings will be revised but in accordance with what management wants, not according to the demands of the workers.

"This signifies," concludes the document of the POR, "that nothing was won and government blows were not warded off. The masses of the miners were hit and their conquests restricted. Responsibility for this falls on the Lechin tendency and the Communist party who provoked a dispersion of power of the masses and capitulated to Comibol and the government."

"FORWARD TO LENIN!"

An analysis by E. Germain of the article "On the Question of Stalin" written by the joint editorial boards of the Peking People's Daily and Red Flag. In the next issue of World Outlook. Make sure you get it. Subscribe now.

CELEBRATE CHINESE REVOLUTION

A half million people paraded in Peking on the fourteenth anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The parade filed past a reviewing stand of top government figures, including the rarely seen Mao Tse-tung. Hundreds of thousands of people lined the streets in observance of the national holiday October 1.

The keynote for the speeches was sounded by Peng Chen, mayor of Peking. He attacked the "aggressive policy of Kennedy and his nuclear blackmail." He stressed that China had often proposed "the complete destruction of nuclear arms."

"We are convinced," he said, "that a new world war can be prevented. World peace can be preserved if, with this aim in mind, a common struggle is opened up by all the socialist countries, the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as the Western Countries, including the American people."

Mao Tse-tung also appeared briefly at a banquet staged for 5,000 people in the evening. The main speech, however, was made by Chou En-lai. It was mild in tone.

Messages of congratulations were received from many countries, including those workers states with which Peking is at present in hot dispute.

In hailing the victory of the Chinese Revolution fourteen years ago, the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR in a common message paid tribute to the Chinese people.

"In the course of the past fourteen years," the message said, "the People's Republic of China has achieved big successes in the construction of socialism. The Chinese people have displayed a spirit of sacrifice and genuine heroism in the task of overcoming the economic backwardness of the country, in building the bases for socialist industrialization, in completing the socialist transformation of agriculture and accomplishing great progress in the field of the cultural revolution."

In fourteen years China has indeed displayed its enormous potential as a rising world power. Although American imperialism tries to banish revolutionary China by shutting it from sight, the majority of humanity are keenly aware of the existence of this young giant and wish it maximum success in the coming years.

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