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In this issue:

Page

Declarations of the Fourth International:	
Greetings Sent to People's Republic of Zanzibar	1
Use of Troops in East Africa Denounced	2
French Recognition a Big Victory for China	2
Castro's Trip to Moscow	3
Soviet Union Threatened with Meat Shortage	5
The Negro Thrust Toward Political Action -- By Evelyn Sell	6
China, Uranium and the OAS (Problems for Pearson) By Philip Scott	8
The Events in Cyprus	10
The Conversation Opens (Can the French Socialists and Communists Get Together?) -- By Pierre Frank	12
Recent Events in Aden -- By Muhsin Abo Mishaal	16
Ceylonese Strikers Win Tough Battle -- By Rohini Dunuwille	20
Maitan Speaks in Brussels	21
The Socio-Economic Situation in South Africa (A Background Article) -- By Franz J. T. Lee	22

DECLARATIONS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Greetings Sent to People's Republic of Zanzibar:

PARIS, Jan. 27 -- The United Secretariat of the Fourth International today sent the following message to President Abeid Karume, Vice-President Abdullah Kassim Hanga, and Foreign Minister of External Affairs and Defense Mohamed Babu of the People's Republic of Zanzibar:

"The Fourth International hails the victory of the social revolution in Zanzibar which overthrew the neocolonialist regime of Sultan Seyyid Jamshid bin Abdulla, who was supported by the compradore bourgeois descendants of slave dealers.

"The Fourth International greets the establishment of the People's Republic of Zanzibar, an outpost of social revolution in East Africa,

which is bound to exercise a profound influence throughout Black Africa, encouraging all the forces inclined to convert the struggle for national independence into a struggle for socialist revolution.

"The Fourth International appeals to workers and oppressed peoples everywhere to help defend the People's Republic of Zanzibar against any attempt at military intervention, economic blockade or diplomatic pressure, particularly by British or U.S. imperialism and the United Nations."

Use of Troops in East Africa Denounced:

PARIS, Jan. 27 -- The United Secretariat of the Fourth International today sent the following protest to British Prime Minister Sir Alex Douglas Home, denouncing the use of British troops to crush rebellions in East Africa:

"The Fourth International protests in the sharpest way against the use of British troops in Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. The claim is that the troops were needed to put down a mutiny and that it is 'legal' because invitations were issued by Kenyatta, Nyere and Obote. These are shameful pretexts like the pretext used by Belgian imperialism to justify military intervention in the Congo in July 1960.

"The real aim of the armed intervention is to intimidate the popular masses of these countries, who have been encouraged by the victory of the Zanzibar revolution, and to prevent them from unleashing a vast movement to break definitively with neocolonialism and imperialism. The imperialist troops went into action the same day a general strike was scheduled in Dar-es-Salaam [January 25]. One of the aims of the military intervention was to block this strike.

"The Fourth International appeals to the British labor movement to manifest its disapproval of this neocolonialist intervention and to demand the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from East Africa.

"The Fourth International is convinced that the masses of these countries -- with whom it expresses fraternal solidarity -- having seen in action the vacillating or outright traitorous rule of Kenyatta, Nyere and Obote, will turn boldly down the road of the permanent revolution in the example shown most recently by the peoples of Cuba, Algeria and Zanzibar.

French Recognition a Big Victory for China:

PARIS, Jan. 27 -- The United Secretariat of the Fourth International issued a statement today, stressing the importance of the victory won by the People's Republic of China in gaining recognition from the government of France. The official diplomatic move was announced simultaneously here and in Peking today.

The full text of the statement by the United Secretariat is as follows:

"The Fourth International calls attention to the great significance of the diplomatic recognition won by the People's Republic of China from the French government, whatever de Gaulle's motives may have been.

"France's diplomatic move testifies to the growing stature of China as a result of the transformations following the victory of the socialist revolution. France's resumption of relations under present conditions constitutes a decisive breakthrough in the imperialist diplomatic blockade which has been maintained against the People's Republic of China since 1950. It will serve as the point of departure for widening economic relations between China and the capitalist world at a time when trade between China and the other workers' states has dropped dangerously low.

"China's diplomatic victory also helps in an indirect way to further counteract the slanders which were spread in connection with the Sino-Soviet conflict concerning the alleged 'belligerency' of the Chinese leadership.

"It also testifies to the progress registered by the colonial revolution in the world as a whole.

"But this big diplomatic gain, which is a victory primarily at the expense of American imperialism, should not be taken as an indication of any weakening of the Atlantic coalition or any abandonment by the imperialists of their plots and designs against the colonial revolution, above all in those areas where it is developing toward a socialist revolution.

"It by no means justifies a policy of so-called 'peaceful coexistence' aiming at maintenance of the status quo on a world scale. For the mass movement of the workers, peasants and oppressed peoples, above all in the colonial countries, China's great gain in the diplomatic arena will serve as a stimulus in revolutionary struggles pointing towards the overthrow of capitalism on a world scale.

"The diplomatic victory implies no relaxation of the struggle against bourgeois governments everywhere, above all the Gaullist government, which finally decided to grant recognition to China."

CASTRO'S TRIP TO MOSCOW

The results of Fidel Castro's trip to the Soviet Union and his prolonged talks with Khrushchev were made public in a joint statement in Moscow January 22 the day before the Cuban leader's return to Havana.

The long-term economic agreement provides for the purchase by the

Soviet Union of an increasing amount of sugar from Cuba each year up to 1970 at six cents a pound.

On the political plane, the joint statement expressed adherence to the two Moscow conferences of 1957 and 1960, and condemned "factional and seetarian activities in the ranks of the Communist and workers' parties and in the international Communist movement."

Castro also put his name to statements approving measures "taken by the Central Committee of the CPSU [Communist party of the Soviet Union] aimed at liquidating the differences in the ranks of the international Communist movement" and declaring that "the Cuban government holds that the success obtained by the Soviet Union in the struggle for the banning of nuclear tests, as well as the agreement reached banning the launching of missiles in outer space armed with nuclear warheads, constitutes a step toward peace and disarmament."

As many commentators have noted, the price to be paid by the Soviet Union is considerably under the current world market quotation (10.84 cents in New York), which has led some of them to conclude that the economic agreement was to the disadvantage of the Cubans.

It should be observed, however, that as Cuban sugar resumes its normal place in the world market, the price will inevitably go down. One of the big advantages to the Cubans, as Castro emphasized, is that the agreement guarantees the Cubans a stable price at an attractive quotation for a number of years. This is particularly important at the present moment as a stabilizing influence in economic construction in the Cuban workers' state.

It was actually on the political level that Castro felt compelled to pay a certain price demanded by Khrushchev who is quite evidently interested in neutralizing and if possible utilizing Castro's prestige and influence in the Sino-Soviet conflict. Thus, for the first time, the Cuban leader went further than he has previously in lending himself to public declarations that could be used for this purpose. This was particularly noticeable in the strictures against "factional and seetarian activities" and to the approval of certain aspects of Khrushchev's foreign policy on which the Cubans had previously maintained conspicuous reserve.

Some of the statements do not square with the Cuban revolutionary experience, especially its basic conclusions as expressed in the Second Declaration of Havana.

There are, nevertheless, strong indications that Castro did not make all the concessions that Khrushchev would have liked to have. Perhaps this is the significance of Castro's remarks on returning to Havana, that he turned down an offer of an even higher price for Cuba's sugar from Khrushchev.

In addition, there is striking restraint in relation to the Chinese. In none of the statements does the gross, open condemnation

of the Chinese appear which Khrushchev has demanded up to now from those who have capitulated to his pressure. The allusions to the Chinese are veiled and up to now Castro has not indicated that he will sign the Moscow treaty banning all except underground nuclear weapons tests, which became a point of sharp difference between Peking and Moscow.

Even if Castro were to eventually concede on the treaty, the prolonged delay constitutes a remarkable demonstration of the wish of the Cuban government to pursue an independent course.

The outcome of Castro's trip shows that he was acutely conscious of the relation of forces and Cuba's dependency on economic aid from the Soviet Union. He can scarcely be reproached for giving Cuba's vital economic needs top priority. As a fortress under siege from the world's mightiest imperialist power, a bare ninety miles from her shores, Cuba is in an especially vulnerable position.

The most ardent supporters of the Cuban Revolution should therefore continue, as they have in the past, to judge the consequences of the new agreement by what actually occurs rather than by the logical implications of some of the statements. And if any blame is to be placed, a sense of proportion should be shown in fixing primary responsibility, which is not at Havana's door.

There is little likelihood that the revolutionary Fidelistas throughout Latin America will alter their present course in order to adopt the one advocated by such Khrushchevists as Codovilla of Argentina and Prestes of Brazil who insist on an alliance with the national bourgeoisie at any cost.

SOVIET UNION THREATENED WITH MEAT SHORTAGE

The official 1963 economic report of the Central Statistical Board of the USSR's Council of Minister, published January 23, admits heavy losses in agriculture, although the general picture remains good.

Grain production figures were not given but state purchases were 44.8 million tons, much less than in 1961 and 1962.

Heavy slaughter of livestock occurred because of feed shortages due to last year's severe winter. Cattle decreased from 86.9 million to 85.3 million. Pigs declined from 69.9 million to 40.7 million. The estimated loss was 29 million hogs during 1963. This is one-third of the total 1962 figure.

World Outlook drew attention to the danger when grain shortages were admitted [see World Outlook October 18]. This forecast has now been confirmed by the statistics. The sharp decrease in hogs will inevitably lead to a shortage of pork in the spring and summer.

THE NEGRO THRUST TOWARD POLITICAL ACTION

By Evelyn Sell

The NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] has again warned the capitalist politicians in the Democratic party that they must act on civil-rights legislation in order to keep the Negro vote. On January 6 Roy Wilkins, delivering his annual report to the Board of Directors, said: "Although President Lyndon B. Johnson has given the civil-rights bill top priority, there is every indication that the House Rules Committee, under Chairman Howard Smith, of Virginia, may not finish action on this bill seven full months after the President [Kennedy] submitted it.

"If Rep. Smith holds the bill unduly long, it may be that Negro citizens of the country will be forced to re-examine their reasons for supporting the party of which Rep. Smith is an ornament. . .

"Since Negro voters are not able to reach and reason with Mr. Smith at ballot box time they may decide to put the matter on a party basis. If this were done on any scale, some governorships and some congressional seats might change party labels. . .

"Congress is playing politics with the civil-rights bill now. Our turn to play politics will come next November."

This latest threat to the Democratic party, which in past years has received 75% to 80% of the Negro vote, reaffirms and broadens Wilkins' November announcement that the NAACP would actively work for the defeat of congressmen refusing to support civil-rights bills. Now even a liberal Northern Democrat supporting civil-rights legislation may be defeated at the polls if his party member in the South does not help advance the cause of equality.

Is the Threat Real?

Can the Negro enforce this kind of political threat? The facts and figures say: Yes. American Negroes are concentrating in ever greater numbers in the large industrial cities of the North and South. Political control of these urban centers can mean political control in the state and greater power in the national government.

In important Northern cities such as Philadelphia, Chicago and Detroit, Negroes make up from 23% to 29% of the population. In New York they represent 14% of the population. In addition, segregated housing patterns concentrate these city Negroes in the same area so that many congressional districts are overwhelmingly nonwhite.

In important Southern cities like Little Rock, Birmingham, Atlanta, Charleston, Memphis, New Orleans, the Negro population runs from 23% to 40% of the total in the city. In many rural areas of the South, Negroes actually outnumber whites. For example, in Dallas County, Alabama, 55% are Negro. On a state-wide basis Negroes represent a very

significant proportion of the population in places like Alabama (30%), Georgia (28.5%), Louisiana (32%), South Carolina (35%), Mississippi (42.3%).

Even where Negroes do not represent a significant percentage of the population they often hold the balance of power in elections. Although Negroes comprise only 14% of the voters in Georgia, they were credited last year with winning the election for governor of a moderate, Carl Sanders, who was running against segregationist Marvin Griffin. It was the Negro vote in South Carolina that helped John F. Kennedy carry that state in 1960. The "bloc voting" of the 9,000 registered Negroes in Savannah, Georgia, was decisive in the last general county election. In Detroit's last mayoralty election it was the Negro vote that assured the election of an unknown young liberal, Cavanagh, over the incumbent Mayor Miriani, who was held responsible for a wave of police brutality against Detroit Negroes.

Four Negro candidates won places on the ballot for the Democratic primary in New Orleans this month. A Negro minister, Rev. P.J.Griffin, challenged the political boss of Plaquemines Parish, Leander Perez, an arch segregationist. Perez received 5,110 votes and the minister only 191 but there were only 95 Negroes registered to vote in Plaquemines Parish. This means that at least 96 whites voted for the Negro candidate.

Great Potential Power

Negroes, North and South, have great potential political power. One of the reasons their power is still only potential is that but a small number of Negroes are actually registered voters. Southern racists have gone to great lengths, including murder, to prevent Negroes from exercising their constitutional right to vote. Negroes represent about 20% of the total population of the South, yet among 14,000,000 voters in that area only 1,700,000 are Negroes. The worst state is Mississippi where Negroes comprise 42% of the population but only 5.3% of the voters. In Alabama, 30% of the population is Negro but only 8% of the voters. In East Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, Negroes actually outnumber whites yet there are 2,600 white voters there and only 120 Negro voters.

During the past five years the number of white voters in the South increased by almost 2,000,000. The number of Negro voters increased only 500,000 despite passage of bills and decisions of courts that were supposed to secure voting privileges for them.

Some of the methods used in the South to prevent Negro registration are: payment of special poll taxes before a person is allowed to vote, economic reprisals against courageous Negroes who do register, and cold-blooded murder. More subtle means are used also such as special qualification tests. On November 27 a federal court in Louisiana threw out a voter test on the grounds that Negroes were asked impossibly difficult questions about obscure and technical provisions of the state and national constitutions but written answers like

"freedom of speech" (freedom of speech) were accepted from white applicants.

One of the main projects of the militant SNCC [Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee] is a voter registration drive in the South under the slogan, "One man, one vote." Mass rallies at churches, door-to-door canvassing and literature distributions are used. Such a campaign demands great personal courage from the SNCC workers and the Negro community.

In Terrell County, Georgia, SNCC was able to raise the number of registered Negro voters from 51 to 140. The population of the county is about 13,000 and 60% are Negro. Why aren't more of them registered? Last September three SNCC activists were shot and in December the home of a Negro resident was bombed because she housed SNCC members and had set up citizenship schools to give instructions in Georgia's qualification tests for voters.

Problems for Pearson

CHINA, URANIUM AND THE OAS

By Philip Scott

TORONTO -- Recent events in Panama have pushed to the fore once again the question of Canada's participation in the OAS [Organization of American States]. Under prodding from Washington, External Affairs Minister Paul Martin stated that the Canadian government is carefully reviewing the matter.

Advocates of membership have carried the line that Canada could mediate between American investment interests -- which they present as at times awkward but essentially well-meaning -- and the rebellious peoples of Latin America, whom, they suggest, really don't understand their northern neighbour.

Opponents of Canadian membership in the OAS, prominent even in Conservative circles, argue that the lines are so drawn in the organization that Canada could only be exposed as a shameless apologist and front for U.S. policies in Latin America. And what would this do to the Canadian image that both Liberal and Tory governments have sedulously fostered on the international arena -- interpreter between London and rebellious colonials, the veritable cement of the Commonwealth -- and mediator on the much more vital plane, between the major protagonists themselves: Washington and Moscow?

The leadership of Canada's labor party -- the New Democratic party -- are currently standing silent on the sidelines. The draft program they presented to the party's founding convention in 1961 urged Canadian membership in the OAS. Occasionally, accepting the evidence provided by some of their opponents as to the essential character of

such alliances, they argue from their position of commitment to the "democratic West" on the plane of power politics. The alliances are a fact and -- like capitalism which they maintain can be reformed -- they are for reform from within in the field of capitalism's international politics. This pro-OAS clause was dropped, however, in order to concentrate maximum force for the defeat of the powerful anti-NATO sympathies amongst the delegates.

Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson's scheduled trip to Washington is undoubtedly associated with the pressure from the State Department to get Canada into the OAS. The White House, it is reported, also wants to get his impressions of de Gaulle's course in foreign policy after his talks with the general recently in Paris. Another topic may be Canadian uranium sales to France.

On the latter subject, Pearson told newsmen that he saw no inconsistency between sales of uranium and Canada's policy of opposing the spread of nuclear armaments.

This is consistent with his inability to see any contradiction between his proclaimed opposition to the spread of nuclear arms and his government's acceptance of them from the U.S. on New Year's eve. He replied to questions then with the statement that this did not constitute a further spread of nuclear arms because the U.S. retained control of them.

The last of the uranium mines in Canada are in danger of closing due to lack of orders. Pearson admitted that this was an important factor when he said that if nuclear disarmament were achieved all nations would have to accept economic setbacks. Since disarmament is not on the agenda, he does not intend to let his demagogic opposition to nuclear arms in any way handicap Canada's trade position -- business before principles (particularly those not held too strongly) is obviously his motto.

At the same conference he informed newsmen that Canada is weighing the advisability of continuing the policy of not recognizing China. External Affairs Minister Paul Martin told newsmen that the Canadian government's policy is to encourage interdependence rather than isolation in East-West relations. These cautious statements may well be the opening maneuvers in a series which will culminate in recognition.

For some years a sizeable portion of the Canadian population have opposed the policy of refusing to recognize the reality of the People's Republic of China. More important to the business-supported government is the adverse effect this policy has had on trade with China. The latter's wheat purchases, topped off by those of the USSR, which eased off the glut in Prairie granaries, have no doubt whetted other appetites.

Canadian government officials made these statements as France decided to recognize China. Although some U.S. interests favor a softer line on China, the U.S. government opposes all such rapprochement. They are afraid the actions of France and Canada may result in

similar actions by other nations leading ultimately to China's admission to the United Nations and a defeat for the U.S. government's whole policy on this question.

Very shortly the Canadian government may make a series of decisions: to sell uranium to France, thus antagonizing the U.S. State Department, and to recognize China, antagonizing the southern neighbor still further. The two decisions would partially solve mounting economic problems. At the same time, Pearson may well soften the blow by agreeing to join the OAS. Through this balancing act, the Canadian bourgeoisie may count on maintaining the carefully cultivated appearance of independence.

THE EVENTS IN CYPRUS

NICOSIA, Cyprus -- The main subject that has been stirring public opinion and the press here for the past five months is the proposal by Archbishop Makarios, the president of the republic, to revise certain clauses of the Constitution which in his opinion are negative and inimical to the "smooth functioning of the state," inviting economic chaos.

In the opinion of Makarios, the revision must be undertaken no matter what the reaction of the Turkish patriots may be.

Before leaving the country because of popular unrest, imperialism sought to insure control by forcing the Constitution and the London-Zurich agreements on the Cyprus people. By conceding administrative freedom, imperialism sought to secure military facilities (roads, air space and territorial waters).

The government that was set up imposed a heavy tax burden on the people to support the luxurious and highly expensive dual state apparatus.

The agreements that Makarios signed provided dual authority, including separate courts, municipal administration, co-operative societies, etc., for Greeks and Turks. It was widely felt that the heavy taxation required for this elaborate set up would bankrupt the country. Opposition increased steadily, some people even refusing to pay taxes.

The solution offered by Makarios was revision of the Constitution. This had the added convenience of distracting attention from the economic ills besetting the island.

The proposed revision, however, would affect certain privileges which had been granted to the Turkish community under the London-Zurich agreements at the expense of the Greek community.

Under encouragement from the Turkish government, which has its

reasons for a diversion from difficult economic and political problems at home, chauvinist Turkish leaders appealed for resistance from the Turks in Cyprus.

The Greek chauvinist leaders, seeing an opportunity to strike at the privileges enjoyed by the Turkish community, reacted by inspiring armed conflict. The result was the sanguinary events which drew the attention of the entire world. Neither the Turkish nor Greek communities derived any gains from the fratricidal battles. By giving vent to hate, they only injured each other.

Both the Greek and Turkish leaders sought to refurbish their prestige through appealing to the worst sentiments. The leadership of the Communist party of Cyprus, which has a Stalinist tradition, did not help matters. Instead of seeking to overcome the chauvinism inspired among the masses, they took sides with Makarios. This policy is completely opportunistic, serving the interests of imperialism in the final analysis.

Seeing that he could be swept out by the Greek chauvinists, Makarios appealed for a cease-fire and invited British imperialism to intervene in the situation.

The position of the Cypriote Trotskyists from the beginning was one of opposition to the London-Zurich agreements and the Constitution. Both should be abolished as they are in the interests of imperialism and are a permanent source of friction between Turks and Greeks.

The Cypriote Trotskyists demanded that the Makarios government denounce the agreements and submit to a referendum. A committee should be elected to draw up a new Constitution that accords with the interests of the Cyprus people.

After the bloodshed, the Cyprus government would do better to carry an appeal to the United Nations and seek abolition of the agreements rather than attending the five-member conference in London which will surely favor the re-entry of imperialism and the possible re-enactment of the tragedy of the Congo.

DECLINE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The Queen found herself in acute embarrassment shortly after the former sultan of Zanzibar arrived in London. Assuming that he would be put up in the style to which he has been accustomed as a puppet of Her Majesty's government, His Royal Highness registered his entourage of 59 at the aristocratic St. James's Court Hotel.

The bill for five days was \$4,200. The Relations Office gulped and told the sultan they couldn't afford it. Thirty-five went with the sultan to a cheaper hotel. The other 24 ended up in a Salvation Army Hostel.

THE CONVERSATION OPENS

Can the French Socialists and Communists Get Together?

By Pierre Frank

PARIS, Jan. 22 -- France has passed through a series of political and social shocks since 1934 and will not find stability until the working class, led by a revolutionary party, takes power. One of the essential tasks of such a party will be to achieve revolutionary unity in action of the French working class which has been divided on the political level since 1920. One of the greatest failures of the PCF [French Communist party], in the period when it sought to be a revolutionary party as well as later when it was dominated by Stalinism, was that it could not orient itself correctly on the question of unity of action, of the united front of the working class. In general it could be said that it has oscillated between a sectarian policy towards the PS [Socialist party] and an opportunist policy in the wake of the same rival.

The question of relations between the PCF and the PS is again on the agenda. The setting for this was de Gaulle's coming to power and the installation of a bonapartist regime that does not bother about parliamentary games. But it is likewise placed in a historic development that weighs on these parties and on the workers. To understand current developments and what is projected, it is necessary to bear in mind, at least in broad outline, the history of these relations.

After the split at Tours in 1920 which gave birth to the Communist party, nothing outstanding occurred until 1934, due to the lack of big struggles in the country. Each of the two parties acted without paying much attention to the other. The Communist party at certain times made proposals for a united front with the Socialist party; at other times it sought to undermine it with a policy of a "united front from below"; i.e., with the ranks of the PS to the exclusion of their leaders -- a bizarre concept of Stalinism not noted for its success.

In 1934, after Hitler's victory in Germany, reaction and fascism rose dangerously in France. On February 6, 1934, a reactionary coup d'état was attempted. Immediately following this, an almost spontaneous mass movement surged up in France, giving birth everywhere to antifascist vigilance committees. The two leaderships were impelled under this pressure to sign a pact for joint antifascist action. The leaderships hastily transformed this agreement, widening it to include the Radical party, thus creating the Popular Front. This alliance between the workers parties and a wing of French capitalism coincided with a rapprochement between France and the USSR on the plane of international relations. In 1936 the Popular Front won a parliamentary majority; then it limited and halted the gigantic movement of occupation of the plants and left capitalist property and the capitalist state intact. Once this was achieved, the capitalists took the initiative and in 1937-38 the Popular Front was ruptured, relations between the PC and the PS becoming envenomed.

Ups and Downs

From the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact in August 1939 up to the day of Hitler's attack against the Soviet Union, the PC and the PS were virtually at sword's points; the Socialist ministers, during the first months of the war, underwriting the repression of Communist militants forced into the underground.

During the Resistance and Liberation period, Communists and Socialists co-operated again, first of all in the struggle against the German occupation, then. . . in the re-establishment of the capitalist state and economy; the principle differences between the experience of 1944-47 and that of 1936-38 being that this time the MRP [Christian Democrats organized in the Mouvement Républicain Populaire] replaced the Radical party as the bourgeois ally and the Communists had representatives in the government, beginning with Thorez, vice-president of the government presided over by de Gaulle.

In April-May 1947, partly under the pressure of the workers at Renault who went on strike against the advice of all the trade-union leaders (Stalinists and reformists), and more directly because of the "cold war" that broke out, the break between the PCF and the SP widened again.

Parallel with these developments on the political level, the trade-union movement, split in 1921 by the reformists, was reunified from 1935 to 1939, then again from 1943 to 1948.

It is to be noted that the relations within the workers movement have hinged considerably on relations between the leading factions of French capitalism and the Soviet power. At bottom, the interests of the French bourgeoisie have counted much more to the Socialists than the specific interests of the French working class. With the leadership of the PCF the primary interests have been those of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Since the end of the second world war and, above all, since the "cold war," two factors have not ceased to weigh on the Socialist cadres in their relations with the PCF. Unlike the period before 1939, the PCF has largely held the majority in the working class.*

*Whereas in 1936, the relation of votes was around 65 to 35 in favor of the Socialist party; since 1945 the same relationship shifted in favor of the PCF. It is understandable that in view of this important change, many Communist militants, not grasping the conditions as a whole that led to this result, have not been able to see the policy of the Popular Front as injurious since it led to the strengthening of their party. Contrariwise, the Socialists, without condemning the experience of the Popular Front, have felt some bitterness over the results it appeared to bring their party.

There is this and the "Prague coup"; that is, the events that assured the transformation of Czechoslovakia into a workers' state in 1948.**

* * *

From 1947 up to de Gaulle's coming to power in 1958, the "cold war" raged continually between the PS and the PCF. Even in 1956, during the administration of Guy Mollet, the PS leader, although the Communist deputies voted for this government, and particularly for its infamous "special powers" which were aimed at bolstering the war in Algeria and installing a fascist power there, the Socialists refused to take into consideration the Communist votes.

Even more, in distinction from what had always been the practice in the past, this attitude was widely supported by Socialist voters. In the second round of balloting, a Socialist candidate would continue to oppose a Communist candidate who had made out better in the first round, or would withdraw in favor of a bourgeois candidate. Unlike former times, the Communist candidates did not receive even a small part of the Socialist votes.

It is absolutely true that the important, even decisive, factor of the prewar period had definitively disappeared -- there was no perspective whatever for an important wing of French capitalism to seek an alliance with the USSR against American imperialism. The factor of "foreign policy" went directly against a rapprochement between the PCF and the PS.

Affected by Workers

But both of them are workers parties, both of them distant from the revolutionary struggle for socialism, but both with deep roots in the working class, unable not to take into account the interests and the democratic rights of the workers in capitalist society. If this was evident for the PCF, it was likewise true for the PS no matter how it had been affected by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie during the years of the Fourth Republic (1945-58) when the Socialist party was in power or never far from it. This was rapidly shown upon the installation of the Gaullist regime.

If the rebellion in Algiers on May 13 permitted de Gaulle to make his bid as a candidate for power, it was Guy Mollet above all who succeeded in having him accepted by the political circles of the Fourth Republic and who, despite strong resistance from the Socialist parliamentary caucus, blocked any united action by the workers against the turn. Up to this day, Guy Mollet defends his attitude toward de Gaulle at that time, declaring even that in identical circumstances, he would do it again.

**It is pointless to cite the details of the Prague affair, which the Khrushchevists refer to as an example of the peaceful and parliamentary road to socialism, whereas the Socialists point to the way the Communists utilized their posts in the government. Both of them appear to forget the presence of the Soviet Army at the time in Czechoslovakia.

But the installation of the Gaullist regime resulted in bringing about from the beginning a profound change in relations in the working class. This did not take any of the spectacular forms of the years 1934-35. On the contrary, the new tendency was not easily perceptible. In the municipal elections of 1959, for the first time an appreciable percentage of Socialist voters were noted to have voted on the second round for Communist candidates despite the slogans of the Socialist party.

But it was on the occasion of the legislative elections of November 1962 that the turn was taken by the Socialist leadership.

In the elections, the Socialist party appeared in a combination called the "cartel of the no's"; an assemblage of parliamentary formations extending from the right to the left of the Fourth Republic (PS, Radical party, MRP, independents) who came out against the election of the president of the republic by universal suffrage. This cartel had no common program, the candidates being united solely on a commitment to withdraw on the second round for those who made out best on the first.

Four days before the election, Guy Mollet made a public declaration the gist of which was that he saw no reason for not withdrawing on the second round for a Communist candidate. Such a declaration was equivalent to breaking the electoral cartel of the no's, and the other partners took it as a break. On the second round, the Socialists withdrew in many areas in favor of Communist candidates, and their appeals were met with enthusiasm by more than seventy-five per cent of the voters. A chapter had ended. What would the future hold?

Miners Judge the Turn

Guy Mollet declared that only an electoral operation against the personal Gaullist power was involved, that there was no political agreement between the two parties, no common program, no reciprocal engagement. This was formally true, but it was no less true that this could not be the end of the matter. The mass of workers, who had something to do with this Socialist decision because of what was developing silently among their ranks, felt stimulated; for them it announced a new situation. A few weeks later a great strike was staged by the miners, a fraternity where these relations have always been decisive for their struggles.

In 1963 the Socialist party congress decided to hold a public discussion with the PCF on their reciprocal relations, and a delegation of the PS that included Mollet and Defferre [the Socialist mayor of Marseilles] went to Moscow where they talked at length with Khrushchev.

The discussion between the PS and the PCF was launched at the beginning of 1964 with a rather odd opening: the two participants began talking about different questions without entering into a dialogue. The leadership of the PCF raised the question of the program for joint action, including the presidential campaign. The leadership of the PS raised in its way the problems of the split of 1920, the

"21 conditions" for adherence to the Communist International, etc. The leadership of the PS has remained silent on the question of the program for current action; the leadership of the PCF has said nothing about the doctrinal questions mentioned by the Socialists.

It is evident that the leadership of the PCF is seeking above all to mobilize their party for an action in the direction of the Socialists and towards the outside, whereas the leadership of the PS does not want to become engaged in a possible action without having previously prepared their ranks. For them, joint action is equivalent to supping with the devil, and, as is known, to do that it is necessary to have a long spoon.

In a few days the special congress of the Socialist party will be held. Perhaps new factors will enter into its deliberations. In another article we will examine in greater detail the discussion that is unfolding and the perspectives it may offer.

RECENT EVENTS IN ADEN

By Muhsin Abo Mishaal

At the beginning of 1963, Aden joined the "Federation of Southern Arabia." This federation, initiated by Britain, already included several of the states of the southern Arabia protectorates.

Aden is by far the most advanced colony in the protectorate, with so-called democratic institutions, a strong and developed trade-union movement and the highest general level of education in southern Arabia. The protectorate states, on the other hand, are extremely backward, living in medieval feudalism with tribal relations.

British imperialism established the federation in order to maintain its influence via the offices of the ruling sultans and feudalists. The sultanates control the federation through the federal supreme council and the federal governments, which they dominate. By means of the federation, British imperialism seeks to stabilize this part of southern Arabia, basing itself on the sultanates and Aden bourgeoisie.

It is significant that formation of the federation occurred shortly after the Yemen revolt, which endangered Britain's economic and military strategic position in Aden. The existence of a large community of northern Yemenis working in Aden increased the problem. The Adenese as a whole consider themselves as belonging to Yemen, referring to Aden as "occupied southern Yemen."

For the last few years the Trade Union Congress has led the struggle for independence. The High Commissioner introduced legal measures prohibiting the trade unions from participating in political activity. The trade unions countered this act by forming the People's Socialist party [PSP], opposing the federation and demanding unity with Yemen.

Many of the trade union leaders have suffered imprisonment, receiving brutal treatment, including whipping.

After a year of apparent stability, contradictions began to develop inside the government between the sultans on the one hand and the Aden bourgeoisie on the other. The latter support the United National party [UNP] which in general represents the compradore capitalist interests and the upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie.

The Bomb Incident

Recently a bomb was thrown at High Commissioner Sir Kennedy Tranaskis as he stood at the airport with a delegation on its way for talks in London. The incident represents a sharp turn in events in Aden. It appears to mark a shift by the opposition, which is supported by the new regime in Yemen, from peaceful methods of struggle to the use of violence. It thus indicates the beginning of the end for the ill-conceived federation.

Tribes to the north of Aden (at Hill near the Yemen border) are in revolt against the British and the federation. Federation troops have been moved into the area.

Under the pressure of the masses, who support the PSP, the Aden bourgeoisie have been forced into opposing the federation. Most of the Aden ministers resigned in protest over the Declaration of Emergency which followed the bomb incident.

On December 11 the entire leadership of the trade unions and the PSP were again arrested, most of them being taken to the Fudhli sultanate (the most reactionary of all).

The fate of the prisoners has led to great concern. No one has been allowed to see them but they managed to get word out. A British officer refused to permit them to have blankets or food sent by relatives. Many of them are ill because of lack of sleep and blocked blood circulation. (They are packed in their cell so tightly that they cannot stretch out.)

The most prominent prisoner is Abdula Al-Asnag, secretary of the Aden Trade Union Congress and president of the People's Socialist party. He is reported to be quite ill, yet no doctor has been allowed to see him.

One of the leaders of the women was placed in a hospital after being arrested. She went on a hunger strike and became dangerously weak but was still carrying on.

British Policy

The aims of British policy in the new situation can be outlined as follows:

(1) The creation of a front composed of all the moderate parties: United National party, Popular Congress party, People's Political party, Sons of the South Union, etc. A joint committee has already been constituted to reform the electoral procedure on more liberal lines.

(2) Preparation for another election to install a more "democratic" council as a concession to mass pressure.

(3) The opening of talks to achieve internal self-government for the Southern Arabian Federation by the end of 1964.

(4) A less rigid policy and other concessions to head off the possibility of revolutionary outbreaks seeking complete self-determination.

(5) Stabilization of the situation. (By granting internal self-government to the Southern Arabian Federation, the hope is to prevent Aden from joining Yemen. A union between Aden and the Yemen would lead to rapid liberation of the whole of Southern Arabia.)

Demands of the PSP

The demands of the People's Socialist party are as follows:

(1) Opposition to the London constitutional talks conducted behind the backs of the people.

(2) Release of all political prisoners.

(3) An end to martial law and the Emergency regulations.

(4) Acknowledgment of the unity of the Yemen (Yemen and Aden).
"Immediate independence."

(5) Abolition of the imposed legislative council in Aden and the federal council.

(6) A general election in Aden and the sultanates under supervision of the United Nations and the Arab League.

(7) The unconditional withdrawal of British military forces.

(8) The removal of all imperialist military bases.

The Leadership

The Aden trade-union leadership was in the past influenced to a certain extent by the British trade-union movement with which it had many links. Following the Yemen revolt, however, it developed a more militant attitude.

Quite a section of the leadership are of petty-bourgeois origin

or mentality. They are grouped around Ali Salem Ali, vice-president of the PSP (brother of Mohamed Salim Ali who resigned as minister of social work following the Declaration of Emergency).

In assessing the situation, the relative smallness of the population of the Aden Port Area (which is the main center of the struggle), surrounded by backward federal sultanates, must be taken into account.

The leadership of the PSP in the past supported the Baath movement (Arab Baath socialist party) ideologically, but following the recent events in Iraq have moved into opposition to them. The PSP leadership are also critical of Nasser and dislike his regime. However, they do not attack him in public, as they need his help.

A sector of the PSP leadership agree with leading trade unionists that the only solution in the Arab world will come through a workers' leadership prepared to carry through a program of socialism and Arab unity. However, they express strong opposition to a Marxist or Communist orientation. (In the main, this hostile attitude is due to the grave mistakes of the Stalinist parties in the Arab world and in particular their opposition to Arab unity.)

Big Possibilities

The struggle of the trade unions in Aden must be supported unconditionally. The success of the present struggle can lead to great changes in southern Arabia and give added impetus to the Yemen revolution. For the first time in the Arab world, a struggle is taking place which is led in the main by the trade unions, solidly based on the proletariat of the Aden docks.

The movement enjoys the overwhelming support of the workers, the youth and the women. The women have participated in great numbers in the events following the December 11 arrests, joining in demonstrations and hunger strikes.

Despite relatively small forces the Aden proletariat can act as an important vanguard element in the Arab revolution. There is, however, some danger of bureaucratism due to the presence of petty-bourgeois elements in the leadership. This danger must be guarded against during the coming period.

NOW HIT ME ON THE OTHER CHEEK

The Greek Communist party, which condemned the Chinese recently because of their "attacks," among other things, "against peaceful coexistence," as advanced by Khrushchev, showed what they meant January 19 when they announced they will support the capitalist party of former Premier George Papandreu in the February 16 elections.

Papandreu resigned in December because he refused to accept professed Communist support and could not get a majority without it.

CEYLONESE STRIKERS WIN TOUGH BATTLE

By Rohini Dunuwille

COLOMBO, Jan. 20 -- An important section of Ceylon's working class, organized in the Ceylon Mercantile union (whose general secretary is Bala Tampoe, a leading figure of the Lanka Sama Samaja party), has just emerged triumphant after a protracted struggle lasting seventy days. This marks the first significant victory of the organized working class in Ceylon since the Bandaranaike government began operating its wage-freeze policy two years ago.

Besides being a great display of solidarity among the striking workers, it brought a huge response from the rest of the working class, whose threat of intervention was largely instrumental in forcing the government to capitulate.

Early in November 1963, some 1,500 employees of the Ceylon Port Cargo Corporation [PCC] came out on strike. Their two main demands, among others, were (a) the granting of two increments which had been awarded to all employees of the commercial sector and which would have been granted to the employees of the PCC had the Port not been nationalized; (b) an investigation into the appointment of certain government officials on fantastically inflated salaries.

The management of the PCC and the Minister of Communications refused to discuss the issues until the strikers went back to work. After a deadlock which lasted nearly two months, the 15,000 strong membership of the Ceylon Mercantile union [CMU], to which the employees of the PCC belong, came out on a sympathy strike December 31. At this stage the government was compelled to climb down from its pedestal and agree to negotiate through a mediator, the Commissioner of Labour.

On January 4 the CMU and the Commissioner of Labour agreed on a formula for settlement. However, this was not acceptable to the government. Instead, a compromise formula was handed down. The General Council of the CMU rejected this unanimously and refused to accept anything less than the January 4 formula.

The government then issued an ultimatum which stated that if the strikers did not return to work by 8:30 a.m. on January 11, it would be compelled "to adopt such measures as would be necessary to free the public from inconvenience and difficulty."

The 1,500 employees of the PCC met and took a unanimous decision to defy the ultimatum.

The government alerted all police stations. An army guard was positioned outside Radio Ceylon. The army was requested to stand by in case of emergency.

At this point, several other big unions, among them the Ceylon

Trade Union Federation, the Ceylon Bank Employees' union, the Petrol Corporation, the Insurance Corporation and the United Motor Workers union expressed their complete solidarity and support to the general strike of the CMU and were ready to rise to its defense should the government attempt to crush the strike by using emergency powers.

Meanwhile the strike had crippled the port and the export-import trade. Long lines of freighters were waiting to unload cargo while others were by-passing Colombo.

Members of parliament, including back-benchers of the government party, were now bringing pressure on the Minister of Labour to settle the strike. On the evening of January 11, the government forwarded a set of proposals to the CMU which amounted in fact to complete capitulation. The strike was ended January 13.

This is the first time in Ceylon that a general strike has been launched by any section of the trade-union movement, not in support of their own demands but in support of the demands of a section of its members. It is a demonstration of the readiness of the workers to fight the wage-freeze policy of the government in face of the steadily deteriorating economic and financial situation which has brought the cost of living index to the highest point on record.

The repercussions of this strike on the working-class movement as a whole can be immense, particularly since it is the first significant strike victory in the island for well nigh two years. Fresh waves of militant working-class struggles are on the order of the day in Ceylon.

MAITAN SPEAKS IN BRUSSELS

BRUSSELS, Jan. 24 -- Livio Maitan, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, spoke here last night on the Sino-Soviet conflict.

He explained the critical support accorded by the Fourth International to the Chinese side in this dispute. He scored a series of rightist positions taken by the Khrushchevist leadership. At the same time, he said, the Fourth International has sharply criticized the Chinese leaders, who likewise represent a workers' state bureaucracy. He spoke particularly forcefully against the attitude displayed by the Chinese leaders on de-Stalinization and their apologies for Stalin.

The audience was composed of young militants or sympathizers of organizations of the left, including the pro-Chinese Communist organization headed by Grippa.

After a discussion period, Georges Vereeken took the floor to speak in the name of the Belgian section of the Fourth International on current problems faced by the workers of Belgium.

A Background Article

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Franz J. T. Lee

From the publicity, one could conclude that in the West no struggle of an oppressed people receives so much sympathy as the non-white liberation movement in the Republic of South Africa. The West German press, for example, is surprisingly unanimous in its condemnation of the barbaric "apartheid" policy of the Afrikaander nationalists. And yet the sympathy is nowhere so insincere as in this case. The press persistently conceals the consequences that would result from abolishment of the apartheid system.

The racial discrimination policy is intended to secure more than the political predominance of the white "Herrenvolk" -- the supporters and members of Verwoerd's Nationalist party. It is the indispensable basis for the slave system of the white farmers and the phenomenal profits of mining and other industries. Only when this is understood does the question of liberating the nonwhite population in the police states of Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd come into proper focus.

The liberation of the Africans in South Africa is impossible without liquidating the present economic system. Those who oppose apartheid without acknowledging the need for a radical transformation of the South African society commit a serious error unless their sympathy is feigned.

Nowhere is it as clear as in the Republic of South Africa that capitalism depends on the exploitation and the oppression of the toiling masses. If we leave aside the white proletariat, which has been bought off by wages second only to those of the United States, the secret of this capitalist system is revealed by a difference in skin color.

The Labor Reservoir

Of the blacks, forming the overwhelming majority of the South African population, nearly 75% live outside the cities, that is, 8,250,000 out of 11,000,000. Of these again, 3,000,000 work practically under slave conditions on the white farms; while the rest, 5,250,000 must struggle to keep body and soul together in the so-called Reserves -- and future "Bantustans" (the present "independent" Transkei being the first) -- which comprise only 13.7% of the total land area of South Africa.

According to the 1913 Land Act and its 1945 Amendment "no African is allowed to possess, buy or sell land anywhere in South Africa" (Art. 25, Sec. 6). The Africans can only stay on -- and cultivate -- land in the Reserves. Thus 20% of the population -- mainly white farmers -- own 86.3% of the land. Still more accurately expressed:

average white holdings are 177 morgan of land; black, only 2.5 morgen. Even among white farmers the land is not equally distributed, since 63% possess 12% of the total land area; 27% possess 32%; and 10% possess 55%.

As the Africans in the Reserves have no modern agricultural implements, their economic status grows worse year by year. The primitive methods of their forefathers were economically supportable when the Africans still had the whole of Southern Africa to themselves. As a result of the ten "Wars of Dispossession" -- so-called Kaffir Wars (in South African and even international history books), ranging from the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century -- the Africans were forced into the "Native Reserves" of South Africa and the three "British Protectorates" which, climatically and economically, are far from the best areas. Thus pastoral farming and animal-drawn ploughs became uncompetitive. On top of this, heavy taxation was imposed on the Africans; the poll tax, for example, is raised whenever the demand for cheap labor increases. Other taxes are the "Union Tax" and the "Bantu Authorities Tax."

It was not only the ravenous expansionist drive of the whites that led to expulsion of the native peoples from their ancestral lands. A system was developed to force them to accept low-paid jobs outside their "labor concentration camps" -- the Reserves (the Transkei, Zululand, Zeerust and Sekukuniland being the largest). Dispossession transformed independent African farmers into "squatters" -- having no legal title to land originally belonging to them -- tenants and migratory laborers on white farms; and drove others through hunger, poverty and heavy taxes to the industrial towns and mines in search of work. The "Border Industries project" of today shifts industries nearer to the Reserves but the system and its compulsions remain fundamentally unchanged.

A Brutal System

The social and judicial position of the African farm laborer is inconceivably bad. Working 60 hours and more a week, he often earns scarcely enough to clothe and feed himself in meager fashion. He is legally subjugated to a system that parallels if it does not surpass slavery in brutality.

The 1932 South African Law on Contract Labor, for example, provides that an African, living on the farm of his master, cannot leave unless he can produce an identification document signed by his employer. He cannot take a new job unless he can produce a document, signed by his previous employer, stating that in the coming time he has no duties to perform and is thus discharged from work. The law further provides that a labor service contract applies automatically to the African's children between the ages of 10 and 18 without their approval. They are subject to punishment, including "flogging."

The pass laws are chiefly designed to channel cheap labor to the mines, farms and industries. The pass, which is compulsory for all

African men and women, town and country dwellers, from the age of 15, contains the following: Section A. Name and address of the holder; the address of the office of the Labour Bureau, Efflux and Influx Control; and the registration number of the pass-holder. (Every time the pass-holder loses his job he has to go to this office. If he or she does not find a job within 21 days then the holder must leave the area.) Section B. Signature and address of the employer and the date of starting work. (The employer must sign the pass once a month. He must also indicate the date of discharge, after which a discharged worker can be arrested; even on his way to the Labour Bureau, and sentenced to a fine of 10 pounds or two months' imprisonment.) Section C. This concerns the Union Tax (every year a married man must pay two pounds five shillings; an unmarried, one pound fifteen shillings). Section D. The Bantu Authorities Tax (the African chiefs charge certain taxes at will and are authorised by the government to punish those who refuse to pay them). Section E. Special permit to be allowed out after 8 p.m. (In general, no African is allowed to be out or on the streets after 8 p.m.) From the above, it becomes quite clear that the pass system is designed to control and enslave the African.

The result is that not only the Africans in the Reserves but also the farm workers, if they succeed in getting away from their masters, swarm into the towns and mines for employment -- exactly in accordance with government plans.

"A Constant and Abundant Supply"

That the mass migration of cheap black labor to the industrial areas was not merely the result of the operation of the laws of the labor market was confirmed at a government conference as early as 1897. To keep the wage level desirably low, an essential for high profits, it was explained that "a constant and abundant supply of native workers is necessary."

Appropriate laws, high taxation of peasants, and an ingenious recruiting system assure a constant flow of cheap African labor to the mines and industries from the labor reservoirs. Since 1936, some 400,000 blacks have been employed alongside 40,000 whites in the gold mines. These Africans are hired as unskilled laborers. Better positions at higher wages are forbidden by law. This is intended to preserve for whites, even as wage workers, their privileged position in society.

The Job Reservation Act (Clause 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1924, now newly amended in Determination No. 13 of May 9, 1963) reserves specific jobs in the various industries exclusively for whites. The worst paid jobs, the hard dirty work, are left for the Africans.

Mr. J. N. le Roux, South African Minister of Agriculture, expressed the official view as follows: "We should not give the Natives an academic education. If we do this, we shall be burdened with a number

of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in this country? . . . I am in thorough agreement with the view. . . that to a great extent he [the Native] must be the labourer in this country." (Hansard, Vol. 11, 1945.)

The African, being a constant migrant worker, contracted as a rule for 9 to 18 months at a stretch, is refused normal status by the whites as "laborer" or "employee." He is thus officially discriminated as a "tribal native" (see Article 36 of the Law of 1937). The African lives virtually with one foot in his place of employment and the other in the Reservé. In this way it is difficult for Africans to organize trade unions or to become experts in a specific field. Moreover their whole family life is destroyed.

Staggering Difference in Wages

The abyss between the wages of the white and black workers has widened over the years, as the following table* from the gold mining industry shows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Employed Africans</u>	<u>Year's income per head (in dollars)</u>	<u>Employed Europeans (whites)</u>	<u>Year's income per head (in dollars)</u>
1911	184,229	97	25,248	941
1921	171,227	110	19,534	1,529
1931	220,416	92	20,968	1,162
1941	376,327	111	38,402	1,472
1945	313,401	124	32,923	1,803
1950	311,972	147	39,242	2,369
1953	294,598	171	40,708	2,910

Besides mining, the manufacturing industry also absorbs more and more cheap African labor.

Accommodations for the black masses, streaming into the towns and industrial areas, are unspeakable. The recruited Africans are separated according to tribe and race. They live far from the white "suburbs" in jail-like barracks and locations. From these areas they are transported daily to their jobs by means of buses -- at fares they can scarcely pay. Their living standards, in any case low enough, have worsened lately. A commission, established in 1954 "to raise the living standard of the African," proved that in the machine industry around Johannesburg the weekly wages of the African worker from 1950 to 1954 remained unchanged and that cost-of-living increments rose from \$1.68 to only \$2.16 a month. In the building and commercial industries it was not much better. At the same time, between 1950 and 1954, however, the price of mealie-meal -- the staple food of the African -- went up 63% and meat 58%. It should also be noted that in

*Annual Report of South African Department of Mines, 1953, Pretoria. Pages 44, 50 and 56.

1950 the average family income of the African wage earner equalled 72% of the "minimum level necessary for existence" as calculated by social scientists in South Africa. By 1954 this figure had sunk to 63%.

Mrs. Joy de Gruchy, a social scientist of the South African Institute of Racial Relations, said the following: "The income of each African family of five persons in Johannesburg is on the average 20% under the minimum level for a normal and moderate existence. Fifty to 75% of all the African families in Johannesburg earn less than the amount which the 'existence-minimum' demands. Millions of Africans suffer from hunger, while they are forced to save for schooling of their children, for medical and burial services, and even for insurance. Even when the wife works, an African family in Johannesburg has an average monthly income of 19 pounds sterling and 10 shillings." (Weser Kurier, German newspaper, April 6, 1960.)

Another German newspaper Die Welt published the following on January 5, 1960: "Every third non-white child in South Africa dies because of undernourishment before it is one year old. Many of the remaining ones perish before they are four years old."

Nobel Prize winner Albert Luthuli, in his book Let My People Go, states: "Whites in South Africa rank fourth in the world's standard of living when sixty per cent of the Africans live below the bread line. Most of the rest are just above it." (Page 182, Fontana paperback edition.)

Profit Bonanza

In spite of the relatively progressive industrialization of the country, there are no trade unions worthy of the name among the African workers. A law passed in 1937 defined trade unions as "unions of employees." Since African workers are denied the status of "employees" no legal basis exists for the formation of recognized trade unions. Only unregistered African workers' unions are allowed. The African worker is forbidden by law to strike (see Law of 1953, No. 43, Article 18), hence these unions are useless in practice. The enormous profits made at the expense of the exploited Africans, are indicated by the following examples:

(1) From 1970 to 1934, the South African diamond mining industry on an invested capital of 20,000,000 pounds sterling paid out more than 80,000,000 pounds sterling in net dividends.

(2) The gold mining industry from 1886 to 1945 on a deposit capital of 200,000,000 pounds sterling paid out 479,000,000 pounds sterling in net dividends.

Clearly, such gross and brutal exploitation can be maintained, in the long run, only if the oppressed population accepts prevailing conditions as unchangeable or due to "God's Will" and if they are blocked from political recourse. The ruling classes believe that they have

found this magic formula in apartheid.

Under this policy, a "white" parliament, representing 3,067,638 whites (1960 census) projects dividing and ruling 10,807,809 Africans (blacks), 1,488,267 Coloreds and 477,414 Asians, mainly Indians. With the socio-economic conditions suffered by the Africans as an example of the Herrenvolk's strategy, the Coloreds and Asians can presage their own future situation. The latest oppressive laws -- the Sabotage Act (1962), the General Law Amendment Act known as the "90 Day No Trial Law" and the Bantu General Law Amendment Act (of 1963) -- have worsened the situation by introducing a "reign of terror." At the same time the revolutionary, democratic and socialistic movements have gained ground, in spite of the setbacks due to mass arrests. One of the most important ones is the National Liberation Front [NLF], a broad anti-South Africa "United Front," aimed at uniting all the progressive organisations in South Africa and South West Africa, and preparing for a militant national struggle to liquidate the present Herrenvolk state.

"A Reliable Friend"

Foreign capital constitutes a large part of the investments in South Africa. These investments affect the attitude of the West toward the apartheid policy of the South African white nationalists.

Up to 1946 over £750,000,000 had been invested in mining and government loans. By 1953 this figure passed £1,250,000,000. In other words, after World War II over £500,000,000 were invested in South Africa by capitalists of various countries, chiefly England, America and France. In 1956, total foreign investments in South Africa were estimated at £1,396,000,000 -- the British share was £865,600,000; U.S.A., £171,100,000; other sterling countries £69,800,000. Of Britain's share, £556,100,000 were in direct investment, and £309,500,000 in portfolio investment. Mining accounted for £164,000,000 of the direct investment, and £121,900,000 of the portfolio investment. Hence Britain invested £285,900,000 in mining alone. In 1961 British investors in the mining industries altogether got £18,900,000 in net dividends from South Africa. Today, over £1,000,000,000 of British money is invested in South Africa. Thus Britain's stake in apartheid is quite clear.

In the United States in 1955 the Department of Commerce encouraged American businessmen to invest in South African concerns. This encouragement was in reality superfluous. By 1955 the \$50,000,000 direct private investment of 1943 had increased five times. Also the United States government supported the "Herrenvolk" state with dollars and arms (see below). By the end of 1955 the Exim Bank and the World Bank had invested not less than \$330,000,000 in South African concerns, much more than in any other African country. In the last five years U.S. investments have increased. No wonder that U.S. officials have considered South Africa "a reliable friend," as Senator Hickenlooper remarked after a trip to South Africa in 1953. Lately in United Nations resolutions, especially concerning diplomatic and trade rela-

tions and the banning of arms, one can clearly see how England, the United States and France, together with a few other countries, show their true colors more and more.

Military Power Increasing

The South African military budget increased by £24,000,000 in 1962, reaching £60,000,000. Another £20,000,000 were added in 1963. In the current three-year period Britain is supplying South Africa with £90,000,000 of military equipment. In 1962, Imperial Chemical Industries contributed a capital investment of £10,000,000, plus its considerable technical assistance and knowledge, to build armament factories in South Africa. The United States supplied aircraft and other important weapons. France furnished Mirage jet fighters and air-to-ground missiles. La Carbone, a French armament concern, is setting up a firm in South Africa. Belgium granted South Africa license rights to manufacture the F.N. automatic rifle, which is standard equipment for NATO troops. West Germany supplied 63 troop carriers. Switzerland authorized the delivery of anti-aircraft guns, pistols and ammunition to South Africa. The U.S. Ford Motor Company has announced its intention to manufacture automobile engines in South Africa. However, an engine is an engine be it for a car or for a tank. Thus most of the suppliers of arms and ammunition have already secured their businesses right inside South Africa and do not need to send arms to South Africa any more. South Africa's current military spending is greater than the combined military budgets of the politically independent African States.

Foreign investments (from the various countries of the "free world") contribute not only objectively but subjectively to maintaining and strengthening the regime of terror in the Republic of South Africa. On the one hand they stabilize South African industry and on the other new businesses are drawn into practicing the same racial policies even if reluctantly, since they have to obey the South African racial laws.

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