

# WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 25

June 19, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

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## TROTSKYISTS BATTLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM IN CEYLONESE PARTY

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Although Perera succeeded in winning a majority vote at the conference, his proposal had been previously rejected in the Central Committee by the narrow vote of 21 to 19.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International unanimously opposed the proposal to participate in a bourgeois coalition and leading spokesmen of the Trotskyist movement in many parts of the world likewise condemned the suggestion.

Perera disregarded these expressions of unqualified opposition, representing the view of the overwhelming majority of the world Trotskyist movement. He likewise broke the discipline of the movement.

After the vote had been registered at the conference, the Left Wing walked out to protest the betrayal of Trotskyist principles. Taking the name Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section), they announced that they would continue the revolutionary-socialist program on which the LSSP was founded.

Two of the founding members of the party, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Gunewardene, declined to accept the portfolios offered by Mrs. Bandaranaike. In the debate, however, they had favored a coalition that would have brought in the entire United Left Front of which the LSSP was the strongest component. They did not join in the protest walk-out.

It was suggested by C.P. de Silva, a prominent member of Mrs. Bandaranaike's cabinet and a right-wing leader of her Sri Lanka Freedom Party [Holy Ceylon Freedom Party], who opposed the coalition from the right, that Perera was engaging in "Marxist infiltration tactics." Perera told him not to be a simpleton and believe what he read in books lent him by the American Embassy.

The London Times also hastened to prevent any misunderstanding by the American Embassy on the real meaning of Perera's move. In an editorial [June 12] entitled "Ceylon's New Coalition," the Times made it quite plain that so far as British imperialism is concerned, Perera is a welcome addition to the Ceylonese government. The editorial is well worth quoting in full:

"The news from Ceylon almost suggests that MRS. BANDARANAIIKE and DR. PERERA sat up through the night slapping down their cherished trump cards -- Buddhism and banking; Sinhalese nationalism and Trotskyism -- in order to give this fretful island a new political deal at last. The bickering over this coalition had gone on for so long that the optimist had not much left to cling to. How will the new hand be played?

"Undoubtedly DR. PERERA'S part as the Trotskyist leader will be watched with most interest. After many years in opposition, this true product of the Laski school can apply his learning to Ceylon's economic problems. It is not only age and familiarity that have made him a respected figure in Ceylon's political life. He has shown himself before now an efficient and honest administrator as Mayor of Colombo. If he can bring that necessary but rare combina-

tion of qualities to his new role as finance minister -- even allowing for some lingering vagaries of doctrine -- he will be doing Ceylon a service of which it is in desperate need.

"On MRS. BANDARANAIKE'S side the contract has been one of necessity. The Freedom Party she inherited from her late husband, with its mixture of nationalism and religious revivalism in a left-wing wrapping, never had a big following in the towns, but lately it has been losing ground in the countryside. Ceylon has been living in a miasma of hopeless irritation as strike succeeded strike, the relations between Tamils and Sinhalese grew more and more embittered, and all sense of authority and leadership ebbed away. The new coalition will have to show some quick results if it is to recapture the lost drive."

It is, indeed, glaringly clear that the coalition is not at all like the one in which the Cuban revolutionaries engaged and which proved to be a passing episode as Castro and his team, heading the popular armed forces that had smashed the Batista regime, consolidated their power under the impulse of a mounting revolution and then brushed the bourgeois figures aside.

This is proved conclusively by the conditions which Perera agreed to swallow and by the fact that the cabinet of twelve was simply widened to fifteen to make room for the former Trotskyists. Here is how the June 12 London Times describes the deal:

"Discussions went on all night on the evolution of a joint programme of work. The Trotskyites put forward a 10-point programme, mainly on economic issues and including provision to control banks and agency houses and to break up newspaper monopolies.

"Mrs. Bandaranaike added four more points: that Buddhism should be given its rightful place; there should be no change in the language policy; the Indo-Ceylon problem should be settled by negotiation; and nomination of candidates at the next election should be entrusted to her.

"The specific mention of the religious and language issues was made to placate chauvinistic elements in her own party who had expressed fears that Marxist Ministers would not attach any importance to them."

The points on language and the Indo-Ceylon issue really involve the rights of the minority Tamil people who seem to be the first target of the bourgeois coalition.

The formation of this coalition of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and three captives takes place against the background of an acute government crisis which had opened a promising opportunity for a workers and farmers government to come to power in Ceylon in the near future. This was clearly foreshadowed by the strong senti-

ment for unity among the workers around a socialist program and by actions which they have undertaken. The formation of the United Left Front last year offered great possibilities along this line if properly developed.

Analysis of the situation shows that the weakness of Mrs. Bandanaraike's government was realized by the political brains of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie and that the coalition offer was shrewdly designed to block the development of a situation favoring establishment of a workers and farmers government. The calculation was that the offer of cabinet posts would precipitate a crisis in the United Left Front, increase the possibility of splitting the revolutionary forces, and -- if it succeeded -- associate prominent leaders of the workers with the discredit bound to fall on the government as it sought to solve its crisis at the expense of the workers and peasants.

The world Trotskyist movement has long been concerned over the opportunistic parliamentarism displayed by the right wing of the LSSP. Public criticisms made of this tendency have, unfortunately, proved to be only too well founded.

The Bandaranaike-Perera coalition does not face a bright future. The immediate perspective still remains that of deepening crisis. Meanwhile fresh revolutionary tendencies have appeared in Ceylon as evidenced, among other things, by a split in the Communist party to the left some six months ago. The strong group of Trotskyist cadres who fought Perera's betrayal of revolutionary-socialist principles will find the opportunities not lacking to recover from the defection of the Right Wing.

[In our next issue we hope to have a full report and analysis from Colombo on this situation.]

#### ALGERIANS RAISE SLOGAN OF WORKERS CONTROL

El Moudjahid, the central organ of the Front de Libération Nationale [FLN], opened a discussion in its May 23 issue on the need for organs of workers control in Algeria, particularly in the sector of private industry where the institution of "self-management" has not yet been instituted.

The weekly newspaper observes that for several weeks, and particularly after the recent congress of the FLN, the workers in many industries have been pressing forward, at times going as far as strike action. The direction of this movement, El Moudjahid notes, is not for ordinary demands but toward the establishment of self-management.



The role of the unions in Algeria is directly involved in this, according to El Moudjahid:

"The only perspective open to Algerian trade-unionism, as expressly stated in its statutes, is management of economy, such management corresponding to the interests, correctly understood, of the industrial workers as well as the entire national collectivity.

"Such management, already undertaken in the self-managed sector, must be developed in other forms in the sector of industry that is not self-managed -- trade and transport. This was expressed by Brother Ben Bella in his speech of April 16, 1964, when he declared with regard to state management: 'We know that this road holds dangers. The duty of the party is to be aware of these dangers and to counter them by finding formulas that will enable the workers to prepare themselves to take charge of the responsibilities of management.'

"Our paper likewise declared last week: 'Thus the principle, inscribed in the Charter of Algiers, aiming at placing the wealth of the country under the control of the toiling masses, will become concretized. And experience has proved that this control is not real, effective, except insofar as the toiling masses participate in the whole mechanism, at all stages of the management and exploitation of our resources.'

"Workers control of management thus corresponds well with the aspirations of the working masses, with the will of the government and the party and with the objective requirements of the situation; that is, with the need to block, especially in the oil industry, the efforts of French neocolonialism and the Algerian bourgeoisie in alliance with it to sabotage our economy and to stop or at least slow down the course of our revolution.

"To fight neocolonialism and the counterrevolutionary faction of the Algerian bourgeoisie on their own ground -- this is the slogan of the workers, this is the meaning of workers control.

"Once placed under the control of the workers, the justified fear of seeing the state enterprises and mixed companies become instruments of neocolonialism, fears that were expressed in the party program and which could grow, will disappear. These enterprises will instead become weapons in the hands of the masses.

"Workers control is not self-management but it must be founded on the democratic principle in force in self-management. It must associate the workers in management and teach them how to assume responsibility by overcoming the passive role of the traditional wage worker. This means that workers control must be conceived just like self-management as an extraordinary instrument for the advancement of the workers."

El Moudjahid continues its illuminating presentation of the

need for workers control and its advantages by advancing a number of specific proposals on how to put it into effect.

### LIFE IMPRISONMENT FOR NELSON MANDELA AND HIS COMRADES

World-wide pressure probably induced Judge Quartus de Wet not to condemn Nelson Mandela and seven other defendants to hanging after they were convicted June 11 at the trial that began last October in Pretoria. But the sentence passed the following day by the judge -- life imprisonment for all these voices of South Africa's oppressed and persecuted 13,500,000 nonwhites -- may amount to slow death in the prisons that are organized in Hitlerite style. The pressure for their release, and the release of some 1,500 other political prisoners, must be kept up on an international scale.

The eight heroic opponents of South Africa's racist apartheid policy were Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ramond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Ahmed Muhammad Kathrada.

A ninth defendant, Lionel Bernstein, was found not guilty by the judge. The police at once arrested him. What "crimes" he might have committed besides being found innocent were not disclosed.

Under the fascist-like laws which the defendants were accused of breaking, the judge's task was not difficult. The defendants admitted their guilt on some of the counts brought against them. They defended their acts as being the only possible response under the intolerable conditions imposed on their people by the government of 3,500,000 whites that has banned all those born with a colored skin from any participation or representation in government.

The defendants appealed for revolution against the herrenvolk government and proudly proclaimed what they had done in seeking to organize guerrilla warfare and an eventual armed rebellion.

Mandela took the lead in this by frankly stating that he was one of the founders of Umkonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation], the fighting organization, and that he was deputy president of the African National Congress. Yes, he said, he toured South Africa soliciting funds for these "subversive" organizations and he helped to arrange for military training for recruits and underwent military training himself.

On April 20 Mandela made a powerful speech in court entitled "Why I Am Ready to Die." [See World Outlook May 1 for extensive excerpts.] He began as a believer in nonviolence, he said, but the South African government, by closing all democratic means of changing the political and social order, had compelled him to recognize

that only by the use of armed force will it be possible for Africans to break the racist chains that have been heaped upon them. "The fight which held out the best prospects for us and the least risk of life to both sides was guerrilla warfare."

The savage sentences meted out to these political prisoners will undoubtedly help convince an entire new generation of youth in South Africa of the correctness of Mandela's conclusions about the kind of struggle needed to win freedom.

#### DENNIS BRUTUS TRANSFERRED TO ROBBERN ISLAND

South Africa's Minister of "Justice" B.J. Vorster has revealed that one of the country's internationally known political prisoners, Dennis Brutus, has been transferred from Leeukop Prison to the prison on Robben Island.

Asked for what reasons Brutus had been transferred, the spokesman of the fascist-like government said that the transfer had been carried out in accordance with departmental policy. He did not specify what this policy is. The conditions under which political prisoners are held on Robben Island are modeled on those used by the Nazis in their concentration camps.

The case of Dennis Brutus came to world attention last fall. The educator committed the "crime" of criticizing the South African government's racist policy in sports and advocating that the country's teams be banned from the Olympic Games. He also attended a banned meeting.

While awaiting trial, Brutus fled to the British protectorate of Swaziland where he applied for political asylum. This was still pending when he started on a trip abroad. In Mozambique, the Portuguese secret political police arrested him and his companions and handed him over to the South African police.

The South African cops took him to a police station. There they claimed he tried to escape and they shot him as he was running away. Two bullets, fired at his back, entered his stomach strangely enough, from the front.

When he had recovered enough to be hauled out of the hospital on a stretcher, he was taken to Johannesburg's principal jail, "the Fort."

At his trial, the white judge decided to exercise clemency because of the "punishment" already inflicted on Brutus by the police and "lightened" his sentence to eighteen months in prison. [See World Outlook September 27, October 4, 1963, and January 24, 1964.]



COUVE DE MURVILLE CALLS ON GENERAL FRANCO

By Ramón Vazquez

The trip of France's top diplomat, Couve de Murville, to Spain would seem to demonstrate the profound amity now existing between the governments of General Franco and General de Gaulle. It was a "typically Spanish" junket with bull fights and wreaths of flowers laid at the monument to the dead fascists of the "Valle de los Caídos" [Valley of the Fallen]. (But then didn't Khrushchev bow his head at Verdun?)

Naturally, behind all the rituals marking the coming and going, serious conversations took place. These occurred on both the political and economic level. Politically, the Franco government has reached the point of demanding recognition by the West as a "complete" ally. Economically, Spanish capitalism in its present phase needs an increase in foreign investments and a guarantee for outlets beyond its borders. It seems quite likely that Couve de Murville faced a certain amount of blackmail from the Francoite ministers. Either the doors of the Common Market must swing wide open or they will be obliged to turn toward the Anglo-Saxon countries. The French diplomat promised everything demanded and something besides. It is, in short, certain that de Gaulle considers Franco to be a sure ally in his world strategy. The latter, moreover, following his old tactic of smiles for everybody and an alliance with the winner, a tactic which served him so well in the past, is playing a subtle game with the United States. He ceded Rota as a base for atomic submarines but he sold Pegaso trucks to Cuba despite American pressure.

In the end we saw Couve de Murville at Brussels as the ardent advocate of Francoite Spain among the partners of the Six. He exhorted the convinced (Bonn) but did not convince the reticent. Italy fears for her oranges, which gives Nenni's friends a clear conscience. Spaak remains on guard. Nevertheless "exploratory conversations" are going to take place with Spain, which will end without doubt, not in association with the Common Market, but in a commercial treaty.

It could be asked whether the Spanish economy is ready for association. A commercial treaty and an increase in investments -- among other things -- could help ripen conditions in Spain for an integration to take place in several years. In addition, the Franco government fears the victory -- which everybody considers certain -- of the Labourites in Great Britain and the difficulties which this victory could create in relations between the two countries. Of course, General Franco is interested politically in bringing his country into the western political arena, in ending all the reservations -- often formal -- that his regime still arouses. But don't certain Spanish "neocapitalist" groups have an interest in extending certain reservations in order to prepare the "relief" team in peace and quiet and present themselves a few years hence before

Spanish and international public opinion as the genuine "liberalizers" of the Franco regime, the worthy partners of the European "democrats"? The natural allies of these "neocapitalists" are, to be sure, the Spanish as well as European Social Democrats.

In any case, what is certain is that increasingly close political and economic ties are going to unite France and Spain. The trip of Couve de Murville took place completely within this policy. The only worthwhile reply for the French workers consists in creating similarly close ties with the Spanish workers. Romantic declarations in the style of "Spain to the core" will not suffice. What is needed is proletarian internationalism.

#### FAVERSHAM BY-ELECTION CONFIRMS SWING TO LABOUR PARTY

LONDON, June 5 -- The general swing throughout the country towards the Labour party was again confirmed by the Faversham by-election results which were announced at noon today. With 24,749 votes, Terence Boston, the Labour party candidate defeated the Conservative candidate by a majority of 4,941.

In the last general elections, Labour won this seat by only 253 votes.

The by-election was held to fill the place made vacant by the death of Percy Wells, the Labour Member of Parliament.

An independent candidate did not get sufficient votes to retain his deposit.

"This is a great Labour victory and points the way to a further Labour victory in October," said the Faversham victor. "It is a clear notice to the Prime Minister and the Conservative party that they have lost the confidence of the country. The sooner we have a general election the better."

Today's results indicated a swing towards Labour of about 5.2%. If repeated nationally in the October general election it would signify a shift of many marginal seats from the Tories to the Labour party, giving the latter a majority of approximately 55 in the House of Commons.

The swing against the Tories could be transformed into a Labour landslide of the dimensions of 1945 if the Wilson leadership campaigned on a bold socialist policy based on implementation of Clause 4 -- the clause in the Labour party constitution committing the party to bringing about common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

THE MEANING OF GOLDWATER'S CALIFORNIA VICTORY

By Joseph Hansen

The victory of Goldwater, the Arizona department store baron, over the head of the Rockefeller dynasty in the California Republican primaries "sowed panic within his own party and consternation in the world," Boris Kidel writes in the June 11 issue of the liberal Paris weekly l'Express.

A good example of the "consternation" is provided by the almost eloquent editorial of the London Times: "Foreign onlookers can hardly remain undisturbed at the prospect of Sen. Goldwater's nomination. The sight of a major party endorsing and promoting a man so blatantly out of touch with reality, so wild in his foreign policy, so backward in his domestic ideas, and so inconsistent in his thinking, would be a serious blow to American prestige abroad. It would also set up tremendous and perhaps fatal strains in the Republican party." This conservative daily concludes with a touch of perhaps deliberate flattery: "The thought that he had the faintest chance of reaching the White House would be enough to shake faith in the maturity and stability of American politics."

What has particularly alarmed Washington's NATO allies is Goldwater's "wild" foreign policy. His suggestion about using nuclear bombs as a cheap and effective weed-killer in South Vietnam drew shocked editorial comment throughout Europe. Goldwater's opposition to foreign "handouts" is likewise scarcely designed to please capitalists whose regimes require periodic transfusions of dollars. They devoutly hope for more "maturity and stability" in American politics.

Just where, then, does Goldwater fit in? What are his chances? How can he affect the election and American imperialist policies?

First of all, it should be noted that Goldwater has been unusually successful in one thing; that is, playing the role of political villain. As in television wrestling spectacles, this is an essential ingredient in American capitalist politics. Besides enlivening the show, it provides a source of stability to the two-party system. The liberals, the trade-union bureaucrats and the peripheral elements in tow to them, such as the Communist party, are provided with a contestant who must be defeated "at all costs." The vote of the workers, the farmers, the low-income groups is thus corralled, election after election, for the "lesser" of the two evil capitalist candidates.

Underlying this old routine are certain realities that are little affected by the outcome of the contest between the "hero" and the "villain." To cite but recent history, the liberal Truman won in an upset over the reactionary Dewey. Truman, however, opened the McCarthyite era and plunged the U.S. into the Korean adventure,

perhaps the most unpopular war the country ever engaged in. In the next election the liberal Stevenson lost to Eisenhower, who, the liberals freely predicted, would lead the U.S. into disaster. The General, however, fulfilled his campaign pledge to bring an end to hostilities in Korea. In the 1960 elections Kennedy played the role of the liberal. This hero then carried out an invasion of Cuba, preparations for which had been begun by Eisenhower, and dragged the U.S. into the dirty war in South Vietnam.

If any lesson is to be drawn from this aspect of politics in the U.S. it is that the candidate who wears the liberal trunks is somewhat more likely to engage in a "wild" foreign policy. It was the liberal Wilson who took the U.S. into World War I, the liberal F.D. Roosevelt who took the country into World War II, and the liberal Truman who dropped the first atom bombs on crowded cities.

The truth is, of course, that American foreign policy is not determined by the campaign propoganda of either of the two candidates of the capitalist twin-party system. It is determined by the long-range interests of the giant corporations and the dynastic families that own and control them. The men who come to the White House are pledged body, soul and bank account to serve these interests. Whatever the experience does to their souls and bodies, it does not injure their bank accounts.

Of course, differences within the ruling group affect the ultimate choice of top candidates in the tightly controlled Republican and Democratic machines. The interlocking marriages of family and industrial empires generally reduce the importance of such divisions. Occasionally, however, a squabble flares up on sufficient scale to attract national attention. Up to now these have been settled at one point or another by the Eastern block whose enormous commercial, industrial and financial power has long given it decisive voice in the affairs of the American capitalist class.

The Cleveland real-estate clique, for instance, sought to run Robert A. Taft, the most popular figure in the lower levels of the Republican machine, for the White House in 1952. He had it won, too. But the top families decided they wanted Eisenhower. Even though it was not known what party Eisenhower belonged to until he decided to accept (the Democrats sought to get him as their candidate), he easily won the Republican nomination. Eastern power and money did it. Taft bitterly acknowledged the lesson.

Goldwater has been identified with the ultrareactionary vermin who have flocked to his banner. Consequently there has been a tendency to dismiss him as nothing but a similar crackpot who, by some strange freak of American politics -- the "blunders" and "hesitations" of the Republican liberals -- has accidentally found himself in position to win the Republican nomination. Goldwater's capitalist backers are overlooked. These are a powerful, relatively new grouping on the American social scene -- the Texas oil barons and

the Southwest manufacturers of war matériel who mushroomed during and following World War II. This grouping has not yet been integrated into the central ruling families. It is ready to engage in rather reckless policies and demagogy as it seeks the place in the American power structure to which it believes its billions entitle it to.

Will this outlying sector of the capitalist class succeed in foisting the candidacy of Goldwater on the Republican party against the will of the Eastern block? Or, like the group that backed Taft, will they end up with a fresh lesson in the power of America's 60 ruling families and the incomparable corruption and venality of the capitalist political machines in the U.S.? A movement is now underway to block Goldwater and give the nomination to the millionaire Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania. The progress of this campaign should quickly reveal whether Eastern capital considers the game worth the candle.

In estimating the seriousness of the Goldwater "menace," what is most significant is not the nearness of the Arizona senator to capturing the nomination of the Republican party, but the satisfaction of the Eastern capitalist block over Johnson's performance and their evident desire to keep him in the White House.

It is true that Nelson Rockefeller is a member of these circles and perhaps holds a dissenting view (although he is more likely looking ahead to 1968). Rockefeller even goes so far as to indulge in office-seeking himself and not without success. This personal whim, however, which reduces politics to a pastime like stamp collecting, is evidently considered something of an extravagance in the social layer to which he belongs. It may even have interfered with smooth control of the Republican machine in face of the challenge from Goldwater's backers.

Johnson, it appears, has won the heart of Wall Street. With unusual suppleness and political deftness, he proved himself to be their man. In foreign policy, he did it most convincingly through the coup d'état in Brazil. With one blow, Johnson demonstrated what could be expected from him on a world scale in conducting the affairs of American imperialism. The Manhattan sharks found it to their taste.

Johnson's foreign policy, as evidenced by his role in the Brazilian coup d'état, is worth pondering. In Latin America it clearly rules out even the most timid reforms advocated by Kennedy in the "Alliance for Progress." It just as clearly signifies active efforts to overthrow any government, even one with the mildest veneer of liberalism, unless it breaks diplomatic relations with Cuba and joins in the conspiracy to overthrow the Castro government. How curious, then, that the London Times, for instance, fails to see how "blatantly out of touch with reality" Johnson is and how "wild" is his foreign policy. If Kennedy was correct, then Johnson's foreign policy promises the most violent social and political upheavals.

On the domestic front, Johnson has likewise shown himself to be just the man Wall Street needs in the White House. He has proved himself more effective than Kennedy himself in pushing Kennedy's policy of offering minor legalistic concessions to the civil-rights struggle. Like Kennedy, his obvious aim is to slow down, contain and eventually curb the Freedom Now movement.

The satisfaction of America's top industrial and financial tycoons with Johnson leads them to display a certain indifference to the outcome of the Republican convention. While the nomination of Goldwater would give the electoral campaign ~~the~~ decided appearance of a "no contest" spectacle and therefore make still more glaring the political vacuum where the labor movement stands, it would also have its advantages from Wall Street's point of view.

The most obvious result would be to shift the electoral campaign to the right. Even more than Kennedy and Nixon in 1960 Johnson and Goldwater would argue over which can best fight the threat of "Communism." The campaign would be the opposite of the one in 1948 when the Wallace candidacy compelled Truman to move far to the left in an attempt to outbid the Progressive party nominee for working-class votes.

A more significant result, perhaps, would be the relative freedom it would give Johnson to move more rapidly in advance of the election with preparations for any foreign adventures he projects, such as aggression against Cuba and extension of the war in South Vietnam. Committed to "anti-Communist" demagoguery as a main plank, Goldwater would scarcely attempt to outflank Johnson from the left, the way Eisenhower outflanked Stevenson by promising peace in Korea.

The ominous nature of Goldwater's rise thus finds its most immediate reflection in the way it frees Johnson's hands.

On a different level, the progress of Goldwater toward nomination is of significance in American politics. Besides representing powerful new regional capitalist interests, he voices the feelings of social forces that could become a hotbed for native fascism. This current, long present in the United States, centered before World War II around such demagogues and political bosses as Huey Long, Mayor Hague and Father Coughlin. It is the American equivalent of the petty-bourgeois layers in Europe that were drawn to figures like Mussolini and Hitler. They are far from peculiar to the Republican party. They exist in the Democratic party, too, particularly in the South where they constitute a dangerous potential for a fascist movement. Alabama's racist Governor George C. Wallace, who has been "invading" the primaries in the North, offers a Democratic party version of the Goldwater type.

Goldwater's California success poses all the more urgently the need for the American labor movement to wake up. At the moment the labor czars offer nothing but the perspective of backing Johnson.



In the whole political arena, the labor bureaucrats are obviously the ones most "blatantly out of touch with reality." Their default will become all the more glaring as the British labor movement, almost simultaneously with the American elections, prepares to kick out the Tories. A British labor victory could have considerable effect in stirring up sentiment in the United States for organization of the Labor party that has been talked about in union circles for twenty-five years and more.

The Negro people have given many indications of their readiness to support a new political party that would struggle for their interests along with those of all the lower-income groups. The appearance of the Freedom Now party on the Michigan ballot is the latest example of this.

Among the socialists, the Trotskyist Socialist Workers party has been waging a vigorous campaign around the candidacies of Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw. The United States, however, lacks federal provisions for placing parties on the ballot. To get on the ballot, a party must meet the individual requirements of each of the fifty states. These have been deliberately set up in the majority of states in such a way as to virtually exclude new parties. In a few states it is possible to get on the ballot at some cost and a great deal of effort. There is no certainty about it even if all the requirements are met, since the Republicans and Democrats often reserve de facto veto power. On the other hand the Republicans and Democrats are automatically placed on the ballot.

One of the peculiarities of American politics, therefore, is the extreme difficulty of registering and measuring socialist sentiment. The effect is to give the United States the appearance of being one reactionary mass. This happens to be far from the case although the long years of McCarthyite witch-hunting, combined with prosperity based on preparing for war, have brought the revolutionary socialists unprecedented difficulties.

Their voice will be heard during the election campaign, however, as they present the only reasonable and realistic alternative to the suicidal perspective represented by the candidates of both the Republican and Democratic machines.

#### NIGERIAN GENERAL STRIKE WINS

A 13-day general strike in Nigeria ended June 13 with a victory for the workers. The government agreed to negotiate on the basis of the Morgan Commission's report which recommended pay increases of up to 100 per cent. The minimum weekly wage proposed for Lagos was £12 [\$33.60]. The strikers demand no pay losses during the strike and withdrawal of prosecutions against strike leaders. Despite jubilation, the workers are wary about possible trickery.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN PERU

[The following article, written by the Secretariat of Foreign Relations of the Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario Peruano (Front of the Peruvian Revolutionary Left) located in Buenos Aires, has been translated from the March issue of Tierra o Muerte!]

\* \* \*

The candidacy of Belaúnde and his subsequent victory marks the beginning of a new experience for the masses in Peru. For the first time a government has taken office with a clearly defined program voicing the aspirations of the new industrial sectors and the new middle class. These aspirations coincide with the imperialist policy expressed in the Alliance for Progress -- to carry out reforms within the legal framework in order to avoid social disturbances that could endanger the capitalist system. Thus Belaúnde's program includes agrarian reform, nationalization of the oil industry, plans for the solution of the problem of continuing and developing industry.

But this government came to power in face of an opposition that holds the majority in parliament. The APRA-Odriista\* alliance, a political expression of the Peruvian oligarchy, is blocking proposals of the executive wing of the government that might undermine the reactionary economic interests.

The Belaúnde government is seeking to solve the nation's problems within the legal framework. Because of this it is tied hand and foot and unable to carry through its program. In order to move ahead it would have to break through the blockade of the oligarchy and resort to the mass movement, forcibly dissolving parliament which is the principle obstacle. In brief, it would have to break with "legality" and appeal to the workers of the country.

Belaúnde, representing our weak bourgeoisie, is incapable of applying his bourgeois-democratic program through mobilizing the masses. He will thus inevitably end in the arms of the oligarchy along the road of successive concessions that will lead to the constitution of a broad government of "national unity" or "superior common aims" through a coup d'état.

Position of the Political Parties

The APRA and the Unión Nacional Odriista oppose the government coalition of Acción Popular [Popular Action] and the Democracia Cristiana [Christian Democracy]. The pact between the former two organizations is not accidental. Both parties are spokesmen of the

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\*Combination between the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana of Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre and the Unión Nacional Odriista of former dictator General Manuel A. Odría.

Sociedad Nacional Agraria [National Agrarian Society] and the imperialist companies. Both are opposed to the Project for Agrarian Reform presented by the regime and they defend the interests of the cotton and sugar barons. In the discussion over the Agrarian Reform bill in the legislative bodies they presented a substitute for Article 43 in order to make it illegal to touch the lands of the big sugar and cotton haciendas along the coast.

With regard to the oil problem, the Aprista [members of the APRA] legislators opposed the law projected by the executive wing and served as the best lawyers for the International Petroleum Company which is illegally profiting from our oil resources.

The Communist party, in accordance with its traditional custom, is clinging to the tail of the bourgeoisie. Fortunately its unconditional support for Belaúnde has been repudiated by the Juventud Comunista [JC -- the Communist Youth] and several regional committees. The CP leadership, in addition to the electoral aid which it gave Acción Popular, continues to support the Belaúnde government under pretext of defending democratic rights. The majority of the Juventud Comunista have come out in favor of Mao Tse-tungism, breaking with the central committee. The main leader of this grouping is Tauro Lamas. The regional committee in Lima has also expressed its opposition to the CP leadership.

The extreme left, despite the unifying efforts of the FIR [Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario], remains atomized. Its characteristic feature is blind opposition to the government and lack of correct tactics in relation to Belaundism. The central force here is the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria].

### The Mass Movement

The most important aspect of the present stage of the Peruvian revolution is the mobilization of millions of campesinos [peasants] behind the slogan "Tierra o Muerte" [Land or Death], which expresses their hunger for land. This process, which began with the occupation of areas in the Cuzco zone, has spread throughout the country. Still more, it has divided all political organizations into two camps: on the one side, those who are unconditionally in favor of occupying the land, and, on the other, those who are against it. The mobilization of the campesinos, coming up against the regime of private property, has given full vigor to the class struggle, bringing it to an unprecedented level in the social history of Peru. The peasantry has been overcoming, during recent years, its characteristic limitations: the isolation and local nature of its struggles. Through peasant unions and the organization of powerful centers, hundreds of thousands of peasants have been brought together under a revolutionary leadership that has an over-all grasp of the problems of the agrarian revolution.

Its fusion with a revolutionary Marxist leadership in a strong peasant sector -- Cuzco, Apurimac, Ayacucho -- has overcome

its historic limitations, placing it on a national level.

In the cities, the problem is complex. The proletariat is divided into two trade-union federations, the CTP [Confederacion de Trabajadores Peruanos] and the CTP Reorganizada [reorganized]. This division is the reflection, in the superstructure, of fissures existing in the enemy camp, becoming expressed in the working class through the struggle of the bureaucratic tendencies, one led by the Communist party, the other by the APRA. In the political field the consequence of this is that one supports the oligarchy, the other the Belaunde government. The working class has not yet recovered from the disastrous defeats inflicted in recent years. This does not mean that the working class has been beaten. At present it is carrying on hard battles in defense of its standard of living and a growing sector of the vanguard is struggling to overcome the present situation and bring about a centralized leadership. With regard to its relations with the peasantry, we can testify that the links are weak. Sympathy for the peasantry has been demonstrated by moral support through verbal declarations that have not led to direct action. The position of the miners is different, above all in the center of the country; on many occasions they have given material support to the peasant movement with strikes and work stoppages.

The basis of the AP-DC combination is a big sector of the middle class. The municipal elections revealed a shift in the vote from the Unión Nacional Odrista and the APRA to Acción Popular. This process was most apparent in Lima where Belaundism defeated a combination of the two parties. The municipal elections showed that Belaundism had grown in the cities at the expense of the APRA and UNO, the pro-oligarchical parties. But it is significant, too, that in some departments, including Lima, there was a rise in blank ballots which in this instance signifies repudiation of the electoral road. The student sector continues to display its radical characteristics and as in previous years the left continues to retain leadership.

The poorest sectors of the middle class, those living in the *barriadas* [slum areas in the outskirts] -- displaced peasants in most cities or, in Lima, from the provinces -- constitute a quite contradictory layer. On the one hand this is fertile soil for all the demagogues, who have exploited their misery, and on the other hand they are militant participants in demonstrations organized to protest the massacre of peasants. They are mostly small artisans, peddlers, construction workers, unskilled laborers, domestic servants and declassed persons. In recent times they have undertaken significant mobilizations to take over land in suburban areas for their homes and, most important, like the peasants they have adopted the slogan of "Tierra o Muerte." With all their contradictions, they are the vanguard in the struggle for the Urban Reform in the cities.

## Present Characteristics of the Class Struggle

There is no mistaking the line demarcating the two camps in the struggle. Peru at present is politically divided into two sectors -- the legalistic and the revolutionary. The oligarchy talks about legality insofar as it serves its interests. The government is upholding the law, but within limits -- specified by the oligarchy -- which in the final analysis serve its interests.

The oligarchy favors the law whenever it can utilize it to maintain its rule and its monopoly over the country's main economic resources. Taking advantage of the juridical set up, which favors it in every way, it presses the government constantly in its schemes to take an energetic attitude toward the mass movement. The government, aware that unless it can succeed in bringing the masses in the near future to use only legal means, it will be swept aside by the oligarchy through a coup d'état, is carrying out its policy, massacring peasants. But the landholders are not sure that the government will succeed in repressing and smashing the peasant movement and so they are organizing armed groups to fight the peasantry, strengthening repressive bodies -- assault guards, special police and civil guards -- and training for a general showdown. The rise of dual power in these conditions angers the oligarchy and the result is increasingly brutal repression of the peasantry. The government, weighing these contradictions, continues in its race with time, hoping that the peasantry, tiring of suffering such slaughter and prison sentences, will accept the legal road no matter what it leads to. All the latest occupations of land, ending in brutal massacres, show that this kind of action has reached the end of the peaceful road and that in the future the occupation of land will have to be closely combined with armed struggle. We can sum up by singling out the following aspects:

(a) In the cities, the class struggle has two fundamental aspects. The working class is continuing on the reformist road and has not overcome the crisis of leadership. But it is interesting to note that it easily passes beyond these limits, isolated actions going so far as occupation of the plants. A sector of the population opens a struggle to take over urban land. In mobilizing, it runs up against private property and overflows the limits of bourgeois legalism. The government still has room economically to maneuver, enabling it to satisfy some of the demands of the working class, but it counts mainly on keeping the workers divided. Confrontations between sectors in the city and the police forces of the regime have mounted to the fever point but not gone beyond. These landless, homeless people, although they engage in revolutionary actions, have not yet reached revolutionary consciousness. But they do not conceal their sympathy for the peasantry from whom they picked up their central slogan. The struggle over ownership of the land in the cities points to the rise in fact of dual power. In occupying the land of others, the people challenge the authorities, disregarding judicial procedures, in this way bringing the authority

of the bourgeois regime into question juridically.

(b) The highest pitch of the class struggle has been reached in the countryside. The organization of the peasants in unions and the subsequent occupation of the land brought dual power into being in many places. This is exercised through the unions and peasant communities. It is characterized by the displacement of the government authorities and the designation by the peasants of their own authorities; division of the land and the planning of irrigation projects, building of schools and medical posts. The growth and extension of this power is limited by the armed action of the repressive organs and the armed bodies of the landholders. The disorganized action of the peasantry with regard to the armed struggle places in danger the security of the revolutionary power and threatens its early disappearance.

(c) The peasantry is inclined to meet the government's organs of repression and the landholding oligarchy on the field of armed struggle. This has been demonstrated at Cuzco, Junin, Pasco, Huanavelica, Ayacucho, etc. All the attempts to take back the occupied lands have been resisted heroically but have ended in massacres of the peasants. The recent experience at San Pedro was quite instructive. The revolutionary determination of 8,000 peasants, armed with old shotguns and slings, could not defeat a detachment of 25 policemen. New methods of struggle are required.

### Stage of the Process in Peru and Our Tasks

We believe that in Peru the prerevolutionary stage has been passed and that we are now in a revolutionary one. This stage has contradictory characteristics and bears within it all the special peculiarities belonging to the social, geographic and political conditions of our country. Fundamentally our revolutionary process bears the seal of our immense agrarian population and the massive mobilization of the campesinos under the slogans of the agrarian revolution. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is in full development and we run the danger that successive defeats of the peasantry and an ultimate sag and consequent displacement of the present revolutionary leadership of the peasantry can place the peasant movement in the hands of the national bourgeoisie or open it to being smashed by the oligarchy.

The masses, in a still unconscious way, have understood that the advance of the agrarian revolution cannot continue except through armed struggle. They have learned this at the expense of hundreds of deaths. This holds now above all in view of the fact that the bourgeoisie and the oligarchy, with different tactics, are carrying out a systematic policy of repressing the peasantry.

It is up to our organization, the Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario, to open the road and work out tactics that will enable the Peruvian revolution to develop. This cannot occur except by



organizing the armed struggle. Any victory, no matter how small, along these lines will strengthen the movement as a whole and multiply the forces of the peasantry a hundredfold. While it is true that our organization is not a huge one with many cadres and militants, it includes the best leaders of the national peasantry and has the sympathy of the biggest part of the vanguard peasant sectors; and we are also at the head of the most powerful peasant organizations of the country, embracing hundreds of thousands of peasants. If we believe that the rise of dual power is one of the fundamental characteristics defining the present stage of the agrarian revolution, just as does the armed struggle between campesinos and repressive bodies of the landholders, we must be consistent and conclude that in the present stage the main task of the party is to organize and lead the armed struggle. It is through this that we will succeed in building a mass structure for our party and bring the process of the Peruvian revolution to its culmination. Our FIR, no matter how small it may be, must strengthen itself in the present conditions of the class struggle. We must express what the masses want, systematize their wishes, give them form and in the end put the party in leadership. Today the peasant movement wants to fight and we, unless we want to miss the boat, must teach them how to fight and organize them for combat, learning how to combine their ways of fighting with new methods. We must review the peasantry's methods of struggle, based fundamentally on guerrilla warfare, and utilize without any prejudice any tactics that can help win against the enemy. The outline, moreover, is known: Process of peasant unionization, occupation of the land, rise of dual power, police repression. Only through armed struggle can the process of the revolution overcome this vicious cycle. Only through armed struggle can we end the atomization of the dual power and succeed in centralizing it, strengthening and extending it. Whether the revolution will triumph in Peru or be channeled into legal limits and defeated hinges on our organizing the armed struggle in time, expressing the aspirations of millions of campesinos.

### Other Tasks

We have indicated that within the present conditions of the class struggle in Peru not all the exploited social sectors have reached the same level of revolutionary consciousness. This means that there is a gap in the evolution of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses in the cities and the countryside. In relation to this phenomenon, without losing sight of the fact that in the countryside we are dealing with the fate of our revolution, we must have a policy that will accelerate the experience of the masses with formal bourgeois democracy. Our tactic must be constant demands on the United Front of Belaundism to dissolve parliament and convoke a constituent assembly. The pretext Belaundism uses to do nothing is that a majority opposition in parliament keeps their hands tied. By indicating a way to untie them, we expose them before their own ranks and, at the same time, expose the fraud of representative bourgeois democracy. We must insist on this aspect in our newspaper and

try to concretize this line, above all in departments and zones distant from Lima, where poverty-stricken followers of Belaúnde are under the tremendous pressure of the peasant mobilization. This likewise is in complete conformity with appealing to the land hunger of the inhabitants of the barriadas and their mobilization in combination with the peasant struggles.

In the workers movement we must press for the organization of a revolutionary trade-union tendency to struggle for unity among all the workers and for a Single Set of Demands to meet the high cost of living. Among the mine workers our policy must center in strengthening their ties with the peasantry and, taking the example of the workers and peasants in the central area, extend the pacts for unity in action to all of Peru. The armed struggle in the countryside, the unity of the labor movement, agitation and demands on the United Front of Belaundism, concretely to dissolve parliament and call for a constituent assembly to deal with the agrarian reform, nationalization of the oil industry, and voting rights for the peasants -- these, we believe, are the fundamental tasks of the FIR. In addition, we must continually call for a revolutionary United Front with the tendencies of the left such as the Juventud Comunista, the MIR and others for the constitution of the PURP [Partido Unico de la Revolución Peruana -- Single Party of the Peruvian Revolution].

### Perspectives

Summing up what has been indicated above, we believe that the achievement of the objectives of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and its transformation into a socialist revolution depends on accomplishing the following objectives:

(1) Centralization, extension and strengthening of the dual power that has arisen in the countryside, by means of armed struggle. The present level reached by the class struggle in the countryside faces us with the alternative of expressing the sentiments of millions of campesinos and organizing the armed struggle, or in a short period, as a result of constant defeats, the peasant movement will recede and be captured by reformist leaders who will deliver it to the bourgeoisie. Despite our weakness, we have a favorable terrain and population to carry forward this task. In addition we have a peasant vanguard ready to fight and the backing of mass organizations representing hundreds of thousands of campesinos. Actions are required, carried forward by recognized mass leaders with mass support, expressing, above all, their desire to fight which they have shown at every opportunity.

(2) Struggle for the unity of the workers movement in a single trade-union federation. A national congress attended by all trade-union tendencies. A single set of demands. Intensive propagandistic work in behalf of uniting workers and peasants. Advocacy and extension of worker-campesino pacts for common action.

(3) Agitation for urban reform. Occupation of urban lands for the homeless. Creation of groups for self-defense in struggling against the forces of repression sent to oust them. The slogan of "Land or Death," used by the inhabitants of the slums must be extended among the people in all cities of Peru where slums exist. Occupation of the urban lands owned by churches and monasteries, federal or municipal governments and the big real-estate companies. Continually explain the common interest city people have in the agrarian revolution. (To carry out these objectives, a fundamental requirement is the regular appearance of our newspaper, whether legally or illegally, and the distribution of leaflets and folders. We must not forget that the principal organizer of our party in the cities is our newspaper.)

(4) Agitation for the slogan of a constituent assembly. Demands levelled on Belaundism around a concrete point: dissolution of congress in order to elect a constituent assembly to put into effect: agrarian reform, nationalization of the oil industry, voting rights for the peasantry, urban reform (expropriation of the big real-estate companies, of lands belonging to the church, and urban land) and commercial and diplomatic relations with all countries in the world, etc. Pass resolutions by the peasant federations and trade-union organizations demanding the dissolution of parliament and establishment of a constituent assembly.

(5) Constant appeals for the unity of the whole Revolutionary Left and the constitution of the Partido Unico de la Revolución Peruana.

Our activity in the countryside will be bound up intimately with intensive organization of district, provincial and departmental congresses of campesinos in which we will clearly explain our objectives.

#### ITALIAN COMMUNIST YOUTH HEARTENED BY DEBERRY CANDIDACY

[The latest issue of Nuova Generazione, official organ of the Italian Communist Youth, carries a prominent article (the whole back page) on the candidacy of Clifton DeBerry for the presidency of the United States. The article, which includes a picture of the Socialist Workers nominee, is signed by a member of the editorial board of Nuova Generazione, Edgardo Pellegrini. The article is free from sectarianism; however, a small detail is overlooked -- nowhere does the author mention that the Socialist Workers party is a Trotskyist organization! A translation of the article follows:]

\* \* \*

For the first time in the history of America, a Negro has

been nominated for president of the USA. The Negro is Clifton DeBerry, 39 years old, a trade unionist. At his side, Edward Shaw, a white man, a 40-year-old printer of Illinois, is running for the Vice-Presidency. DeBerry was born in Holly Springs, a racist center in Mississippi. He is the candidate of the Socialist Workers party, a leftist organization which obtained 20,000 votes in the last municipal elections in New York.

"Many Negro leaders," DeBerry said recently in a panel discussion on the subject The Negro Vote in 1964 -- Where Is It Going?, "are going to voice their support to the idea of once again voting for the Democratic party, under the lie and the illusion that Negroes have gotten more under the Democratic party than they have under the Republican party. But this just isn't true. History demonstrates that the only gains that have been made, have been made as a result of struggle. Nobody has given anything and whatever gains the Negro people have made were achieved because they struggled to get them."

During the panel discussion, other Negro leaders took the floor to discuss the problem of voting. Cordell Reagon, a field secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, reminded the audience that in the southern states "every time a black man registers to vote he faces getting killed" and that today the real question is not the Negro vote but registering the Negro to vote.

Daniel Watts, editor of Liberator magazine, said on the same occasion: "If there is going to be any Freedom Now party (this party is already formed, but only in Michigan) [editorial note by Edgardo Pellegrini] and an all-black Freedom Now party, it has to be precisely that. It cannot have any whites in the leadership; it cannot have any whites running the organization from behind the scenes; it has to be black-led, black-dominated."

Watts expressed views substantially similar to those of a Negro organization that has recently widened its influence considerably: the Black Muslims. Organized in religious communities and observing a very rigid moral code, the Black Muslims project anti-capitalist themes along with slogans which the American press has too easily qualified as "racism in reverse." Cassius Clay, the world's champion boxer, is likewise said to belong to this organization and he has not refuted the rumor. [He has proudly admitted membership.] The Muslims might decide to vote for DeBerry. In that case he would win quite a large number of votes.

For his part, the first Negro candidate for Presidency of the USA made the following forecast on the vote: "I think that a large number of Negroes will vote again for the Democratic party; but a larger section will vote for candidates independent from the parties; but I hope that a still larger section of the Negroes will vote for socialism."

DeBerry's and Shaw's electoral platform carries ten planks.

First of all, they demand that the war in Vietnam be stopped, that Guantánamo be given back to Cuba and the Panama Canal to Panama; they demand an end to the testing of nuclear weapons and they are for scrapping the stockpile of A- and H-bombs; that People's China be recognized as well as all the governments freely chosen by their peoples. Second plank: turn the arms budget into a peace budget, for democratic reform of the army. Third plank: freedom now and equal rights for the Negroes and other minorities, combat all forms of anti-Semitism. Among the other planks, we will mention abolishment of "subversive" lists, ending FBI harassment of political dissidents, equal pay for equal work, government aid to farmers, a public housing program, nationalizations, an economic development plan. At a meeting held recently, DeBerry underlined the need for a program among Negroes and American workers to form an independent, united labor party.

This, in general lines, is DeBerry's platform.

In addition to the observations that could be made about this platform (especially if it is analyzed more deeply), a fact should not be overlooked: the nomination of a Negro as candidate for the White House occurs in the great movement shaking America with increasing force.

From Martin Luther King, a Christian leader, to Malcolm X, a Muslim leader, pacifists and nonpacifists, intellectuals and laborers, students and sportsmen, the Negroes of America are undertaking a struggle of unprecedented scope that may precipitate a crisis for the Democratic party, for the aims of this struggle go far beyond the "civil rights" measures outlined by Johnson when he was still Vice-President and which have not yet been implemented in the South as a whole.

The Holly Springs trade unionist is a presidential candidate who has no chance of winning -- once again the game will fall to the two monster parties of American politics. However, a significant success for DeBerry could mean something new: that the Negroes today are not waiting for someone else to hand them civil rights as a present; they are seeking civil rights through a struggle under Negro leadership.

#### REPORT ARREST OF "TROTSKYISTS" IN SPAIN

Reuters reported June 10 from Barcelona that Spanish police had arrested 18 alleged "Trotskyites," including a Belgian girl, three students from Peru, Haiti and Nicaragua and a Frenchwoman, Mme Nicole Dauder, who is married to a Spaniard. Agence France Presse gave the woman's name as Mlle Nicole Boyer, and said that she, together with three others belonged to the Fourth International and that the total number of arrests was 30.

THE MEANING OF THE ASSASSINATION OF KENNEDY

KENNEDY ASSASSINATION -- A SYMPOSIUM ON INDIVIDUAL TERRORISM AS A POLITICAL METHOD. Edited by S.B.Kolpe. Eagle Publishers, 12 Gunbow Street, Bombay 1, India. 1964. 111 pp. Rs. 5 [₹1].

In this compact book, S.B.Kolpe has assembled the main known facts about the assassination of President Kennedy, with particular emphasis on the many contradictory aspects of the case and the strong likelihood that the plot involved a number of people.

The literature casting doubt on the official version offered by the Dallas police and the FBI has now reached considerable proportions. The symposium offered here shares in this general reaction. It differs, however, in two important respects. It indicates the more general political setting in which the assassination occurred; it advances the Marxist attitude of strong opposition to individual terrorism. On the latter point, some pertinent quotations from Leon Trotsky are cited.

Articles by two contributors to World Outlook are included: "Political Background and Aftermath," an article written by Joseph Hansen immediately after the assassination, and "Impact on the Negro Movement," an article written by Evelyn Sell exposing the record of Kennedy's successor in the civil-rights struggle and predicting that the struggle for Freedom Now, after a short lapse, would continue as before.

A sampling of the reaction of the world press to the official version of the assassination shows how widespread is the disbelief that only a "lone psycopath" was involved. This includes citations from the world's principal newspapers, including the Indian press. The main lines of Mark Lane's analysis, showing that Lee Oswald may well have been the victim of a frame-up are summarized in the book. Another useful item that has not been included in other books about the assassination is the report by the New York Times on the views of socialist figures in the United States on the assassination. This covers the whole spectrum, from the Trotskyists, represented by Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers party, to the revisionist Earl Browder, former head of the Communist party, and the one-time radical Sidney Hook.

The book ends, appropriately, with extracts from the November 23 speech by Fidel Castro demanding a thorough investigation of the assassination.



A LITTLE JUSTICE AFTER ALL

An eight-year-prison sentence for 62-year-old Victor Ernest Dunn, an apple peddler known as "The Apple King," found guilty of giving short weight to a housewife at Watchfield, England, last November and thus cheating her of 1s.10-1/2d. [\$.20] was too much for the British public.

And so three judges of the Court of Criminal Appeal decided to temper justice with mercy. On June 9 they substituted a fine of £75 [\$.210]; that is, only 1,050 times the illegal profit said to have been made by the rascally fruit grower and trader.

Lord Parker, the Lord Chief Justice, told the criminal the fine could be paid off in £15-a-month installments.

"That will carry him through the apple-picking season," the judge said amid loud laughter.

The peddler promised to turn over a new leaf and buy a pair of scales. He has never used them up to now.

The merciful precedent should be considered for big monopolists who gouge the public -- if anyone dares arrest them.

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