

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 20

May 15, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

In this issue:

Page

Asturian Miners Down Tools.....	1
Soviet Union Grants Generous Aid to Algeria.....	3
Cuba on the Eve of May Day -- by Edward Duncan.....	5
France Sells Locomotives to Cuba.....	7
Teodoro Moscoso Bows Out.....	8
End of the "Alliance for Progress"? -- by Joseph Hansen.....	9
Witch-Hunt Continues in Brazil.....	11
Coup d'Etat Feared in Chile.....	12
Bolivian Miners Defend Radio Station.....	13
Venezuelan Rebels Score the Pentagon.....	13
Defendants Seek Appeal in Alexander Case.....	15
A Dien-Bien-Phu for the United States?.....	18
British Communist Youth Expel "Trotskyists" -- by Alan Adair.....	21
"A Message from Our Sponsor".....	23
Freedom Now Party Files in Michigan.....	24
Alfred Rosmer -- by Pierre Frank.....	25
Ceylonese May Day Resolution.....	27

ASTURIAN MINERS DOWN TOOLS

PARIS, May 8 -- More than three-quarters of the 65,000 miners in Asturias were reported on strike today in the fourth great action they have undertaken since 1962 in defiance of Spain's fascist laws banning strikes. Some 5,000 Oviedo metal workers walked out in a solidarity demonstration.

The acting head of the government-sponsored "union" said May 6 that the strikes had been "precipitated by political forces with subversive intentions."

Police and civil guards were reported to have been ordered to stand by; but up to the moment no repressive action had been taken.

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 20

May 15, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

In this issue:

Page

Asturian Miners Down Tools.....	1
Soviet Union Grants Generous Aid to Algeria.....	3
Cuba on the Eve of May Day -- by Edward Duncan.....	5
France Sells Locomotives to Cuba.....	7
Teodoro Moscoso Bows Out.....	8
End of the "Alliance for Progress"? -- by Joseph Hansen.....	9
Witch-Hunt Continues in Brazil.....	11
Coup d'Etat Feared in Chile.....	12
Bolivian Miners Defend Radio Station.....	13
Venezuelan Rebels Score the Pentagon.....	13
Defendants Seek Appeal in Alexander Case.....	15
A Dien-Bien-Phu for the United States?.....	18
British Communist Youth Expel "Trotskyists" -- by Alan Adair.....	21
"A Message from Our Sponsor".....	23
Freedom Now Party Files in Michigan.....	24
Alfred Rosmer -- by Pierre Frank.....	25
Ceylonese May Day Resolution.....	27

ASTURIAN MINERS DOWN TOOLS

PARIS, May 8 -- More than three-quarters of the 65,000 miners in Asturias were reported on strike today in the fourth great action they have undertaken since 1962 in defiance of Spain's fascist laws banning strikes. Some 5,000 Oviedo metal workers walked out in a solidarity demonstration.

The acting head of the government-sponsored "union" said May 6 that the strikes had been "precipitated by political forces with subversive intentions."

Police and civil guards were reported to have been ordered to stand by; but up to the moment no repressive action had been taken.

The strike wave appears to have been precipitated by an announcement at a mine of a ten-day shut-down in retaliation against strike action for better protection against silicosis.

Sympathy strikes then flared at several mines. Management's response was to suspend the strikers for fifteen days as punishment.

The answer to that was fresh sympathy strikes. In this way the action began to snowball in what appeared to be almost spontaneous fashion.

Said the Madrid correspondent of the London Times [May 7]: "The rapid spread of the strike since Monday implies an extraordinary demonstration of solidarity, with a mingling of economic and political claims."

José Antonio Novais, the Madrid correspondent of the Paris daily Le Monde, agreed that it was a solidarity movement, but said that "this movement has a deeper cause: the miners are dissatisfied because the government has not yet published the new regulations for the coal pits."

He added that the antistrike legislation now appears to block adjustment of the dispute. "The government, having transformed the most peaceful of labor problems into a conflict with the public order, it is difficult for it to negotiate, because of the involvement of public authority, with those who are 'outside the law.'"

What is happening fundamentally in Spain now is a growth in strength of the real union movement. The strikes are not only over immediate demands involving working conditions and wages but over the fundamental issue of the right to organize free unions. Even though this is not openly stated, it is implied by the spontaneous action and its tendency to set off a chain reaction.

As Ramón Vazquez pointed out in a World Outlook article [May 1], the Spanish workers in the past two years have succeeded in reforging the strike weapon as a means of struggle, utilizing it effectively against the capitalists and the government, and finally compelling the powers that be to recognize the existence of strikes. Now the workers have taken up a new objective, the winning of trade-union freedom in struggle against the Falangist "unions."

The heroic Asturian miners have served notice that they mean business. The further course of this struggle will be observed by vanguard workers throughout the world with the keenest interest and sympathy. Will their strike repeat the pattern of the movement that started in Asturias in April 1962? That strike spread in a few weeks to important industrial centers, including Barcelona, and gave Franco the worst labor crisis since he shot his way to power.

SOVIET UNION GRANTS GENEROUS AID TO ALGERIA

Ben Bella's trip to Moscow proved to be a highly successful venture. As the featured guest at the May Day celebration, he captured headlines all over the world as this action was studied for what it might portend about relations between imperialism and the workers states, and in the conflict between Moscow and Peking.

Khrushchev, of course, sought to wring every possible advantage out of the trip. His warm greeting to Ben Bella as "comrade" was noted everywhere as was the hospitality extended to representatives of a country that may well prove to be the Cuba of Africa.

The gifts that were presented to the Algerian delegation will be hailed by revolutionary-minded workers everywhere as a heartening token of the growing economic strength of the Soviet Union and its capacity to present an effective challenge to imperialism in the field of foreign aid to freedom-seeking peoples.

There was room for satisfaction over the event in Peking, too. For even though Ben Bella felt it advisable to respond to Khrushchev with statements indicating approval of certain Soviet moves and policies such as the test-ban treaty and "peaceful coexistence" which have been called in question by Peking, it was clear that this had much to do with Khrushchev's exceptional efforts to outbid the Chinese for leadership in Africa and elsewhere in the colonial world.

The material aid granted by the Soviet Union included a long-term loan of 625 million dinars [\$127.6 million] in addition to a previous similar loan of \$100 million. This will finance construction of a metallurgical plant having a capacity of 300,000 to 350,000 tons of rolled metal. The Soviet Union is to furnish all the technical assistance to put the plant into operation.

As a gift, the Soviet Union will build an oil and gas institute and send hundreds of technicians. A special school will be set up in connection with this. In addition, a textile school will be set up by the Soviet Union capable of training 500 students a year, 50 of them being promoted to the class of engineers.

Two study centers are to be set up capable of training 500 persons to serve as instructors in technical subjects in industry and agriculture. Up to 150 Algerians will be similarly trained in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union will also grant 65 scholarships for advanced schools in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government also gave Algeria two "Ilyuchin 18" planes, and 250 tractors in addition to 250 already delivered.

On top of this the Algerian government was given a 19,000-ton

tanker. This is to be delivered in 1965.

A group of Soviet specialists will be sent shortly to help Algeria organize industrial enterprises abandoned by the French colons and subsequently taken over by the government. In addition to Soviet doctors already working in Algeria, 300 more will be sent.

In the joint communiqué issued by Ben Bella and Khrushchev May 6 which listed the Soviet gifts, agreement was reached on many points. Some of the notable ones included Soviet recognition of the importance of the agrarian reform carried out in Algeria. The institution of "self-management" was listed as one of the significant achievements of the Algerian Revolution.

Defend China and Cuba

Two points in the joint communiqué deserve special attention. One demanded admission of China to the United Nations. "The Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and the Soviet Union," said the statement, "hold that the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the organization of the United Nations must be recognized. They express their support for the demands of the PRC concerning the island of Taiwan."

The other was in defense of Cuba. Khrushchev and Ben Bella joined in declaring that "they resolutely support the heroic people of Cuba who have taken the road of socialist construction and who are defending their liberty and their national independence. They condemn all imperialist attempts to violate the sovereignty of the Republic of Cuba. They stand in favor of the normalization of the situation in the region of the Caribbean on the basis of the suppression of the economic blockade and of all the means of pressure on the Republic of Cuba, for halting all the aggressive acts and subversive activity against Cuba, for banning pirate raids on the territory of Cuba and violations of her air space and territorial waters, the evacuation of the Naval Base of Guantánamo and the return of this Cuban territory to the Republic of Cuba. They start from the fact that all peoples, all states, big or little, including the Republic of Cuba, have the right to dispose of their own fate and to choose the way of development which seems best to them.

"The president of the RADP, Ahmed Ben Bella, has taken note of the declaration of the head of the Soviet government, N.S. Khrushchev, according to which the threats against Cuba, the repeated violations of her sovereignty, the raids in Cuba's air space, could have catastrophic consequences, above all for those who follow the policy of provocations and aggression against Cuba."

CUBA ON THE EVE OF MAY DAY

By Edward Duncan

Cuba, on the eve of May Day 1964 faced three vital problems. These were being debated among the leaders. Most militants were well aware of them. The masses, without fully grasping their import, sensed the issues. The solutions to these three problems will to a large degree determine the future of the Revolution.

Threat of a New Attack by American Imperialism

Fidel set the key in a notable speech at the commemoration of the third anniversary of the counterrevolutionary landing at Playa Girón. Since then, a speech by President Dorticós and the government note to the Secretary General of the United Nations have shown that the temporary but grave defeat suffered in Brazil by the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces has been interpreted in Cuba as meaning that the screws will be tightened on the first socialist country in Latin America.

The threat against Cuba is developing on a number of levels: multiplying provocations (overflights on Cuban territory, nocturnal raids, etc.); the Venezuelan government, a stooge of American imperialism, is seeking to get the next session of the Organization of American States to condemn Cuba as an "aggressor" and to adopt the principle of "collective sanctions against Cuba," including military sanctions; counterrevolutionary raids are being prepared from several bases in Central America.

In the event of direct aggression, of invasion, by American imperialism or its Latin-American stooges, the Soviet government will be compelled to intervene. There is no doubt about that in Havana.

But precisely because of this, it is felt, such an invasion is not probable. It would signify the beginning of a world war. As against this perspective, Fidel and his companions are seeking to prepare the people for acts of sabotage, partial and masked aggressions, prolonged undermining activities. To face this tactic, they believe they can rely essentially only on their own forces, that is, those of the Cuban and Latin-American revolutions.

The Cuban masses are ready to accept new sacrifices to defend their socialist revolution. They are ready to defend "with intelligence and courage" their position as vanguard of the revolution in the very "backyard" of Yankee imperialism. And they say with utmost resolution that Cuba will prove to be no holiday parade for the counterrevolution, even though supported by the world's greatest military power. As at Playa Girón, the aggressor will pay dearly for any attempt to attack the acquisitions of the Revolution, whatever the means utilized to achieve this objective.

Towards Economic "Take Off"

The economic situation has considerably improved since 1962 when it reached bottom after the setbacks provoked by the imperialist blockade. Supplies are satisfactory in most of the country. In Havana things are better than elsewhere, and the countryside is better off than the average-size towns. Some products like edible fats are still lacking. The standard of living of the agricultural workers and the poor peasants has risen considerably in comparison to the period before the Revolution. Industry is developing in a spectacular way, with a rate of growth of ten per cent, if the sugar industry is left out of account.

Agriculture remains a weak sector, partly because of the social achievements of the Revolution, the rise in income for the agricultural workers not having been accompanied by an equivalent increase in agricultural production. Bureaucratism and organizational errors have slowed down recovery. A big reform of agriculture is under way, which together with mechanization, should make it possible for Cuban agriculture to become profitable by 1965 and to make possible by the following year the phase of economic "take off," of rapid accumulation and growth of the national income.

The Elimination of "Sectarianism"

For several years, the old Stalinists (old Khrushchevists would be more correct, because the Blas Rocas follow Khrushchev as servilely today as they used to follow Stalin) were able to gain an increasing place in the leadership of the ORI [Organizaciones Revolucionarias Integradas -- Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, the embryonic party] and even the state. After the sensational speech by Fidel Castro against Anibal Escalante, the engines were reversed. Since then, the construction of the PURS [Partido Unido de la Revolución Socialista] has slowly proceeded, with progressive cutting away of the bureaucratic growth.

If the latter is in full retreat in the party and the state, and if it is the target of more and more salutary attacks in the economy, it remains very strong in the field of ideology. This is a source of dissatisfaction among the youth, among students, intellectuals and young cadres. Similar feelings among the union cadres are transmitted to the workers.

A decisive turn in this area under the initiative of the Fidelista team is widely awaited. It would mark a new qualitative leap forward in the Revolution.

In any case, the Cuban Revolution is continuing to surge forward, and it is this extraordinary movement of the masses that blocks any definitive consolidation of the power of the bureaucrats. To express this in democratic organs of power, on the local level and on the job, will remain the central task for quite a while. It is

to be expected that Fidel and his friends will display more and more awareness of this as the solution of practical economic problems requires wide mobilization of the masses.

FRANCE SELLS LOCOMOTIVES TO CUBA

The French firm Brissonneau confirmed a report in the May 5 New York Times that it had sold twenty diesel locomotives to Cuba's revolutionary government on three-year credit terms underwritten by the French government.

The deal was said to involve twenty million francs [about \$4 million]. The final order may finally go up to thirty locomotives.

Henry Giniger, the Paris correspondent of the New York Times said that the deal was approved in France with "full awareness of adverse reactions in the United States, which is attempting to enforce an economic blockade of Cuba." French officials shrugged at the annoyance of the State Department, pointing out that locomotives are not on the list of "strategic" goods.

Richard I. Phillips, press officer of the State Department, said at a press conference in Washington May 5 that "oral" objections had been lodged by the Johnson administration against the sale but that the French had gone ahead anyway.

He denied implications made by questioners that the sale constituted a possibly "fatal blow" to the U.S. efforts to break down the Cuban economy.

On May 7 Reuters reported from Havana that the Leyland Motor Co. of Britain may make another deal with the Cuban government. The company had already agreed to sell 450 buses to the Cubans despite frothing at the mouth in Washington.

Two Leyland workers, in Cuba for the May Day celebration, told the Havana daily El Mundo that "steps are being taken to sign a second contract for 500 more buses." This would involve £5 million [\$14 million]. Deliveries on the first order for 450 buses are expected to begin arriving in June.

Meanwhile, on the same day the sale of French locomotives to Cuba was publicly denounced by the State Department, the Associated Press reported from Washington that "fresh rumors" were circulating among counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles "that new efforts will be made soon to overthrow the Castro regime."

The rumors, "increasingly persistent, both in Washington and in Miami," according to the Associated Press, "say that new terrorist

and sabotage attacks will be made against the Cuban regime from within Cuba and from without."

The new attacks, the counterrevolutionaries were reported to be saying, "will not be launched from the United States."

"This was decided, they explain, to avoid international complications for Washington as well as interference by U.S. planes and ships with raiding parties."

TEODORO MOSCOSO BOWS OUT

The announcement in Washington May 4 that Teodoro Moscoso had sent in his resignation to President Johnson as U.S. Ambassador to the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress was widely interpreted as marking the end of the program and policy in Latin America most closely associated with the Kennedy administration.

This view was voiced, for example, by the Paris daily Le Monde [May 6] in a front-page article entitled "An Acknowledgment of Defeat." The opinion of this important bourgeois paper on the meaning of Moscoso's resignation is worth quoting.

Noting that Moscoso, a faithful follower of John Kennedy, "known for his liberal views in relation to the South American continent," had already been replaced by Thomas Mann, a "partisan of the tough approach," Le Monde observes that the resignation is a "confirmation of differences of opinion among the Democrats, which appeared after the assassination of president Kennedy, on the policy that should be adopted with regard to the Latin-American republics."

"This resignation likewise confirms the abandonment of the official American policy, which consisted since 1961 in supporting reformist and democratic regimes in Latin America as against juntas set up by military coups d'état," Le Monde continues.

"Washington will now support any regime unconditionally opposed to Castroism, making what it does or does not do in favor of economic development, structural reforms, the consolidation of democracy, a secondary matter.

"The attitude of the United States during the recent coup d'état in Brazil illustrated this new policy: without losing a minute, President Johnson sent his congratulations to the conservative putschists of April 1, although the legal framework had been violated. In John Kennedy's time, the custom in such a case would have been to wait at least a couple of weeks."

Citing the New York Times, Le Monde points out that Latin-

American partisans of Washington now feel a certain disillusionment. The opinion among South American reformists is that the Alliance for Progress, as conceived by Kennedy, no longer exists. "It will be used only as a political weapon against Castroism without seeking to remove its profound causes: dictatorships for the benefit of a small minority of privileged persons, rejection of any reforms of the structure, misery for the major part of the population. . . ."

"The opening for a peaceful social revolution is becoming narrower and narrower in Latin America. The leaders in Washington no longer appear to believe that between the most absolute loyalty to the business concerns of big American capitalism and violence there can be a third road."

END OF THE "ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS"?

By Joseph Hansen

The observations made by Le Monde on the resignation of Teodoro Moscoso as head of the "Alliance for Progress" organization [see preceding article] are quite perspicacious. Voicing informed bourgeois opinion, Le Monde is quite clear on what has happened to the "Alliance for Progress" since Johnson succeeded Kennedy in the White House.* However, Le Monde, as is to be expected, did not state the whole truth. In addition, it gives Kennedy perhaps too much credit.

The "Alliance for Progress" program was really developed under the Eisenhower administration and the key figure in hatching it was C. Douglas Dillon, one of the direct links between the White House and Manhattan financial circles, and the only major personality in the Eisenhower team to be held over for inclusion in the Kennedy crew. (Kennedy made him Secretary of the Treasury.)

The "Alliance for Progress" which was heavily publicized as the capitalist answer of the U.S. to the socialist perspective for Latin America opened by the Cuban Revolution, was completed in all essential respects before Kennedy took office. All Kennedy added to it was the name "Alliance for Progress," a label in keeping with his "New Frontier" campaign propaganda.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the "Alliance for Progress" was its timing. It was given great public fanfare while the plans for a military invasion of Cuba were being prepared in secret by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon under

*For an analysis of this shift, see the statement by the Fourth International, "Counterrevolutionary Coup d'Etat in Brazil," published in World Outlook April 10.

direct master-minding by the White House. Execution of both the counterrevolutionary invasion and the liberalistic reform program fell to the incoming president.

Even the launching of the "Alliance for Progress" was carefully timed to coincide closely with the expedition that ended in disaster at Playa Girón.

The "Alliance for Progress" was obviously a great propaganda effort designed by the plotters of the counterrevolutionary invasion of Cuba to offset the bad effect which the aggression would inevitably have on the public image of the United States throughout Latin America and elsewhere. Thus considerable expenditure of funds was envisaged, including expenditures for worthy projects. However, nothing like the amounts in the Marshall Plan for Europe were involved although the problem to be solved in Latin America is much bigger than was the problem of safeguarding, shoring up and giving capitalism a fresh start in Europe following the devastation of World War II and the revolutionary rise that came with the end of the conflict.

Since the primary purpose of the "Alliance for Progress" was not to present a positive alternative to the Cuban Revolution, it is easy to understand what happened to it subsequently.

First of all, it never seemed to get off the ground. Complaints about its "slowness" provided a standing theme for journalists and government officials throughout Latin America within months after the program was put into motion. Teodoro Moscoso, the Puerto Rican figure who was appointed by Kennedy to head the "Alliance for Progress," was not the least among the complainers.

Secondly -- and more importantly -- the "Alliance for Progress" program did not alter by an iota the real policy pursued by Washington in Latin America. This has always been to throw America's weight, including dollars and guns, on the side of reaction. In the case of liberal or radical movements, which appear from time to time, Washington invariably tries to slow them down, erode them and eventually bring them to nothing by favoring the right wing and seeking to strengthen it at the expense of the left.

The policy can be traced in action in an often spectacular way since the emergence of the United States on the world scene as a major imperialist power; that is, since the Spanish-American War.* In accordance with the style of the times, naked gun-boat diplomacy was one of the features of Washington's Latin-American policy until Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected. He introduced a tactical modification. Instead of the "Big Stick" of Theodore Roosevelt, he offered

*The policy actually goes back to the slavocracy and earlier, but the Spanish-American War marked a definitive turning point.

the "Good Neighbor" policy. The real policy, however, remained unchanged. The most dramatic evidence of this was Fulgencio Batista, one of the products of Roosevelt's neighborliness.

If Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" echoed Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor" policy, Johnson's new, as yet unnamed policy, echoes Theodore Roosevelt's "Big Stick." The proof of the continuity of Washington's basic Latin-American policy could hardly be more glaring.

Under the "Alliance for Progress" a series of governments were toppled in military coups d'état and replaced by juntas or civilian puppets. These include Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic (overthrow of Bosch) and Guatemala (where even the reactionary Ydigoras was deposed).

In not one single Latin-American country enjoying the benefits of the "Alliance for Progress" has an opposite process occurred. Washington's policy in every country has been to strengthen the oligarchy and the military caste that serves the interests of this reactionary social formation.

Finally in Brazil, by far the most important Latin-American country from the viewpoint of size, population, economic strength and strategic location, the real policy of U.S. imperialism was brazenly displayed. The "Alliance for Progress" proved to be a less substantial scrap of paper than Johnson's cable of congratulations to the plotters of the counterrevolutionary coup d'état.

Even Teodoro Moscoso found this embarrassing, and he drew the inescapable conclusion.

Will Johnson continue to talk about an "Alliance for Progress"? It is quite likely that he will. His shabby demagogy, however, will represent little more than part of the sound track, offering Texas corn for the presidential election campaign.

WITCH-HUNT CONTINUES IN BRAZIL

The spirit of the late and unlamented Senator McCarthy now appears to be sweeping Brazil.

The trade unions have been converted into one of the main targets of the counterrevolution that smashed the Goulart government and seized power. Antildo Pascoal Viana, a member of the General Command of Labor, held in a Rio de Janeiro hospital after being arrested, died after "falling" from the fifth floor. The circumstances of the labor leader's death were such as to give grounds for the accusation of political murder.

Minister of War, General Arturo Costa e Silva announced that new measures will be taken against the trade-union leaders. He accused them of provoking "restlessness" in the working class.

The Directive Council of the Brazilia University and the Higher Institute of Brazilian Studies were ordered shut down.

At an exhibition held in Niterói, according to the April 30 Prensa Latina, a captain of the army and several soldiers requisitioned a book of sociology after stating that it was "Communist" because it had a red cover.

The Rio de Janeiro press reports that the military authorities have confiscated and burned books of the Brazilia University. Ultima Hora said that the books confiscated included those by the encyclopedist Diderot.

Even anti-Communist booklets have been included in the "military index" because they have the hammer and sickle symbol on their covers.

The same paper adds that the majority of the Brazilia University professors have been arrested.

COUP D'ETAT FEARED IN CHILE

Fear over a possible coup d'état in Chile was expressed by Salomon Corbalan, General Secretary for the Presidential Candidacy of Doctor Salvador Allende.

"There are certain groups who are making contacts with the Armed Forces in order to bring about a military coup in Chile, before or after the elections," he told Prensa Latina in an interview April 14. He said that "the most reactionary sectors" are preparing such a coup in imitation of the one in Brazil.

He added that fortunately the Chilean military are aware of their duty and have refused to participate in the conspiracy. This expression of confidence in the military appears somewhat naive in the light of the experience in Brazil.

The FRAP [Frente Revolucionario de Acción Popular], a grouping of nationalist, labor and socialist organizations supporting the candidacy of Allende, held a special meeting to announce that "after the Brazilian coup d'état certain adventurers who do not trust the possibilities of defeating Salvador Allende's candidacy at the elections, are seeking ways and means to prevent the popular access to power."

They added that "the people are watching the steps of the

putschists and are on the alert, ready to defend the democratic course of the Chilean political and social process."

Various organizations have called upon their members to fight in the streets if necessary against a possible coup, according to Prensa Latina. The FRAP has instructed all members to take "all necessary measures to crush the sedition."

Allende is conceded by all competent observers to be far in the lead in the presidential contest. However it is doubtful that he will win fifty-one per cent of the vote. If none of the candidates receive an absolute majority, the constitution requires the election to be thrown into Congress. It could decide to give the election to a minority candidate. In that way a coup d'état could be given a thin veneer of "legality."

BOLIVIAN MINERS DEFEND RADIO STATION

In an attack on the radio station of the mine workers union at Huanuni, Bolivia, April 26, six persons were killed and some twenty wounded. The attack was made, according to the radio station, by "certain people supporting General René Barrientos."

Barrientos Ortuño, commander in chief of the Bolivian air force, is the vice-presidential candidate on the slate headed by Paz Estenssoro in the presidential elections.

The miners used arms to defend their radio station and, after the attack, took over control of the town and police headquarters.

The Federation of Miners was reported to be organizing a four-hour strike on a nation-wide scale to protest the attack.

VENEZUELAN REBELS SCORE THE PENTAGON

The following article has been translated from the March 21 issue of Pueblo y Revolución, underground publication of the FALN [Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional] of Venezuela. The original title is "The Tactics of the Pentagon and the Movements of National Liberation."

* * *

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have suffered in the last centuries from the exploitation and colonialism of the imperialist countries, among which the United States plays a funda-

mental role. This colonial subjugation has been intensified, maintaining immense and rich countries in the worst condition of underdevelopment, backwardness and exploitation. But it has been this same penetration that has aroused the consciousness of the people, clarifying for them their fundamental objectives.

Today the world colonial system of imperialism is being shaken by the most acute contradictions. It is beginning to disintegrate. The oppressed peoples of the world are already firmly posing national liberation, in a form going beyond the old molds of the "representative democracies" which maintain and safeguard the present system of exploitation.

Yankee imperialism and, within it, the Pentagon, has been a determining factor in the chain of exploitation to which the underdeveloped countries have been subjected.

Today the political objective of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is to place the advanced classes in power as the only formula that can guarantee independent development and the extermination of exploitation. But the present ruling classes understand that the breaking away of the colonial and semicolonial countries constitutes a final stage in the extermination of the system itself. Consequently imperialism, and especially the North American Pentagon, has projected the aim of repressing every attempt or popular manifestation that places in danger its stability in any of the subjugated countries today. Revolutionary movements, all the people's sectors, are repressed if not exterminated, in hope of halting the processes of revolutionary transformation. Thus the Pentagon orients, guides and participates in the struggles against the national liberation wars launched by the progressive sectors. Directly or indirectly it is a belligerent force in Vietnam, Venezuela, etc. The Pentagon orients the training, in special schools in Panama and the United States, of officials of the puppet governments in order to meet the regular revolutionary forces.

Venezuela constitutes a most coveted prize in the eyes of the United States, hence the highly elaborated policy of penetration which extends from the military field to the cultural, including the political, economic and ideological arenas. Through its military mission, the Pentagon participates in the raids against the glorious guerrilla forces of the FALN. Through the Yankee embassy it manipulates the successive puppets, yesterday Betancourt, today Leoni. With foreign capital it distorts our economy, keeping our country dependent and underdeveloped. Mixed capital is now appearing as a new formula in this penetration. On the ideological-cultural level, the United States seeks to disorient the broad masses. Thus the United States Information Service, better known as the USIS, keeps up 200 hours of radio propaganda a day, fifty newscasts and documentary programs a month, spending more than two million Bolívares [one Bolívar = U.S. \$.22] for this. Imperialism wants to keep Venezuela in its clutches; it will do everything. But it will not succeed.

In recent years, this phenomenon has undergone a change in form. They have seen that openly dictatorial regimes do not guarantee control of the peoples for imperialism. Consequently, they have introduced an element that confuses the masses and creates illusions among them. In the new situation they pose the vital necessity of "representative democracies," which are nothing but a different form in which repression and exploitation take place.

Let us strengthen the struggle for national liberation in Venezuela and throughout the world.

DEFENDANTS SEEK APPEAL IN ALEXANDER CASE

From newspapers just received from South Africa we are able to provide some additional details about the sentencing of Dr. Neville Alexander and ten other defendants under the fascist-like laws passed by the Verwoerd government to stamp out all political opposition to the notorious apartheid policy. [See World Outlook April 24.]

In summing up the case, Judge H.A. van Heerden felt forced to acknowledge the justice of some of the arguments of the defense. Here are some of his comments:

"It has been urged upon the court, and I shall take into consideration, that the reason you embarked on this course of conduct of which you have been found guilty was as a result of a frustration that you felt about certain laws, as oppressed members of the community and also the frustration of the ineffectiveness of non-European movements to which you belonged to bring about a change.

"It is not the function of this court, fortunately or unfortunately, to make any finding whether a law of Parliament is oppressive or not.

"This court, nevertheless, accepts for the purpose of sentence that you, as intellectuals, believed you were frustrated and that it turned to this conspiracy.

"The court also accepts that you were not self-seeking and believed what you were doing was for others."

These admissions did not prevent the judge, however, from deciding that the defendants were guilty of a conspiracy to organize guerrilla war; and he handed down savage sentences. (Ten years for Dr. Alexander and four others; seven years for two; and five years for the rest.)

"Some of you engaged in these activities over a fairly long period of time," he said, "and drifted beyond the point of no return

even after you had been warned of the dangers that lay ahead of you. In your case you failed to heed, or ignored the warnings.

"As intellectuals you embarked on this course of action with your eyes wide open. The court must also take into consideration the positions most of you held as school teachers and Don Davis as a preacher of the Assemblies of God.

"You were in a position where you could influence and persuade others.

"The court takes into consideration that your course of action was aimed not only at the Government but at White people and your own kind who refused to join the revolutionary movement or who you regarded as collaborators with the Government.

"To me it is a great tragedy. On the evidence you have learnt from the endeavours, hardships and sacrifices made by your own people. You are today in positions where you could have been of great benefit to your own people.

"It is tragic and unfortunate that you should have chosen this way to serve your people. You could have been of much greater service to the Coloured people of this country." [Cape Times April 16.]

According to the Cape Times, when judgment was delivered, the court "was packed with spectators -- Coloured people in the gallery and Whites below -- but there was little emotion as the 11 were sentenced. As the convicted 11 were taken from the dock some of the Coloured spectators stood and waved or gave the thumbs-up sign."

* * *

In a further development in the case, lawyers filed an appeal on the grounds that written instructions by the defendants to their defense counsel were taken by prison authorities on Robben Island during the trial and held for more than a day, during which time police officials had access to them.

The April 21 Cape Times reported that "Dr. Neville Edward Alexander, his head shaven and wearing prison clothes, was yesterday called to give evidence. . . ."

The hearings began before the same judge who pronounced sentence, since permission must be won from him to appeal the sentence.

"Dr. Alexander told the Judge," the Cape Times continues, "that when the trial adjourned in December all the accused were taken from Roeland Street Gaol to Robben Island on December 22.

"At their last interview with counsel on December 24 they were told to prepare full instructions.

"On January 12, after they had prepared very detailed instructions, Head Warder Venter told them they were going to Cape Town on January 13.

"The next morning at 7 a.m. they were lined up and handcuffed.

"I had in my hand part of the record and a file with written instructions to counsel. Just before we left Head Warder Venter took away the court record and noticed I had the file in my hand. He asked what it was. I told him it was 60 pages of instructions to counsel."

"Chief Warder Killian insisted that the file had to be read before it could be taken off the island. The file was taken away.

"After they had been to Cape Town and seen their counsel they returned to the island at 6 p.m., and he told Head Warder Venter that the Attorney-General had said the documents could be returned.

"Venter said the offices were closed and the documents would be returned the next day.

"Next morning he told (he thought) Colonel Wessels at the inspection and the colonel said they would be given back.

"The documents started 'rolling in piece by piece.'

"When he spoke to Chief Warder Killian about it, he said he did not take his instructions from the Attorney General.

"At 5 p.m. that day the 60-page document was handed back by Captain Visser in a disorderly state. Missing from the file were a 90-day detainee statement and a letter he, Alexander, had written in German to people in Germany.

"Captain Visser said these documents had nothing to do with the trial and he was not returning them.

"Dr. Alexander said he told Captain Visser that the accused feared the documents would be shown to the Special Branch. Captain Visser said if that was the way they felt he was prepared to censor all documents in the presence of the accused.

"While they were looking through the file in the presence of Captain Visser they found something in Detective-Sergeant Olivier's handwriting."

[Newspaper accounts cited by World Outlook April 10 stated that the memorandum was in the handwriting of Detective-Sergeant J.P.F. van Wyk of the Cape Town Security Police, an investigating officer in the case. These accounts said that van Wyk was called to the stand and questioned about the memorandum. He admitted that

the sheet of paper was his and that he last saw it "In my office at Caledon Square." Nevertheless, he blandly denied that he had read the instructions written by the defendants for the use of their counsel.]

"The procedure after that was that documents were read and put in an envelope, which was sealed and signed and then handed to counsel.

"Cross-examined by Mr. J.E.Nöthling, for the State, Dr. Alexander agreed he was 'very cross' and refused to accept anything back when the file was seized.

"He said: 'It is not nice to give evidence against these people to whom I have to go back just now.'"

According to the April 23 Cape Times J.E.Nöthling argued for the State on April 22, the third day of the hearing, that there had been no irregularity on the part of the prison authorities.

"The position in this case is that the legal and proper procedure was followed by the prison authorities and there can be no question of irregularity."

A DIEN-BIEN-PHU FOR THE UNITED STATES?

The celebration May 7 of one of the greatest military victories in the history of the colonial liberation struggle -- the success of the Vietnamese freedom fighters over the French imperialist armies at Dien-Bien-Phu ten years ago -- gave no cause for rejoicing among the reactionary circles in the United States who are insisting on continuation of their "dirty war" in South Vietnam. Both the Vietnamese victors at Dien-Bien-Phu and their defeated French foes, looking at the American position in South Vietnam, predicted disaster for the Pentagon.

General Vo Nguyen Giap, the commander of the Vietnamese forces that won at Dien-Bien-Phu said at a meeting in Hanoi May 6: "The U.S. imperialists are now trying to intensify armed intervention in an attempt to save the situation. . . But. . . no mighty troops and talented generals, no modern weapons, no modern tactics. . . can defeat the undaunted will of our people and save the enemy from ignominious failure."

The French view was well expressed in a long anonymous letter from "an observer living in Vietnam, who is in good position to judge the human and political realities," which was published in the Paris daily Le Monde [May 5] under the title, "A War without Perspective Pursued in Chaos." Because of the intimate knowledge

displayed by the author on what is occurring in South Vietnam, we have translated extensive excerpts:

* * *

The situation in South Vietnam is worsening not only because of the fact that the war is being widened, but also because of the internal dissension which is increasing, the astutely conducted opposing propaganda and also the lack of civic responsibility among the ruling classes of the society.

* * *

The army itself has lost a great deal of its former unity. . . . too many among the military, sometimes the top chiefs, conduct themselves in an inadmissible way with regard to the population, recalling the sad example of the China of Chiang Kai-shek on the eve of the seizure of power by the generally much more disciplined Communist armies.

Under such conditions, the psychological success won by the army of the National Liberation Front, above all in the countryside, is not astonishing.

* * *

As at the time of the war conducted by the French, which ended with Dien-Bien-Phu, those who have money are doing good business. Today it is with the Americans that people try to become rich. They construct buildings for them, which they rent at exorbitant prices, thinking, right or wrong, without doubt, that this is going to last indefinitely. . . Which shows very well that there is nothing new under the sun!

Travelers who stop at Saigon notice little that would indicate a people fighting for their liberty. Aside from the military trucks loaded with Vietnamese or American soldiers that are seen on patrol night and day, everything seems normal. The daily life continues: meals, cocktails, expensive receptions, nothing is lacking. People pretend not to notice the densely inhabited areas where crime, juvenile delinquency and prostitution, these fruits of poverty, proliferate. . . Of course, in the evening, it can happen that you hear the dull sound of cannon firing in the distance, but you are quickly reassured: perhaps it's drills after all. The Thu-Duc Military School is so close. . . You end up by even forgetting that men are falling by the hundreds and that the hospitals are full.

As for the unfortunate peasant, caught between the frying pan and the fire, he remains silent -- for a long time it has been his habit -- or, because he is threatened, he ends up giving all the more information! To survive is his sole aim. Thus he must escape dangers of all kinds: the Vietcongs who come to his home at night,

who sometimes lead away his sons because of logistic needs or to educate them in their manner; the nationalist soldier who is not always correct in attitude toward him and who takes advantage of the fact he has a gun and the peasant doesn't; the napalm dumped in abundant amounts which threatens to roast him along with his poor straw hut and his family. How will he ever find peace as long as "this lasts"! Even the strategic hamlets, converted into "hamlets of the new life" do not always protect him. . . He has had enough, but how can he make his voice heard?

The present government has good intentions. It would like to improve life in the countryside, but the question is by what means can this be achieved in such a context?

The truth is that no solution is in sight, unless the war is stopped. But that does not seem to be really envisaged by the present masters of policy who dictate their orders to the Vietnamese rulers. The slogan is to be optimistic no matter what, and the official declarations in line with this, come one after the other even from the lips of the great "stars" who come from the U.S.A. to regularly inspect the country. They are not miserly about the blood of others even if some of their fellow citizens from Ohio or Arizona are included!

When a solution consisting of neutralizing all of Vietnam and which could perhaps even be extended to all of South-East Asia is proposed, it is rejected as if it came from the devil. . . They won't even look it over. This is frightening and quite distressing if one notes the number, the very large number, here who favor that solution without daring to say so.

Is it right to act that way? The question has been posed by us.

We are answered: It is necessary to hold back Communism. Very good. We are not unaware of guerrilla tactics and the infiltration so dear to the Communists. But can you put an end to that by military means? Nothing is less certain. Because the enemy is practically invisible. He goes underground, he steals away, and in that way he is everywhere present. Present even in the cities, in the administrations, in the ministries. His propaganda penetrates every home, more or less insidiously, through radio Hanoi or Peking, through leaflets profusely distributed, even door to door. Propaganda directed, naturally, against American imperialism which is endlessly denounced. . . Thus an anti-American climate has been created, reminiscent of that in many countries in South America, that can touch off an explosion of hate tomorrow in which the thousands of "advisors" and their families risk paying the bill.

The hope remains on the other side of the Atlantic that somehow or other they can get by until November, the date of the presidential elections, which seems to govern everything. But it is not sure that they can reach this objective without something happening in the domestic or foreign field.

It must be said that such a conception -- to subordinate everything to the American elections -- is not only astonishing but has an odious character. Is it right to kill people for months (General Khanh said at his last press conference that 2,200 had been killed on his side just since the beginning of the year!), to ruin entire areas of land by dumping tons of napalm, and all this only to win the bets in their election campaign?

We are writing this letter while the SEATO conference is being held at Manila. Is it not highly desirable that the French view be adopted, and that the U.S.A. itself end up by rallying to it, letting their pride and the result of the next elections suffer a little?

Because in the end, above everything else, there is mankind, and mankind cannot live and develop except in peace, this peace to which he aspires much more than is admitted or is seemed to be believed on the other side of the Atlantic.

BRITISH COMMUNIST YOUTH EXPEL "TROTSKYISTS"

By Alan Adair

LONDON, May 7 -- In addition to participating in the annual marches held through the country, the Young Communist League [YCL], celebrated May Day in an orthodox Stalinist -- or Khrushchevist -- way by expelling a number of active and leading members from their ranks.

While no statement has appeared in the official YCL press, expulsions and suspensions have occurred in at least four areas of London. It is reported that further disciplinary action is underway in Scotland, Sheffield and the Midlands.

From the London area four members of Lambeth YCL have been expelled and one suspended. From Paddington, two expelled and one suspended. From St. Pancras, one suspended. From Ealing, five expelled.

A circular put out by two of the expelled youth indicates the bureaucratic nature of the expulsions. The leaflet reads: "On the evidence of one girl without hearing the case of the expelled members, the L.D.C. [London District Committee] recommended the expulsion and suspensions at a special DC [District Committee] meeting on Saturday 25th of April and we received the notification the following Tuesday by letter. The only charges made in the letter were that we had been expelled for 'actions harmful to the League.' This was the first we officially knew about the matter, and thus we had no chance to dispute the matter with the District [Committee] before the decision was taken. Even on the Tuesday we still did not know

the official charges laid against us although we had heard various contradictory rumours. . . .

"This was a gross violation of the rules as they state that members have the right to appeal within 14 days to the National Committee against the decision of the DC yet our expulsion notes came through even before we had time to find out the charges!

"Comrades, the DC recommendations were communicated to us on Tuesday -- the National Committee expulsion on Wednesday -- could the NC have met in this time? . . . This is simply absurd, a series of telegrams and telephone calls can in no sense be called a 'meeting' and obviously any real discussion on the issue is ruled out."

Drawing the political conclusions, the leaflet states, "The accumulating tension of the national scene is paralleled by the growing tension of the international situation. In particular we refer to the dispute in the international communist movement which is going from bad to worse. In our opinion the Soviet CP is deserting the militant stand being taken by the Chinese CP in its opposition to U.S. imperialism, in the completely unrealistic hope that she can come to some sort of peaceful compromise with imperialism in order to disarm and relieve the Soviet economy from the exhausting armaments burden that the arms race imposes upon her, e.g., the Soviet CP's virtual neutrality in the Sino-Indian war which was even stretched to the point of the USSR supplying Mig 21 fighters to India."

A further leaflet issued by the expelled members from Ealing states: "We five have been expelled from Ealing YCL on the grounds that we have formed a Trotskyist-led faction that has campaigned against certain policies of the movement and against the authority of our DC. We deny this and have refuted the 'evidence' which has been brought against us.

"We feel that these charges are symptomatic of the bureaucratic nature of the CP and YCL leadership. We intend to expose the nature of this bureaucracy by fighting in a principled way for reinstatement.

"It is significant that we were accused, tried, found guilty and expelled -- all in our absence. We were never confronted with our accusers. . . .

"Our real crime was to question certain aspects of Party policy in relation to peaceful transition to socialism and control of Challenge [YCL paper], etc., in a theoretical manner. . . .

"The activities which we have carried out in our branch, and the demands which we have made are those which we considered necessary to develop the YCL into a socialist leadership for working-class youth. We believe that such a leadership is necessary, if capitalism is to be overthrown.

"Why then has the leadership, instead of meeting our political demands politically, resorted to the most reactionary form of bureaucratic arbitrariness?"

The Khrushchevist leadership of the British Communist party seem intent on a purge in the party in order to counteract the sympathy which is felt among the ranks for the Peking position in the Sino-Soviet dispute and to show Khrushchev that they are right behind him. [See World Outlook May 1.]

Today's Times carries an article claiming that some Oxford University undergraduate members of the Communist party have been asked to see the secretary of the south Midland district because of alleged "Trotskyite activities."

It is also evident that the hardened old bureaucrats heading the CP are trying to stifle potential opposition to a possible move in the direction of the Labour party leadership (almost certain to be elected as the government in the coming elections).

Despite the fact that the CP's policy is to run as many candidates as they possibly can against the Labour party, even in "marginal" seats, they would no doubt be only too happy to reach some kind of bureaucratic understanding with the heads of the Labour party. The CP's policy is a living example of sectarianism and opportunism -- the very same politics for which Lenin condemned the British CP leadership some 44 years ago in his pamphlet Left Wing Communism -- An Infantile Disorder.

"A MESSAGE FROM OUR SPONSOR"

The cost for advertising in 1963 in the United States was as follows: television, \$2,100,000,000; radio, \$779,000,000; press, \$13,200,000,000. That makes a total of \$16,079,000,000. This compares with an annual military budget of some \$50,000,000,000.

Advertising fire power can be judged by the fact that the average American is hit by 10,000 "spot announcements" each year on television alone.

The Paris daily Le Figaro, in reporting these figures [May 4], said that the "saturation" point may be near, especially on television.

This remains to be proved, however. The exact nature of "saturation" is yet to be determined. Even if absolute brain washing is reached; this may not mean a lowering of capacity to absorb messages from "our sponsor." Capacity may unexpectedly rise. Who says America's annual advertising bill can't be increased to at least the level of investment for another world war?

FREEDOM NOW PARTY FILES IN MICHIGAN

DETROIT -- The Michigan Committee for a Freedom Now Party has completed its petition campaign to place candidates on the ballot for the November 1964 elections. More than 21,000 signatures were filed at the Michigan Secretary of State's office in Lansing. To place a new political party on the Michigan ballot, 14,892 signatures were required.

If the Secretary of State's office certifies the signatures, the Michigan Freedom Now party will be the first all-Negro party to gain a place on any state ballot. Democrats, who usually attract over eighty per cent of the Negro vote, have led the opposition against the Freedom Now party.

The petition campaign was conducted by a dedicated group of people numbering less than thirty. The State Chairman is the Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., an outspoken opponent of gradualism and tokenism.

The Detroit Free Press reported that the Democratic party has voiced some "consternation" over the fact that the Michigan Freedom Now party had filed for a place on the 1964 state ballot.

The Detroit News quoted Secretary of State James Hare, a prominent Democrat, who said that "the Freedom Now Party might get up to 100,000 votes with its program of 'independent black political action.'"

The Freedom Now party is bad news for the capitalist politicians but Michigan leaders of the Socialist Workers party have hailed its appearance. On the day the Freedom Now party filed its petition, Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers party state chairman and candidate for governor, said:

"Instead of consternation, we feel gratification about the Freedom Now party filing its petitions, and we hope that public opinion will prevent any Democratic monkey business such as challenging their validity.

"The Socialist Workers party is in this campaign to fight and expose the Democrats and Republicans as the agents of big business, racism and reaction. We are not campaigning against the Freedom Now party, which in our view has valuable contributions to make to the electoral struggle for a world free of oppression and exploitation. We welcome its entry into the election campaign, and hope it will get a fair hearing from whites as well as Negroes.

"Our only regret is that the labor movement hasn't broken from the old parties and asserted its political independence too. Let's hope that the independent example set by the Freedom Now party will be contagious, catch on among white workers, and give birth to a labor party."

ALFRED ROSMER

By Pierre Frank

On May 6, Alfred Rosmer died of a cerebral hemorrhage at a hospital in the Paris suburb of Créteil. He was born in 1877 in San Francisco, California, where his father, a Loire worker, had emigrated for a time.

Alfred Griot took the pen name "Rosmer" after the figure in Henrik Ibsen's play and became internationally known in the labor and socialist movement under that name. With his death, one of the last survivors of a forgotten or misrepresented period of the workers' movement passed away. Before the war of 1914-18 he belonged to the sector of the revolutionary syndicalist movement organized around La Vie Ouvrière [The Worker's Life] edited by Pierre Monatte. This was without doubt the most revolutionary wing of the French workers' movement at the time; it reacted vigorously against the opportunism and parliamentarism of the Socialist party and also against the currents of skepticism in the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail] in those years. But this wing had no solid theoretical conception of the role of the state, among other things.

In France it was this wing that constituted the axis of resistance against the Sacred Union [national unity based on class collaboration] in 1914 and for struggle against the imperialist war. In this struggle, Rosmer played a role of first importance, notably at the side of Alfred Merrheim and the Fédération des Métaux [metal workers' federation]. He was one of the few partisans of the Zimmerwald conference, this first attempt at an internationalist regroupment against the first imperialist war.

It was likewise in this struggle for proletarian internationalism that Rosmer met Trotsky. It was in that epoch that the long friendship was born which proved most solid in times of greatest difficulty.

Rosmer adhered to the October Revolution. He was a member of the Committee of the Third International, and, after the split at Tours at the end of 1920, held leading posts in the Communist party which was born shortly thereafter. He was a member of the Political Bureau and was likewise elected to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Following the Paris Congress in 1922 and the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, as a partisan of the left tendency of the Communist party of France, he was placed in control of L'Humanité [the party newspaper].

The crisis that broke out in the Communist movement over the rise of bureaucratism, which was to culminate in the victory of Stalinism, brought him among the very first into the opposition, and he was expelled from the Communist party with Monatte and Delagarde.

From then on, he held a separate position, outside the organized opposition groups. He collaborated with La Révolution Proletarienne, although he cannot be identified with the positions and the evolution which this publication underwent. In 1929, after Trotsky was exiled from the Soviet Union, and under his influence, he was in the center of the small group that launched La Verité [The Truth] and that really started the Trotskyist movement in France. But he left it after about eighteen months and this also caused a break in relations with Trotsky for some years before they were resumed in common action against the infamous Moscow trials. He participated in the Dewey Commission, which was a kind of counter trial.

The basic cause for Rosmer's break with the organized Trotskyist movement is to be found in the fact that great as was the evolution of his thinking from revolutionary syndicalism to communism (unlike his friends of La Révolution Proletarienne he never went back to his pre-1917 ideas in reacting against Stalinism), he did not become a party man, an organizer; his field was journalism, essays, history. He could not cope with the difficult problems raised by the effort which we, together with Trotsky, undertook to reconstruct a genuinely Communist movement. Rosmer conducted his work independently from us, but, at bottom, in the same direction and his relations with us were most friendly. The Fourth International will never forget that its founding Congress in September 1938 was held at Rosmer's place in his "barn" at Périgny near Paris.

Beginning in the thirties, Rosmer served the workers' movement primarily through literary work. He wrote his two volumes Le Mouvement Ouvrier Pendant la Guerre [The Workers' Movement During the War], a historical study of the World War I period of great value; and during the last months of his life he was still working on a third volume. He likewise wrote his memoirs of stays in Moscow during the first years of the October Revolution, Moscow Sous Lénine [Moscow under Lenin], which appeared in 1953 with a preface by Albert Camus. In this noteworthy book, Rosmer presents, after thirty years and with unparalleled clearness of memory, a picture of the efforts made by Lenin and Trotsky to bring closer and win to Bolshevism the best currents then existing in the world workers' movement.

After Trotsky's death, Natalia [his widow] placed Rosmer in charge of publishing the works of Trotsky in the European countries. After years of indifference among the publishing houses, he finally saw his efforts begin to bear fruit.

It is not possible to speak of Alfred Rosmer without remembering his companion, Marguerite Rosmer, who devoted her life to the goal she shared with him. She died in January 1962 only a few days before Natalia Trotsky, her friend of half a century, passed away.

The Fourth International pays homage to the memory of the militant in the cause of the revolutionary proletariat, Alfred Rosmer.

CEYLONESE MAY DAY RESOLUTION

We have received the text of a resolution passed by the United Left Front at its May Day rally in Colombo. Because of its interest, we are publishing it in full below. [For background on the United Left Front see World Outlook September 27, November 1 and April 10.]

Most of the points made are excellent, in our opinion, although the text does contain some weakness and even errors from the Marxist point of view. (For example, it demands a Guaranteed Price Scheme "to ensure that the cultivator gets the full value of his product." Marx long ago called attention to this error. Even under socialism, a deduction must be made from the "full" value to cover social expenditures for public facilities, expansion of the means of production, etc.)

A main weakness, to which we should like to call special attention, is the failure of the resolution to call for a United Left Front government. Such a government, in our opinion, could swiftly open the way to a socialist solution of Ceylon's present acute crisis.

Along with the missing slogan "For a United Left Front Government," we feel that the Ceylonese revolutionary socialists should envisage, and begin putting into effect, a program of action and organization to facilitate bringing a United Left Front government to power.

Such a platform would make much more realistic the early realization of the many correct demands contained in the resolution.

* * *

(1) This May Day rally organised by the United Left Front expresses its solidarity with all peoples throughout the world who fight for national liberation and socialism and to prevent another world war.

It greets the socialist countries, the workers and peoples of the capitalist countries who fight against exploitation, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who have won their political freedom in recent years, and the peoples who are still fighting to win their freedom from the colonial yoke.

This rally demands that all nuclear weapon tests should be banned and all nuclear weapons should be destroyed and prohibited. It supports all concrete measures designed to bring about disarmament.

This rally welcomes the decision to hold another conference of non-aligned states in Cairo this October and hopes that this conference will make a positive contribution towards the preservation

of world peace and the fight against colonialism.

It condemns and opposes the renewed threats against Cuba from the U.S.A. and demands that the American government should withdraw its embargo on trade with Cuba and cease to interfere in the affairs of Cuba.

It supports the struggle of the South African people against the monstrous system of apartheid and the struggles of the American Negroes for social equality.

It solidarises with the national liberation struggles of the peoples of South Vietnam, South Korea, Latin America and Angola and other nations of Africa and Asia which are still under imperialist rule.

It sends its greetings to all victims of imperialist, capitalist and feudal oppression throughout the world and demands that those who languish in prison on account of their fight for national or working-class freedom should be set free.

(2) This May Day rally organised by the United Left Front declares that the present political crisis in Ceylon is a direct result of the failure of the SLFP Government's "middle path" policy to solve the ever-deepening financial and economic crisis.

This rally further declares that the present crisis can be solved in a progressive way only by bringing into being a government that will follow policies along the lines set out in the ULF agreement.

This rally welcomes the growing realisation within the SLFP that the present crisis should be solved in co-operation with the ULF. This can be achieved to the extent that the progressive forces within the SLFP in addition to opposing UNP led reaction, also successfully oppose reactionary Right-wing forces within their own ranks.

(3) This May Day rally organised by the United Left Front condemns and opposes the intrusion of the U.S. government's nuclear-armed 7th Fleet into the Indian Ocean. This action threatens the peace of this region and the sovereignty and security of the countries in it, including Ceylon.

This rally therefore demands that the U.S. 7th Fleet should be withdrawn from the Indian Ocean and that the region of the Indian Ocean should be declared a nuclear-free zone.

(4) This May Day rally organised by the United Left Front endorses the 21 demands agreed upon by the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organisations. It calls on the working class to mobilise around the Joint Committee and to build a wide and militant unity

around these 21 demands. It further calls on the government and the various federations of private employers to stop their tendentious and false propoganda against these eminently reasonable demands and instead, to negotiate with the Joint Committee on these demands.

(5) This May Day rally organised by the United Left Front demands effective action by the government to bring down the high prices and end the shortage of essential articles in common use. In particular, this rally demands that:

(a) the state should import and undertake the whole-sale trade in such articles and organise their sale to the people efficiently through co-operatives and private re-tailers;

(b) the retail prices of all essential articles, whether imported or manufactured locally, should be fixed by law;

(c) an efficient organisation should be set up to buy and distribute fish and vegetables, thereby eliminating the exploiting middleman, and

(d) representatives of people's organisations like trade unions should be given legal powers to assist the work of enforcing price and stock control.

(6) This May Day rally organised by the United Left Front calls on the government to extend full diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic.

(7) This May Day rally organised by the United Left Front demands the appointment of a Commission to probe Catholic Action and immediate action to wind up the U.S. Peace Corps, the Voice of America, Asia Foundation and other subversive imperialist agencies in Ceylon.

(8) This May Day rally organised by the United Left Front demands that the foreign banks should be nationalised, the export of profits, dividends and capital from Ceylon stopped, and bunkering and the sale of aviation fuel included in the oil take over.

(9) This May Day rally organised by the United Left Front demands that the Guaranteed Price Scheme should be cleaned up to ensure that the cultivator gets the full value of his product. It calls for the starting of a scheme to relieve rural indebtedness and for the extension of the facilities provided by the People's Bank to the rural areas. It demands that the landlords should be removed from the Cultivation Committees and that colonisation schemes should be brought under the Paddy Lands Act.

(10) This May Day rally organised by the United Left Front

demands a positive policy to create more jobs for the urban and rural unemployed and underemployed. It further demands that training schemes should be started to give unemployed youth industrial and agricultural skills and that state technical and commercial schools should be set up throughout Ceylon to train unemployed youth.

(11) This May Day rally organised by the United Left Front demands:

(a) political and trade-union rights for teachers and other employees of the government, local authorities and public corporations;

(b) the right for workers elected in each workplace to take part in the management of state and nationalised undertakings; and

(c) that workers resident on estates should have normal tenancy rights and trade unionists should have the right to hold meetings and to have access to their members on estates.

AND IT'S NOT AN EMPTY BOAST

"We can easily put an end to the great experiment of conscious and reasoning life on this planet." [Editorial in the New York Times May 4.]