

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 14

April 3, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

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SOCIALIST YOUTH SCORE MAJOR LEGAL VICTORY IN U.S.

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He ruled that the 1951 Indiana anti-Communist statute was unconstitutional and that his ruling barred any further indictments of the defendants James Bingham, 25, Ralph Levitt, 25, and Tom Morgan, 22.

Such a decision is historic. So far as is verifiable at the moment, this is the first time in American legal procedures that a judge at this level has declared a law unconstitutional. The time-honored procedure has been for the judge to determine whether or not the law in question has been violated and leave it to the higher courts to decide the constitutionality of the measure involved. Judge Hill's decision thus establishes a new precedent, and -- by an ironic turn -- in the very field that up to now has been the most sensitive in the United States: witch-hunting.

Hoadley had secured two indictments of the three members of the Young Socialist Alliance [YSA], a youth organization that adheres to the general position of Trotskyism. One indictment charged them with attending a public campus meeting March 25, 1963, where "a person from New York delivered a violently anti-capitalistic speech." The speaker was Leroy McRae, a young Negro socialist making a speaking tour of campuses throughout the country. The other indictment charged them with meeting May 2, 1963, in an apartment rented by John Glenn, a local attorney who later traveled to Cuba in defiance of a State Department ban on such travel.

Under the infamous Indiana law it was a crime for "two or more persons to assemble for the purpose of advocating or teaching" the overthrow of the state or federal government by "force, violence or any unlawful means."

The Young Socialist Alliance did not take the indictments in silence or lying down. The leaders and members fought back with all their energy. Their principal tactic was to publicize the case as widely as possible and to seek backing for the legal defense among all circles interested in defending democratic rights. To centralize this work they organized the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students [CABS].

They made a pamphlet out of Leroy McRae's speech. They took the efforts of the prosecution to try the case in the local red-baiting press and reproduced this "evidence" on a wide scale. They wrote hundreds of letters to prominent individuals. They sent speakers to every possible campus. They called the case to the attention of campus newspapers and to the editors of the daily press although at first the reaction of these spokesmen of the "free" world was to dump their appeals in the wastebasket.

But they began to get results. Bertrand Russell came to their defense; and Linus Pauling, twice winner of a Nobel prize; and the writers Norman Mailer, Glancy Sigal and Lionel Trilling; and Otto Nathan, friend of Albert Einstein and executor of his estate. Murray Kempton of The New Republic, Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker and David Dellinger of the magazine Liberation backed the case, as did Mark Lane and Dr. Willard Uphouse, and Carl and Anne Braden. The list grew longer and longer. As for the colleges and universities, the outstanding professors who added their names grew by the hundreds,

becoming one of the most impressive lists the country has seen in many, many years. The list, in fact, reads like a who's who of distinguished names on the campuses of the United States.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Council provided its best-known attorney Louis Boudin.

As the trial date neared, branches of CABS were organized on an increasing number of campuses, and the YSA stepped up recruiting activities. Young students, new to the ideas of socialism, but aroused over the case, prepared their own briefs for talks and educational on the subject. Nation-wide tours were prepared and a campaign launched to raise as much as \$10,000 to help cover defense costs.

In response to these preparations by the defendants, the witch-hunters of Bloomington tried to work up a truly venomous smear -- to associate the defendants with the events in Dallas!

But this proved completely ineffective in face of the careful, consistent work of the Young Socialist Alliance in spreading the truth about the case. And the response on campuses from coast to coast before the trial even opened, clearly revealed that this case could become the most damaging to the witch-hunters and their capitalist backers since the famous victory of James Kutcher, the legless veteran.

The judge did not mention this. But many American judges are known for their ability to see political straws, especially when the breeze begins to pick up.

The Young Socialist Alliance succeeded in dealing a telling blow to the witch-hunt. Their case will now become a significant legal precedent in further efforts to finish with McCarthyism once and for all in its home territory.

ARMED FORCES IN BRAZIL FRATERNIZE WITH UNIONISTS

The partial censorship that was clamped down in Rio de Janeiro has not made it easy to sift out the facts concerning a reported "mutiny" of sailors and marines there. Comparing various accounts, it appears that it was a case of fraternization between members of the armed forces and unionists that has considerable significance in view of the deepening social crisis.

The incidents began March 24 when Admiral Silvio Motta ordered seven noncommissioned officers arrested for taking part in a political meeting.

On March 25 some 3,000 members of the Sailors' and Marines' Association, a recreational organization, assembled at the headquarters of the metallurgical union to celebrate the second anniversary of their Association. They were addressed by their chairman José Anselmo Santos, a 25-year-old rifleman from the poverty-stricken northeast region where the Peasant Leagues of Francisco Julião are centered.

Anselmo gave a powerful speech in which he called on his comrades to stand with the workers, peasants and students in their struggle for structural reforms.

The naval authorities responded by arresting forty noncommissioned officers. A few hours later, some 1,500 uniformed sailors and marines poured into the trade-union headquarters to stage a kind of sit-in demonstration of solidarity with their union brothers and opposition to the reactionary admirals.

On March 26 a contingent of 200 marine riflemen were sent to drive out the demonstrators. Instead, they lowered their arms and joined the movement.

The Minister of the Marines called on the Minister of War for help. A detachment of infantry were dispatched to the scene. It appeared that bloodshed was inevitable. But a telephone call from higher up [probably Goulart] stopped this and the infantry went back to their barracks.

Some kind of deal was then made and the first contingents of the demonstrators left by the main door of the union hall, smiles on their lips. According to Irene Guimaraes, special correspondent of the Paris Le Monde [March 29-30], José Anselmo Santos was "carried in triumph on the shoulders of his comrades, chanting nationalist slogans and shouting, 'Death to the reactionary officers.' Calm, intelligent, and master of himself, Mr. José Anselmo stood firm for more than seventy-two hours and, what is more, succeeded in controlling the most excitable marines."

The incident served to point up the growing polarization of forces in Brazil. The marines in their way sought to encourage President Goulart to go ahead with the program of far-reaching reforms which he has recently espoused. Top Army and Navy circles are trying to pull the hesitant Goulart in the opposite direction.

An ominous figure, gaining in power in these reactionary circles, according to Le Monde's correspondent, is one Colonel Klaus Romeo von Glasengap.

"Between the forces represented by Colonel Klaus Romeo von Glasengap and those represented by Quartermaster José Anselmo," writes Guimaraes, "he [Goulart] must choose, and time is running short!"

VENEZUELAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS GIRD FOR LONG STRUGGLE

Venezuela's freedom fighters, organized in the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional [FALN -- Armed Forces of National Liberation] are discussing the difficult problems they face in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its national agents. These problems have become more intense and complex with the mounting aid received by the Betancourt government from many sources and with the capacity it has demonstrated to learn from the guerrilla struggle itself.

Observing this, the FALN ranks have come to realize that their struggle will most likely be a long one. As part of their preparation for this perspective they are studying the past period to better understand the lessons to be drawn from it. An interesting example of what they are doing in this respect is provided by a long article which appeared in the February 18 issue of the underground publication Pueblo y Revolución [People and Revolution]. The section which we have translated below is entitled "Nuestros Errores" [Our Errors]:

* * *

The advances and the skill achieved by the repressive bodies in the cities must be given careful and objective study. To begin with, we must coldly recognize that many of the successes gained by the government in this field are due fundamentally to two causes which we must energetically combat with stubborn persistence. The first is infantile subjectivism, of petty-bourgeois origin -- the swollen enthusiasm due to a long chain of successes which we gained for a time and which made us appear each day, in Venezuela as well as abroad, like an almost mythological force of immeasurable power, and which gave the impression that at any moment we would be able to throw Rómulo Betancourt out of the Palacio de Miraflores.

These circumstances led us to underestimate the capacity of the enemy, to consider the enemy incapable, weak, lacking in ability, etc., and to lower our vigilance, leaving us with an unfortunate balance sheet of indiscretions and mistakes which were translated into hard blows suffered by our organization.

The second cause, which on many occasions has facilitated the blows delivered by the repressive apparatus, is the open liberalism, profoundly rooted in our organization and in almost all our cadres and militants, which has led us to abandon revolutionary vigilance. This liberalism has been displayed in various ways, the most important being the following:

- Exhibitionism, which constantly leads us to show off or to indicate before friends, comrades and strangers, the tasks which we are undertaking, the secrets we know, all this with the aim of displaying before others how important one is in the organization.

- The criticisms and observations voiced in familiar circles in

front of people not belonging to the organizations involved. Through these circles, the enemy has become acquainted with our faults, deficiencies and errors, taking action, consequently, on the basis of reports provided indirectly.

- Covering each other's mistakes ["amiguismo"]. We will leave aside the faults and mistakes of our "friends" so they will not consider us to be tattletales or disloyal. This phenomenon has caused us damage. It is especially strong in bodies and units composed of fighters originating from the same organization, profession, or circle of friends. It is displayed in the hiding of errors, in fear of criticizing in order to avoid being criticized and in not criticizing so as not to injure the feelings of comrades.

- Deviations of a military character which have been committed by the FALN on some occasions have likewise facilitated the repressive plans of the government. A deviation of this kind occurs when units are inspired to discuss or draw a balance sheet on their actions, their successes and errors. When they do not accept observations. When they try to resolve administrative problems. When it is thought that the faults and errors should be corrected through punishment, obviously underestimating persuasion and overlooking educational work among the fighters. When we substitute personal leadership for collective leadership. When we seek to demonstrate that we are right by raising our voice or by constantly insisting on our position as "chiefs"; and, finally, when we reject political leadership, trampling on the wise teaching that "the Party guides the rifle." Along with the political causes indicated above, and which, in our opinion, played the major role in the blows that have been received, there are others to which we must likewise call attention as important, although they are of another kind -- military, organizational and technical which we will try to summarize below.

* * *

For quite a long time the FALN and the revolutionary parties have been operating in accordance with a more or less fixed schema, with procedures that have become almost clichés. This has permitted the government, once an attack has been opened, to foresee the next ones and to prepare to meet them. In this way, actions have lost their factor of surprise, an indispensable condition to defeat an enemy as powerful as the one we are fighting. We can state, without fear of being wrong, that the government has learned to fight us on the basis of the political and military blows which we have delivered in the last two years.

In the magnificent battles, surrounded by popular support and enthusiasm, which the FALN fought in the barrrios [crowded poverty-stricken areas] and hills of Caracas, the repressive forces, as time passed, became more and more cagey and effective in fighting us, operating in the following manner:

- They isolated us in the area occupied by our forces without trying to take our positions.

- They waited patiently until we ran out of ammunition, until we became tired, or simply until the commotion died down.

- Then they proceeded to capture our effectives when they came down from the hill or tried to leave the barrio. On some occasions they waited up to three days after the end of the battles in the hills to begin the mass round up and the detention at the entrances and exits of the barrios of every youth or person who seemed the least suspicious to them.

Another evidence of the way the repressive bodies of the government of Rómulo Betancourt caught on to our methods of armed struggle in the city was to be noted in the tactical moves carried out by the FAN and the police apparatus in the days just before and after the elections, restricting the effectiveness of our operations. All of Caracas was divided into zones with their respective Commands, dependent on a Central Command which operated in the "Simón Bolívar" Center. With this distribution, they mobilized thousands of soldiers, police, traffic cops and secret agents of the Digepol, PTJ, and SIPA, who worked in a synchronized way in the capital. All the hills were taken militarily 72 hours before the elections, military and police effectives being placed in strategic positions with machine guns and observation posts guarded by tanks. Likewise all the sites outside the hills were taken so that any commotion could be observed and the information flashed by radio to the posts on each hill. Where they could not do this, they undertook encircling maneuvers, with extreme caution and slowness, against the focal points hostile to the government. In other cases they combed the "ranchos," the shanties and tenements of the crowded barrios with light artillery.

This way of deploying Rómulo Betancourt's repressive forces revealed that they have carried out a detailed study based on reports and information, which must not be underestimated for one moment. They complement our deficiencies in this respect, the routine planning, lack of accurate information, ill conceived militarily and even worse politically, "the popularization" of operations to be undertaken, our low striking capacity (lack of arms and explosives), our technical limitations and other deficiencies which it is not necessary to mention, all of which gravely endanger our effectives, since they are trying to overcome this weakness through courage alone. All this fits in negatively with the errors that occupy us.

REGROUPMENT OF CHILEAN SOCIALISTS

SANTIAGO, Chile -- In the middle of February the twentieth congress of the Chilean Socialist party was held. The bureaucracy refused to seat the regularly elected delegates from Santiago, Concepción and other provinces who had organized an "Opposition" on a platform demanding a revolutionary attitude corresponding to the feelings of the rank and file and greater militancy in the presidential campaign of Salvador Allende [see World Outlook March 27]. This Socialist Opposition has been called "pro-China" or "pro-Peking," because of its critical attitude toward the slogan of the "peaceful and parliamentary road" supported by the reformist leadership.

The bureaucratic leadership won the congress but did not resolve the crisis facing the Socialist party. As a result of the reformist resolutions adopted by the congress, significant sectors of activists split from the party.

The Socialist Youth of Concepción broke away with an appeal for "preparation of a National Founding Congress of the Revolutionary Socialist Party."

In the province of Talca, sixteen sections, of about 300 members, had already split. In the provinces of Maule and Linares, various others broke with the Socialist party. Likewise in the province of Coquimbo, about 100 left, most of them leaders of the working class.

In Valdivia a city councilman walked out. In Llanquihue, the Socialist Youth made a public declaration that it was splitting with the bureaucracy. In Santiago, Waldo Grez broke publicly. He is one of the main leaders of the "Opposition" and secretary of San Miguel, the most important working-class zone of the country. Some dozens of militants joined him there in similar action on March 22.

The crisis in the Chilean Socialist party is not a mere struggle between wings of the bureaucracy, one rightist the other leftist. It reflects the contradiction between the revolutionary aspirations of the ranks and the reformist policies of the leadership. Behind this is the much greater crisis that has shaken the whole traditional political superstructure since the Cuban Revolution. The Chilean Communist party is affected like the Socialist party but, for the moment, to a lesser degree.

As a result of the crisis in the Socialist party, the socialist groups that broke away (Talca, Coquimbo, Santiago, Concepción) met at the beginning of March with the Movimiento Revolucionario Comunista, a fusion of young Communists who broke with the Communist party over the Sino-Soviet conflict, a group around the magazine Polémica, and Trotskyists of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario. [See World Outlook March 6.]

The groups signed a document which, among other things, called

for the following: "(1) To convoke a Founding Congress of all the revolutionary sectors and elements for May 1, 1964, in the city of Talca with the aim of creating a Revolutionary Socialist Party. (2) To set up an Organizing Commission with representatives from the supporting organizations and those that may adhere during the preparatory process for the congress. (3) To appeal to all the revolutionary Marxist groups, sectors and elements to join in creating this party. (4) To express our support for the popular candidacy of Salvador Allende, developing a revolutionary tendency in the movement of the Allendist masses."

Documents are being prepared to serve as the basis for the unification of these groups and it can be anticipated that the Marxist-Leninist program and tactic of struggle that will be worked out, will mark a step forward in overcoming the crisis of leadership for the Chilean proletariat.

The possibility is close at hand for the formation of a relatively strong revolutionary Marxist party. This process of revolutionary regroupment, opened in the final analysis by the impact of the Cuban Revolution, offers to revolutionary Marxists a wide perspective for the construction of the party and Latin-American socialism.

BOLIVIA'S DEEPENING CRISIS

LA PAZ, Bolivia, March 2 [delayed] -- The political situation here is growing sharper day by day. The standard of living continues to deteriorate. Prices are headed toward the sky, wages toward the ground. The specter of unemployment takes on more and more reality.

The government of the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario] is incapable of solving the smallest problems of the working class. Every demand for an increase in wages or improvements is turned down.

In face of the rampant hunger and misery, the working class has recently been moving toward struggle with the ruling party, the MNR. Since the National Convention of the MNR was held last December, and Juan Lechin and the miners' sector of the MNR were expelled, mass resignations have been sent in by thousands of workers in many sectors, but especially by the miners. The Miners Federation held a plenum at which resignation was decided on and this was followed by all the miners' unions. The miners have resigned in public assemblies of workers and even in demonstrations.

On February 28 an antigovernment demonstration was held in the city of Oruro. It was joined by the majority in the mines, railways, and plants, and by students and peasants. The president and his cabinet members were burned in effigy. Membership books and cards of

the ruling party were also burned. It was the first antigovernment demonstration of such huge proportions. It can be put down as the beginning of the struggle for the liquidation of the MNR.

The demonstration supported the demand for the immediate release of the trade-union leaders of the miners, plant and railway workers and peasants, who have been imprisoned since last December.

With the resignation of the miners from the MNR -- the vanguard of the proletariat -- the government lost all workers' support. The only force it had was the army. But with the recent attempt to assassinate Barrientos Ortuño, commander in chief of the air force, the army also withdrew its support.

[On March 7 Barrientos was named as Paz Estenssoro's running mate after Fortun, the vice-presidential candidate nominated by the MNR congress suddenly resigned. Paz is evidently going to great lengths to woo the heads of the military forces.]

The government lost control with the collective resignation of the miners and is now resorting to terrorism; that is, assaults have been organized against leading figures in the opposition. In addition the internal struggle in the MNR has become a shambles. Everybody is fighting everybody else. All of them want to be the candidate for the next election. But Paz Estenssoro wants to be re-elected no matter what.

The reactionary right wing is also organizing under the leadership of the fascist-minded Bolivian Socialist Falange, the PRA [Partido Revolucionario Auténtico], and other traditional parties. The working class and the parties of the left, for their part, are orienting toward the organization of a common front for struggle.

Lechin and his followers now appear to be heading toward the formation of a new party of a nationalist character which will seek to head the discontented workers, appealing to them with an anti-imperialist language, but with the objective of saving the ruling bourgeoisie.

Most sectors of the population are watching this development expectantly, awaiting further action to help clarify matters.

WARNING ISSUED AGAINST POSTAGE STAMP

The U.S. Philately magazine has put all stamp collectors on guard against a subversive North Vietnam stamp showing a man and woman firing at a target. "The issuance of this stamp is a blatant act of hostility toward the United States and a gesture of undue crudity," said the editor. "Instead of shooting, as might be expected, at the South Vietnamese, the soldiers in the picture are attempting to down a U.S. Army helicopter, as though the United States were an imperialist aggressor!"

THE NAZI SPIRIT LIVES ON

The Frankfurt trial of Nazi gas-chamber and concentration-camp sadists, with its reminders of the bestiality of the Hitler regime, has served as an occasion for appeals to conscience in the press of the capitalist West under such headings as "Lest We Forget. . ."

This is well and good. The horrors of Nazism should not be forgotten. Yet these same journals seem only too ready to forget, or to overlook, what is happening right now in South Africa where the Verwoerd government is conducting a savage witch-hunt against everyone suspected of harboring dangerous thoughts against its racist apartheid policy.

The methods of the South African police are conceived in the spirit of Nazism, as is shown by facts about what goes on in the police stations and jails that have filtered into the South African press through the revelations of victims. In a recent case the police were incautious enough to leave enough evidence to place themselves in difficulty.

This involved the death of a prisoner named Izak Magaise and the alleged attempted murder of his friend Philemon Makhetla. The charges on which the victims were arrested are not reported; they may have related to investigation of a reported small theft. The press account, however, gives an idea of what is going on in the police stations all over South Africa. We suggest that you compare it with the coverage in your local press of the South African witch-hunt and South African police-state methods, especially with regard to the moral lessons that are now being drawn about not forgetting the Nazi crimes against humanity.

* * *

From the "Cape Argus" of February 26:

"A native clerk today told the Supreme Court here [Bloemfontein] that he was handcuffed, blindfolded and whipped with a sjambok [heavy leather whip] in the Bultfontein police station while wires placed behind his ears 'jerked' and suffocated him.

"Philemon Makhetla said this when Constables Jacob Barend Maree (25), Gert Hendrik Coetzee (19), Johannes Martinus van Wyk (18), Warrant Officer Gert Adriaan Rossouw (34) and Johannes Theodorus de Bruin (21), Clerk of Court, appeared before Mr. Justice Smit and two assessors charged with murder and assault with intent to murder.

"Rossouw was alternatively charged with attempting to defeat the ends of justice.

"The State alleged that the men murdered Izak Magaise at the Bultfontein police station on December 3 and assaulted Philemon with intent to murder him. . . .

[Philemon Makhetla and two others were arrested at work.]

"The Africans were taken to the police station where he said the policeman asked where the 'goods' were. He was then made to sit on the floor. His hands were handcuffed and pulled over his knees which were drawn against his chest.

"A broomstick was then forced over his arms and past the back of his knees. While in this position, Maree hit Philemon on his hands and knuckles with a sjambok and said 'start talking.'

"Maree called Van Wyk in and told him to blindfold Philemon. A piece of cloth was tied over his eyes and he felt something like wire being placed behind his ears. He heard Maree tell him again to start talking and felt the wire jerk his whole body.

"He was whipped with a sjambok on his body as the wires jerked and suffocated him.

"Philemon said he was unable to scream because of the suffocation.

"Maree told Van Wyk to take the blindfold off. Philemon saw Maree sitting with a tapered sjambok in his hand. Maree pulled the stick out and removed the handcuffs."

From the "Cape Argus" of February 27:

"In reply to Mr. C.E.L.Beck. . . Philemon said he was very frightened at the police station. The more the police assaulted him, the more frightened he became.

"He could not remember certain details because so many things happened from the morning until late that night.

"He denied that Coetzee made as though he was going to hit him, but never did, just to work on his nerves.

"Philemon also denied that Native Constable Cadebe whipped him with a sjambok in the washroom while Coetzee looked on. The witness said he saw Coetzee handling the sjambok.

"He denied that he was only whipped with a sjambok and not kicked with a booted foot and hit.

"Philemon said he was alone in a police office when he heard Izak being assaulted, Izak's groan, then silence.

"All the men that were assaulting him had left the room by this time. He heard shuffling, thuds on the floor, then Izak groaned 'as if he felt pain.'

"Then everything was silent. The witness said he heard slapping sounds and somebody calling Izak's name repeatedly."

SACHS CASE POSES PUZZLER FOR SOUTH AFRICAN JURISTS

South Africa's legal experts are debating a fine point of law: Does a person detained under Section 17 of Act 37 of 1963, commonly known as the "90-day detention clause" [under which anyone can be arrested and held indefinitely without being brought to court], have any legal rights whatsoever?

This curious question arose over the case of Albert Louis Sachs, a Cape Town lawyer, imprisoned under this measure. The Cape Town Supreme Court ruled that Sachs is entitled to reasonable periods of daily exercise and a reasonable supply of reading matter and writing materials.

Capt. D.J. Rossouw of the Cape Town Security Police, appealed this ruling February 26 to the Appeal Court. He contends that a person detained under Section 17 is undergoing imprisonment and has no rights. "The facilities granted him in gaol" were at the discretion of his detainer.

"The only limitation on this discretion was that at the end of the detention, the detainee must be unimpaired in his mental and physical health."

Capt. Rossouw claimed that he allowed detainees half-an-hour exercise every morning and afternoon, which, in his opinion, was adequate.

"He had, however," reports the Cape Times, "decided that Sachs ought not to be supplied with reading and writing facilities."

JUSTICE SEASONED WITH MERCY

When 46 South African men and women were taken from their court cells to a police lorry, after appearing briefly before F.A. Johl February 24 in Bellville Magistrate's Court where they were remanded to March 17, police stood by with Sten guns, while a police sergeant stood armed at one of the entrances of the court.

The display of guns and the chanting of the prisoners drew a large crowd.

The newspapers revealed the next day, however, that this police-

state scene was not one of unrelieved grimness. Among these 90-day detainees, who may face the death penalty under charges of "sabotage," was Mrs. Lettie Sibeko towards whom the court displayed unexpected leniency.

She was arrested at her home in Nyanga West on June 25. Under the 90-day clause, she was held in solitary confinement for 160 days.

Now, on the grounds that she was about to have a baby, the court decided to release her on bail. The only condition is that she must report to the police twice a week.

NATAL DEFENDANTS GIVEN 206 YEARS

The "sabotage" trial at Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal, came to an end February 28, when Judge-President Milne imposed sentences totaling 206 years on 18 Indian and African defendants. The sentences were as follows:

Billy Nair and Curnick Ndhlovo, each twenty years. They admitted during the trial to being members of the Natal Regional Command of Mkonto Wa Sizwe [Spear of the Nation].

Natvarial Babenia, sixteen years.

Ebrahim Ismael, fifteen years.

Kisten Moonsamy and George Naicker, each fourteen years.

Kisten Doorsamy, twelve years.

Riot Nkwanaza, Gira Singh, Alfred Duma, Msizoni Shadrack Mapulumo and Zakela Mdhlalose, each ten years.

Mfanyane Bernard Nkozi, Matthews Meyiwa, Joshua Tembinkosi Zulu, David Ndawonde, and Silva Pillay, eight years each.

David Mkize, five years.

In pronouncing these harsh sentences, the Judge-President cynically upheld the rule of South Africa's white minority and the fascist-like laws they have passed to maintain themselves in power against the colored majority.

"It has been represented that you, the accused," he said, "have committed acts of sabotage in furtherance of your aims to avoid what you consider to be unjust, and you regard as unjust that the non-White members of our community have no vote in the Parliament which makes our law.

"There are, however, others who believe that some non-White people have not reached in their evolution the ability to maintain on their own a civilized way of life, and who believe that it would produce disaster and the most grievous injustices, not merely to some portion of the community but to the whole community to hand over political control to people whom they consider have not yet acquired the competence to exercise it.

"It is not part of my duty to suggest which view is the correct one. What is clear is that a majority of the electorate holding the beliefs which I have just mentioned -- a majority of the electorate in this country ever since it became a political unit -- has always put and kept in power governments committed to keeping political control in the hands of that electorate."

Judge-President Milne then defended the Sabotage Act passed as part of the effort of the white minority to maintain their authoritarian rule by doing away with all democratic rights. He noted that violation of the law could be "punished by death, and that the minimum punishment should be five years' imprisonment."

Despite this law, said the Judge-President, the defendants had set out "to overthrow the foundations of Parliament." Doing this "may be said to show your bravery but you did not commit these acts openly. You did them in such a way that if you could you would escape having to pay the penalty."

According to the Cape Argus, the victims heard the sentences "impassively." However, an Indian woman in the gallery wept. She was ordered to leave.

Permission to appeal the convictions was granted to Kisten Moon-samy, Kisten Doorsamy, David Ndawonde, Mfanyane Bernard Nkozi, Zakela Mdhlalose, Matthews Meyiwa, Joshua Zulu and Silva Pillay.

ANOTHER "SABOTAGE" CASE SCHEDULED IN SOUTH AFRICA

The February 27 Cape Argus reports that about 45 people are to go on trial in Cape Town on April 15 on possible charges of "sabotage."

The news was disclosed when D.B. Brunette appeared in Supreme Court as attorney for the State to oppose setting bail for one of the defendants, Mildred Lesiea. Brunette said that more than 50 witnesses would be called and that at least five of them would testify against Mrs. Lesiea.

In her application for bail, Mrs. Lesiea said that she had been detained under the 90-day clause from June 26 until November 16 of

last year. She was then charged with belonging to the African National Congress, a proscribed organization. Since then she has been held as a prisoner awaiting trial.

Before her arrest she was secretary of the Trade Union of Brick, Cement and Quarry Workers. She has three children who are urgently in need of their mother's care and attention.

Capt. D.J. Rossouw of the Cape Town Security Police argued against granting bail. He said that he knew the African National Congress tried to get people who were released on bail to leave South Africa.

Justice Watermeyer said that the court was always in the hands of the authorities in matters of this nature and their allegations could not be ignored. He admitted that it was unfortunate that there had been a delay in bringing Mrs. Lesiea to trial but said that in the circumstances it was understandable.

In denying bail, he added: "Lesiea has tried to strengthen her case by saying her children require attention. But her own husband says on affidavit that the two elder children were sent to Aliwal North in 1958 and the other one is staying with her sister in Elsie's River and is being well looked after."

IRISH PAY FOR RULE OF FIANNA FAIL

By Sean Reed

The Irish working people in the Twenty-Six Counties are paying the price for right-wing control of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and the Irish Labour party.

When late last year the ruling Fianna Fail government of Sean Lemass placed a 2-1/2 per cent turnover tax on all goods in an attempt to raise the finances to maintain its Program for Economic Expansion, the few Irish Marxists raised the demands "For the Ninth Round" (i.e., a call for a wage increase), "Down with the Government," "Labour and NPD to Power." (National Progressive Democrats -- a small socialist party with two Members of Parliament; this party has since joined the Labour party.)

The Dublin Trades Council at once backed the call to stop the tax or bring down the government; but the top leadership backed away from strike action while agreeing that the people were prepared for a showdown. Instead they opted for the holding of mass meetings after working hours.

Even at these meetings the call went out for the ninth wage increase and the downfall of the government. Under this pressure

the National Committee of the Labour party ordered their parliamentary caucus to move a vote of no confidence in the government and ordered the Chairman of the Dail (parliament) -- a member of the Labour party -- to break with the so-called Dail procedure and vote against the government.

But the government got the votes of two Independent deputies (MP's) and to the cry of "bank-book government," the Labour party leadership called off struggle on the political field and left their mates in the trade unions to press for the ninth wage increase.

Last Christmas the Federated Union of Employers and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions agreed on a 12 per cent all-round pay hike.

Once the wage agreement was signed, pressure subsided. The government then went to the polls and won two by-elections.

Now the chickens have come home to roost; for as soon as the government was confirmed in power until 1966 the Dublin Corporation -- the largest single house owners in the State -- put the differential rents of their houses up by 10 per cent.

This was followed by butchers putting six pence [\$.07] in the pound on beef; the two pound loaf went up to 1/5d. [\$.20] and the State transport company will increase its fares. This again was followed by increases in the prices of canned goods, beer, jam, etc., etc.

Once again the common people of Ireland pay the price for their unfinished revolution.

BRITISH POSTMEN SET STRIKE DATE

By Alan Adair

LONDON, March 19 -- Leaders of Britain's 120,000 postmen yesterday fixed April 16 as the date for a one-day nation-wide strike, the first such action since 1891.* More than seventy meetings are to be called by the executive of the Union of Post Office Workers [UPW] up and down the country culminating in a meeting on April 14 in London's Albert Hall, which will be addressed by UPW General Secretary Ron Smith.

As soon as the strike date was set, the 81,000 strong Post Office Engineering Union issued a statement giving one hundred per cent support to the postmen.

*The article in the March 13 World Outlook has the date erroneously as 1861.

During the two weeks following April 16, the UPW executive has directed its members to ban all overtime and Sunday work. Mail sorters have been asked to "work to rule"; that is, do their best to carry out the hundreds of rules and regulations they are supposed to observe. This will convert sorting offices into bottlenecks.

Postmen will "withdraw their goodwill" by avoiding short cuts in mail deliveries. After this two-week period, the executive will meet to discuss further strategy. It is possible they will conduct short strikes at some thirty-five key distribution centres. Telegram deliveries are the only ones enjoined to keep up service. The UPW leadership considers maintenance of telegraphs to be essential service.

At issue is the refusal of the Tory government to concede a wage increase of any real meaning. [See World Outlook March 13.]

Last Monday the UPW submitted an appeal to Maudling, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, urging him to intervene by setting up an "independent" inquiry into post office pay structure. Having received and rejected a similar proposal by the UPW some weeks ago it is not surprising that Maudling has, so far, not bothered to answer the second plea. In turning down the original appeal, he suggested that any wage claim should be submitted to an arbitration tribunal.

Refusing this offer, Ron Smith wrote: "There cannot be good labour relations where it is impossible to settle pay and conditions by negotiation and common sense. Constant reference to arbitration destroys those relations. We need a basis on which we can rebuild our ability to negotiate. Only an independent inquiry can give us that."

Smith and his executive are still hoping the government will concede their demand for an independent inquiry and consequently avoid or at least stall a strike. The distribution of strike notices has been delayed to give Maudling more time to reply to their second demand for an inquiry. Having shown the whole country that the postmen are prepared to take direct action, Smith now expects the government to concede. But the Tories do not appear too eager to compromise. Last Saturday, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that what was involved was the principle on which the pay of the entire Civil Service is determined.

Also, if the government concedes more than a four per cent wage increase without a battle, the whole criteria for industrial negotiations (they have set four per cent as the maximum wage increase possible at this time) will have broken down.

Adding insult to injury, the Tory government is forcing the postmen to deliver unaddressed antilabour, antinationalisation election leaflets put out by the right-wing Aims of Industry. This has caused much protest among postal workers.

In face of the hard line being taken against them by the Tory

government, the postmen, it appears, are all set to fight for a wage increase that will at least bring them in line with the majority of Britain's semiskilled workers.

India's New Budget

A WELCOME MAT FOR FOREIGN INVESTORS

By S. R. Singh

NEW DELHI -- Not even the most ardent supporter of "Bhubaneshwar socialism" can rightly accuse Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari of having incorporated any "socialist ideals" in his budget for 1964-65. If there are sops in it, like some elementary social security measures, a slight lowering of income taxes in the lower middle-class brackets, and abolition of the unpopular Compulsory Deposit Scheme, Krishnamachari has merely used these to ingratiate himself with the articulate urban petty bourgeoisie and to cover up the real class character of his budget, which is a "morale booster" for big business, both Indian and foreign.

Even the weekly Link, the mouthpiece of "Congress socialism," complained bitterly [March 8]: "TTK, who knows how to conceal even his most sinister theses in a welter of innocuous and well-meaning phrases, has made use of this gift lavishly. He has not only quibbled with words, but has also often pontificated scholastically. The result is a skein of formulas and arguments which may sometimes prove to be even an expert's nightmare. Yet, nowhere in weaving this skein has he swerved from his principal objective to make the budget as, indeed, all his policies, an instrument to help in the efflorescence of private enterprise. As 'uninhibited' growth of such enterprise inevitably leads to concentration of economic power, what he, in fact, aids is the strengthening of monopoly."

What has surprised Link, and perhaps the Khrushchevist S. A. Dange leadership of the Communist party of India as well as the "fellow traveler" fraternity of "progressive Congressmen," is that the "Bhubaneshwar spirit of democratic socialism is totally missing in TTK's budget speech."

"The budget, the first to be presented after Bhubaneshwar," says Link, echoing these sentiments, "was rightly considered an index of the ruling party's earnestness about its socialist pledges. But when its contents, far from testifying to this effort bore evidence of a contrary trend, the people, and especially the Congressmen [?] could not but feel demoralised and bewildered."

"Left" Congress party members like K.D. Malaviya, R.K. Khadiolkar,

V.C.Prashar bemoaned in parliament that Krishnamachari was reversing the accepted policies of the Congress by his "pragmatic approach."

Marxists who recognize the capitalist class nature of the Indian state have no reason to be surprised at the budget which truly reflects the economic needs of the Indian bourgeoisie at the present juncture. Krishnamachari has made no secret of the fact that the "prime objective" of his budget is "to generate savings both in the hands of individuals and in the hands of corporate bodies."

A Step Further

In this he has not deviated from the policy pursued by the previous finance ministers, including his immediate predecessor, Morarji Desai. In fact Krishnamachari has gone a step further by assigning to foreign capital a much bigger role in the country's economic development than hitherto advocated by the ruling party in its industrial policy resolution.

Magnifying beyond proportion the size of the burden of debt repayments, and presenting foreign investments as free from this drawback, he has sought to prepare the ground for large-scale intrusion of foreign investment even in the public sector projects. A number of industries in which the private sector failed to install capacities and which reverted to the public sector, have now been thrown open for foreign equity participation.

Thus for the first time the role of the Indian bourgeoisie as a junior partner of the foreign monopolists (British, U.S., West Germany) has been officially recognized. This is the new pattern of the "national economy."

Rise in Foreign Investments

This turn is not unexpected to serious observers. Foreign investments have registered a phenomenal increase in India during the past decade. The Eastern Economist, the voice of the Birla House, reported in its October 25, 1963, issue: "Since Independence, Britain's private investment in India has more than doubled itself. It constitutes just under 75 percent of all foreign private investment. In 1948, British capital invested in India totalled Rs. 206 crores. [The rupee is about \$.21 U.S.; one "crore" equals 10,000,000.] In 1960, out of the total foreign private investment of Rs. 612 crores, British invested capital amounted to Rs. 446 crores. This represents an average increase of Rs. 20 crores a year."

Moreover, the growing dependence of the five-year plans on foreign aid makes it obligatory for the government to adopt a fiscal policy which is virtually dictated by foreign monopolists. In the case of the Third Plan, for example, against the original investment of Rs. 10,400 crores, the aggregate over the five-year period is not likely to exceed Rs. 9,600 crores, of which Rs. 6,500 crores will be

in the public sector and around Rs. 4,100 in the private sector at 1961-62 prices. "At current prices the aggregate investment may be much nearer the original Plan figure but in real terms there would be a shortfall of 10 to 15 percent." (Economic Weekly, Bombay, February 1964.)

In implementing the plan, again, foreign aid has so far been a very uncertain element. The total foreign aid received by India during the first two years of the plan was Rs. 2,966 crores (of which aid from the Soviet Union and East European countries amounted to only Rs. 329 crores). The external assistance required for the last three years of the plan is estimated at Rs. 2,659 crores. Rs. 1,481 crores have already been committed or secured, leaving a gap of Rs. 1,178 crores to be filled by "friendly" capitalist countries. In view of the "growing lukewarmness of the Aid-India Club" (a group of Western capitalist countries headed by the U.S.), Krishnamachari appears to be doing his best to cajole these "friends" into pouring more money into India. This explains why he is laying it on thick for the foreign monopolists and their Indian collaborators.

Tax Relief for the Rich

Among the reliefs to "certain" basic industries announced by Krishnamachari to help boost production are:

(1) Shelving of the super profits tax which has been the bugbear of the private sector.

(2) Introduction in its place of a surtax which will be less irksome to private "corporate" bodies.

(3) A rebate in the surtax levied on the profits of private companies (which "occupy an important place in our economy") up to 20% of the tax assessed.

(4) Removal of the ceiling (fixed by Morarji Desai) on remunerations of private undertakings, etc.

As a further incentive to foreign investors, he has reduced the super tax on incomes from royalties and technical fees from 38% to 25% in the case of nonresident companies. He has further sought powers to exempt foreign investors from taxes on income derived from loans given to Indian enterprises with the government's approval, and has also exempted them from income taxes on approved securities. There is also reduction in the tax on engineering services from 63% to 50% as an incentive to "foreign consultants."

If Krishnamachari has not resorted to many forms of direct taxation, it is because he can afford to lie low for another year. Revenues next year are expected to be as favorable as they have been during the current year. Direct taxes to the tune of Rs. 15 crores have been levied in the form of wealth and expenditure taxes, and

marginal increases in the capital gains tax and the estate duty. All this, along with the introduction of a new "annuity scheme" for people having an annual income of more than Rs. 15,000 is intended more as a maneuver to mislead public opinion (to give an "against the rich" touch to the budget). This is more than counterbalanced by the indirect taxes levied by him to the tune of Rs. 25 crores in the form of increased duties on fine and super fine yarns.

The total revenue for 1964-65 is estimated at Rs. 2,095 crores and the expenditure at Rs. 2,041 crores, thus leaving on the basis of the present taxation, a surplus of Rs. 54 crores. Civil expenditure is placed at Rs. 1,323 crores and defence at Rs. 718 crores (being Rs. 25 crores more than the revised estimate for the current year).

The only new proposal contained in the Finance Minister's speech is the appointment of a Monopoly Commission; but, in the context of the promonopoly character of the budget, this is obviously nothing more than eye wash meant for popular consumption.*

The Krishnamachari budget, as some of the Congress members of parliament said during the debate on it in the Lok Sabha, "has spelt the burial of socialist ideals." These "socialist ideals," in fact, were never meant seriously by the bourgeois leadership of the Congress. They were at best a cloak to deceive the masses about the real class objectives of the Congress leadership.

The budget, however, reveals another significant turn in the economic strategy of the Indian bourgeoisie. Having failed to develop the productive forces of the country, and finding themselves enmeshed in an ever growing crisis, the bourgeoisie are turning toward more open and unconcealed partnership with imperialism as a way out of the impasse. Small wonder that the only people who have praised the budget for its "realism" are men like Bharat Ram, president of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and the Swatantra party members of parliament, Minoo Masani and Gayatri Devi, both ardent advocates of "free enterprise" in India.

Krishnamachari and his economic advisers are mistaken if they think that by the new strategy they can save Indian capitalism. Perhaps their course will hasten its doom. Already the rate of growth of the major sectors of the economy continues to be below the goals in the third year of the Third Plan. The growth of national income

*About fifteen business houses control nearly 70% of the share capital in India's private sector. More than half the total private investment belongs to only one-half of 1% of the country's shareholders. "These few control the whole range of industries from steel to soap, from tea to tinsplate." Five big Indian banks control one-third of the total paid-up capital and more than one-half the total deposits in private banks. Yet Krishnamachari contemptuously rejected the demand made also by a section of the Congress members of parliament for nationalization of banking!

in the first two years of the plan was only 2.5% (more than neutralized by the growth in population) as against the projected growth of 4%. In agriculture, instead of the anticipated average increase of 5%, production actually declined 3.3% in 1962-63.

Whatever limited progress Indian capitalism has been able to achieve in the economic sphere has been at the expense of the masses. The productive forces can develop freely, not within the matrix of a backward capitalist system, but only under a new social order based on social ownership of production.

NEW RISE IN FREEDOM NOW STRUGGLE

By Evelyn Sell

The outburst of violence in Jacksonville, Florida, March 23, made world-headlines. The resistance of racist-minded whites to two weeks of sit-in demonstrations at downtown hotels and restaurants flared into open violence when a roving carload of whites shot down a Negro mother standing outside a grocery store.

[The claim of a white racist that he had been tied to a tree by Negroes and slashed with a razor was later admitted by police to have been a sadist hoax. The victim had slashed himself.]

A high point in the battle was the reaction of a thousand Negro high-school students. They met armed police with bottles and rocks, and fell back only after the cops drew their revolvers and fired shots in the air.

The Jacksonville events would seem to bear out the forecast made by Negro leaders last January that civil-rights demonstrations would resume in the spring on a bigger and more militant scale. [See World Outlook January 17.] The truth is that this has occurred on a nationwide scale as the following survey indicates:

San Francisco:

A group of youthful freedom fighters, the "Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination," were successful in gaining their demands for increased employment opportunities for Negroes and other minorities. About 1,200 youths began picketing the Sheraton-Palace Hotel the night of March 6. After five hours of marching and chanting they flooded into the hotel lobby, blocked exits and staged a sit-in. Police began arresting them at four a.m. Early the next day one of the leaders of the Ad Hoc Committee announced to the 600 youths still demonstrating inside the hotel, "We got everything we came for. We came here to protest against one hotel and came away with an agreement for 33."

On March 14 police arrested 110 demonstrators picketing a local Cadillac car agency. The action was sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] in protest against discriminatory-hiring practices of General Motors Corp., makers of Cadillac. Over 300 demonstrators were marching inside the showroom when police arrived. Those who refused to leave the property were arrested.

These incidents climaxed a month-long series of actions involving picketing, sit-ins, lie-ins and shop-ins. The latter tactic was used by the Congress of Racial Equality [CORE] in their dispute with a supermarket chain over job opportunities for Negroes. CORE members would enter a supermarket, fill the large push-carts provided for the use of customers, wheel up to the cash register and then tell the cashier they couldn't pay for the groceries. The filled baskets would then be pushed to the side clogging up the aisles.

Ohio:

On March 14 Yellow Springs police arrested 109 civil-rights pickets. They were part of a group of 250, mostly Negro college students, who braved tear gas in a two-hour demonstration in front of the shop of a barber who refused to cut Negroes' hair. After the arrests, the remaining students marched back to Antioch College singing "America the Beautiful."

Mississippi:

Jackson City officials are preparing for a new round of civil-rights demonstrations. Mayor Allen Thompson declared, "There's no way for them to win. We've got all this tremendous equipment and personnel."

He was referring to 250 new shotguns, riot helmets and gas masks; two city trucks which have been converted into troop carriers to transport police; three flat-bed trucks which are now wire-enclosed in order to haul Negro demonstrators away in wholesale lots; 400 tough new young policemen and 35 more to come.

The pride of the police force, however, is "Thompson's Tank," a special riot-control car which carries ten policemen plus two drivers, shotguns poking out of slots.

Alabama:

On March 4 Martin Luther King, Jr., announced that new protests would be held in Birmingham within 30 days because the city had failed to live up to its integration promises made after last summer's racial clashes. Plans include economic boycotts, an intensification of voter registration drives and an appeal to Congress to reduce the number of Alabama representatives because Negroes do not have voting status and cannot be represented by these men.

Kentucky:

A group of 10,000 Negroes marched on the state capital March 5 in support of a state civil-rights bill. Gov. Breathitt stated, "I applaud the objectives of this march and congratulate its participants on their dedication. . . their enthusiasm. . . and the dignity of their appeal." Then the governor repeated his intention of supporting the weakest version of the two bills now before the state legislature.

Maryland:

On March 2 some 400 Negroes marched on the state capital to protest police brutality during some civil-rights demonstrations held the previous week in Princess Anne.

Here's what had happened: On February 22 a flying wedge of state troopers, using two police dogs, broke up a demonstration of 300 students in front of a segregated restaurant. One student was bitten on the leg and four were arrested. The next day the students marched in protest over the arrests and were attacked by adult whites who threw eggs and punched a student in the stomach.

The next night a cross was burned on the football field of the almost all-Negro college. That same night a bomb was thrown at the house of one of the student leaders, Leon Gates. Fortunately, no one was hurt but all the windows were shattered by the explosion.

On February 26 students and state police clashed again. The students were once more protesting racial discrimination at two restaurants when they were run into by automobiles and trucks driven by racist citizens. State troopers charged into the demonstrators, swinging nightsticks and accompanied by police dogs. The students retaliated by throwing sticks, rocks and bottles. A dozen students were clubbed to the ground, some were kicked, 59 received medical attention and 14 were bitten on their arms and legs by the dogs. The battle was finally ended when the troopers turned fire hoses on the students.

The Student Appeal for Equality, which had organized the demonstrations, said the city would face 40 days and 40 nights of demonstrations until their desegregation demands were met.

In nearby Cambridge over 100 persons received free surplus food March 6 after demonstrations succeeded in reversing a local official's refusal to request the sorely needed produce from available federal stocks. The demonstrations broke a seven-month moratorium instituted when martial law was proclaimed in the town following racial clashes last year.

New Jersey:

City officials are worried about demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention when it convenes-August 24. Leaders of CORE and the NAACP warned of possible protest marches on the city, coupled with attempts to seat all-Negro delegations from some states of the deep South where Negroes are disenfranchised and cannot select their own representatives.

New York:

On March 2 about 10,000 persons participated in a three-hour "Silent March" demanding better educational facilities and integration of Puerto Rican children in New York City schools. This was the first city-wide demonstration organized by the Puerto Rican community. About one-fourth of the marchers were Negro and a number of local labor leaders were also present.

Some of the signs stated: "We demand more Puerto Rican teachers in our schools," "If you cannot teach us out of love, teach us out of duty," and "Appoint a Puerto Rican to the Board of Education."

On March 8 the newly formed East River chapter of CORE staged a sit-in in police headquarters and several hours after this action other members blocked evening rush-hour traffic on the Triborough Bridge. Garbage was dumped on the bridge to protest school conditions in East Harlem. Some of the demonstrators lay down on the bridge and were dragged away and arrested.

On March 11 about 300 persons marched on the state capital, Albany, in order to present civil-rights and social-reform demands to the governor and legislators. They got sympathy but no concrete help. At the rally held after the march, Norman Hill of CORE said, ". . . only if we light fires all over the state, only if we disrupt and dislocate in a creative way, will we get what we want."

Malcolm X, New York leader who recently resigned from the Muslim movement, said he was urging the members of his new group to buy shot-guns and rifles for self-defense since the government has failed to insure adequate protection for Negroes. He predicted "There will be more violence than ever this year."

IF YOU NEED BAPTISM

Jordan river water will soon be available for baptismal use anywhere in the world. The holy liquid will be drawn from the spot where Christ was baptised and where Paul VI recently prayed. To be bottled by the Jordan government, filtering will make it perfectly safe. Sales should be especially brisk after those who practice baptism by immersion receive the good word.

ECONOMIC CRISIS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

At the January meeting of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party, the main question was the catastrophic results in the industrial field in 1963. In fact, the reporter, Drahomin Kolder, secretary of the Central Committee, had to admit [see Rude Pravo January 23] that industrial production decreased 0.7% in relation to the figures for 1962; labor productivity stood at 1.5% below the 1962 level; while in the building industry, labor productivity actually decreased 9.5%. The 1963 plan had to be drastically revised after the first quarter.

The plan for 1964 forecasts only a moderate increase in output of 3.6%.

Although Kolder didn't say so, it appears that the seven-year plan for 1964-70 has been abandoned. The bureaucracy will try to bring out a new five-year plan for 1966-70, if everything works out as hoped for 1964 and 1965.

Significantly, the resolution passed by the January plenum meeting says nothing about an increase in the standard of living. It speaks only of stabilization. And even this is not certain if the evolution of money wage rates and prices is taken into consideration.

Nominal wages actually dropped more than 1% in the first half of 1963. The January resolution talks about an increase of 1.3% in average nominal wages in industry. This means that wages in 1964 will return to the 1962 level and that nominal wages will have suffered stagnation for three consecutive years.

Along with this, however, a big rise has occurred in the cost-of-living index. The January plenum announced in fact: (1) an increase in rents for houses and apartments; (2) a "reform" of the national health service, ending free services and imposing nominal charges for doctors' visits and prescriptions; (3) a "reform" of the educational system, ending free school supplies and placing the cost on parents; (4) a reduction of high pensions and an increase in low pensions.

Except for the fourth measure, involving the pension system, which is progressive, the other three "reforms" signify an increase in the cost of living for the average working-class family. This means that for the second consecutive year, the Czechoslovak workers' standard of living is going down instead of up.

A reform of the general wage system and of factory management has also been introduced. In the wage system, the reactionary piece-work pattern is to be brought back on a broad scale, lowering the minimum hourly wage rates.

Premiums are to be granted factories that "release" (i.e., fire!) "excessive man power" from their staffs. A total of 162 "old

factories," employing 15,000 workers, are to be closed in 1962 and the workers "transferred" to shops where there is a shortage of man power (and also to some tractor jobs in the countryside which are desperately in need of mechanics).

The Central Committee solemnly guaranteed to the workers that no loss of income will be suffered through these transfers. But they gave no guarantee that jobs will be given to them in the same town where they now live; and since the housing shortage is quite acute and the new rent increases will cause a general scramble for "cheap" living quarters, the transfers will mean severe hardships for some of the families involved.

Although President Antonin Novotny's New Year's message struck a note of "austerity," and an intensive press campaign for some months had prepared the people for some cutbacks in their standard of living (the highest of all the workers' states), the announcements came as a shock to the advanced workers, particularly since not the slightest political concession was made by way of "compensation."

The workers foot the bill for the inefficiency and parasitism of the ruling bureaucracy. And not the slightest reform is in sight in the direction of self-management. The line, instead, is to strengthen the "autonomy of the factories" and the "rights of the factory management."

This reactionary development, which runs completely counter to the progressive trend of 1962 and 1963, was accompanied by a sharp attack against the "liberal" and "exaggerated" criticisms of the ruling bureaucracy's past policies, especially in the ideological field, which appeared in the two literary magazines Kulturny Zivot (Slovak) and Literarni Noviny (Czech). The editors of both magazines, however, have defended themselves and tried a counteroffensive.

The workers seem to have responded in the same way, for the theoretical organ of the Czechoslovak Communist party Zivot Strany admits that "antiparty" leaflets have been distributed in Moravia.

Behind the scenes, Novotny's position appears to have been weakened and to have come under question among many who remember his complicity in the crimes of Stalin's years. Khrushchev, however, has intervened repeatedly to protect Novotny against those who want a change in party leadership. He sent Leonid I. Brezhnev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to Czechoslovakia to praise Novotny in a speech December 12 as "the loyal son of the Czechoslovak people" and a "relentless fighter for communism."

On the same occasion, Novotny served notice that de-Stalinization had been "definitely ended" in December 1962 and that "liberal-bourgeois deviations" had to be vigorously combatted, along with all attempts to "lower the authority of the party."

Novotny was absent from the December 1963 and January 1964 Central Committee meetings. Many Communists are asking questions about this conspicuous absence. Does it mean that the "first secretary" of the party is slowly being squeezed out? Or does it mean that he wants to avoid being too closely associated with the unpopular measures which the regime feels compelled to take at present?

THAT ANTI-SEMITIC PAMPHLET

It was inevitable that there would be an international scandal over the pamphlet Unvarnished Judaism which was published at Kiev under the auspices of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences as part of a campaign against religion. Both the content and the illustrations are unquestionably anti-Semitic. The caricatures in particular are indistinguishable from those that appeared under Goebbels.

In France, protests first arose among Jewish circles and organizations devoted to the struggle against racism and anti-Semitism, some of which are strongly influenced by the French Communist party.

A strong objection appeared in the Paris Yiddish-language daily Naie Press whose progressivism in general closely reflects the policies of the French Communist party [PCF].

The leaders of the PCF found themselves in an embarrassing position. They had so often denounced the charges about anti-Semitism in the USSR as nothing but anti-Communist propaganda! If they remained silent, it would mean coming into conflict with circles close to the party -- and at a time when no one will swallow Stalinist plots like the one in 1952 about the doctors. On the other hand, it is not the custom of the PCF leaders to criticize what goes on in the USSR.

Finally, they translated and published in l'Humanité the text of the article that appeared in Naie Press. But not a single French leader, not a single editorial writer, wrote a line under his own signature.

In the light of the press campaign, the Soviet agency Novosti, issued a statement that did not help much to quiet things. The communiqué said that "the author [of the anti-Semitic pamphlet] is not a representative of the government of the USSR nor a spokesman of the opinions of the government." It did not at all disavow the pamphlet itself.

No one has the slightest illusions about freedom of speech in the USSR today. The Naie Press lodged a protest over the communiqué; and, once again, l'Humanité reprinted extracts as well as declarations by Jewish war veterans affirming their friendship for the Soviet Union.

Never have the leaders of the PCF faced such difficulties. They need the "progressives," this petty-bourgeois and bourgeois fringe of such service in their efforts to maintain openings in the bourgeois or Social Democratic political world. They are particularly in need of this avenue at present.

But at the same time they are afraid to criticize happenings in the Soviet Union. After all, they have never criticized anything except what the Soviet leaders themselves have seen fit to criticize.

ON "SPECKS OF DUST"

In Mexico, de Gaulle sought to dazzle people by murdering some Spanish phrases learned by heart and by pretending to be the big brother of the Third World. But he soon showed what all this was worth when he went to Martinique, Guadeloupe and Guiana. No more about the Third World there, no more about peoples to decolonize. These are three "French departments," with everything that is characteristic of a French department, above all if its population has grievances -- namely, police, gendarmes and well-trained judges.

Despite the expensive stage scenery that is shifted with all of de Gaulle's entries and exits, the reality found ways of breaking through, first in Guadeloupe where autonomist placards were hoisted during one of his speeches, then in Martinique, the most important of the Antilles under control of French imperialism.

In Martinique the poverty is so grinding that the main export is the inhabitants themselves. There are more Martiniquais outside the island than in it. Most of them live in France. It should be noted that since Algeria conquered independence, French capitalism, looking ahead to a decline in Algerian laborers, has begun to encourage immigration from the Antilles and from Africa.

Besides this, despite an old tradition of electoral frauds, the rise in political consciousness in Martinique has even been registered at the ballot box. Communists have been elected. The main figure in the island, who is also the mayor of Fort-de-France, the deputy and well-known poet Aimé Césaire, is a champion of self-rule for Martinique. He was recently in Paris as a witness at a trial in which young Martiniquais were accused of violating the integrity of the territory because they had demanded independence for their country.

It should be added that the position of the Communist party of Martinique has remained equivocal on this point. At first the party condemned the line these youth were following. Then it supported them without resolutely coming out for independence.

As the mayor of Fort-de-France, Aimé Césaire was de Gaulle's

host. In moderate terms, he appealed to de Gaulle himself to consider the question of self-rule within the framework of France. De Gaulle was not slow in replying. France has her duty; her course is correct; Martinique's only hope is France; and so on and so forth.

After this take off, he had a private interview a few hours later with members of the parliament. He expressed his mind in even cruder terms. Between Europe and the Americas there is only the ocean and some "specks of dust." You can't construct a state with "specks of dust." Africa used to have its own civilization; Martinique is nothing but a melting pot of people of various origins who all speak French.

"Specks of dust"? But how many of these specks of dust, including those in the Caribbean Sea, now constitute states? And the aspiration to form a federation of these territories is taking on life.

As for the argument about a "melting pot" in contrast to a pre-existing civilization, how many similar cases can be cited where nationalities and states have appeared! But for de Gaulle, such arguments, as always, are tossed off only for momentary effect. It is certain that he will say more or less the opposite when it comes to the question of keeping that "speck of French dust" known as Djibouti against the demands of the Somali people.

It is clear that despite the stinging defeat suffered in Algeria, French imperialism is not ready to recognize the right of peoples to determine their own fate as long as they are not strong enough to impose that right. Up until then they are only "specks of dust." But French imperialism will yet discover that it is possible to suffocate in a dust storm.

THE DEBATE BETWEEN THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS AND COMMUNISTS

By Pierre Frank

The dialogue between the French Socialist party [PS] and the French Communist party [PCF] is continuing in its peculiar way. [See World Outlook January 31.] The Socialist spokesmen have talked about theory and doctrine in a sufficiently pedestrian way while their counterparts have brought up current problems and slogans.

But the PCF leadership did not want to let the series of articles which appeared in le Populaire go by without replying, and so l'Humanité published ten articles under the title "Problems of Ideology and Unity."

As a matter of fact, the topics considered by both sides involve

all the issues which ought to be taken up in the program of a proletarian party in our epoch (war and peace, proletarian internationalism, democracy, revolution, the transition to socialism, dictatorship of the proletariat, single party, etc.); but the most striking thing about the articles on both sides is their poverty.

Those in le Populaire, written by one Quilliot, an obscure person who serves as theoretician for Guy Mollet, do not come up to the level of the scarcely impressive arguments advanced by Léon Blum in the twenties. Their only "originality" consists in attempting to embarrass the Thorez leadership by bringing up the practices of Stalin and emphasizing that the theoretical "novelties" of the Khrushchev period are very close to the old reformism of the Social Democracy and far from the conditions for adherence to the Communist International.

As for the articles in l'Humanité, unsigned but obviously expressing the position of the entire PCF leadership, they are a mass of generalities, of formulas good for any country at any time, with a minimum of references to the real world.

Both series of articles could be summed up by the same phrase: "We were always right."

If the central question were to draw up a theoretical and programmatic balance sheet of the workers' struggles in France since the split in 1920, even if only in the space of a dozen articles, really something better should have been turned out. The poverty of the debate reflects the level of the leaderships of the two big workers' parties. Neither of them are genuinely interested in theory. For decades not even a simple theoretical pamphlet has been written by a Socialist leader. As for the PCF leadership, theory has been transformed, as it was for the Kautskyists, into a dogma under which to practice the opportunistic policies of the day.

But the discussion carried on this way, wretched as it is, has a political objective, in the first place among the Socialist leaders who sought it. The truth is that Guy Mollet, by force of circumstance, had to make a turn in the direction of the PCF. The Gaullist regime, threatening the positions won by the PS within the bourgeois democracy, has compelled him to seek a pact with the PCF. At the moment, the pressure is not great concerning the content or the extent of a possible agreement. But he is aware that he is engaging in an operation carrying considerable risk in relation to the possible ally. He recalls that the experience of the Popular Front ended up with a loss in the relationship of forces even within the working class, at the expense of his party and to the advantage of the PCF.

Since the beginning of the "cold war," he has kept the ranks of his party from responding to the appeals for unity from the PCF by crude catch phrases like "The Communist party is not part of the left, but part of the East." But such formulas are not applicable in a

period of co-operation between the two parties. Hence the necessity of arming the ranks of the PS "theoretically," with the advantage of being able to demonstrate that, practically, the policy of the PCF is quite close to the points of view maintained by Blum and others at Tours in 1920 than to the positions of the Third International.

In view of this, the leaders of the PCF could not remain silent. In turn they had to provide a certain "theoretical" armament drawing the line between their own organization and the Social Democracy.

Thus, although the content of the debate as it has been conducted is without interest, the very fact of the debate is quite important. It reflects a new situation which is beginning to develop in the French workers' movement, a situation troublesome to the routine and ossification of the old leaderships.

The fact itself that they have been compelled in reality to justify themselves in relation to their respective ranks is a sign that they are beginning to come under question not only because of their daily politics but from a historical and fundamental point of view.

ITALIAN COMMUNISTS HOLD CONFERENCE

ROME -- The fifth national organizational conference of the Italian Communist party [PCI], which was held in Naples March 12-15 was not marked by any special new developments in policies or in internal relations in the party, thus coming up to the expectations voiced everywhere when the draft document appeared.

The participation of rank-and-file delegates in the debates at the conference was poor and beside the main points with regard to the big strategical problems, being limited to observations about details.

Among the party leaders who took the floor were Togliatti, Ingrao and Longo of the Secretariat; Reichlin, Sereni, Occhetto (secretary of the Communist Youth) and the trade unionist Scheda of the Political Bureau. The speech by Ingrao, who is known as the leader of the moderate opposition of the left in the Central Committee, was a combination of weakness and indecision. He demanded greater international autonomy for the PCI (a position also supported by Amendola and one in which the left and right oppositions have united against Togliatti's Soviet orthodoxy).

Reichlin and Occhetto spoke more vigorously on the theme of internal democracy in the party and the necessity for determining a new strategic line corresponding to the new problems of Italian life.

Togliatti, who summed up, after a short reply by the reporter

Macaluso, scorned the "problematicism" in which a certain opposition had expressed itself, as well as the demands for greater internal democracy. He emphasized his perplexity concerning an international conference of Communist parties (this appeared like "regrets in advance" over a decision already taken).

Two points in particular were to be noted in his remarks: establishment of a "dialogue with the Catholics" on the basis of explicit revisionism (Marxism is the inheritor of the Christian values) and a bid to the unions to support the policy of programming even at the cost of wage demands.

And this when the class character of the government is strikingly clear (a billion dollars in American credits, raw concessions to Fiat while this monopoly is reducing wages and hours, etc.).

NEXT WEEK

"Economic Difficulties in Italy." Livio Maitan, a leading Trotskyist of Rome and a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, offers some observations on the reasons for the steep rise in long faces among the economic pundits of the Italian capitalist class.