

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 3, No. 16

April 23, 1965

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

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Since delivering his "Great Carrot" speech of April 7, in which he waved a counterfeit billion-dollar bill at the freedom fighters in Southeast Asia and offered "unconditional discussions" -- under condition that the National Liberation Front, the legiti-

mate representative of the South Vietnamese people, be excluded -- President Johnson has further indicated his real aims in the imperialist war he launched against North Vietnam.

On April 14 "Washington officials" told the press that the air attacks on North Vietnam would be stepped up. Some of the most massive terror raids yet seen followed. On Easter Sunday, April 18, Johnson delivered another "historic" declaration. Stepping out on the porch at his Texas ranch, he read a twelve-minute statement to reporters. The gist was in the following remarkable sentence: "There is no human power capable of forcing us from Vietnam." No questions were permitted. The greatest power on earth then stepped back inside the LBJ ranch house.

On April 16 George Reedy, press secretary of the great head of the "Great Society," announced that the planned visits of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri of India and President Mohammad Ayub Khan of Pakistan had been cancelled. Pakistan has friendly relations with the People's Republic of China and Shastri has had the temerity to urge a halt to the U.S. bombings of North Vietnam.

It was reported that official circles in India were seething over the "insult" and "U.S. discourtesy." It remains to be seen whether the Indian government commands sufficient divine power to get the American president to change his mind.

Johnson's strange moods, particularly his sudden rages, were reported to be of increasing concern among Washington diplomats. They point to his spectacular displeasure with UN Secretary-General U Thant and Canadian Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson for expressing mild criticisms of U.S. policy in Vietnam. According to the April 20 European edition of the New York Herald Tribune, Johnson was even impatient with British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt, although it would be difficult to find more enthusiastic boot-lickers than this pair. As Douglas Kiker, the author of the report, puts it, "All this has served to sharpen the image of presidential contentiousness, and given new life to the old charge that the man who once yelled 'yahoo' in the Taj Mahal to hear the echo really is not equipped to guide United States foreign policy."

And yet Johnson's personal truculence is understandable. A vast tide of world-wide opposition is rising against his war in North Vietnam. Moreover the United States is no "privileged sanctuary" from this sentiment. In fact, never before in American history has an imperialist president begun a war in the face of such opposition.

On the campuses a new tactic has spread with remarkable speed. It is called the "teach-in." It involves continuous meetings, with relays of speakers who patiently explain hour after hour to a changing audience why the Johnson administration is completely wrong in

its attack on North Vietnam. On some campuses, thousands of students and professors have participated in the "teach-ins."

On April 18, a demonstration against the war in North Vietnam was organized in Washington itself by the Students for a Democratic Society. The demonstration was supported by other organizations, including the Women Strike for Peace, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Young Socialists. It was expected that some 10,000 would come from all over the country. The actual turnout was 20,000. [Even the police put the figure at 15,000.]

The students massed in front of the White House with their picket signs demanding an end to the war in Vietnam, then marched to the Washington monument where they heard speakers, and finally to the Capitol to present a petition to Congress. Among the speakers, Senator Ernest Gruening admitted that the U.S. stands "on the brink of a world war of cataclysmic proportions."

Meanwhile the sentiments of hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa were voiced by President Sukarno of Indonesia and Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia. Sukarno drew heavy applause from representatives of thirty-seven nations at ceremonies April 18 marking the tenth anniversary of the first African-Asian conference when he said that the only way to settle the Vietnam problem is for the United States to get out. In an evident allusion to Johnson's "Great Carrot" speech, Sukarno said, "I am sure no one among us will be bribed to work and struggle to fill the coffers of imperialists." Prince Sihanouk urged the representatives to support demands for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnamese soil and the liquidation of United States bases.

Similar views were voiced around the world. In West Germany, for instance, ban-the-bomb rallies over the Easter week end, which involved some 25,000 participants, turned into demonstrations against the U.S. attack on North Vietnam.

Johnson, however, seems set in his view that the hour of destiny has struck for American imperialism. In face of the world-wide protest, the man who believes he is above all human power sponsored a sinister meeting in Hawaii of some of his top advisers. They included Robert S. McNamara, head of the war department, Maxwell D. Taylor, military ambassador running the puppet government in Saigon, Gen. Hunter Harris, commander of the Pacific air forces, Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff; Gen. William C. Westmoreland, U.S. commander in Vietnam, and Adm. Ulysses S.G. Sharp, Navy commander in chief in the Pacific.

It was officially announced that these military vultures would "review in detail plans for U.S. support of the expansion of the South Vietnamese military and paramilitary forces." The press said, however, that the topics would include escalation of the war and the "possible intervention of Communist China."

"TEACH-IN" TACTIC AGAINST VIETNAM WAR SPREADS ON AMERICAN CAMPUSES

By Evelyn Sell

President Johnson's escalation of the war in South Vietnam has produced an escalation in American protests against his actions. Large advertisements have appeared in the New York Times signed by thousands of religious leaders, scientists and university professors. Protest marches have been organized by peace groups and students. Letters sent to U.S. congressmen have been overwhelmingly opposed to the American intervention. Public opinion polls indicate widespread opposition. On March 16 a Detroit resident, 82-year-old Mrs. Alice Hertz, set herself on fire in order "to protest the arms race all over the world." Mrs. Hertz, a refugee from Hitler's Germany, stated in a note that she chose this means to "call attention to the problems of South Vietnam" by "choosing the illuminating death of a Buddhist." Mrs. Hertz died of her burns on March 27.

The protests from the academic community have been particularly significant. The U.S. State Department needs professors as resource people in terms of research and in terms of presenting a façade of intellectual support for America's imperialist policies. It was a team from Michigan State University, please note, that first set up the administrative and police organizations for Diem's regime. The U.S. State Department, also, needs young, idealistic students to staff its phony Peace Corps in an attempt to win over uncommitted nations. The American militarists need students, too -- as essential raw material for their war machine. The growing gulf between the Johnson administration and the academic community, therefore, indicates a possible crisis situation for the capitalist rulers of this country.

Michigan has been a pacesetter in this university movement to force changes in governmental foreign policies. The nation's first "teach-in" was held at the University of Michigan starting at eight p.m. on March 24 and concluding twelve hours later at eight a.m. on March 25. The teach-in was organized by the "Faculty Committee to End the War in Vietnam." This committee has since been renamed the "Faculty and Student Committee to End the War in Vietnam" -- an indication of the wonderfully inspiring solidarity which was evidenced during the teach-in. Over 3,000 students participated in a series of meetings, seminar discussions, outdoor rallies and corridor discussions. The original group of twenty faculty sponsors swelled to 216. Messages of support were received from Stanford, Yale, Syracuse and the universities of Colorado, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Chicago. (Columbia University held a similar teach-in the following night and Michigan State University held one April 8.)

Outstanding educators in the field of anthropology, philosophy, sociology, history and political science participated by giving talks and leading student discussions. A State Supreme Court

justice spoke at the outdoor midnight rally. Robert S. Browne, currently teaching economics at Fairleigh Dickinson University, spoke about past and present U.S. policies from the viewpoint of a man who spent six years working in the United States economic aid program in Southeast Asia. All of the speakers were critical of American policies and many called for an immediate withdrawal of American troops and the creation of an independent South Vietnam which would be free to choose whatever government its people desired.

The students received an intensive political education during these twelve hours -- and learned more truth during the all-night session than they learned in years of classroom lectures. Many times the comment was heard, "I never knew before what our government was doing!" Questions about present policies inevitably brought up discussions about past and future actions. Disillusionment with America's involvement in Asia led inevitably to questions about America's involvement in other parts of the world. America's revolutionary past was compared with its counterrevolutionary present. One professor warned, "McCarthyism and other abrogations of civil liberties always come during periods of war."

I attended the teach-in and walked into room after room after room, jam-packed with eager questioning students engaged in hours of serious political discussion. All viewpoints were considered very carefully; there was no attempt to automatically turn a deaf ear to socialist or radical ideas. The only persons to raise a hue and cry about "communism" and "traitors" were some thirty right-wingers who attempted to break up the teach-in with bomb threats and a counter-demonstration -- both of which failed miserably to halt the outpouring of sentiments against the administration's actions in Vietnam. A right-wing attempt to disrupt the outdoor midnight rally was quickly halted by a spontaneously organized defense squad.

A highlight of the all-night protest was the statement of a student, Kyle Edward Mock, delivered at the midnight rally and distributed among the participants. Mock stated:

"I cannot, in all good conscience, continue to wear the uniform of the Army ROTC [Reserve Officers Training Corps] contingent at the University of Michigan. At one time, apparently, the uniform represented duty, honor, and country. This is obviously no longer the case...There is no honor in standing a six-year-old girl before a firing squad and threatening to shoot her if her mother failed to provide certain information about the VC [Viet Cong].

"Our soldiers are not in the Vietnamese jungles for the United States of America. Originally they were there for a petty, totalitarian dictator, Diem. Now they are there for the militarists who run South Vietnam.

"This is what duty, honor, and country have come to mean. And this is why, under present conditions, I cannot wear the uniform

of the Armed Forces of the United States."

Mock concluded with a call to his fellow students to seriously consider what serving in the U.S. Armed Forces means today; he urged others to follow his course of action. This kind of student sentiment is social dynamite for America's capitalist rulers.

The concluding meeting of the University of Michigan teach-in unanimously decided to continue protesting the war in Vietnam. Plans for establishing a continuing link with other universities were announced. Students were urged to join the April 17 March on Washington sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society; over 100 students signed up for the march.

This was only one part of the pressure which forced Johnson to make his April 7 speech hinting at negotiations and offering a billion-dollar bribe to placate world opinion. Some congressmen who were beginning to criticize administration policy in Asia quickly backed off. Democratic Senators McGovern and Church, who had been calling for negotiations, canceled speeches they were to deliver. But the university faculty members and students have not canceled their protests or their pressure. Plans are underway to hold a national teach-in during May. About 10,000 students are expected in Washington April 17 to demonstrate against the war in Vietnam. Rallies continue to be held on campuses across the country.

The movement of the professors and students has shown a great deal of vitality and strength. The University of Michigan teach-in pointed out some obvious lessons that had to be learned and were learned in the process of organizing and carrying through a successful protest. For example, the faculty at first attempted to by-pass the students and hold their own demonstration. A change in tactics brought the faculty and students together in a very impressive manner and increased the power of the protest movement. No provisions were made for right-wing disrupters so that on-the-spot defense was made necessary. This lack of preparation will become much more serious as the countermoves of the administration and reactionary bands increase in intensity. So far, the antiwar demonstrations have been faced with only minor harassments; important tests of strength and perseverance are yet to come. These tests will harden and educate the ranks of the antiwar movement; despite their vague notions at this point, participants in the antiwar movement will be forced to clarify and sharpen and extend their political understanding.

The academic community (like other sectors of society) may need a great deal of force to be set into motion -- but once it gets rolling...war hawks, look out!

TOKYO RALLY SCHEDULED AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

Some 200 top officials of the Socialist party and leading Japanese labor figures met at Miyakesaka April 9 to protest U.S. aggression against North Vietnam.

The meeting adopted a resolution to stage a national rally in Tokyo April 26 to protest "U.S. aggression in Vietnam and establish peace in Asia." It was expected that some 110,000 persons would turn out for the rally.

Participants in the rally delivered notes to Prime Minister Eisaku Sato and to the U.S. embassy to be forwarded to President Johnson.

The note to Sato asked the Japanese government to take immediate steps for a peaceful solution of the Vietnam dispute.

Both notes called for suspension of military operations in Vietnam and the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

The British, French, South Vietnamese, Soviet, Canadian and Indian embassies were also visited and asked to co-operate in ending the war.

VIETNAM WAR DRAWING JAPANESE SOCIALISTS, COMMUNISTS TOGETHER

The war launched by President Johnson against North Vietnam may help bring the Socialist and Communist parties of Japan closer together. This was indicated by Tomomi Narita, secretary general of the Japan Socialist party, at a press conference April 4.

"A crop of danger signs in Asia and in Japan in particular" have arisen, he said. The danger signs include current efforts of the Japanese government to normalize its relations with South Korea, its stepped-up military preparations, and the threatened escalation of the war in Vietnam. These are "all brewing a crisis in Asia and Japan."

Narita said that his own party could not hope to settle these problems alone. All Asians should bear them together. The aim of the Socialist party, therefore, is to rally as much popular support as it did against the revision of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty in 1960.

In the process, the Socialist party will seek to join forces with the Communist party on certain issues such as visits to Japan-

ese ports by U.S. nuclear-powered submarines and the normalization of relations with the government of South Korea.

JAPANESE SEAMEN TURN DOWN U.S. DEMAND

A demand of the U.S. Military Sea Transportation Service for an increase in the number of Japanese seamen as crew members of American landing ship tanks [LST] was rejected April 6 by the Japan Seaman's Union.

Some 830 Japanese are employed at present on 17 American LSTs operating in South Vietnam. The U.S. asked that 380 more be recruited.

The Japanese union rejected the demand on the ground that under present circumstances the U.S. cannot guarantee the safety of its ships on the high seas.

U.S. VIOLATES TREATY WITH JAPAN

Six leading figures in Japan's intellectual community have published an open letter in the country's biggest newspaper, the Asahi Shimbun, demanding a statement from the government that it will not permit U.S. military forces in Japan to use bases there for military action in Vietnam.

They state that in view of the situation in Vietnam, in which the escalation of hostilities can lead to a total war between the United States and the People's Republic of China, the Japanese government should declare that Japan will never become involved in such an international struggle.

The letter calls attention to the fact that the current military actions undertaken by U.S. forces in Vietnam constitute a breach of the promise made by the United States in Article 1 of its Security Treaty with Japan.

Article 1 states that both Japan and the United States should try to settle international struggles through peaceful means and that the two nations should avoid as far as possible the use of armed forces or the threat to use them.

The signers of the letter were Prof. Masao Maruyama, Japan's leading authority on political science, Prof. Shigeto Tsuru, an

economist, Prof. Riko Toyoda, a scientist, and three critics, Shuichi Kato, Shinjiro Tanaka and Yoshio Nakano.

JAPANESE UNIONS REJECT AFL-CIO CHARGES

The efforts of the top leadership of the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations] to get the General Council of Japan Trade Unions [Sohyo] to be less critical of the government of the divine Mikado has met with a rebuff.

Last January the AFL-CIO brass began sending missives to the Japanese organization accusing it of supporting "Communism." In February Jay Lovestone, head of the AFL-CIO international department, charged the powerful Japanese union organization with attempting to make the Japanese government follow a foreign policy "against the will of many labor unionists." He frowned on Sohyo's frequent antigovernment demonstrations.

Sohyo provisionally rejected Lovestone's letter and at the beginning of April sent a formal reply. The reply pointed out that Sohyo and its members have consistently opposed the rearmament of Japan since the organization was established fifteen years ago. Antigovernment demonstrations are quite natural in a country where "monopolistic capital" controls the government, it added.

While the Japanese people are appreciative of American economic assistance, the letter to Lovestone said, Sohyo will never cease to oppose American attempts to convert Japan into a military base and it will never cease to oppose America's policy of war. The letter denounced American policy as not serving the interests of the Asian people.

As for the "Communist" charge, Sohyo noted that it opposes the Japan Communist party because it is against the "control of a specific political party." At the same time, it noted, unions are not political parties and therefore should be open to all workers, no matter what their creeds or political views.

The Japanese economy has reached the level of the advanced West European countries, but Japanese workers are paid less than half the scales of Western Europe. This is injurious to the cause of improving the living standards of the working class throughout the world, the Japanese union leaders said.

In the fight against Japan's "monopolistic capital," continued the letter, nothing is more important than the unity of the trade unions. Despite the divisions in the labor movement, including inside Sohyo itself, every Japanese union aspires for "unification

of the domestic labor front."

NEGUS OPPOSES GASSING CIVILIANS IN VIETNAM

The use of noxious gas by the American imperialist troops in Vietnam reminded the Ethiopians of their own bitter experiences when they were the target of aggression by Mussolini's troops in 1935. The March 30 Ethiopian Herald noted that "the United States has become the first democratic nation to use gas since 1918."

Haile Selassie's newspaper offered an impermissible concession to the Pentagon by declaring that the Americans used gas in Vietnam in "self-defense"; however, it said it refused to condone "gassing innocent civilians, especially when the fascist gas raids in 1935, comparable only in psychological implications, are still fresh in the memory."

A WELL-HEELED VICAR

Taking care of people's souls is a lucrative business. This is the unmistakable conclusion to be drawn from an article about the wealth of the Vatican in the March 27 Economist which is not without a note of envy.

The deepest secrecy is maintained on the holdings of the Vatican and its far-flung financial transactions.

"But one can put two and two together," says The Economist; "and they add up in thousands of millions. The most conservative estimate that it is reasonable to make establishes the Vatican -- or rather the Pope, for his rule is absolute -- as far and away the world's largest shareholder, with a portfolio of quoted securities the world over totalling the equivalent of over £2,000 million [\$5,600,000,000]. Of this, only about a tenth is held in Italy. The Vatican is therefore an international financial power of formidable size, with realisable assets roughly equal to, say, the official gold and foreign exchange reserves of France itself. And by comparison, the portfolio of England's Church Commissioners is a mere £213 million. Even the dollar securities held by the British Government, valued at something over \$1,000 million, are only around one-fifth of the Vatican's little nest-egg of marketable stock, which as investment portfolios go is exceeded only by the largest American mutual life insurance companies. And while, as needs to be reiterated, this estimate is very rough indeed, based on upward extrapola-

tion, it is also conservative; and it takes no account of the Vatican's additional and incalculable wealth, from land and real estate all over the world to what is equally certainly the world's most valuable art collection. If this and all the other physical assets could possibly be valued, they would surely put the £2,000 million itself in the shade. The art treasures are buried in the Vatican palaces, and in the basilicas and extra-territorial papal properties in Rome, Loreto, Assisi and Padua. They are priceless -- even Christie's would surely quail at putting the Sistine Chapel under the hammer."

Describing the Vatican's capitalist holdings in Italy, The Economist declares: "The Holy See, according to these estimates, owns approximately one-fifteenth of the total stock of shares quoted on Italian stock exchanges. The total value of all these shares was estimated at December 31, 1964, at 5,500 billion lire. This puts the amount of capital invested by the Vatican in Italian stocks at around £200 million. This data tends rather to underestimate the Vatican's investments, while the anti-clerical press puts forward astronomical figures according to which the Vatican owns three-quarters of Italian shares, which is absurdly improbable.

"But the Holy See's Italian portfolio represents only a small fraction of the whole of its world investments. Exactly what fraction, it is difficult to say. The best estimate, on opinion generally close to Vatican sources, is that investments in Italy represent between one-tenth and one-twelfth of the whole: it is this that gives the figure of £2,000 million as a minimum in the Vatican's world portfolio."

As The Economist points out, the Pope is not merely a capitalist. He is also a landlord, owning real estate on several continents. "These are old acquisitions or bequests. These possessions must not be confused with the far larger properties of innumerable Catholic ecclesiastical bodies -- bishoprics, convents, colleges -- which are, as property, completely independent of the Holy See.

"The Holy See is a particularly big landlord in the Rome area. It owns whole blocks of houses and hundreds of flats, as well as big stretches of land on the outskirts of the city. These have been highly valuable in the building boom of recent years. The Vatican continues to build new blocks of flats, and lets flats to its own officials."

In its attitude toward rents and profits, the Vatican follows precepts different from those laid down in the scriptures. "The Special Administration's activities have always been conducted with masterly prudence and skill. Its position is, of course, unique. Every banker and finance minister in the world must envy its administrators their freedom of action. It is absolute: they have neither parliament, nor cabinet, nor shareholders' assembly to

answer to. They pay no tax on Vatican territory. They fear no drain of funds. They can undertake very long-term operations and operate in no matter which country, since they ignore frontiers and have capital available everywhere, through an efficient system of internal clearing. The diplomatic privileges of the Holy See facilitate their task. Their contacts allow them to keep constantly informed of all happenings, economic or political, likely to influence the financial situation."

WORKERS OF BRITTANY SEND MASS DELEGATION TO PARIS

PARIS -- With the coming of spring, the workers have launched a number of economic demands, including wage increases or a reduction in hours without a decrease in wages. The bosses have responded in the automobile industry by lay-offs (Peugeot at Sochaux) or lock-outs (Berliet in the Lyon region).

Up to now these movements have occurred in isolation from each other, the federation leaderships failing to intervene. As a result the struggles have remained local in character.

This passive attitude of the federation leaderships -- whether of the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail], the CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail], or Force Ouvrière -- involves not only the struggles in the automobile industry. It was shown a week earlier during a demonstration that merits attention as perhaps the trial run of a new form of action in the class struggle.

The trade-union organizations in Brittany (excepting those affiliated with Force Ouvrière), in order to present the demands of the workers in that area, decided to send a "delegation" to Paris composed of 3,000 men.

A collection was taken up to cover traveling expenses.

The demonstration took place in face of obstructive measures by the local government which tried to prevail on the transportation companies not to rent buses to the delegation. In Paris some scuffles with the police occurred in the streets.

The causes of the demonstration were clearly of a local nature. Brittany is a poor region, both agriculturally as well as industrially. It exports laborers. Capitalist investments there are quite limited.

But the form of the demonstration -- sending a few thousand men to Paris -- is relatively new. About two years ago, the iron miners in the east, then the coal miners, initiated something simi-

lar. Up until then, such delegations were limited to a few trade-union leaders, not going beyond a couple of dozen.

What is behind this new tactic? Undoubtedly one of the reasons is the Bonapartist character of the Gaullist regime. Formerly the local officials (deputies, mayors, councillors) and top local government functionaries generally succeeded in finding some solution. This avenue is no longer open. The government no longer delegates such power to local officials, even if they are bourgeois. Decisions must be made at the very top. This being the case, it is understandable why the workers would want to send a mass delegation to Paris in order to impress those with the power to make decisions.

A demonstration of this kind is potentially very revolutionary. It would enable an alert militant leadership, under the right circumstances, to reinforce demonstrations of the Paris workers with various regional demonstrations. Such circumstances cannot be artificially created, but it is necessary to prepare the workers and their organizations for the occasion by calling their attention to a development of this kind such as the Breton workers organized.

The Paris workers should bolster such demonstrations by mobilizing at least the vanguard to join in, even if, for the time being, the demonstrations have only a limited character. They should get to know how the demonstrations were organized, etc.

But the leaderships are silent. They say nothing about their value. They do not appear to understand their meaning at all. This lack of understanding is directly linked to their passivity with regard to the Gaullist regime which they do not dream of confronting. They await its downfall after de Gaulle dies and hope that after his burial the good old days of bourgeois democracy will return.

FRANKFORT MAYOR DISAVOWS POLICE ROLE IN VIETNAM DEMONSTRATION

FRANKFORT, Germany -- The demonstration of some 1,000 youth against U.S. aggression in Vietnam, which was staged here March 27, has had an interesting aftermath.

After the official demonstration was held, a few hundred youth made their way to the U.S. consulate. The police intervened, beating a number of demonstrators and arresting seventeen. [See World Outlook April 9.]

The Easter March Movement Against Atomic Warfare, which had sponsored the March 27 demonstration, protested the brutality of the police. It was backed by socialist and liberal student and

youth organizations, some of which had not participated in the March 27 demonstration.

The Social Democratic mayor of Frankfurt, Professor Brundert, met with representatives of the organizations. To everyone's surprise, he agreed with their stand, stated that the police had no legal right to act as they had, and promised an investigation and punishment of those who were found guilty.

The mayor's declaration was received as an encouraging concession and all those who have been advocating vigorous protest against the American imperialist aggression in Vietnam felt that they had won a victory.

DEUTSCHER TELLS ABOUT TROTSKY ON FRENCH TELEVISION

PARIS -- Television fans in France got a welcome break from dull programs when Isaac Deutscher was interviewed April 14 on the third volume of his biography of Leon Trotsky which has just been published here under the title Le Prophète Hors-la-loi [The Prophet Outcast].

In a fifteen-minute nation-wide program, Deutscher replied to a half dozen questions from the television critic, Pierre Desgraupes, who had carefully read the book, enabling Deutscher to bring out several important points before the huge television audience.

First of all, he stressed Trotsky's foresight, showing in particular how Trotsky had sounded the alarm on the danger represented by the Nazis in Germany, while Stalin at the time saw the Social Democracy and fascism as "twins." Deutscher also recalled how Trotsky had forecast the collapse of the Third Republic in France.

Desgraupes opened the way for Deutscher to indicate how Trotsky had viewed power as a means and not an end itself, how he was imbued with a feeling of the historic importance of his struggle, and how tragedy came to Trotsky's family because of his principled political course.

Asked about the way in which Trotsky is viewed today in the USSR as a result of "de-Stalinization," Deutscher pointed out how the old charges about being an "agent of imperialism," a "spy," an "enemy of the people," etc., had been abandoned, being replaced by milder epithets such as "antiparty." Nevertheless Trotsky's works and the truth about him are still barred in the USSR.

Deutscher told the following anecdote. Some students were

reading one of Trotsky's books secretly at the home of one of them, the son of a high party official, when the father suddenly came in. On catching sight of the book, he told them: "Do you know that you can get fifteen years in prison for what you're doing? Fifteen years!" One of them responded: "We know it; but the book is worth it."

In closing, Deutscher forcefully asserted his belief that Trotsky's ideas, now "below the surface" in the USSR, will begin to play a bigger and bigger role there.

VICTOR ALLEN WINS RELEASE

Dr. Victor Allen, the Leeds University lecturer given a one-year sentence in Nigeria on charges of sedition, has won release, according to an April 16 Reuter dispatch from Lagos.

Dr. Allen went on a hunger strike March 17 to protest unwarranted delays in hearing his appeal. His action prodded the officials into action and the Western Nigeria High Court, after hearing argument, upheld Dr. Allen April 15 and reduced his sentence to four months. He was sentenced last November 10.

Three Nigerian trade unionists, Sidi Khayam, Jonas Kiomasekenagh Abam and Olushengun Adebayo, were sentenced at the same time as Dr. Allen. The Reuter dispatch said nothing about these three defendants and they are presumably still being held although they were convicted on the same charges as those used to railroad Dr. Allen to prison.

MOTHER IN ALEXANDER CASE SENDS THANKS

[The extracts below are from letters received by the British and German Alexander defense committees from Mrs. Dombeta Alexander, the mother of two of the defendants, Dorothy Alexander, a high-school teacher, and Dr. Neville Alexander, an outstanding South African intellectual. Dr. Alexander is now serving a ten-year sentence at Robben Island prison for political opposition to the apartheid system. Dorothy Alexander is serving a five-year sentence in a different prison. The "girls," mentioned by Mrs. Alexander, are the four women among the eleven defendants in the case. All of them are serving long sentences for the "crime" of entertaining subversive thoughts about apartheid.]

[The South African courts recently turned down an appeal against the miscarriage of justice in the case; and the defense committees in various countries are now exploring further legal avenues to gain release of the prisoners as well as collecting funds to aid the families. The address of the British Alexander Defence Committee is: Mrs. C. Kirkby, 27 Thursley House, Holmewood Gardens, London, S.W.2.]

* * *

I must thank you on behalf of my son, daughter and their friends as well as all the families for the hard work you and your committee have put into this wonderful work you have done for us.

I feel so small when I think of the many big hearted people there are in other parts of the world who can do so much for us the oppressed people of this country. I often look around and think how many we are without a voice as it were. This then is the result.

You can imagine what these few days mean to us the mothers who should have hope and yet we feel should we dare to hope.

Anyway I have to say a big thank you for the wonderful effort and the result that has come as can be understood we dare not move a stone to try to help for fear of prosecution.

The ticket [to a fund-raising affair] you enclosed I shall keep as a remembrance of what has gone by and I trust that some day he will also be able to see it. His friends that he has made in a strange country has become his brothers and sisters in his home he is like a stranger, "a leper," that goes for all of them.

* * *

Further I received the 100 pounds which you have collected locally and sent for the families. The other money we have paid in to the lawyers.

The 100 pounds I have distributed at 5 pounds per family until I saw Neville...as I knew with the studies due for them they will need money.

Neville asked to me to place the remaining 45 pounds in the bank until the men call for it to pay their studies.

First of all, he was so happy to hear the good news about the success of your work internationally and he expressed, in the name of the Eleven, his sincere gratitude for this great achievement. His eyes filled with tears when expressing this....

Although he is still kept in solitary confinement, he looks well, is in high spirit and has hope for the future.

The girls are now also allowed to study but the parents have to pay the expenses. So we have to try and raise this money. I was thinking that if counsel is paid and there is money over, that we should use this to pay for the education of the Eleven, as far as it will go. We are already nearly too shy to ask your support in this respect, after all that have been done but our hands are bound. Dorothy told me that she intends doing the Matriculation examination and that the fees will be 26 pounds, including books....

The families of the Eleven have asked me to thank you all for your work, assistance and solidarity.

* * *

I shall write as regularly as I can but suppose news about our dear ones will be far between since we are allowed visits only once every six months and a letter also once every six months.

We visited the girls during December, they were all very well and in good spirits. They were doing no work, allowed nothing to read but are two in one cell. They have since been allowed study privileges for which the parents must pay out of their own pockets. They need money for text books also, as well as for writing materials.

The appeal was heard in Bloemfontein between the judges, State and Counsel for the accused. As you know by now it failed. We did not really expect otherwise; we could therefore not be unduly upset. At least a year of their sentence has gone by so we can only hope that they keep healthy and we all be spared to meet again.

Ironic enough Dorothy who has always been very thin put on some weight but her eyes have gone bad and I have to see that she gets money for spectacles as well. They are allowed [ten shillings] per month to buy toilet goods for themselves on the premises.

It is indeed comforting to know we are not alone in this cause and that others bear with us.

ANGOLAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS REPORT SUCCESSES

The general staff of the National Liberation Army of Angola [ALNA] has issued a report on activities of the Angolan freedom fighters in the last part of March that includes the following successes:

Some fifty kilometers from Malange, the Angolans set mines on a railway, succeeding in blowing up a locomotive and two freight cars. The locomotive engineer and his two assistants were killed.

A consignment of wine and cloth was completely destroyed. The other cars, derailed by the explosion, were seriously damaged. According to a press release issued by the Portuguese fascist authorities, the damage amounted to several million escudos [1 escudo = \$.0346].

At the Cabulo cataracts, ALNA forces defeated a patrol of Salazarist troops who sought to attack a temporary camp of the freedom fighters March 12. The imperialist forces suffered six killed and several wounded.

In woods between Catete and Cassoneca March 16, the ALNA squad utilized locally-made incendiary bombs against a camp of the colonialist army and opened fire, killing seven soldiers. The enemy retreated, abandoning considerable matériel (transmitting sets, medical supplies and modern arms). The Angolan patriots were able to retrieve a good part of this, but during the gunfire preceding the enemy's retreat, the ALNA lost four men.

On March 22, on the road from Toto to Bembe, a small convoy of Portuguese military vehicles was ambushed by the ALNA although it was under escort by a PV-2 plane. Three vehicles were destroyed by the patriots. Bomber planes from the base at Toto, alerted by the PV-2, came to the rescue but the ALNA partisans had already retreated into the brush.

Near Quibaxe the ALNA forces attacked a patrol of the occupation army March 25. In the violent fighting, nine Portuguese soldiers were killed and five Angolan combatants lost their lives.

Between Capulo and Ambris another violent encounter took place March 27 when the ALNA caught a Portuguese force by surprise. One Portuguese soldier was taken prisoner. Two wounded Portuguese soldiers were brought to a field hospital. In addition the enemy lost three killed.

ETHIOPIAN NATIONALISTS BACK VIETNAMESE CAUSE

[The Ethiopian People's Movement Council issued the following press release April 12.]

* * *

As was announced recently, the Saigon puppet regime has opened an embassy as well as a press agency at Addis Ababa, the "Capital of African Unity." It has also been announced that Iran Van Tuyen, vice-president of the puppet government, is leaving Saigon for a trip to various African countries as part of a propaganda campaign in favor of the American imperialist war actions in Southeast Asia in general and in South Vietnam in particular. In

addition it was revealed that Addis Ababa had been chosen as the point of departure for American-Saigon propaganda in Africa due to the "politically important role" played by the Ethiopian capital.

The latest news makes clear the pro-imperialist character of the policy followed by the "imperial" feudal government of Ethiopia in international relations. This government had already taken a similar position with regard to Korea and the Congo while claiming to defend the principle of "collective security" and adopting an attitude of so-called "moderation" in African affairs in general.

Having already established diplomatic relations with the puppet government of South Korea, the Ethiopian autocracy now counts on doing the same with the equally subservient government of South Vietnam, the aim being to bolster the war propaganda of the Yankee imperialists and their lackeys in Africa and to undermine the feeling of sympathy and solidarity felt by the African masses for the heroic and valiant people of South Vietnam and their vanguard, the National Liberation Front.

The opening of such an "embassy" in Addis Ababa signifies intensification of this alliance between Yankee imperialism and the feudal clique ruling Ethiopia and their machinations to distract the attention of the Ethiopian masses away from the goals they have chosen. But the Ethiopian people are not so easily duped by maneuvers of this kind and they will not cease to support the national liberation struggle of the South Vietnamese people.

In face of the plot between the United States and Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian People's Movement Council condemns the action of the imperial feudal regime which seeks to assist the anti-popular activities of the Saigon puppets, and it expressly opposes the establishment of a South Vietnamese embassy in Addis Ababa. The Ethiopian People's Movement Council expresses its solidarity with the South Vietnamese people and declares that it is ready to participate actively in the national liberation struggle of our brothers in South Vietnam.

The Ethiopian People's Movement Council views the opening of a South Vietnamese "embassy" in Addis Ababa as an example of the intrigue against the continent of Africa and it warns that it will reply to this measure in a hostile way.

The Ethiopian People's Movement Council, as the vanguard of the masses of Ethiopian workers, likewise condemns the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It categorically condemns the attempts of the Johnson administration to dupe public opinion in Ethiopia and throughout the world by its offer of "unconditional discussions" which only reflects its hypocrisy. The Ethiopian People's Movement Council likewise demands the immediate withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam and a halt to the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as well as complete respect for

the Geneva agreement of 1954 and the right of the Vietnamese people to unity and national independence.

Long live the friendship of the Vietnamese and Ethiopian peoples!

Down with the feudalists!

Down with imperialism!

SIHLALI-MTSHIZANA TRIALS REMANDED

LUSAKA, Zambia -- The trials of Leo L. Sihlali and Louis L. Mtshizana opened April 5 in the Regional Magistrate's Court at Port Elizabeth, Cape Province, South Africa. The two political opponents of the apartheid system were charged under the Anti-Communism Act and also with attempting to leave the prison house of South Africa "without valid passports."

Sihlali's case was remanded to April 29, Mtshizana's to April 28.

Sihlali is the former president of the Unity Movement of South Africa, a federation of professional, civic and peasant organizations. Mtshizana is the former chairman of the East London branch of the Society of Young Africa, one of the affiliates of the Unity Movement.

The charges against them include such "crimes" as failing several times to report to the police as required by the banning orders imposed on them, leaving the magisterial districts of Queens-town and East London without due authorization, and communicating with each other in violation of the banning orders.

Both men were placed under banning orders for five years. In addition, Sihlali was placed under house arrest. The objective of the orders was to deny them freedom of speech, freedom of movement and freedom of association.

INDIAN COMMUNISTS CLOSE RANKS OVER VIETNAM

Despite bitter differences, the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Communist parties in India were reported to have held a conference in Calcutta April 20 at which they decided to close ranks in face of the U.S. imperialist aggression against North Vietnam.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CEYLON UNDER THE UNP

By Edmund Samarakkody

The return of the capitalist UNP [United National Party] and its allies to governmental office could not have been unexpected. The contest for the control of parliament was between two capitalist combinations -- the SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom party] and its allies versus the UNP and its allies. The stronger capitalist combination, the UNP and its allies, have succeeded in winning a majority of seats.

Despite the fact that so-called anti-UNP governments ruled for the last nine years, the UNP came out of the general election as the largest single party and, with the help of its allies, the MEP [Mahajana Eksath Peramuna] of Philip Gunawardene, the JVP (an extreme Sinhala racialist group), the Federal party, the Tamil Congress and the SLSFP [Sri Lanka Socialist Freedom party] of C. P. de Silva, is now in control of parliament. This is proof that the forces of capitalism, far from getting weaker have in fact been strengthened under the rule of the SLFP and its allies, the MEP and the reformist LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja party]. This was a consequence of the policies of the SLFP governments since 1956.

Whilst mouthing phrases against the capitalists and the reactionaries, the SLFP government took every possible step to maintain and strengthen the capitalist economy and capitalist class rule. In numerous ways private capitalists were systematically assisted in developing their enterprises. A new sector of the manufacturing capitalists were given special assistance to set up factories and other manufacturing enterprises.

Whilst the capitalists and the forces of capitalism received aid and special protection, the working class and the anticapitalist forces were suppressed in numerous ways. A wage freeze was rigorously enforced as government policy, and unrestricted exploitation of the wage earners by the capitalists was permitted. Wage struggles were resisted and broken up by police and military action.

The reactionary forces of Sinhala racialism and Buddhist clericalism were consciously encouraged by the SLFP governments. The Tamil minority and plantation workers of Indian origin were severely discriminated against and therefore driven to seek salvation through Tamil communalist and capitalist leaders like Chelvanayagam, Thondaman and Ponnampalam. In the situation the capitalist forces emerged with greater strength than before and asserted themselves through the older and more experienced party of the capitalists -- the UNP rather than through the SLFP, the more recent alternative party of the capitalists.

The defeat of the UNP government in 1956 should have been the

beginning of a vigorous development and the strengthening of the anticapitalist forces. This was hardly the case. Whilst the trade-union movement registered a definite growth, working-class struggles to improve or maintain their living standards were allowed to drag on and peter out in separate actions without co-ordination and without perspective of developing the anticapitalist struggle. The reformist leaders of the working class functioned within the framework of support of the bourgeois SLFP government and prevented the class struggle growing towards a confrontation with the capitalist class and the capitalist governments.

However, despite the desires of their reformist leaders, the organised working class took positive steps towards preparation for class action. Unity of the trade-union movement through the Joint Council of Trade Unions for struggle for the 21 common demands was a meaningful step towards a coming struggle.

It was at this moment that the LSSP reformists, Messers Colvin R. de Silva, N.M. Perera and Leslie Goonewardene, supported by the Keunemans of the Communist party (Moscow), betrayed and disrupted this movement for struggle by entering into coalition with the capitalist SLFP government.

The expected happened. Class struggle gave way to class collaboration. The capitalist SLFP government and the employers continued to enforce their wage freeze. The capitalist class and all capitalist parties regained their morale. The organised working class was thrown into confusion; and disunity once again returned to their ranks. And now while the working class and the anticapitalist forces remained disoriented, a UNP-led government is in control of parliament.

The UNP-led government has emerged not without difficulty. Only a combination of several capitalist groups with divergent aims has helped the UNP to set up a government under their leadership. Despite their Sinhala chauvinism and Buddhist clericalism the UNP found it necessary and possible to seek and obtain the support of the Tamil communalist Federal party to form a government. Politically bankrupt and discredited individuals and both Sinhala and Tamil racialists have found places in the UNP-led government. Obviously it is a desperate effort to survive as a government that has brought such divergent and opposing elements together. Instability is the key note of this UNP-led government. This is once again the latest manifestation of the crisis of capitalist class rule in Ceylon flowing from the crisis of the capitalist economy. The crisis of parliament is only the reflection of this continuing crisis of the economy.

Within the capitalist framework there is no solution to the pressing problems of the people. Despite their promises to the people and their own expectations, the UNP and their allies are as bankrupt in their policies as were the SLFP and their allies.

Foreign aid and assistance from the imperialists will have their limits. No doubt attempts will be made to win over the workers and toiling people by minor concessions and relief of a temporary nature. The basic questions of the wage freeze, unemployment, the cost of living, the acute housing conditions will remain as before. Despite their talk of preserving democracy, the UNP and its allies, through their new government, will be compelled to use naked force -- the police and the army to enforce class rule. The use of emergency powers to suppress the workers and the toilers will not be far off. The UNP-led government will continue more efficiently and effectively the exploitation of the workers, peasants and the toiling people in the interests of the capitalists and the imperialists.

There is no remedy through parliament for the workers and toilers. The so-called easy road to socialism through unprincipled parliamentary combinations with alien class parties has led the workers and toilers further away from the goal of socialism than they were ever before. To wait in the expectation of another coalition with the bourgeoisie and further experimentation on the road of class collaboration can only bring further calamity to the workers and toilers. The hard and difficult road of class struggle, in which all the exploited sections of the people, led by the working class, wage a relentless class war leading to the overthrow of the capitalist class is the one and only way to achieve socialism. It is now necessary for the workers and toilers to abandon all faith in parliamentary reformism and take the road of revolutionary struggle. The reorientation of the working class and toilers in this perspective is the need of the hour.

It is imperative for the working class and toilers to prepare to meet the coming offensive of the capitalist class and the UNP-led government against them to further lower their living conditions by a continued wage freeze and later by even wage cuts. Defensive action against the capitalist class and the capitalist government would inevitably develop into the working class-led offensive against the capitalist class enemy. To achieve this new orientation the working class and the toilers must break all links with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. The mobilisation of the workers and toilers through United Front of all working-class parties and organisations in the perspective of mass struggle against the capitalist class and capitalist UNP-led government is imperative and urgent for the coming confrontation with the forces of capitalism. The unstable and even tottering capitalist-class rule in Ceylon can before long be overthrown. With the necessary preparation, organisation and the determination of the workers and toilers to struggle, the overthrow of capitalism in this country can become a reality.

THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION AGAIN IN MOVEMENT

By Henri Dumoulin

Algiers, Algeria

March 23 is more than a historic anniversary; it is "the November 1 of our workers and peasants." This was Ben Bella's way of putting it in a speech March 20 at a meeting in Algiers organized by the Federation of Greater Algiers of the Front de Libération Nationale [FLN], on the second anniversary of the March decrees.

March 23 is the November 1 of Algerian socialism. Just as the launching by the Algerian nationalists of the armed anticolonialist struggle in the Aurès mountains on the night of November 1, 1954, sounded the death knell of colonialism in this country, so the instituting of self-management on March 23, 1963, marked a decisive step along the road of socialist revolution.

Has the socialist revolution been achieved then in Algeria? Of course not. And no one says so except perhaps bureaucrats or bourgeois hypocrites who undoubtedly fear its development.

Is a bourgeoisie still to be found in Algeria? The bourgeoisie and the bureaucrats would like to have the workers overlook it. But if we turn to the Algiers Charter (the documents adopted by the first congress of the FLN party April 16-21, 1964), we find:

"Altogether, the bourgeois layers, properly called, do not exceed 50,000, that is, less than one-fortieth of the active population [of 1962].

"The petty bourgeoisie, a potential source of antisocialist, bourgeois ideology, occupy a more important place in agriculture, in retail trade, among the artisans, in subordinate technical and office occupations, etc.... Altogether, about one-eighth of the active population....

"Since independence, a new social layer, forming at an accelerated rate, threatens to strengthen the instinctively antisocialist pressure of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This is forming in the apparatus of the administration, the state and the economy due to the feeling of strength arising from the exercise of power.

"This force, through its position in the state machinery and the economy can prove to be considerably more dangerous to the democratic, socialist evolution of the Revolution than any other social force in the country at present."

The contradictions and conflicts developing between these retrogressive layers and the workers in the towns is the fundamental

explanation for the wave of strikes that broke out last December and January, especially in Algiers. [See World Outlook January 15.]

Although mainly aimed at the foreign and Algerian bosses in the private sector, these strikes, which also affected the nationalized sector, put a spotlight on the position of the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie in formation in the apparatus of the administration, the state and the economy." (The terminology is from the Algiers Charter.) The posture of certain bureaucrats in the party and trade-union leadership was also illuminated in a clear way.

The retrogressive forces sought by all means -- from persuasion to repression -- to stop the movement and to impose a compromise. The compromises, in general, by no means met the economic demands of the workers, and did not put an end to the struggle. The workers turned to another avenue to demonstrate their discontent and militancy -- the preparations for the second congress of the UGTA [Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens -- General Union of Algerian Workers.]

We will return to the debates that occurred at the congress. But a series of preparatory meetings took place, not only in the towns, but likewise in a series of self-managed farms in the socialist sector. The daily press reflected these but faintly. The discussions, however, were quite animated. We will indicate some of the issues.

The projected "Bylaws of the UGTA" (published in Révolution et Travail, February 18) stated: "The members of the Executive Commission of the UGTA are elected for two years by the Congress and cannot be replaced. They must be members of the FLN."

A worker of the EGA [Electricité et Gaz d'Algérie] in Oran, declared with regard to this: "At bottom what is posed is the problem of revolutionary democracy. We suffered ourselves, in our organization, from sectarianism. If we are able to congratulate ourselves today on our accomplishments, it is because we were able to fight for a correct application of genuine democracy. This has enabled us to widen our base, to gain fresh energy to apply the Algiers Charter in life.

"There are those in the structure (members of the UGTA and of the party) who have shown their incapacity; others outside the structure have shown their determination to apply the Algiers Charter in daily life."

The Conseil National des Cheminots [National Council of Railway Workers] at a meeting that ended March 19 proposed to substitute the following for the sentence about the necessity of belonging to the FLN in order to be elected to the Executive Council: "The members of the EC must be genuinely revolutionary militants meeting the standards defined by the Algiers Charter."

Many workers, particularly workers in the towns and permanent workers in the self-managed farms, fear the too dangerous development of a bureaucratic current, at least within a part of the leadership and the party apparatus. They are afraid that these bureaucrats and their cliques may become dangerous allies of the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie in formation in the apparatus of the state," referred to in the Algiers Charter.

Through experiments undertaken by the permanent agricultural workers, often in conjunction with similar efforts of their comrades in the towns, and also through contacts created by volunteer brigades on Socialist Sundays, in which city workers go out to give a hand to their comrades on the self-managed farms, certain steps have been taken along the road of unity between the city workers (nationalized or self-managed industries, as well as semipublic and private industries) and the permanent workers of the self-managed farms.

An unknown remains: the broad mass of small fellahs (owners of very small plots of land) and unemployed, or semi-employed rural workers (landless peasants, hired hands of the Algerian owners or the self-managed sector).

Illiterate for the most part, they have not yet made their voice heard on the political scene. They were not represented at the congress of the Travailleurs de la Terre [Workers on the Land]. Ben Bella, in regretting this, clearly stressed the fact.

But it must never be forgotten that if they are probably less advanced in understanding the need for a social and socialist revolution (particularly, of course, among the small fellahs), their support in the nationalist struggle was essential. The final resolution of the congress of the Travailleurs de la Terre reaffirmed this: "The peasant masses in the so-called 'traditional' sector of agriculture constituted the main base of the liberatory action of our glorious ALN [Armée de Libération Nationale] and suffered especially under the colonial regime and the repression."

For them only a radical agrarian reform offers a way of overcoming misery and abysmal poverty, at least partially. (Such a reform, announced long ago, has been postponed from time to time. At present it is projected for the summer of 1965, after the harvest.

It is significant that the permanent workers on the self-managed farms voted for this resolution and are advocating an agrarian reform. But it must be understood that its application or lack of it depends not only on the degree of mobilization and organization of the poor peasantry in the hinterlands, but also on the understanding, the militancy and the dynamism of the proletarian vanguard in the towns and countryside.

If a resumption of the mobilization of this proletarian vanguard is now being felt, another category of particularly exploited

persons in Algeria, the women, have also begun to raise their voices. A series of things show that this is not entirely spontaneous but is due to a group of dynamic women who are trying, not without success, to organize a movement, demanding in particular full and complete participation in the national organizations, in all progressive demonstrations, the complete application of the Algiers Charter, the struggle against the traditional practice of the dowry, freedom of choice in marriage.

This movement began naturally in the big urban centers and has not yet gone beyond this limit; but the demonstration on March 8 in Algiers, in conjunction with the observance of International Woman's Day, when several thousand Algerian women massed in the streets despite the ironic quips and stupid jeers of many men, marks the end of one phase and the beginning of another.

The number of workers who came to Algiers March 20 to commemorate the second anniversary of the march decrees (200,000 according to the March 21 Le Peuple) constitutes fresh proof of this new militancy of the toiling masses. Here again the women were well represented.

Similar demonstrations occurred in other cities, particularly in Constantine.

The UGTA congress inevitably confirmed all these tendencies. The renewed mobilization of the masses strongly affected the deliberations. In fact, the pressure of the workers, their dissatisfaction with the incipient bureaucratic tendencies in the unions and elsewhere was so strong that the congress ended by completely sweeping out the entire previous UGTA leadership. Not a single member of the executive committee was re-elected. A number of rank-and-file militants were brought into the leadership, whose general secretary Mouloud Oumeziane made an appeal for consolidation of self-management and for unity between the workers and peasants.

The pressure of the masses was also apparent in the consideration given to the woman question at the congress, the inclusion of two women workers in the new executive committee and the fact that twenty-three women delegates took the floor during the congress.

The congress adopted a resolution insisting on the necessity to carry out the next phase of the agrarian revolution by limiting the property of Algerian landowners. The resolution calls for the building of peasant unions, including small peasants and sharecroppers, and calls on the workers to mobilize against any attempt of the landowners to sabotage the next phase of the agrarian reform.

It also calls for clearing out all corrupt elements and former collaborators with the colonial administration from the state and party apparatus. It demands consolidation of the self-management system, the strengthening of the public as opposed to the pri-

vate sector of industry, closer integration of the mass of workers in the general management of the economy. It calls upon trade-union leaders to always use persuasion and never authoritarian methods in educating the workers of the public sector in a "mentality of self-management" as against the old "mentality of wage earners."

In all these points, the resolutions as well as the outcome of the debates at the congress undoubtedly strengthened the left wing of the FLN which is opposed to bureaucracy and wants to push the Algerian Revolution another step ahead. This is also reflected in the general resolution adopted at the congress which explicitly named the bureaucracy as among the reactionary social layers against which it is necessary to struggle.

Ben Bella himself, undoubtedly influenced by this new radicalization, made two significant statements in his concluding speech at the congress. The March 29 Le Peuple quoted him as praising "revolutionary democracy as opposed to the democracy of phrasemongers," and proclaiming that "undoubtedly real democracy is the very means to realize socialism, socialism through self-management." In addition, he promised that "before the end of the year 1965, the socialist sector will dominate the private sector [in industry]."

Only on the question of strikes did the congress take a more ambiguous stand. It declared that strikes in the self-managed sector are inadmissible. It stated that "in the interest of socialist Algeria" all "unnecessary conflicts should be prevented." At the same time it called upon the workers of the private sector to "get to know all secrets of their bosses" and to exercise their right to "co-management."

It remains to be seen whether this new rise of mass spirit will remain sufficiently strong and vigilant to carry through the next big stage of the agrarian reform this summer and autumn. If it does, it could become an important new turning point in the development of the Algerian Revolution.