

WORLD OUTLOOK

PERSPECTIVE MONDIALE

Un service de presse ouvrier

Vol. 2, No. 40

November 20, 1964

21, rue d'Aboukir - PARIS-2

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The union leader told Natanson that his union has listed four reforms as a condition for "co-operation" with Barrientos, the pres-

ent head of the ruling military junta. As reported by Natanson they are as follows:

"(1) Diplomatic recognition of all nations, including the entire Communist bloc. (2) Free elections 'as soon as possible to give Bolivia the opportunity it has waited for, to vote for a true people's government.' (3) Recognition of the miners' 'human rights.' (4) Re-establishment of the Labor Control Board, which will give the miners a voice (and an absolute veto) in all decisions made by COMIBOL, the Bolivian federal agency which operates the nationalized tin mines."

Escobar told Natanson that he hopes an exchange of ambassadors will result in renewal of the offer by the Soviet Union three years ago to give Bolivia a tin refinery and to extend a credit of \$150,000,000. The offer was turned down by Paz Estenssoro under pressure from Washington.

"Bolivia must look where it can for aid from the industrial nations of the world," Escobar said. "The fact that the Chinese government can explode an atomic bomb is proof that it is now an industrial nation willing to help the underdeveloped nations of the world."

"We are not interested in the theories of government. What we want are results. Government is like bread -- if it is stale, you throw it out."

He added, "ominously" according to Natanson, "And if the military junta brings a fresh attitude and not a simple change of the guard to the presidential palace in La Paz, then we will co-operate. But if not, we have no other choice but to actively oppose the army with all the power at our command."

The miners are organized into battalions of an armed militia that elects its commanders. Natanson reports that they claim to have 25,000 miners trained for combat.

"Daniel Ordonez, second in command after Escobar," continues the Times correspondent, "warned that any attempt of the Bolivian military junta to disarm the mine army will be met by force."

The Communist union leaders at Siglo Veinte told Natanson that they will remain "independent" even if the Barrientos regime is toppled or if an election is ordered.

Natanson noted the claim of Juan Lechin that he enjoys the support of the miners. "Yet Ordonez. . . accused Lechin of being 'an accomplice' because he was vice president of Bolivia under Paz Estenssoro from 1960 until last August. 'Lechin will have to prove himself,' Ordonez declared bitterly."

"NEW FRONTIER" FOR CHILE?

By Livio Maitan

SANTIAGO DE CHILE -- President-elect Eduardo Frei, the victor in the September 4 election, was sworn into office at La Moneda, the presidential palace, November 3. In his inaugural address and later in a press conference, he outlined the situation in Chile and his own political and ideological orientation. A Chilean-style "New Frontier" was delineated as the result of the first major victory registered by the Christian Democrats in Latin America.

Continuing the method used in his election campaign, Frei did not spell out his proposed policies (he promised to reveal his first important measures after the end of November); at the same time he sought to indicate his orientation by taking a stand on certain issues.

First of all, he did not seek to emphasize governmental continuity but, on the contrary, stressed the break with the past which this experiment represented. "We are crossing a border," he said, "in which one historic epoch is ending and another is being born." And to characterize the import of his policies, he did not hesitate to add: "I represent a generation formed in a new orientation and a new philosophy which gained office after thirty years of hard and implacable struggle." In addition, he ended his discourse with a strong appeal to his popular following: "It is my right and duty to ask the real ranks of the people, the workers, the miners, the peasants, the ordinary people, the Chilean women, the youth who, just as they struggled for victory, are accompanying me now to make sure that we do not end up with the old proverb, 'You lifted me up to the heavens and abandoned me to the winds.'"

In foreign policy, Frei reaffirmed his desire to establish diplomatic relations with the workers states, very clearly projecting a move in this direction in the oratorical language of the occasion: "I also salute from this tribune the peoples of the so-called socialist world, whose dramatic human adventure is to be welcomed. Other peoples are aware of it and it would be blind of us not to recognize it. . . ." In addition, he said little in general about the ideological differences and stressed the necessity of recognizing reality and avoiding any discrimination in foreign policy. However, it is necessary to add that the new Chilean regime displays no intention of establishing relations with East Germany (its ties with Western Germany are too important to allow such an attitude) or of soon revising the decision of the Allesandri government to break relations with Cuba. ("These problems," Frei told the press in referring to Cuba, "must be examined by the nations as a whole, in the light of new facts.")

Besides this the new president repeated his criticisms of the existing inter-American and Latin-American political and economic

organizations, insisting on reforming them and on the need for the economic integration of Latin America. Nor did he overlook overtures in the direction of the so-called nonaligned countries, alluding especially to the Algeria of Ben Bella (from whom he has received an invitation for a visit).

On domestic policy he repeated the main themes of the Christian Democratic election campaign, speaking among other things in his inaugural address about the need for widening the educational system and reorganizing it, and about the need for a housing program to improve the shocking conditions affecting wide sectors of the population, in the cities as well as the countryside.

In addressing the peasants, Frei said: "I stand for increasing ownership of the land by the peasants and against concentration of the land by a minority. I am for a fair income and wages for those who work in the fields and for rigorous enforcement of the laws passed in their benefit."

In the area of industrial policy, Frei likewise referred to his general line in which he advocated increasing Chile's national participation in exploiting the great mineral resources of the country. A few days later his Minister of Mines indicated that the aims of the government in relation to copper production are an "increase in production, greater government participation, more refining of the ore within the country, smelting on a bigger scale and greater government participation in marketing operations." Here in concrete terms is Frei's famous "Chileanization."

The inaugural address, finally, did not overlook another current slogan of "Freism": democratic rights for everybody and opposition to any kind of ideological, religious, racial or political discrimination, including a noticeable allusion to the rights and the role of the unions and their autonomy in relation to the state.

Aside from the ideological and programmatic proclamations, it is clear that a very important change has occurred with Frei's coming to power. It is an elementary fact questioned by no one that this is in essence a bourgeois government. But the formula is new and it is correct to say that the power will not be wielded as before; that is, directly by a sector of the ruling class itself. Frei is not -- at least at this stage -- the direct representative of either the oligarchy, the financial circles, nor the merchant bourgeoisie. Enjoying rather wide popular support and the sympathy of sectors of the industrial bourgeoisie and the middle classes in general, his role will be to preserve the basic capitalist structure of Chilean society through at times complex means and balancing acts that can appear contradictory. In the final analysis, his strength resides precisely in the possibility open to him of maneuvering between the various social layers. He could at one turn appeal to the populace in order to impose measures distasteful to the conservative bourgeois sectors and then mobilize the conservative bourgeois

forces in order to resist too great pressure from below. He could perform a similar balancing act among the layers of the owning classes. In the field of foreign policy, he could act in analogous fashion: the establishment of diplomatic relations with the workers states and a bid to the "third" world would give him room for maneuver in relation to American imperialism. This could be widened by skillful exploitation of the interimperialist conflicts. (Chile could play at least in part the card of closer ties with Gaullist France or with Western Germany.)

In all circles in Chile the possibility is being discussed of the Freist experiment succeeding, if only partially. The conclusions, naturally, are as diverse as the interests, hopes and fears of those voicing an opinion. In general, however, the inclination in bourgeois circles, including the non-Freist, is to consider Frei's try as the last chance for "democracy" in face of "Marxism-Leninism" or "totalitarianism." In left-wing circles, on the other hand, the prevailing tendency is to forecast failure, even within the near future.

It is certain that Frei enters office in difficult objective conditions, above all on the economic level. In a recent article, El Mercurio, by far the most authoritative Chilean daily, observed that the country's economy was undergoing a phase of prolonged stagnation, the tendency in the most recent period being toward aggravation of this condition. In fact, after the rather favorable results from 1960 to 1962, the increase in production in 1963 barely matched the growth in population, particularly in agricultural production (with the result that food products had to be imported, thus limiting available foreign exchange recently).

The evolution of the balance of payments was also negative and the national debt has reached towering heights so that the cost of retiring the debt and interest charges are absorbing a growing proportion of the funds received from abroad (20% in 1962 and 37% in 1963). It is not surprising under such conditions that the effort at monetary stabilization ended in lamentable failure. In 1963 the cost of living increased 45% and prices went up more than 50%.

Frei spoke about the seriousness of the situation, referring to "burdensome financial obligations abroad"; and, naturally, he had every interest to add that this situation could not be changed "in a day, a month, or a year."

It should be added that within the framework of a "reformist" policy such as Frei advocates; that is, a policy that does not aim at fundamental structural changes, substantial and rapid foreign aid is an absolute necessity for any improvement whatsoever. In the first place, as the new president did not fail to stress, the government's immediate measures hinge on the possibility of arranging payment of the foreign debt.

Nevertheless certain favorable factors should not be underestimated. Frei won the September elections by a quite wide margin and there is no doubt that he was supported by wide sectors of the populace, including workers. The left suffered a hard blow and from several angles finds itself in a rather critical situation. It is possible that Frei will strengthen his parliamentary position in the March elections and that his party will succeed in gaining additional important unions, if not the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores] as a whole. From the viewpoint of American imperialism, in the years since the victory of the Cuban Revolution, it is difficult to visualize a more encouraging situation in Chile. It is logical to calculate that Washington will do everything possible, in all fields, to assure success for the Frei experiment.

All this indicates that a difficult period is opening for the Chilean workers' movement -- not difficult in the sense of the movement having suffered a crushing defeat in which the objective situation makes impossible a counteroffensive for some time, but in the sense that the foe is proceeding to organize a new system of defense, enjoys a certain amount of popular support, and is drafting a new orientation. All this calls for deeper analysis if a strategic and tactical line is to be worked out to fit the period now opening. It is true that recognition of the bourgeois character of Freism is a prerequisite, since any attempt to palm off this basic fact could open the door to the disastrous formulas of class collaboration. But it is not less true that it is impossible to limit oneself to repeating this truth and counting on the easy and rapid erosion of Freism. Thus the problems of specific tactical orientation have acquired first-rate importance.

DEMONSTRATIONS CONTINUE TO SHAKE SUDAN

After ten days of violent demonstrations in October, Sudan continues to be affected by great instability. On November 8, General Ibrahim Abboud, who had been kept on as a figurehead by the new regime brought to power by the October demonstrations, ordered the arrest of seven army officers. He suspected them of sympathizing with the new regime.

The National Front appealed to the populace to demonstrate. For three days tens of thousands of people swept through the streets of Khartoum to protest any attempt of the Abboud gang to stage a comeback. They demanded a purge of the armed forces and heavy punishment of the former military regime.

The new government was completely paralyzed. On November 9 the regime arrested seven members of the dissolved Armed Forces Supreme Council. The gesture came too late. On November 15 the hated Abboud bowed to the inevitable and resigned.

CUBA'S ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH PLACED AT NINE PER CENT

The October 18 issue of the Mexico City publication El Correo Economico reports that its correspondent in Geneva succeeded in obtaining an advance copy of a report on the Cuban economy prepared by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America. The report was prepared by UN technicians who went expressly to Cuba for the purpose.

Their figures show that the annual rate of growth in gross production for the two years under study averaged out at 9%, a remarkable achievement, particularly under the difficult conditions of economic blockade, diplomatic assault and armed invasion suffered by the small country at the hands of the mightiest imperialist power in the world.

The rate of growth reached 9.6% in 1962, then dipped to 8.4% in 1963. The drop was ascribed mainly to the effects of hurricane "Flora."

The report noted a persistent decline in sugar production. This was held to be due to a reduction in the acreage planted to sugar cane and a drop in the yield per acre due to unfavorable weather conditions.

Sugar exports, which amounted to 6.4 million tons in 1961, dropped to 3.3 million tons in 1963. In total sales, sugar accounted for 85.0% in 1961 and 88.9% in 1963.

Outside of sugar, growth was registered in truck gardening (170.1%), roots and tubers (40.4%), and grains (15.1%).

Industry (outside of sugar) showed a rate of growth of 7.7% in the period 1961-63. Investments doubled during the period under study.

The branches of industry showing the highest annual rates of growth were chemicals, 16.3%; textiles, 11%; mining, 6.7%; oil, 9.9%; and electricity, 5.7%.

The rate of growth in commerce (an increase of 34.6% in 1962 and 29% in 1963) was ascribed to the swift rise in mass purchasing power as a result of the Revolution.

The report notes the major shift in the direction of Cuban exports and imports as a result of the Revolution. In 1958, 66% of Cuba's exports went to the United States, while 69.8% of Cuba's imports came from there. In 1963, 65.8% of Cuba's exports went to countries having planned economies while 82.5% of Cuba's imports came from this area.

Cuba's trade with Western Europe, which reached a low point

in 1962, rose to 18.2% in 1963.

A change in the character of Cuba's imports was noted. In 1956 consumers' goods amounted to 40.5% of the total; in 1963 this category amounted to 25.1%. The importation of luxury goods has ceased; and the importation of hard consumers' goods, which reached 10.6% in 1956, has practically been cut off. On the other hand, the importation of capital goods rose from 21.0% in 1956 to 34.2% in 1962.

The following table, published by El Correo Economico, summarizes some of the essential figures of the report:

CUBA: MATERIAL PRODUCTION

<u>Sectors</u>	<u>Millions of Pesos</u>			<u>Annual rate of growth</u>		
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1961-62</u>	<u>1962-63</u>	<u>1961-63</u>
Agriculture						
livestock (a)	466.0	496.0	496.8	6.4	0.2	3.2
Industrial (b)	810.8	902.5	939.8	11.3	4.1	7.7
Construction	196.5	207.2	207.0	5.4	- 0.1	2.6
Transport and communication	256.4(c)	229.7	236.5	-10.4	3.0	- 4.0
Others		53.1	56.0		5.5	
Subtotal	1,729.7	1,888.5	1,936.1	9.2	2.5	5.8
Sugar	407.9	304.7	276.8	-25.3	- 9.2	-17.6
Subtotal	2,137.6	2,193.2	2,212.9	2.6	0.9	1.7
Commerce	594.0	799.4	1,031.3	34.6	29.0	31.8
TOTAL	<u>2,731.6</u>	<u>2,992.6</u>	<u>3,244.2</u>	9.6	8.4	9.0

SOURCE: JUCEPLAN

- (a) Excluding sugar cane agriculture.
- (b) Excluding the sugar industry. Including mining and power.
- (c) Distributed in other branches.

READING CUBAN LITERATURE A CRIMINAL OFFENSE IN JAMAICA

[The following article is taken from the October 30 Right to Work, a weekly bulletin issued by the Unemployed Workers' Council in Kingston, Jamaica.]

* * *

On Monday, October 26, the Daily Gleaner published that sixteen Cuban publications are added to the list of prohibited literature; citizens found reading or having any of these publications in their possession will be faced with a penalty of £50 fine or six months imprisonment; and for importing, distributing or republishing, a fine of £100 or one-year imprisonment.

Over the years the JLP-PNP [Jamaica Labour party and People's National party] administration have acted as willing servants of British and United States imperialism, suppressing the right of the Jamaican people to read of the politics and history of struggle of the liberated peoples and of the current liberation struggle waged by oppressed peoples the world over.

They know that if our people, particularly our youth, are taught of the revolutionary struggle and of the courage of the victorious peoples, we too will be courageous and wage revolutionary struggle against their treacherous rule and for our own liberation from imperialist enslavement. That is why they have placed a ban on such literature and are flooding the country with comic books and other obscene magazines and films which depict crime and sex and the degenerate culture of the imperialist nations to corrupt our people and divert them from the path of struggle.

The recent ban imposed upon Cuban publications is obviously directed by United States imperialism in keeping with its policy of bullying small and weaker nations to sever ties with the Cuban people in the vain hope of isolating the Cuban Revolution.

No appeal will therefore halt the reactionary JLP-PNP administration in their service to imperialism; they will continue in their suppression of the freedom and rights of the Jamaican people until they are crushed by the people.

The Jamaican people must therefore wage resolute struggle in defence of their freedom and rights. We must demand our right to read of the struggle and history of our brothers throughout the world, for our struggle is against one enemy -- imperialism -- headed by United States imperialism, and together we will win. The Cuban Revolution is a component of the world liberation struggle; the Jamaican people must therefore struggle in its defence, heightening our own struggle against imperialism and the treacherous JLP-PNP clique.

THE COST OF THE ARMS RACE

[The following extract is from an article "The Cold War and World Poverty" by Bertrand Russell in the November issue of Africa and the World.]

* * *

At present, the world expenditure on arms is 140,000 million dollars annually. This means an expenditure of 400 million dollars daily and 16 million dollars each hour.

These figures, however, do not include a variety of hidden costs, the consequences of which are as grave as the acknowledged expenditure.

The misallocation of resources, the exhaustion of energy supplies, the utilisation of essential labour, material and plant, all of which are unavailable for constructive use because of arms production -- create evils in excess of the vast sums squandered.

For each million dollars wasted, the problems which are unattended multiply and make more costly and more difficult their future solution.

THE CURRENT ARMS EXPENDITURE EXCEEDS THE ENTIRE NATIONAL INCOME OF ALL UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES. IT EXCEEDS THE WORLD'S ANNUAL EXPORTS OF ALL COMMODITIES. IT EXCEEDS THE NATIONAL INCOME OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA. OVER 60 MILLION PEOPLE ARE EMPLOYED IN ARMS INDUSTRIES.

When one examines the origins of this terrible arms outlay, it becomes clear that the most developed countries are not only those which can most afford to waste resources, but are the countries which do so in disproportionate ways.

Seven countries account for 85 per cent of all arms expenditure: Canada, China, France, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States and the USSR.

All the underdeveloped countries together -- the vast majority of mankind -- account for one-tenth of Western arms expenditure.

The United States budget of 50,000 million dollars for arms represents 35 per cent of the world total.

Military expenditure, moreover, tends to use the particular kinds of resources most valuable for productive investment. The fuel, light and heat sources squandered could transform the non-industrial countries.

It will illustrate the argument if I give some comparative costs.

One British aircraft carrier costs \$65 million. \$40 million would make drinking water available to everyone in Egypt. The same amount would provide 900 rural health clinics.

One Atlas missile costs 30 million dollars. This amount represents the total investment for nitrogen fertiliser plant with capacity of 50,000 to 70,000 tons per annum.

It should be remembered that the inordinate amounts expended on arms would, if available for investment, be worth many factors more.

If the £1,400 million spent by Britain on arms were to be invested, it would be worth at least ten times that amount.

Translating these comparative costs into British terms, one Polaris missile equals four universities, one V-bomber equals seven secondary schools, one TSR2 equals five modern hospitals and one missile destroyer equals 100,000 tractors.

VICTOR ALLEN SENTENCED IN NIGERIA

Dr. Victor Leonard Allen and three Nigerian defendants were convicted November 10 at Ikeja, Nigeria, on charges of "sedition" and sentenced to prison for one year at hard labor.

Dr. Allen, a senior lecturer in Industrial Science at the University of Leeds and a specialist in trade-union studies, was in Africa collecting material and interviewing trade-union leaders. His fellow defendants were Sidi Kharam and Jonas Kiomasekenagh Abam, both trade unionists, and Olushegun Adebayo, a teacher.

Chief Magistrate Ufnmilayo Wickliffe found the four defendants guilty on three separate charges: "conspiring" between March 1 and June 10 of this year to overthrow the Nigerian federal government by subversive military means, drawing up a "plan" for the same purpose, and possessing a seditious publication setting out "plans" for the realization of the same unlawful purpose.

The judge imposed four months' imprisonment with hard labour on each count to run consecutively. Dr. Allen's counsel, Michael Odesanya, announced that the verdict of the court will be appealed.

The political trial, which began July 1, was part of a nationwide witch-hunt staged by the Nigerian government as its response to a general strike that swept the country in the first two weeks of June. A number of arrests were made following the strike, including leading trade unionists.

A CURIOUS CRITICISM

By Joseph Hansen

The November 7 issue of The Newsletter, weekly journal of the Socialist Labour League published in London, carries an article offering a curious criticism of the stand taken by World Outlook on the British elections.

To be condemned, it appears, is the strong hope expressed by World Outlook for a Labour victory. "We think it will make a difference which side wins," World Outlook declared in a short article in the issue dated October 16, which was published before the country went to the polls October 15.

World Outlook offered several reasons for hoping for a Labour victory. In other countries, it could have considerable consequences. Especially in Canada and the United States, a Labour victory could further the cause of independent political action.

In Britain, said World Outlook, a victory would be of prime importance. "This is not due to any loyalty to the principles of socialism on the part of Harold Wilson -- he has none. It is because a Labour victory is the most favorable way for the British working class to learn the limitations of the Labour movement, as it stands today, and the need to break through these limitations."

It would seem that this perfectly clear stand would be beyond misinterpretation. However, Cliff Slaughter, writing in The Newsletter, sought to utilize this article to foist on World Outlook a view it does not hold; namely, "that the occupation of official positions within the bourgeois state will provide the possibility of influencing the increasingly powerful occupants of these positions."

As "proof" that World Outlook in actuality holds a position it vigorously opposes, Slaughter cites World Outlook's reasoning that a Labour victory would facilitate organization of a left wing at a more advanced level than would be possible if Labour suffered a defeat. Slaughter chooses to interpret this as meaning that World Outlook believes a bourgeois government can be "pressured" by representatives of the workers accepting "official positions" in it.

Evidently Slaughter feels that this singularly tortured "proof" might not be too convincing and so he drags in the article by T.J. Peters in the October 23 World Outlook which analyzes the outcome of the election from a Trotskyist point of view.

Here again what arouses Slaughter is the fact that Peters is pleased over the Labour victory despite the fact, as Peters himself flatly states, that "in the very nature of a social-democratic government lie the seeds of class betrayal."

In the process of berating Peters for being pleased over a Labour victory, Slaughter indicates some positions of his own that are astonishing, to say the least.

Speaking of the Wilson government, Slaughter declares: "According to us it is a capitalist government in a Labour disguise. With Wilson in charge of leadership it will carry out capitalist policies against the working class. Not to prepare the workers for this fight is a betrayal."

It is reasonable to infer from the statement, made without any qualifications, that the Wilson government is a "capitalist government" dedicated to "capitalist policies" that Slaughter considered it a matter of indifference whether Labour or the Tories won. And this stand, of course, would be completely consistent with his criticism of World Outlook's position favoring a Labour victory.

As a further indication that Slaughter actually holds this view, we quote the following criticism which he levels at Peters: "Peters chooses to ignore the fact that leading capitalist spokesmen like 'The Economist' recommended a Labour vote."

What is most curious about this is that Slaughter himself chooses to ignore the fact that a leading spokesman of the Socialist Labour League, The Newsletter, likewise recommended a Labour vote. In the issue of October 10, the main headline, spread across the entire page in giant type, was "VOTE LABOUR OCTOBER 15." The subhead, in big, bold italics, read, "Fight for socialist policies!" Thus, in order to fight for socialist policies, The Newsletter told the British workers to VOTE LABOUR OCTOBER 15.

But this very same headline could have been used for the stand taken by World Outlook which was condemned by Cliff Slaughter! [World Outlook used less dramatic titles: "On the Eve of the British Elections" and "Labour's Victory in the British Elections."]

Things thus become curiouser and curiouser. If The Newsletter of November 7 is correct in condemning World Outlook, then The Newsletter of October 10 is also to be condemned -- harshly to be condemned; for, by asking the British workers to vote for the formation of a "capitalist government" that will carry out "capitalist policies," The Newsletter was guilty of a betrayal every bit as bad as if it had called on the American workers to vote for the Democratic party. Was Slaughter's article thus really aimed, not at World Outlook, but at unnamed opponents in the Socialist Labour League?

In behalf of these supposed opponents, it should be pointed out that if The Newsletter of October 10 was correct in appealing to the workers to VOTE LABOUR OCTOBER 15, then The Newsletter of November 7 is to be condemned for falling into an ultraleftist position; i.e., failing to properly distinguish between a Tory victory and a Labour victory, between a Tory government and a Labour government.

Of course, it can be argued that this is not an accidental manifestation of differences in the SLL or evidence of political schizophrenia. Truth, it might be maintained, is to be found in both issues of The Newsletter -- the two numbers of the weekly journal of the Socialist Labour League must be taken, not in isolation from each other, but in their unity, since each presents but one aspect of the rounded policy of the SLL. Thus we are able to see a powerful combination of the crassest opportunism (The Newsletter joins The Economist in appealing to the public to VOTE LABOUR OCTOBER 15) and the most rigid ultraleftism (a campaign is mounted to reach those who consider it a "betrayal" to favor formation of a Labour government as against a Tory government).

Still other possibilities are open. The editors may really be pro-Labour but face such dearth of material that they have no choice but to fill space with whatever is available. Or it may be that they were pro-Labour but have changed their minds and now believe that they betrayed the British workers when they wrote VOTE LABOUR OCTOBER 15.

We leave to the connoisseurs of such curiosities the pleasure of further speculation. For us, we think it was quite right to campaign for Labour and we hope that the Labour party will win the next election with a truly crushing majority.

KERALA FACES FAMINE

The boasted civilization of the capitalist "free" world is offering humanity another lesson in its capacities. For months it has been known that the masses of Kerala in the south of India were on the verge of famine. Yet nothing was done. Only when the threat of violent demonstrations grew acute, did the Shastri regime and its Washington backers decide to act.

At the moment special rice trains are rolling toward the stricken area and two U.S. ships are unloading wheat at Cochin. But the question is, will these gestures prove too little and too late?

People in the cities are now on a ration of four ounces of rice and four ounces of wheat daily. Outside the cities, three and a half ounces of each food grain are doled out. In this starvation area, people have become inured to an intake of only sixteen ounces daily. Half that amount spells bitter hunger, and the children have become potbellied from malnutrition.

Meanwhile the U.S. continues to buy farm surpluses to keep up prices, often destroying the food. From 1944 to 1960, the U.S. stored 125,000,000 tons of bread grain. Bertrand Russell has calculated that this is "enough to feed every Indian for a year."

SOUTH AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS REPORT ON ACTIVITIES

[The following report concerning a gathering of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa was released by L. Mqotsi, general secretary of the organization, at Lusaka, Zambia, November 4. We are transmitting it in its entirety because of the interesting information it contains. The subheadings are included in the original text.]

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The major national political organisation affiliated to the All-African Convention and the Unity Movement of South Africa is The African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (APDUSA). It was formed in 1961 in order, inter alia, "to struggle for the liquidation of national oppression of the oppressed people of South Africa . . . and the acquisition by the whole nation of those democratic rights at present enjoyed by only a small section of the population, namely, the White people."

Thus, from its inception, APDUSA -- in aim and purpose -- fell four-square within the ambit of the All-African Convention and the Unity Movement in that it pledged itself to fight unconditionally for full democratic rights for all in Southern Africa irrespective of race, colour and creed.

But APDUSA went further in its delineation of the field of its activities. It stated specifically and significantly in its constitution: "The democratic demands and aspirations of the oppressed workers and peasants shall be paramount in the orientation of APDUSA in both its short-term and long-term objectives."

APDUSA has fitted the deed to the word. Throughout the country -- in the villages, the factories, the farms, the mines and the kitchens of South Africa -- the oppressed and exploited workers and peasants have rallied to the clarion call of APDUSA. After three hundred years of helpless isolation and exposure to the enemies of freedom the oppressed masses of South Africa have now found their sanctuary. But because of this identification with APDUSA the workers and peasants of South Africa have incurred the wrath of the fascist regime in their fatherland. This regime has promptly let loose its agents of terror on all layers of dedicated APDUSANS.

In spite of all this, however, the spirit of the people and their resolution to throw off the shackles of domination, oppression and exploitation that bind them remains undaunted. Every brutal experience serves to steel them more than ever before in their determination to fight for the birth of a new society in South Africa -- a free and democratic society. We record some of the tears of bitterness which flow in the wake of the gallant struggle by our people to rid themselves of the cruel agony of oppression. We hope that this record of fire and blood will give the world an indication of the

enormity of the task that lies ahead of the Liberation Movement in our country. We are, however, heartened by the preparedness of our people to die for their demands, their beliefs and aspirations.

During the month of September three peasant delegates travelled more than a thousand miles from the Transvaal to Pondoland in the Cape Province to meet other APDUSANS. Earlier, delegates from Pondoland had visited their brothers and sisters in the struggle in the Northern Transvaal. One of the delegates from the Northern Transvaal reported as follows:

(a) That Fita-Khomo (a people's organisation in Northern Transvaal) identified itself completely with APDUSA.

(b) That 5,000 membership cards were required by the Central Executive of Fita-Khomo to rally and enroll their followers into APDUSA.

Pondoland delegates reported as follows:

(a) That three camps of Government troops were concentrated along the seashore at Lusikisiki and Bizana (districts of Pondoland). These troops raided the people hiding in the forests frequently with the result that these people were now completely cut off from the population which supplied them with food and clothing. The forest people were threatened by hunger very seriously and if the situation did not change death might result.

(b) Mass raids were carried out at Lusikisiki by the Special Branch (Security Police) together with the police as a result of which the Secretary for Lusikisiki and Flagstaff (Mr. Ngqebane) was arrested. Certain documents were seized from him. He was ill-treated by the police and forced to identify and incriminate certain people that the police were after. The regional leadership went into hiding as it was rumoured that they were wanted by the Special Branch.

(c) At Bizana the Special Branch together with informers were checking buses in order to track down the regional leadership if they should be on the run. Also information was given that if one of the national organisers of APDUSA should be spotted around Pondoland, particularly Bizana, he should be arrested immediately and brought to the authorities.

(d) That six members of APDUSA from Bizana had been arrested by the Special Branch and charged with holding and organising meetings of APDUSA in the area. They appeared before the magistrate, Bizana, on the 28th September, 1964.

One of the speakers at the meeting, referring to the plight of the freedom fighters hiding in the forests, said that he felt in duty bound to offer his house for sale and contributing the whole selling

price towards the upkeep of these gallant soldiers of liberation. This was accepted by the regional committee and arrangements for sale were made. Two others offered each an ox for sale to enable a member of the regional committee in Pondoland to proceed to the Northern Transvaal to help in organisational work there. The two beasts were actually sold for the total amount of £46.0.0. The regional committee also decided to send two delegates to Natal in order to expedite the work of liberation.

Murder and Violence

A delegate from Sekukuneland (Northern Transvaal) pointed out that as a result of rejection of the Bantu Authorities system by the people, the latter were brutalised and killed by the Government's agents of violence. Troops did not only shoot to death a number of the menfolk but chopped their heads off with bayonets. In addition, they caught pregnant women, forced them to lie on their backs and then trampled on their stomachs until the women miscarried. A number of women died as a result of this brutal assault. Elderly men who could hardly walk were beaten to death by the troops since such elderly people were unable to run away from their homes to avoid molestation. But in spite of such suffering the morale of the people was not broken. They were determined to fight against oppression and for freedom. Nothing short of the overthrow of the violent regime would bring about the people's liberty.

Solidarity Impresses

Two members of the executive of the people's organisation in the Northern Transvaal subsequently met members of the Head Committee of the Unity Movement. They declared that they were highly impressed by the solidarity of the people of Pondoland, who fought for freedom under the banner of APDUSA. They had some telling things to say, and we let them speak for themselves:

X spoke:

"I am happy to be amongst you again. I am grateful to have met the people of Pondoland. The people I met are fighting for liberation, just as I am. In fact, I am awed by the power which these people showed. It startled me. The unity I saw there is what I would like to see throughout the country. The spirit of the people makes me feel that we are not far from our goal. If only such spirit existed in all parts of the country it would not be long before we achieved liberation.

"We first met the people of Lusikisiki. I can say that I met men there in the true sense of the word. It made me feel small to meet a leadership so sincere in the struggle. Whilst I was surprised at Lusikisiki I was even more surprised when I went to Bizana where the people are even more powerful. They were very pleased to meet a delegation from Sekukuneland and spoke strongly on the need for unity.

I was quite certain that we had met people sincere in the struggle for liberation. This is the road people ought to follow. I told them that we all wanted liberation and that they should send their leadership to visit us at home. On my return home I shall tell my people that though we have been in the struggle for a long time (intensified since 1958), the time has come for us to take this new step, as the people of Pondoland have. They may not believe me when I describe the fighting spirit I have witnessed and I feel that the Pondoland leadership should visit Sekukuneland and talk to the people there.

"I am more than pleased; and if only the Free State people (i.e., from Witziesshoek) can be brought along, I shall be a happy man. We must bring the people of the Free State into the Nation, as in Pondoland. When all the people speak the same language we can be sure that liberation cannot be far off. I feel that when I reach home arrangements should be made for representatives from the Free State, Sekukuneland, Pondoland and Natal to meet and work out a policy for unity. On that day we must gather and decide what is to be done for the people from all parts of the country. I maintain that if the people respond in the manner that the Pondoland people have, then liberation will be ours. I am extremely happy, and yet at some things I am sad; sad to think that not all the people are involved in the struggle with us or that I cannot be young again. How much time I have wasted -- fighting at Tobruk and then being deported for ten years. But now the fight is really and truly for my country. I have a hatred for the ruling class that I cannot express in words."

Y spoke:

"There is something I want to add which will illustrate more clearly what we felt. I met a one-eyed man who had been in the forest for three years having left his home during the 1960 state of emergency in the Transkei. When on one occasion he returned home to seek food, he was warned by a young boy that some people armed with assegais and guns were lying in wait for him. The man insisted that he would go forward and said, 'If I must die, I'll die. But I shall take some of them with me. I cannot be afraid of men.' However he was persuaded to go elsewhere whilst the traitors to the cause of freedom burnt his home and possessions. Now I say that if people had the spirit of this man, we would be a true and brave people; although, of course, there will be others who will sell their brothers for sixpence. We need people of strength and character.

"At Bizana I met a young man. We were told how in the course of the struggle he was chased by a jeep and a helicopter. Even when the jeep stopped at a river, the helicopter continued. The young man ran for five miles, till he got to a hut. He could not speak. He just wanted water. They gave him some water to drink and a pin with which to remove the thorns from his body. Only when he had finished did he explain what had happened to him. In spirit and in

heart, the young men in the area are like this one. If then we have the youth of this calibre, the Nation has good material. Our youth in the North are behind in that they still expect to get the cue from their elders. I shall be glad if the leadership of Pondoland, when the youth come over, helped them along in this direction."

Making a further contribution to the discussion X continued:

"The moment you talk about the 'Parliament' at Umtata you hurt the feelings of Pondoland. Talk about Bantustans and they feel like bursting. And if you mention churches, you hurt their feelings to such an extent that they cannot express themselves. One man said that one of the first things we should do was to remove the churches. I seconded him. We spend so much money sending our children to school and when they qualify they sell us out.

"Like us in Sekukuneland the people of Pondoland reject Bantustans. We rejected Bantustans and any chief who accepted we felt should be killed or rejected by the people. It was different in Pondoland where the chiefs accepted Bantustans although the people did not. The chiefs had been bribed and told to get the support of the masses. Fortunately the people are on their guard against the collaborators. The people of Pondoland have rejected the chiefs because of their collaboration and are instead looking to the Nation to achieve liberation. Now that some chiefs in Zeerust (Northern Transvaal) are also accepting the Bantustans system, we feel we shall rally the people just as in Pondoland because when the chiefs act like that, that is, as agents of the oppressors, they must be rejected. The chiefs who have accepted the Bantustans system should go and live with their employers; they have no place in the Nation; they are outside it. I really hate people who are bribed and used as instruments of oppression against their own people.

"As for the people I have seen in Pondoland, APDUSA is part of their lives. If you asked them to give this up they would surely kill you. They will sacrifice everything to uphold their belief in APDUSA. At one place they even put aside food until we had discussed. The strange thing is that with the women folk too it is the same thing. Once they heard we were from APDUSA they said, 'Yes, these are the right people.' These people -- men and women -- have sacrificed their very lives for this organisation. This is the impression you people give me. The spirit is the same here as in Pondoland. It is funny. I do not know what causes this, but people there and here act as though they were brothers and sisters. If this had been the case with other areas as well we would have gained liberation a long time ago. If people wish to form a government, this is the way to do it.

"I am sure that if such people could take over the government we would find a more civilised people running the country than the present rulers. The people of the type of leadership I have seen are so civilised and humane that if they were to take over government they would run the affairs of the country far better than the present

rulers. The very fact that we are not treated as human beings compels us to take over. Then we shall have a government that will cater for all human beings, and those who are opposed to that shall have to leave the country. We are treated like dogs in our own fatherland and I am glad that we are taking such high decision so that we can show our oppressors how people ought to be treated.

"I am returning to Sekukuneland to report that I met APDUSANS and from now on all the people must be comradely like APDUSANS. Nothing should create divisions amongst the people. As chairman of my organisation I wish to be guided to follow the correct road. I have come here to learn. A leader who is not clear-minded is dangerous, for he is likely to lead the people over the precipice. Now I know that it is important that all people unite in one powerful Nation. I shall be pleased to see this in my lifetime.

"There are people who, even though restricted by the Government, still continue to work. That is the spirit we want. We ought to go forward, all of us, and defy the difficulties placed in our way. But for the collaborators there must be no sympathy. They cannot be accepted as part of the Nation. It would be like keeping a snake in our own pockets.

"I feel that the people of Sekukuneland will also be pleased to learn that all racial groups are part of this Nation that you have set yourselves the task of building. We must not allow the barriers that the Government created to divide us. All the oppressed must come together. But the collaborators, whether African, Indian or Coloured have no place in the Nation; even if they collaborate in order to earn a living, they have lost their seats. Let us forget the churches and fight our own battle with our children; and we will win."

This speaker then stressed how important it is to raise funds to conduct the struggle for liberation. All our energies have to be devoted to the task of fighting for liberation. Marriages have to be delayed until the requisite fees have been paid and quarrels have to be put aside until liberation has been achieved.

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