

THE BULLETIN

*An Information Service
for
Socialists*

A^D

CONTENTS.

- Page 1. - - - Editorial-Belgian left-wing socialists fight to the end.
 Page 2. - - - "The Tripoli Programme" available in English.
 De Gaulle and Algeria's agrarian reform.
 Guerrillas active in Portugese Guinea.
 Page 3. - - - U.S. worries in Mexico.
 Page 4. - - - Thorez loses control of C.P. students.
 Page 5. - - - Chinese attack American C.P.
 Page 6. - - - High youth unemployment in U.S.
 March 'Young Guard' out.
 Nottingham Young Socialist's discussion group.
 Y.S. 'unemployment' meeting.
 Canadian Y.S. demonstrators beat charges.
 Page 7. - - - Lower output needed by French steel makers.
 Italian cost of living soars.
 Industrial stagnation in West Germany.
 Page 8. - - - Victory for Dunlop strikers.
 Move to stop 'may-day' smashed.
 Supplement - Scope for industrial expansion.
 Algeria's war orphans - the truth.

Letter to Readers.

We produced the supplement article on Algeria because of the need to publicise the situation. We understand that an 'Algeria committee' was formed in London on Thursday at the House of Commons. We will carry news of this Committee in our next issue. The second item in the supplement speaks for itself. The Financial Times on Friday carried a report of a survey from which we quote: " about 100 (companies) said that output could rise by up to 10% without more men. These were mainly engaged in engineering, textiles, paper, printing and publishing. Over 30 more companies - mainly in the chemical and allied industries, metal, timber and furniture - suggested that output could go up by more than 10%." The implications are obvious and we will be dealing more fully with the subject in our next issue.

SUBSCRIPTION RATE - 12/6d. FOR SIX MONTHS (Post Free.)

Published by :- The International Bookshop,
 4, Dane St.,
 Alfred St. Central,
 Nottingham.

Produced
 by
 voluntary labour.

EDITORIAL NOTE ; The Left-wing press has carried hardly any news of the fight going on inside the Belgian Socialist Party. We are, therefore, pleased to be able to reproduce this report from Brussels.

An emergency congress of the Belgian Socialist Party met on March 2nd to discuss the so-called Laws to Maintain Public Order., which are due for discussion in Parliament in a few weeks. Ever since the great general strike in December 1960 and January 1961, the Belgian bourgeoisie has tried to pass repressive measures that would make the organisation of such general strikes more difficult, or at least more illegal. When the present coalition government (between the Social Christian, i.e. Catholic Party, and the Socialist Party) was constituted, the bourgeois cabinet ministers and politicians began clamouring for such laws, but the reformist leaders were slow to respond. They feared the reaction of the rank and file of the working class, among whom the memory of the great general strike is very much alive. Last August, four propose laws were finally submitted to Parliament after having been accepted by the whole Cabinet, including the Reformist social ministers.

When these were made public, the left wing of the Belgian Socialist Party and of the Trade Unions organised a huge campaign of opposition. Mass meetings were held in most important towns. At Liege, 50,000 workers assembled in a militant rally. Resolutions were passed in most factories, some of them threatening strike action when Parliament opens discussion on the proposed laws. Under this pressure the Reformist leaders had to back down. They brought in a series of amendments which their coalition partners reluctantly had to accept in order to save the coalition. Although they removed some of the teeth of these laws the amendments did not change the over-all nature as oppressive anti-union legislation. The left-wing of the Socialist Party threatened that the laws remained unacceptable. The campaign against them continued. The struggle came to a head last week at the congress when one SP federation after another opposed the laws, indicating precisely what anti-union measures they contain and how they can be used against strikers. It became obvious that the SP leadership had to make a hasty retreat in order to save the coalition, at least for the time being. The resolution that it proposed at the March 2nd emergency congress states that the laws as originally drafted were unacceptable, that the amended laws cannot be accepted either, and while it calls on the Socialist members of Parliament to press for still more amendments, it states that these must be based on the reasons of the Party federations for rejecting the laws; i.e. that they must take up practically all new stipulations in the law.

A new emergency session of the SP will have to be held to vote on the final drafts of the laws. One of the leaders of the left Socialists, Ernest Mandel, editor of the weekly La Gauche (obtainable through the International Bookshop) and who many will remember at the Kessingland NALSO/Young Guard Camp last September, challenged the party bureaucracy by announcing that the tendency which he represented would fight to the end against any new legislation that could be used under any conditions against strikers. Mandel called for mass action against the proposed laws pledging full support to the workers in resisting them whatever the decision of the SP Congress or Parliament might be. He was directly attacked by Spaak and party Chairman Collard. Such declarations, they said, amounted to a call for party "indiscipline". The debate received wide Belgian coverage.

1493 An English translation of the "tripoli Programme" is now available. This is the programme of the Algerian Revolution adopted by the National Revolutionary Council, highest body of the National Liberation Front, at its June 1962 conference held in Tripoli, Libya. The Ben Bella Government subscribes to its tenets as official doctrine.

The programme represents a good analysis of the key problems facing the Algerian Revolution and it is well worth studying as an important document. Copies should be available from the INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHOP in a fortnight or so.

DE GAULLE AND ALGERIA'S AGRARIAN REFORM.

From a Paris Correspondent.

Surprise has been expressed among some sectors of the socialist movement over the fact that the De Gaulle regime in imperialist France has not openly expressed opposition to the Algerian agrarian reform, in fact it has even indicated that it will "support" it. What kind of reform can it be they ask, if De Gaulle is willing to give his approval?

Some light on the real motives and aims of De Gaulle was offered on February 26th by Secretary of State Jean de Broglie. "We are carrying out a policy in Algeria and not a squabble over price" he told a press conference. "If this co-operation founded on a free economy, equality and the liberty of two partners, succeeds in all its scope, it will give cause for reflection among countries looking toward France for economic and social advancement. But if it fails, these countries can turn toward other horizons to accelerate their advancement. This shows with what vigilance and what prudence our policy must be guided in this respect."

With cold-blooded cynicism, this calculating practitioner of imperialist politics answered specifically about the government's attitude to Algeria's agrarian reform, an attitude which has no doubt struck an unthinking landlord and capitalist as strongly out of character. In aiding Algeria, said De Gaulle's spokesman, France has been seeking to prevent the dangers of a revolution.

"There is a phenomenon of restriction and contraction of needs against Algeria must struggle if the country is to become the market which is used to represent the French economy. Our policy in Algeria is a long-range one. It is a work of patience and of good faith which cannot immediately reveal the importance of its results."

GUERRILLAS ACTIVE IN PORTUGUESE GUINEA.

Guerrillas in Portuguese Guinea have repeatedly attacked and inflicted losses on the Portuguese colonial troops during February, according to a message received from the Secretariat General of the African Independence Part of Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde Islands. Two Portuguese contingents which arrived at the port of Enxude on February the ninth were attacked and ambushed by the nationalists in the region of Quinara. Scores were killed and many wounded. Large quantities of materail were captured.

Driven to desperate acts, the Portuguese, forced to retreat from vast areas, burnt down many villages and attacked the population. Resistance centres have been bombed and strafed by Portuguese planes. The policy of massacre carried out in Angola has been adopted by the Portuguese in this area also.

1494

It seems that the Alliance for Progress Scheme, devised to hold back left-ward tendencies in Latin America by pouring in dollars and proping up bourgeois and dictatorial governments is causing concern in US government and business circles. A committee recently formed to look into the scheme has reported that "we are in great danger of suffering a major defeat to our strategic interests in this Hemisphere". It is said that Kennedy is determined to see economic stability in at least one country in Latin America under the Alliance for Progress and that he has Mexico in mind. The following extracts from an article in US News and World Report show that the American Imperialists may well have cause for concern.

"Unrest is mounting over Mexico's land-hungry peasants. Violence has broken out in scattered areas, accompanied by demands for better living standards. Opposition to the entrenched political party that has ruled the country since 1929 is sweeping out from beneath the surface. There are problems also in connexion with the flight of capital from the country. A turnabout is necessary if the country's three year plan of economic growth is to work.

"The Institutional Revolutionary Party" owes its long tenure as a majority party to support from the peasants, the Army, Labour, and Mexico's middle class. Now this solidarity is being threatened. A split has developed among the peasants. An organisation known as "Independent Peasant Center" has been attacking the Government with charges of graft, corruption poor administration and neglect of farmers and workers. It claims a membership of three million which is probably exaggerated. It is threatening the government with large demonstrations in the cities. It is in the countryside that the threat to Mexico's stability is considered to be at its gravest. Hungry, restless peasants have given evidence that they are ready to follow any leader as long as he promises them something better than their present way of life. With bombs and bullets organised squads of PEASANTS HAVE BATTLED FEDERAL police and Army units in several of the nation's states. Squatters have moved onto big ranches and farms demanding redistribution of the land. (our emphasis)

Late in 1962, a plot attributed to rebellious peasants who attempted to blow up bridges leading to the US was uncovered and thwarted. On December 30th, an attack took place on the city hall of Iguala, in the State of Guerrero, that left in its wake a toll of dead and wounded. These conditions of political and economic upheaval need an urgent decision in months ahead. That is the selection of the "official" party of a candidate to succeed President Lopez Mateos. The political leanings of the next President will be influenced too by the world situation - particularly the policy of the US towards Castro's Cuba. If Castro and Communism remain in Cuba in uneasy co-existence to the US then President Lopez Mateos's successor may well be a man chosen for his attractiveness to the Mexican Leftists, in the hope that they will line up with the government. If however US policy indicates that it intends to destroy Cuba one way or another, then the candidate may be a political strong man who could easily rally the country behind him if he had to deal firmly with uprisings from the far left.

"In any event, it is clear that a race against time is on in Latin America if it is to become a show-place for the Alliance For Progress, it must secure its political and economic stability."

- 1495 The French Communist youth are beginning to give signs of getting out of hand — at least the hand of Thorez. This was evident at the Congress held by the UEC (Union des Etudiants Communistes), an organisation under the control of the UCCF (Union des Jeunes Communistes de France). The UEC has about 4,000 members, the strongest sector being at the Paris university where 1,500 members are listed. The monthly paper of the organisation, Clarte (clarity) has a press run of between 15,000 to 20,000.

Nuances have appeared in the UEC in the past. Some of the leaders, for instance, against the orders of the political bureau of the French CP, participated in the FUA (Front Universitaire Antifasciste) which organised some 7,000 students in Paris during the last year of the Algerian war. Again in the crisis in the political bureau over the difference with Casanovo and Servin (beginning in 1960), a leader of the UEC felt the disciplinary ace along with them and other members of the Central Committee. No open revolt occurred. The UEC appeared to be tied tightly to the political apron strings of the Thorez leadership. Recently the UEC began to display an inclination to echo the views of the Togliatti leadership in the Italian CP. Leaderships of other CPs tended likewise to be fishing in the French Communist Youth.

When the UEC leadership decided to hold a Congress at the end of February, the Political Bureau sought to have it postponed. But the proposal was rejected. Preparations for the Congress took place in the defiance of the Thorez leadership. The Thorez tendency received support only in the provincial universities and among older students. In the Paris University and elsewhere, left tendencies appeared, including pro-Chinese and pro-Cuban elements. The differences did not take clear political form even at the Congress. Minor issues thus tended to receive undue emphasis as substitutes for clear expression. An Italian youth representative, for instance made a rather confused speech, veering from left to right on various points. But his remarks were welcomed by the audience because they raised problems which required thoughtful consideration. The delegates applauded the speech warmly finally raising to their feet. The representatives of the Central Committee, among them Roland Leroy, remained ostentatiously seated. After a few minutes the delegates demanded "Debout! Debout!" (Stand up).

The pro-Thorez wing received only about one-third of the votes and the main supporter of the Political Bureau was not elected to the National Committee of the UEC. Due to the confusion it is not possible to determine exactly the political shadings, but about 20% seemed to be inclined to the left. The importance of this development among the Communist Youth of France lies not so much in any crystallisation of definite political tendencies as much as in the open rebellion against the Thorez leadership. This marks a significant step forward. It is quite possible that the rebellion was overtly encouraged by a sector of the top leadership of the French CP itself, and that it is symptomatic of a deeper crisis over the process of destalinisation. How the Thorez leadership will react remains to be seen. If it turns to disciplinary measures, it may provoke further rebellion. If not, the section of the Student body that got away with it will feel emboldened enough to start asking the fossilised Thorez leadership some new, highly embarrassing questions.

At long last, France's Communist youth seem about to begin thinking for themselves and this bodes no good for Thorez.

1496

Fresh from replying to "certain comrades" Thorez and Togliatti of the French and Italian CP s., the Chinese via the editorial columns of the Peking "People's Daily", have turned on the Communist Party of the United States (CPUS). Their reply to CPUS criticism was contained in the March 8th editorial.

It is a reply to the allegation that the Chinese "advocated a policy leading to thermonuclear war", and that "this pseudo-left dogmatic and sectarian line of our Chinese comrades dovetails with that of the most adventurous US imperialists....." The Chinese reply is largely a criticism of Khrushchev's policy at the time of Cuba's crisis. "We neither advocated a policy of sending the missiles to Cuba nor obstructed the withdrawal....We opposed adventurism and we opposed capitulationism.....What was there about this that dovetails with US imperialism?" The reply continues: "What do you consider to be the genuine left?" and goes on to criticise Russian CP policy and K without mentioning him directly or attributing it to him. "Can it be that those who use the sovereignty of another country (i.e. Cuba -ed.) as a counter for political bargaining with US imperialism are to be considered as the genuine left? To act in that way is indeed to be through-and-through pseudo-left, or rather, genuinely right."

Quotations from CPUS leaders appear with extracts from the US "Worker" to illustrate what the Chinese describe as the "prettifying" of Kennedy and Imperialism, and the CPUS habit of giving cool praise to aspects of Kennedy's policy together with their belief that many of his actions are the result of pressure from the extreme right. The following quote of a quote is revealing: "They (i.e. the CPUS) said that they would 'any day and every day' take an oath not to advocate using violence to overthrow the US Government. When someone asked 'if the Soviet Union attacked the USA, whom would you support?' the answer was; 'if I thought it was being attacked I would defend my country'. The Chinese article goes on to refute the charge that they are opposed to negotiation with the West. "Actually these people are not unaware that the Chinese CP has consistently approved of negotiations between socialist and imperialist countries." One aspect of China's international policy is that, according to her critics, she operates a "double standard". This applies, the critics say, to Formosa and Macao, where China prefers to coexist, and is supposed to compare unfavourably with India's assimilation of Goa. The Chinese denounce this fresh criticism as an attempt to portray the Chinese as cowards and go on to attack the CPUS support of India with regard to the border dispute.

Generally, the article refutes the cries of "dogmatist" with cries of "revisionist" and it is only on specific issues - such as Cuba - where anything factually constructive emerges. Finally, a revealing remark: "And there are not a small number of genuine communists inside and outside the Communist Party of the United States who firmly adhere to Marxism-Leninism and oppose revisionism and dogmatism." This remark to observers of the American scene is an indication of the fact that the Chinese do not consider the CPUS to be the exclusive repository of Marxism in the USA. They do in fact give cognisance on occasions to the magazine "Progressive Labour" (through the columns of the New China News Agency) founded by two members of the CPUS who were expelled on charges of being "pro-Albanian".

1497

In the United States "the jobless rate is now 15% for young people and for the whole working class it is now 5.8%. The situation is now even worse among young people of racial minorities. Unemployment among teenagers has become such a sore spot that even Attorney General Kennedy has expressed concern (the President's brother). He linked the rise in unemployment and in school drop-outs to the rise in juvenile crime. Over one million youths were arrested in 1960. Kennedy quoted these figures to a House committee meeting: 4.9. per cent of the working class is unemployed in Los Angeles and 23 per cent of the working youth are idle. In New York City, 18 per cent of workers under 21 are out of work."

MARCH EDITION OF 'YOUNG GUARD' OUT.

We have received copies of the March edition of Young Guard. This issue includes a two page 'spread' on "Education in Class Society" by the London Young Socialists, a page of reader's letters including two on Cuba, an article on the 'Power Workers' by Alex Erwen of Woodside Y.S., and an article on India by S. Nagendra of South Paddington Y.S. An interesting feature of this latest issue of Young Guard is a page of statements by members of the Young Socialist National Committee.

NOTTINGHAM YOUNG SOCIALISTS START DISCUSSION GROUP.

Nottingham Young Socialists who feel the need for educational discussion have organised a discussion group under the auspices of the Young Guard. The group will meet fortnightly either on a Thursday or Friday (according to other commitments) The first meeting had a discussion on the 'Development of Society' and the second discussed 'What is capitalism'. It is hoped that these discussions will result in the spreading of marxist ideas on a wide front in the Young Socialist movement in the Nottingham area.

YOUNG SOCIALIST MEETING AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT IN LONDON.

A meeting on 'Unemployment' is being held in London by the Young Socialists. There will be two speakers at the meeting, which will be held at the ACTT Hall, 2, Soho Square on Sunday March 17th., at 7 p.m., John Baird M.P. and Arthur Deane, vice-chairman of the Chemical Workers Union.

CANADIAN YS "ANTI-BOMBERS" BEAT CHARGES. (From a Workers' Vanguard report.)

Toronto police who had smashed into a anti-nuclear arms demonstration received a set back when the charge of unlawful assembly against 18 of the participants was dismissed by Magistrate Bolsby on March 2nd. The demonstration of about 60 youths held before Christmas was broken up by the police after it had wound up at the cenotaph to be addressed by Peter Horbatiuk a leading activist in the Cnd, and Alan Engler a leader in the NDP youth. 21 people, including a number of passersby who expressed disapproval of the police action, were arrested.

One of the arrested participants, a school principal in nearby Coboconk, disclosed in a speech to an NDP nomination meeting that he was being pressed by the local school board to resign because of his actions. Bertrand Russell protested in a letter to the Toronto Star "That a man should be deprived of his livelihood because he has exercised his conscience on the issue of human survival is an affront to the integrity of every single Canadian Citizen. . ." One of Canada's most eminent civil rights lawyers defended 18 of the accused including Ross Dowson, Secretary of the League for Socialist Action.

1498

The French steel industry, which has just asked the planning authorities to reduce its 1965 target from 25 million tons to 23 million tons, has now demanded the right to import cheap American coal so as to reduce its costs. Although the steel makers are prepared to guarantee the Coal Board that they will sign long-term agreements to maintain French coke purchases at present levels, they are in effect demanding a gradual end to protection for the European coal industry. This can only be an addition to the French Government's current difficulties in dealing with the miners' strike. The industry wants to begin by lowering the duty on the small quotas of coal from the United States now permitted to two minor coastal steel works and importing 230,000 more tons from the U.S. at this price for the Lorraine steel firms so that German, Dutch, and Belgian coke suppliers would have to lower their prices to match. It also wants to end a special 5 per cent increase on coke granted to the French coal Board over the last two years. At a later stage the steel manufacturers want freedom to import U.S. coal at world market prices for use in Lorraine. Finally - and this is politically the most explosive request - they want French coke to be reduced to the same world price level.

ITALIAN COST OF LIVING SOARS.

The soaring cost of living concerns the Italian people. According to official figures issued on March the 7th by the National Institute of Statistics, quoted by a Rome report, in last January there was an increase of 8.1. per cent compared with the same month of last year. This is one of the highest yearly increases since the end of the war. Since December 1962 the cost of living has increased by 1.7 per cent.

INDUSTRIAL STAGNATION IN WEST GERMANY.

Depression has effected some of West Germany's major industrial sectors, according to a Bonn report. Figures published by the Federal Statistics Office showed that industrial production increased by only 1.5 per cent in January compared with the corresponding period for last year, while it increased by 5.4. per cent in January last year compared with the corresponding period of the previous year. The production of raw materials and capital goods industries dropped by 0.2 per cent and the building industry even dropped by 53 per cent in January compared with the corresponding period last year, although the weather would undoubtedly account for much of this decrease.

Operation was below capacity in the Iron and Steel industry last year owing to reduced orders. At present a number of iron and steel works have further limited the amount of production and dismissed workers on account of continued reduction of orders. For example the monthly production of the Huttenwerk Rheinhausen of the Krupp concern dropped to 130,000 tons from the original 190,000 tons. The rate of operation at this factory was only two-thirds of the capacity of production facilities, and its existing orders were only enough to maintain production for two months.

The coal mining industry continues to close down pits and discharge miners. 900 miners were dismissed in January this year, and three pits closed in the Ruhr area. Dismissals are also increasing in the ship-building industry which is going through a crisis.

1499 At a meeting held in the TGWU headquarters in Coventry on Friday the 500 workers of Dunlop No.3 factory decided to end their fourteen-day-old strike. The strike was called after the dismissal of two shop stewards for what the company claimed was "industrial misconduct!" The action against the two stewards arose out of an incident during a previous stoppage of work at the factory. The dismissals, the culmination of a series of attacks on the union organisation in this particular factory, caused an immediate walk-out by the night shift workers, who were followed by the rest of the factory the next day.

At Friday's meeting the assembled workers heard the terms for a return to work described by the Union officials as a complete capitulation by the Dunlop management. On Thursday the Financial Times reported the agreement between representatives of the two unions concerned, AEU and TGWU, and the Engineering Employers Association in these terms: "The employers and the Unions are anxious to avoid dislocation in an important industry and they have agreed that provided there can be an immediate return to normal working a procedural conference will be arranged forthwith. The purpose of this conference will be to discuss the conditions which would govern the re-engagement of the two men in their original positions." The report was even more blunt when it stated: "The management has, of course, not yet finally committed itself to reinstating the men - to do so while its factory is at a standstill would be to break every rule in the industrial diplomatist's hand-book - but last night it did the next best thing."

The recommendation for a return to work was only accepted after an assurance had been given by the Union officials that if the two men were not reinstated on Monday, they would call the factory out again. The meeting was a wonderful demonstration of workers solidarity, many pledges of support were received from representatives of workers from other factories, both in Coventry and elsewhere. A convenor from Fort Dunlop, Birmingham, stated that he had informed his own management, "that if the strike was not settled soon, not only would HMC have no suspension units for their 'Mini,s', they wouldn't have any tyres either." A senior shop steward from the Coventry Standard motors factory arrived at the meeting with a shopping bag containing £254 in cash and a plea to be given the bag back as there was more to come. The mood of the strikers was summed up by a statement made earlier in the week, when in a speech of support for the strike a senior steward from another Coventry factory said "they may be able to get away with it at Ford's, but we will show them that they can't get away with it in Coventry."

The action of the management in this factory is, by no means, an isolated incident. It is, in fact, part of a pattern of action by employers who are trying to solve their problems at the expense of the workers. The action by the Ford management is one instance and information has been received which indicates pressure being put on shop stewards in another Dunlop factory. Many employers, particularly those who depended on the entry of Britain into the Common Market, need to cut the wages of their employees and the first step in this attack on worker's standards must be, from the employers point of view, the smashing of the trade union organisation in industry. The Dunlop strikers have proved that, not only must this attack be resisted, but that the employers can be defeated.

MOVE TO STOP MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION SMASHED IN NOTTINGHAM: At its last meeting delegates to the Nottingham City Labour Party were astounded to hear a recommendation from its E.C. that there should be no May Day celebration this year. After discussion in which speaker after speaker denounced the move, the recommendation was thrown out by an overwhelming vote.