

# WORLD OUTLOOK

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### THE NEW CRISIS OVER CUBA

By Joseph Hansen

This time the crisis did not escalate over rockets capable of carrying nuclear warheads. All that was involved was four small fishing boats working the waters of the Gulf of Mexico. Yet the Johnson administration frothed at the mouth as if the fate of American capitalism hinged on what the Cubans might happen to hook.

On February 1 the Cape Knox sighted the four Cuban boats and let them proceed into what the captain held were American territorial waters although the fishermen were a good seven and a half miles outside the three-mile limit off the Dry Tortugas. On the following day, bolstered by reinforcements, the naval vessel ordered the Cubans to

proceed to Key West. There they were intensively interrogated by federal authorities for three whole days. Nothing could be found against them.

Instead of releasing the Cubans, however, as required by international law, the federal agents turned them over to Florida authorities who at once charged them with "fishing without a license" in "Florida waters." The alleged infraction concerns a law passed last year specifically against the Cubans, since it bars them from obtaining the demanded licenses.

The arbitrariness of the whole procedure is sufficiently exposed by the fact that Florida claims its territorial waters extend beyond those of the United States. It thus challenges the sovereignty of the federal government.

In face of this flagrant breach of international law, the Cuban government announced it would no longer supply water to the Guantanamo naval base. Washington then chose to interpret this as a provocation and virtual threat to engage in war with the United States.

What has put the nerves of the Johnson administration so much on edge? Is it just election maneuvers?

The correct answer is to be found in the bankruptcy of the policy of seeking to bring down the Castro government by an economic blockade. The blockade was never successful. A month ago it was dealt a major blow when a British bus manufacturer decided to sell 1,450 buses, plus spare parts, to the Cuban government. The deal went through despite angry pressure from the State Department on the British government. [See World Outlook January 17.]

The nice piece of change in sight for the stockholders of the Leland Motor Corp. whetted other appetites. French industrialists complained to de Gaulle that the British had beaten them out of needed sales because of French insistence on cash. De Gaulle was responsive and the French government advanced credits to meet the competition. As a result Berliet sold Cuba 300 heavy trucks for \$10,000,000. Another important order was won by Continental for caterpillar-type tractors. In addition, Le Monde [February 9-10] reported that twenty or thirty heavy-duty Diesel electric locomotives will be sold to Cuba. Other contracts are being negotiated. Even the Spanish capitalists are showing impatience over restraints on their selling fishing boats to Cuba.

The Cubans are actively following up this opening. They are reportedly establishing an important economic mission in Brussels.

Was Johnson's course simply a display of petulant rage? In Texas style did he turn on the weak Cubans because the European competitors of Wall Street have grown bolder about hunting for markets for surplus products since the U.S. began selling surplus wheat to the USSR? Or was it a sinister move toward again tightening military pressures on the valiant Cubans? We will not have long to wait for the answer.

### 8,000 PEASANTS SEIZE LAND IN PERU

A thirty-day "state of siege" was declared in Cuzco province February 5 when local authorities failed to oust some 8,000 peasants from ancestral lands they occupied at Sicuani on January 27.

On February 4, it was reported, 17 persons were killed and 27 wounded when some 40 police sought to dispossess the peasants. Most of the victims were women, according to Lima newspapers.

A February 6 dispatch from Lima said that the Belaúnde government was rushing troops to the area.

An official communiqué, February 6, claimed that the police were moving into the properties involved, when they were "attacked" by thousands of peasants who went after the government forces with rocks and sticks. The police suffered 17 wounded. They then opened fire on the peasants. Some 30 persons were arrested and held for military trial.

The government claimed that the movement of the peasants onto the land and their resistance to the police "were part of a plan in the province of Cuzco, plotted and directed completely by extremist Communist elements to disturb law and order and create chaos."

Minister of State Juan Languasco also said that guns made in Czechoslovakia, sold by military authorities in Bolivia, had been found in the hands of rebels at Puno. Six or seven persons, he said, had been arrested in connection with the affair.

The disturbances in the Andes offer fresh testimony to the rise in unrest among the peasants of Peru.

Recently they organized a one-day general strike in Cuzco, Peru's second city, as a demonstration to back the demand for the release of Hugo Blanco, the Trotskyist peasant leader held in prison at Arequipa. [See World Outlook January 3.]

### ONE-DAY GENERAL STRIKE HITS ITALY

From midnight February 5 to midnight the following day, all of Italy was paralyzed by a general strike of government employees. The action, involving more than 1,200,000 persons, was the biggest of its kind in the history of the country. It affected primary and secondary schools, universities, railways, public administrations, government yards, the postal and telegraph system and even the courts.

The strike was called by the three big unions, the CGIL [Communists and Socialists], the UIC [Social Democrats] and the CISL [Confederation of Free and Christian Unions].

The action was taken to protest the inordinate delay in granting

changes in administrative regulations promised by the government in 1962 which should have been carried out last June. Salary increases, made imperative by jumps in the cost of living, are involved.

Why the big delay in carrying out the promised changes? Spokesmen of the Moro-Nenni government explain apologetically that the change is expensive -- some 450,000,000,000 lire [about \$723,000,000] being involved. They want to spread it out over a three-year period. Government employees declare, however, that their pay is too short to stretch that far.

Reassuring statements about the situation were not slow in being broadcast. Correspondent Jean D'Hospital, writing from Rome to the Paris Le Monde [February 7], said: "It involves a demonstration of discontent, and not, properly speaking, a revolt. Passions are not overly wrought. Everyone knows here, the unions as well, that the State is not in position to respond at present to the wishes of its personnel, no matter how legitimate they are."

Just the same, the authorities had better bestir themselves. Short pay checks are still short no matter how eloquently the government shrugs and displays a pair of empty hands.

#### KASAVUBU TO "INVESTIGATE" LUMUMBA MURDER

The charge levelled by Tschombe that Patrice Lumumba, Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito were delivered to him in dying condition by the government of Kasavubu, Adoula and Bomboko in collusion with the Belgian government [see World Outlook February 7] seems to have stung the three Congolese puppets. Their first reaction was to dismiss Tschombe's declarations. Now they have decided to reconsider.

On February 5 Justin Bomboko, who is Minister of Justice, announced from Leopoldville that "since Moïse Tschombe himself has decided to speak publicly of the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and his friends and has had the impudence to throw the responsibility for this murder on the central government, the latter feels released from the shackles which were imposed on it out of respect for the recommendations of the U.N. and has decided to resume the judicial inquiry and action already started."

Bomboko declared further: "Mr. Moïse Tschombe did not receive from President Kasavubu nor from any minister of the central government the slightest instruction or suggestion to proceed with the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

"If, as he affirms, Mr. Tschombe is innocent of the triple assassination of Patrice Lumumba, Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito, it will do him no good to agitate the international press. To clarify the matter, he need merely return to the Congo and place whatever he knows at the disposition of the law."

Three observations can be made about this declaration. (1) The author is one of those accused by Tschombe of having suggested that he murder Lumumba. He is the right man to reopen the investigation which his government had previously closed! (2) If Bomboko succeeds in proving that Tschombe was the actual executioner or gave the actual orders for the execution of the three Congolese martyrs, he still faces the question: How did the central government of Kasavubu-Adoula-Bomboko come to place Lumumba, Mpolo and Okito on a plane and deliver them to Tschombe with his butcher's reputation? Let Bomboko begin his new "investigation" by clearing up this not unimportant matter. (3) Was the United Nations involved in hushing up the facts in the murder of Lumumba, Mpolo and Okito? This is clearly implied in Bomboko's latest declaration. Did the UN, then, play a direct role in the foul execution of the Congo's outstanding nationalist leaders?

As for the Belgian government, it betrayed its guilty conscience by seizing all the copies of the issue of Pourquoi Pas? that contained Tschombe's sensational revelations. Who is to investigate its role in this bloody business?

#### CHOU EN-LAI FINDS AFRICA UP TO EXPECTATIONS

"There is an excellent revolutionary situation in the African continent." This was Chou En-lai's summary of what he had found after an extended tour through a number of African countries. At a press conference in Mogadiscio February 3 the premier of the People's Republic of China spoke gratefully of the warm reception generally accorded everywhere the delegation he headed went.

Asked to explain what he meant by "revolution," Chou said that a revolution goes through many stages. "Certain countries have accomplished the first stage, consisting of gaining independence and getting rid of colonialism. Others are still struggling for independence."

To the question whether he listed Ethiopia and Morocco among the countries that have attained independence, Chou responded: "They are independent, but are still under the control of foreign interests, although Morocco is free from American influence. Ben Bella firmly wishes to continue his genuine revolution, Sekou Touré and Modibo Keita also, like Castro."

Chou disclaimed any responsibility for the revolution in Zanzibar. He learned about it "in the newspapers." Reactionaries are always ready to blame "the Communists" for everything, he said. "We don't want to take credit for what we haven't done."

At a meeting at the Mogadiscio stadium, Chou said that most of the African leaders he had met were in favor of leading "an implacable struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism." He foresaw a "brilliant future" for the newly independent African countries that govern themselves "well" and "promote a national democratic revolution" by basing themselves "on the power of the masses."

GUERRILLA WAR FLARES IN THE CONGO

BRUSSELS -- Reports received here from the Congo reveal that guerrilla war has flared on an extensive scale in the province of Kwilu, birthplace of Antoine Gizenga, leader of the Lumumbist opposition who is now being held in prison on a small island in the mouth of the Congo river.

Pierre Mulele is reported to be at the head of the fighters. He was minister of education, first in the Lumumba government before the Congolese freedom leader was murdered, then in the Gizenga government at Stanleyville.

[A February 3 United Press International dispatch from Leopoldville called Mulele a "Peking-trained terrorist."

[An Associated Press dispatch from the same city on the following day merely said he had "visited both Moscow and Peking."

[American Ambassador Edmund Gullion was reported by the same source as saying, after a trip to Kwilu, that government forces had "captured the notebook of a man who attended a guerrilla warfare school." According to Gullion, the subversive prize of battle "contained ideas from Cuban guerrilla expert Ernesto Guevara and China's Mao Tse-tung."]

[Agence France Presse reported from Leopoldville February 5 that "the rebels" particularly "threatened" Leverville. "This town is the center of the biggest plantation of the Unilever company. The Leverville plantation includes a refinery and several palm groves. It produces half the Congo oil sold by Unilever, some 21,000 tons. It employs around 10,500 Congolese. It was partly evacuated Tuesday afternoon."]

Estimates as to the size of the forces that have launched guerrilla war vary from 700 to 3,000. A letter from an American woman missionary was quoted in the reactionary Belgian daily La Libre Belgique as saying that "Pierre" (Mulele) "has supporters in every village."

Most of the guerrilla fighters are reported to be members of the Youth League of the Gizenga party [Parti Solidaire Africain].

The well-paid mercenaries in General Mobutu's "National Congolese Army" are engaging in attempted encirclement operations throughout the province, and are using terror in efforts to put down the uprising.

That they will succeed remains to be seen. According to one report, the revolt has spread to two other provinces, Kwango and Kasai.

There are even indications that a tribe living on both sides of the Kwango-Angola frontier has risen. This, if true, would signify

the opening of a new front in the Angolan revolution.

Finally, considerable unrest is evident in the Stanleyville area, a former stronghold of the Lumumbist nationalist forces. There a group of gendarmes is said to have mutinied, while a number of soldiers were arrested for attending a meeting sponsored by Lumumbist political organizations.

The reactionary neocolonialist Kasavubu-Adoula regime, alarmed by the situation, is maneuvering for military intervention by the United Nations or the United States. If the rebellion is not quickly stamped out, the puppet government might very well lose control of an important part of the country.

### Belgian Students Defend Guerrilla Fighters

In Belgium, the left-wing Federation of Brussels Socialist Students has come out in support of the Congolese freedom fighters. On January 29 they distributed a leaflet on a broad scale appealing for solidarity with the guerrilla forces.

The leaflet declared:

"For some days, the big press has reported guerrilla actions in Kwilu in the Congo. These guerrilla actions are led by Mr. Pierre Mulele. Who is he? The minister of education of the Lumumba government, formed in June 1960, a representative of the African Solidarity party (PSA) of Antoine Gizenga.

"The whole Belgian press, from the Libre Belgique to Drapeau Rouge [organ of the Communist party] characterize these guerrilla fighters as 'gangs' of 'terrorists.'

"While recalling that Marxists have always been opposed to the use of individual terror and gratuitous violence, we believe that before discrediting a movement by characterizing it as a terrorist gang, it is necessary to make a precise analysis of it and of the social conditions of the country involved.

"With regard to this, we point to an extremely disquieting fact: according to the latest letter of an American woman missionary, 'young African villagers sought refuge with her and with another missionary out of fear of the soldiers.' (La Libre Belgique, January 28.)

"So it is not so much the guerrilla fighters of Pierre Mulele as the praetorians of Mobutu who are sowing terror, even according to a source which can scarcely be disputed. This does not astonish us. Faced with the loss of its social base, the government of Mr. Cyrille Adoula is forced more and more to seek support in a military caste of privileged and uncontrollable praetorians. This tendency has been particularly noticeable since the months of September (banning of Lumumbist parties) and October (proclamation of a state of emergency). Moreover, the student leaders of the UGEC (Union Générale des Etudi-

ants Congolais), in view of the progressive positions of this organization, have been subjected to police persecution and legal proceedings.

"Why the unpopularity of the Adoula government? Because it is the instrument of neocolonialism in the Congo. It has become the puppet of Belgian-American financial interests since the rapprochement between the financial groups of these two countries following their agreement to absorb Tshombism, in a 'gentle' way to 'limit the damage.'

"In fact let's read the recent declaration made by Adoula himself: 'The private sector has understood the real interests of Belgium in the Congo. Consequently, avoiding hasty conclusions, it has aimed at the future. The evolution of the situation. . . proves fully that it has seen correctly. . . Within this background, I should like to remind you that the Congo has deliberately opted for a free enterprise, competitive economy. This, it seems to me, is the most appropriate path for assuring the expansion of our country. We shall assume all the responsibilities flowing from this choice.' ('Private Enterprise in the Congo.' In the 'New York Times' of January 28, page paid by the companies associated with the Société Générale de Belgique.)

"In face of this neocolonialist behavior, a vast opposition formed in the Congo. The UGEC came out in favor of nationalizing the key sectors of the economy. At Kivu, A. Kashamura organized the Union des Force Populaires Congolaises. Gbenye led the Lumumbist opposition. The trade unions began making their own demands. It was to muzzle the opposition that the Congolese parliament was dissolved and a military dictatorship installed by Adoula.

"It was only natural that a government of neocolonialist violence would arouse violence in kind. The parliamentary road being closed, only direct action could obtain results. Noting that the revolt led by P. Mulele enjoyed the support of the population (Libre Belgique, January 28) and was even spreading to other provinces (Le Monde, January 29, evening edition of January 28), the Drapeau Rouge of January 29 came out with a position of watchful waiting.

"The Belgian progressives must therefore carry out their most elementary duty in face of a situation that can lead to big developments.

"We heard on the Belgian radio-television that on January 28 the ultrapatriots had begun to set off explosives in the lodgings of black undergraduates.

"DOWN WITH CHAUVINISM!

"Adoula is deliberately letting the sick Gizenga rot in prison.

"FREE GIZENGA!

"DOWN WITH NEOCOLONIALISM!



"LONG LIVE LUMUMBISM!

"The colonial revolution is spreading, and from Algeria to Zanzibar, from the Congo to the Cape, it can only be socialist if real independence is to be won!

"The Socialist Students."

### ZANZIBAR TRADE UNIONS BACK NEW GOVERNMENT

The Zanzibar and Pemba Federation of Labor and the Federation of Progressive Trade Unions decided at recent meetings to dissolve their separate organizations and form a united trade-union movement. The name of the new organization is the Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions [FRTU].

In a press release, the FRTU expressed full support for the revolutionary government of Zanzibar. It said it was determined to safeguard the Zanzibar People's Republic at all costs. The press release also supported the action of the government in expelling the U.S. charge d'affaires. "We know clearly that U.S. imperialism will never stop causing confusion and carrying out counterrevolutionary activities in our country just as it has never stopped doing these things in other countries. . . ."

A thirty-member "Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Zanzibar" was announced January 24 as the supreme authority governing the country. It meets in the former sultan's palace which has been renamed the "People's Palace."

The Revolutionary Council includes the president and vice-president, ministers and assistant ministers, heads of police and the armed forces, trade unionists and youth leaders. President Karume acts as chairman.

The Swahili language paper Kweupe [Dawn] stresses that the corrupt rule of the monarchy backed by imperialism has been overthrown but that the struggle is not yet over. It urges the people to resolutely carry out the aims of the revolution and to fight against imperialism and colonialism headed by the U.S.

"It is true that we have friendship with so many countries, even the American people," said the paper, "but first of all we should rely on ourselves. To defend the people's republic and to build a new Zanzibar, we must get united."

The Zanzibar radio and press have been carrying material praising China, especially for its firm stand against American imperialism.

The new government is moving in various ways to demonstrate its popular character.

For instance, the "Sir Tayabali Karimjee Club," which was opened in 1959 under sponsorship of the big East African capitalist of the same name, was taken over January 28. It was renamed the "People's Club." Workers, peasants and students who were formerly barred from entry can now freely enjoy its luxury recreational facilities.

### A THORNY QUESTION FOR CEYLONESE CP

The December issue of World Marxist Review [in French: La Nouvelle Revue Internationale], monthly magazine printed in Prague which voices the collective opinion of Communist parties adhering to Khrushchev's views, features a long article by Pieter Keuneman, leader of the Communist party of Ceylon, entitled, "For Unity of the Working Class of Ceylon." The article purports to tell the story of the "fight for unity" in the Ceylonese working-class movement since the party was founded under Keuneman's leadership.

The role of hero is naturally awarded to the Communist party while other formations are taken to task -- in a mild tone -- for "lack of understanding" or "sectarianism" on this key issue.

It would take us too far afield to correct all the factual inaccuracies, half truths, distortions and omissions abounding in the article. It is sufficient to observe that Keuneman nowhere indicates that the August 1953 hartal [general strike] was led from beginning to end by the Trotskyists of the LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja party]. Nor does it even hint at the treacherous role played by the Communist party during the Second World War when, in support of British imperialism, it gave up even the national struggle. Keuneman also remains silent on the split which just occurred in his party when the main trade-union leader N. Shanmugathan was expelled for his pro-Chinese leanings -- a strange way of supporting "unity of the working class."

Most glaring of all is the failure to indicate that the Lanka Sama Samaja is a Trotskyist party, the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International. We say most glaring because the article deals mainly with what to the Communist party is the problem of the LSSP, the principal working-class party in Ceylon, and because it hails the formation of the United Left Front, a combination of the LSSP, the MEP [Mahajana Eksath Peramune (United Popular Front)] and the CP. Not a single leader of the LSSP is named, although Keuneman offers a glowing description of the giant 1963 May Day meeting of 150,000 persons at Colombo which was chaired by Comrade N.M. Perera and addressed by Comrade Colvin R. De Silva, chairman of the Co-ordination Committee of all the Ceylonese trade unions.

How explain these remarkable gaps in Keuneman's article? Isn't it all the more important to speak clearly in view of his participation in a common front with Trotskyists who are still branded as "wreckers" and "saboteurs" in recent Soviet publications?

If Pieter Keuneman thought he could simply slip around this

thorny question his luck didn't last long. In the same issue, World Marxist Review features another article, from no one less than L. Corvalan, leader of the Chilean Communist party, in defense of the "peaceful road, as a form of revolution," in which the following choice bit appears:

"The dogmatists, who enjoy the little enviable support of the Trotskyists, try by all means to discredit the Marxist-Leninist [!] thesis of the peaceful road, which they fraudulently identify with revisionism and reformism, and represent as an abandonment of revolution."

Thus on page 5 the note is sounded that support by the Trotskyists is "little enviable." But on page 69 Pieter Keuneman celebrates as a big event the formation of a common front in which his party is in the "little enviable" position of standing shoulder to shoulder with "the Trotskyists."

Perhaps that is why he decided to keep uninformed readers of the World Marxist Review in ignorance of the fact that the LSSP happens to be a Trotskyist party.

#### MEXICO -- SILVER LINING IN SOME DARK CLOUDS

Some interesting facts compiled from various sources by the Mexico City daily newspaper El Día [January 26] show that Mexico is the only fairly bright spot in an otherwise gloomy picture for Latin-American capitalism.

According to a study made by the Cámara Nacional de la Industria de la Transformación, "Latin America continues to lose capital at an accelerated rate. Foreign investors take out in profits and emoluments more than they invest or re-invest. In 1962, businesses of the United States sent back home from their Latin-American branches more than \$400,000,000. New investments and re-investments, in return, were only \$250,000,000. If in addition, the low prices of the greater part of Latin-American export products are taken into consideration, a clear idea can be gained of the perspectives for the economies of the countries south of the Rio Grande.

"Mexico is the exception. However, our net balance of direct foreign investments continues to be unfavorable. From 1959 to 1962, there was an average annual loss of almost \$200,000,000. But this was compensated for by income from tourism, border business, a big increase in the trade balance and credits from international financial bodies (not private)."

In another study, the Confederación Nacional de Cámaras de Comercio calls attention to an alarming decrease in the rate of growth in Latin America. From 1945-50 the annual rate of increase in national product, taking all the Latin-American countries together, was 7.5%,

although only 3.2% on a per capita basis. In 1962 these figures dropped to 3.1% and 0.3% respectively.

The study shows that Latin America's share in world trade is declining. This is ascribed in part to the "rigidity in composition" of its export products (monoculture, etc.).

Profit possibilities in Mexico for foreign investors are still sufficiently attractive, however, to bring enthusiastic comment from International Commerce, the weekly publication of the U.S. Department of Commerce. In its opinion U.S. investors should stay right on top of the situation. Among the reasons it presents for this is the improvement in political and economic stability in Mexico, the value of Mexico as a customer for U.S. products (purchases in the first seven months of 1963 amounted to \$494,000,000), and the growing recognition in Europe that Mexico offers better business possibilities than any other country in Latin America. The latter "reason" shows the alertness of the Department of Commerce to the threat of rival capitalist cliques.

El Correo Económico, citing the president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, who visited Mexico last October, puts total U.S. investments in Mexico at around \$1,000,000,000.

In 1964, El Correo Económico forecasts, U.S. investments will be about \$105,000,000 of which \$100,000,000 will go into industry, \$2,500,000 into mining and \$2,000,000 into oil.

"This large private North American investment is due," says the magazine, "to the optimistic and heartening news published abroad concerning the brilliant perspectives of the Mexican economy."

During 1964, North American industrialists thus plan to invest in Mexico "in plant and equipment in 1964 as much as 1961 and 1962 combined." The major investment "will be in the automotive industry."

#### JUNTA CLOSES ECUADOR UNIVERSITY

The military junta that seized power in Ecuador last year closed down the Central University in Quito January 30 through a decree announced by Lieutenant Colonel Dario Hinostroza.

The order, reminiscent of dictator Batista's policy in Cuba, followed clashes between students and armed forces deployed by the government. Troops used tear gas to break up student rallies.

The junta accused the university of being a hotbed of political agitation.

The clique of militarists recently reorganized the university, naming new professors whom they expected to be more pliant. However,

the decree closing the school suspended the new teaching staff.

General Luis Agustín Mora Bowen announced a number of arrests of students, 18 of whom were released.

Blind resistance by Ecuador's ruling oligarchy to a long overdue agrarian reform has kept the country seething for the past several years.

### ALEXANDER CASE SCHEDULED TO RESUME

The trial of Dr. Neville Alexander and ten others, who face the death penalty for alleged violation of South Africa's fascist-like "anti-Communist" laws, abruptly postponed at the end of December, was scheduled to resume February 6 in Cape Town. The defendants, who have been held since last July, include seven men and four women.

During the suspension of the trial, the men were taken to the prison at Robben Island.

The case has been given sensational treatment in the South African press, but has met with a conspiracy of silence throughout the rest of the world except in Germany where Dr. Alexander, a brilliant scholar, is well known.

Strangest of all has been the silence in the press in the United States, especially the Negro press where one would imagine that a figure as prominent as Dr. Alexander would at least be introduced to the civil-rights fighters in the U.S. whose struggle has much in common with the one in South Africa represented by a nonwhite leader like Dr. Alexander.

The defendants are accused of the political crime of opposing the policy of apartheid. The specific charge is "sabotage," although no act is alleged beyond the distribution of pamphlets. An "alternative" charge is "furthering the aims of Communism."

In the effort to convict them, the prosecution has relied mostly on standard books and pamphlets by such authors as Lenin and Marx found in Dr. Alexander's voluminous private library. These have been read into the record by the prosecution.

### Atmosphere of Terror

Witnesses forced into court by the prosecution have served to demonstrate what an atmosphere of terror reigns in South Africa. A stool pigeon, stumbling over discrepancies, confessed in court that his evidence was offered under instruction from the police.

The prosecution witness Cecil Dempster denied having been in Cape Town in August. Under cross-examination he broke down, and, in a

"muffled voice," admitted: "Your Honour, the police said it was a secret. . . ."

Other witnesses refused to testify. Three Negroes who declined to take the oath, Cyril Wallace Jacobs, Daniel Zwavel and Josef Lucas were punished by being placed under charges of "sabotage." Had they given evidence "to the satisfaction of the court" they would have been "indemnified."

The January issue of the South African magazine Drum carries a round-up with pictures of the defendants in the various sabotage trials now going on in the country. As one of many instances of the use of torture by the police it cites the following concerning one of the defendants in the Alexander case:

"Marcus Solomons, 23-year-old primary school teacher, told the Cape Supreme Court on December 10 that he had been hit in the face five times, kned in the stomach about seven times and then painfully sat on by Det. Sergeant van Wyk of the Cape Security Police.

"Solomons said the torture started after he had refused to tell Van Wyk where a photostat machine was hidden. 'Eventually I told him that Lionel Davis, another accused, had the machine they were looking for.

"When he came in I told Lionel the police were hitting me and said he had better tell them where the machine was.'

"Solomons said that, before the torture started, Detective Sergeant Oliver had told him 'all that you read in the newspapers about torture is true and we will use it on you.'"

### Record of Torture

A publication called Liberation, alleged to have been edited by Dr. Alexander, was introduced by the state as evidence. One of the articles concerned the use of torture by South Africa's police. An extract, read into the court record, was reported by the Cape Town Post as follows:

"The document reads: 'When does a State resort to torture to obtain information about the subversive activities of the oppressed? Answer -- very simple. When it has its back to the wall, when it is struggling for its very existence. This is the situation in White-controlled South Africa today. When the General Law Amendment Bill became law, torture in South Africa was legalised.

"This, of course, comes as a surprise. Torture has long been known to have been used on prisoners -- both criminal and political -- to get information. This, however, had to be done in such a manner that the law court and the public did not come to hear of it. Today the situation has changed.

"A person can be detained for 90-day periods for questioning

without ever appearing in court. This will, in fact, mean indefinite periods of torture.'

"After saying that South Africa could expect 'brutal' methods of persuasion similar to those used by the French in Algeria, the document proceeds:

"'Even before the G.L.A. Bill became law, allegations of torture were made in practically every case in which the accused was arrested for "subversive" activities.'

"'The allegation, very significantly, was never denied. This was done with the very obvious intention of threatening the oppressed and scaring them away from "subversive" activity.'

"As its first example, the document refers to the Fort Hare lecturer, Andrew Mandla Masonda, who was sentenced to 12 years' jail this year for sabotage. It alleges that only after he had been 'manhandled and was about to receive electric shock' had he made a statement to the magistrate.

"'Second case -- five men who appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on 19th April, 1963, charged with, and later found guilty of, blowing up a railway shed.

"'These men were given electric shock and severely kicked. Wet sacks were tied round their heads and twisted. They were suspended upside down with sacks tied over their bodies and were manhandled on the ground and pulled up by their hair.

"'All five received long prison sentences.

"'Third case -- twelve men who appeared in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court on April 22, 1963. Two had burn marks on their little fingers, which they said were caused by electric shocks. All 12 complained of hunger.'

"'Where these people are being kept is uncertain, and whether we will ever see them again is very unlikely. If we do, we might not recognize them.

"'This, I am sure, will not deter any of us in the N.F.L. [National Liberation Front which the defendants are accused of organizing] from the struggle ahead, but will rather make us more determined to get what we have set out to achieve.'"

### A Nationwide Witch-Hunt

South Africa's use of witch-hunt trials such as this to put down and terrorize potential political opposition in the country was pointed up in an exchange of letters in the columns of the February 2 London Observer. M.C.Lomberg, Information Counsellor for the South African Embassy in London, protested an article in a previous issue by Colin

Legum in which the author said "There is mounting violence in South Africa."

Legum, in rebuttal, called attention to the witch-hunt trials: "My statement is based in the first place on the South African Government's own admissions, as shown by the trials now going on all over the Republic. In Pretoria, the seven men involved in 'the Rivonia trials' are accused of being involved in 222 acts of sabotage. In Cape Town, Dr. Alexander and 10 others are accused of having caused an unspecified number of acts of sabotage. In Pietermaritzburg, 19 alleged Natal leaders of 'the Spear of the Nation' are accused of 28 acts of sabotage. Other trials under the Sabotage Act are in progress in Port Elizabeth, where 55 people are accused; in Grahamstown, where 66 people are accused; in Pretoria, where 19 Africans are accused of recruiting for military training; in Bellville, where 10 Africans are accused of sabotage.

"This is by no means a complete list. Nor have I mentioned the cases of violence on the part of the authorities against those suspected of working for the violent overthrow of the State; e.g., the torture of detainees, instances of which have already been proved in the courts. Then there is the straightforward 'violence' against detainees kept in strict solitary confinement under the '90-day law,' some of whom have been held for as long as 182 days. At least two are known to have committed suicide and a number have landed up in mental hospitals."

In Germany student associations have rallied to the support of Dr. Alexander. More than 1,000 West German students signed a petition calling on United Nations Secretary General U. Thant to intervene in the case.

Miss Irmgard Bolle, secretary of the West German Special Committee for Matters Concerning Dr. Alexander, who has appealed for financial help in conducting the defense, said that the response has been good among the German schools.

#### CARAVELLES FOR CHINA?

In a story which has not been denied by the de Gaulle government, the London Sunday Times [February 2] revealed that France is considering selling the People's Republic of China a fleet of jet airliners. First step would be the transfer of ten Caravelle jets to the Chinese government. The deal involves as much as \$300,000,000.

The legal snag of agreement not to sell China anything containing American parts can easily and profitably be overcome by replacing them with British- or French-made components.

The screams from American businessmen are taken as understandable signs of the satisfaction to be derived from sticking with "principles" and not selling to the Chinese.



## ALGERIA'S "SOCIALIST PILOT STORES"

By Henri Dumoulin

ALGIERS, Feb. 3 -- In an important programmatic speech December 30, Minister of the Economy Bachir Boumaza told the National Assembly:

"The reorganization of the economy will also involve the commercial circuits, the aim being to cut the profit margin of the middlemen, of rationalizing certain circuits of distribution.

"In the urban areas, the government will also support the construction of co-operatives of tradesmen, which can only be beneficial to their interests too. . . It will struggle against all attempts at speculation by organizing a government chain, charged with distributing goods and with systematically educating the consumers."

This declaration was part of another step forward, the establishment of Socialist Pilot Stores ["Magasins Pilotes Socialistes"] in Algeria. At the beginning of January the Algerian press carried forward the campaign of explanation. "This year will mark an offensive against those who engage in speculation and who starve the population," said a typical article. "The government has decided to deliver a decisive blow against those who believe that they can, without danger to themselves, stockpile goods of prime necessity in order to let them out later at exorbitant profits. . ." (In one instance, several tons of sugar had been hoarded by a speculator in Algiers.)

The opening of the Socialist Pilot Stores coincided with the preparations for Ramadan, the Muslim religious holiday, which might well have witnessed a sudden increase in prices and shortages of products. The new stores opened by the government offered essential goods at ordinary prices, particularly sugar and groceries which had of late disappeared from stalls in the wake of maneuvers by speculators.

The Socialist Pilot Stores are supplied normally by ONACO [Office National du Commerce], a government body.

These measures of struggle against the high cost of living and against profiteers testify to the popular character of the Ben Bella-Boumaza leadership.

The Socialist Pilot Stores were created not with the idea of competing with tradesmen but of functioning with their collaboration. Both wholesalers and retailers can purchase supplies from ONACO at the same advantageous prices as the Socialist Pilot Stores, so long as they keep their prices down to the level set by the government.

As for the consumers, their satisfaction was demonstrated by the crowds that flooded the new stores when they were opened. A typical comment: "It's a real store for the people. Yesterday at a grocery store I paid 185 francs [almost \$.40] for a kilo of sugar. Here it was only 152 francs. These stores will certainly contribute to com-

pletely crushing those who still have the outlook of colonialism."

During January a couple of dozen of these stores were opened in Algiers and a series in all the big urban centers of Algeria.

The fact should be underlined that like the whole Algerian socialist sector, the Socialist Pilot Stores operate under self-management, as defined in the famous March 1963 Decrees, the charter of socialist self-management.

Thus the employees held a General Assembly to democratically elect the organisms of self-management (workers council, management committee). However, in view of the special character of these enterprises, where the workers are employees but not producers, the principal of the March Decrees, of interesting the workers materially through sharing the profits, was not maintained. In addition, in view of the importance of success for the Socialist Pilot Stores and the amount of financial involvement, the government designated a technical leadership to back the action of the self-management bodies.

On January 9 Boumaza declared: "Functionaries who fail in their tasks will be just as much subject to punishment as dishonest tradesmen." This was not oratory. Boumaza cited the case of a former director of domestic trade in ONACO and of certain officials of the Ministry whose cases are now before the courts.

On January 12, the National Assembly adopted an important bill containing the following passage: "Anyone, civilian or military, in the service of the state, of a department, or of a community, of a public establishment, a national or mixed economy company, who destroys, embezzles, dissipates or takes in any way for his own profit or that of anyone else, public or private funds, etc. . . valuable objects, goods, commodities. . . is subject to imprisonment from six months to twenty years and a fine of five hundred to two million new francs [\$100 to \$400,000]."

Another paragraph of the law rules out pleas of innocence because of incompetency or inefficiency.

This law, which has begun to be applied against speculators, can, if it hits those who are really guilty, become a solid weapon in the hands of the revolutionary Algerians to safeguard the people against profiteers and to struggle against bureaucrats seeking to turn to their own advantage the economic conquests of the socialist revolution.

### 70% DISLOYAL HAMLETS

"The bleak truth seems to be that of the 8,700 hamlets built by Diem, only 30 per cent are now considered loyal. The others have either been dismantled or thoroughly penetrated by the Communists."  
-- Newsweek, February 3 report on the situation in South Vietnam.

## DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON OVER CYPRUS

LONDON -- More than 1,000 persons turned out to a meeting called by the Movement for Colonial Freedom to hear Greek Cypriote leaders and Labour party Members of Parliament attack the policy of the Tory government toward Cyprus.

After the meeting, the audience joined in a demonstration that wound its way through central London, ending at the Commonwealth Relations Office where a deputation presented a letter addressed to Duncan Sandys, minister for Commonwealth relations.

The letter, signed by British Labour party MP's Fenner Brockway and William Warbey, urged that authority be given to the United Nations and the Cyprus government, if any "policing" of the strife-torn island is necessary.

The two major speeches at the meeting were given by Warbey and Mr. Tallalis of the Greek Cypriote Co-ordinating Committee.

Warbey said that the Tory government was handling the dispute in Cyprus in such a way as to make a peaceful solution of the problem impossible.

"We tried sending troops to Egypt," he said. "We tried sending troops to Malaysia. . . but it failed. . . . Now we are asking the Americans to send troops to salvage the situation for us."

He scored NATO as a belligerent alliance. "The intended NATO force is not to bring peace to Cyprus but to keep a NATO force in the heart of the East Mediterranean."

While opposed to any intervention by NATO, Warbey had no alternative policy except intervention by the United Nations, whose record in Korea and the Congo can scarcely be considered a good recommendation for new involvements.

Warbey advocated that United Nations troops could be headed by some "neutral" country like "Canada" or "Poland."

"The question is, where must our loyalties lie. . . to the UN or to the NATO alliance?" For members of the British Labour party and colonial freedom fighters, "their allegiance must first of all be to the UN," he said.

Mr. Tallalis spoke along much the same lines as Warbey.

The meeting sent telegrams to Foreign Minister R.A. Butler, the American and Soviet ambassadors and President Makarios expressing opposition to any NATO force and urging support for UN involvement.

The leadership of the British Communist party are in agreement with this proposal. In a page one spread February 3, the Daily Worker

had only praise for it. Not a word of suggestion that the affairs of Cyprus should be left to the Cypriotes, and that the imperialist powers should get out of the island along with their troops, military bases, and policy of stirring up fratricidal conflict.

### THE SPECIAL CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY

By Pierre Frank

PARIS -- The special congress of the Socialist party, which met at Clichy February 1-2, ended in a unanimous decision to run Gaston Defferre as candidate for the presidency of the republic. But the congress was greatly divided throughout its sessions. "They asked us for an amicable agreement on nominations [to a resolutions committee]," Defferre said at one time, "in the name of a friendliness and spirit of conciliation which, I must say, has been rather scarce for several weeks." It took five hours of argument behind closed doors to reach agreement.

However, on the big political problems there were actually no differences. In substance, the quarrel involved mainly the relations between the candidate and his party. (Not the party and its candidate.)

Guy Mollet is incontestably the man who best understands the importance of the Socialist party in French politics as the hinge between the bourgeoisie and the working class. He understood the role it could play in 1958 in bringing de Gaulle to power; and he seeks to maintain its capacity for the inverse operation, in case of need. Defferre, in contrast, is one of those Socialist politicians, common in France, who utilize the Socialist party to gain election but who have their own electoral following and who feel no need to abide by the decisions of a congress if they find it inconvenient. One of the strongest objections to his candidacy -- from Mollet to activists in the most distant province -- was that he was imposed on the party through a series of maneuvers. [See World Outlook January 24.] From the way he treated his party in becoming its candidate, it can be guessed how he would act toward it if he were elected president of the republic. If he were elected. . .

#### Count Chicks Before They're Hatched

A comic aspect of the debates at the congress was the care which both Mollet and Defferre displayed in hours of oratorical dueling in refraining from calling things by their right name. Defferre saw himself already elected; Mollet similarly visualized himself -- the head of a victorious Socialist party -- as prime minister. A lot of wind went into haggling over the relationship between the president of the republic and his prime minister.

But can they be thinking, in case they win, of maintaining the

Gaullist constitution of 1958? Certainly. "Elected in accordance with the constitution of 1958, he will carry out the duties pertaining to his office and will uphold the constitution in spirit and letter," declares the unanimously adopted resolution of the Socialist congress.

What they accuse de Gaulle of is not having respected his own constitution, of having made "improper and erroneous interpretations" of it.

Finally, don't think that it's only a short-time business. The resolution also mentions "reefs to be avoided," among them "an upset, innovations so great that there would be a risk that the public would not understand clearly what we want."

Moreover, in undertaking an electoral campaign, "the party maintains its complete freedom for the day, without doubt very distant, when the problem will be posed of over-all structural reform." (My emphasis.)

There is not much to be said on the "program." The truth is that candidate Defferre does not want a program but only "options" (?); the partisans of Mollet don't want a program either, the pretext being that it is up to the head of the government and not the president of the republic to handle this. The result was a document of less significance than the platforms produced by the major parties in the United States. It commits no one.

#### Avoid "Force de Frappe" Issue

However, one point should be noted. Not a word is said about stopping the "force de frappe" [de Gaulle's nuclear "striking force"].

Defferre's eel-like capacity to wriggle was well illustrated when he was asked what his stand was on this at a press conference February 5. "We are for general, controlled disarmament," he said; "thus we are for the suppression of national striking forces. To ask French political figures today, 'Are you ready to stop everything?' is a false problem. The real problem will be posed in two years. If many are taking a stand against the national striking force, a part of the public is in favor of a European striking force. At the moment, it is not possible to undertake a formal engagement. My intention is not to say what I would do if elected. Thus I will refrain from any demagogic promise. What is certain is that it is necessary to provide France with a modern, and if possible European, force."

Still another very significant aspect of the Socialist congress should be noted. At a time when the Socialist party leadership is attempting to "discuss" with the Communists (in a bizarre way, as I noted in World Outlook January 31), the rare times when the question of the French Communist party came up clearly revealed the intention to ignore it in this business of the presidential election. No one asked that the Communist party be consulted in regard to the campaign.

The explanation is very simple. So far as the election is concerned, the Socialist delegates (there was not a worker among them) had their eyes turned to the right, toward the Radicals, the Christian Democrats in the Mouvement Républicain Populaire, and others who would be repulsed by dealings with the Communist party.

To this passing consideration should be added something more profound, related to the fact that sooner or later contact must be established. "At a time when a thaw is beginning in the Communist world," one of the delegates said, "we must keep the CP dangling on our ideological conceptions."

The "left" thus has a candidate now who does not wish to frighten any one. It would be incorrect to believe that this nomination will not exercise a certain influence on political life in France. This will come much less from the "style" that Defferre is trying to give his candidacy, and the vague themes he is now elaborating on, than from the fact that regardless of what is said about the spirit and letter of the Gaullist constitution, the candidacy, in the eyes of the masses, will appear as an alternative -- for or against de Gaulle.

In short, whether Defferre likes it or not, the struggle can force him to take positions on the problems of genuine interest to the masses, and the struggle can have a certain logic which is not necessarily that of a candidate who fears innovation.

## Civil Rights in the U.S.

### VICTORIES BEST DESCRIBED AS "HOLLOW"

By Evelyn Sell

The loud publicity in the American capitalist press about "gains" in civil rights in the United States concern certain victories that can best be described as "hollow." Two good examples are the directive of the Defense Department curtailing civilian discrimination against Negro servicemen and ratification of the twenty-fourth amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Last summer the New York Times [July 27, 1963] carried a front-page story headlined "Pentagon Fights Bias Near Bases." The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces had reported many complaints of discrimination against colored servicemen, and the Defense Department was requested to do something about the matter.

"The Pentagon authorized military commanders today to designate as off limits to servicemen any areas in the vicinity of military bases that practice 'relentless discrimination' against Negroes," said the Times' article.

"A directive issued by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara

said that commanders were responsible for opposing discrimination affecting their men not only on bases but 'also in nearby communities where they may live or gather in off-duty hours.' . . .

"The directive also called for the military departments to institute in each service 'a system for regularly reporting, monitoring and measuring progress in achieving equal opportunity on and off-base.' . . .

"As indicated by Mr. McNamara in his memorandum to the President, recommendations for placing certain areas off limits would be made by military commanders only after they had failed 'in their best efforts with community leaders.'"

### "Unexpected Difficulties"

The antibias order was hailed as a significant victory for civil rights by the administration, which was courting Negro votes. Southern congressmen, however, were incensed over the section giving base commanders power to declare segregated businesses off-limits for military personnel.

Months of silence followed the July announcement. In October the U.S. Civil Rights Commission reported that Negro servicemen had great difficulty in finding decent housing for their families near military bases. Segregated housing patterns near the military installations forced Negro servicemen to house their families in slums or to leave them behind.

"Evidence of housing discrimination against servicemen has been reported," noted the commission, ". . . from Alabama, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Maine, North Carolina, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont and Virginia." Blame was laid on the Defense Department for failing to implement a presidential executive order banning discrimination in federally aided housing.

What happened to the Defense Department fight against bias? Well, we learn now that the July directives were never put into effect. The policy was supposed to begin September 1 when special regulations and instruction manuals were to be distributed to military personnel. The Defense Department, however, has found "unexpected difficulties" in preparing these manuals.

### The Poll Tax Amendment

The twenty-fourth amendment to the U.S. Constitution, abolishing poll taxes in federal elections was finally ratified January 23. Since the end of the Civil War, the poll tax was used as a device to keep Southern Negroes from exercising their constitutional right to vote. Because of their poverty, Negroes found it impossible to scrape up the money required for the special taxes that had to be paid before they could vote.

Many civil-rights fighters urged the federal government to

abolish such an obviously discriminatory tax. An antipoll tax bill has been introduced in every session of Congress since 1949. Finally, the bill passed.

The twenty-fourth amendment is virtually meaningless in the present situation. Only five states still had poll taxes, in the first place, and other means are being employed by the racists to keep the Negroes out of the voting booths in the South. Today's bigots use economic pressure, special qualifications tests, physical terror and outright murder to prevent Negroes from registering and voting. The poll tax was a political corpse years before Congress finally decided to give it a formal burial.

### WHOSE SUICIDE?

The latest panic in the United States is among the 70,000,000 users of tobacco who have read or heard about the official admission of their government that the wonderful aroma of a burning cigarette does not necessarily mean youth, gaiety, romance, fun and a cool Alpine breeze, but does definitely mean a good chance of ending up as one of the statistics on cancer of the lungs.

So 70,000,000 tobacco addicts are trying to quit, cut down, or at least shift to cigars or a pipe.

Congress has been thrown into an uproar by representatives from the tobacco-producing states who are not sure but what it's all just another Communist plot. Millions of dollars of public funds are demanded to investigate ways and means of bringing out a "clean" cigarette. And indeed, if the U.S. can make a clean bomb why not a clean smoke?

The tobacco industrialists who thought they could simply ride out the storm are now becoming a bit uneasy. Their problem is not only how to keep the smoker hooked but how to replace the drop-outs -- no matter what the cause. In a special to the February 3 New York Times on the advertising situation, R.W.Apple, Jr., put the matter delicately:

"Of course the manufacturers and their agencies will continue to seek new smokers; if they did not, they would be committing slow but certain suicide."

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