

# The Week

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## A news analysis for socialists

# Mr. Paget Rocks the boat?

**M**R. REGINALD PAGET is not normally regarded as a left-winger. In all our pilgrimages back and forth from Aldermaston, we never met him. Among all the angry and apologetic letters in *Tribune's* correspondence columns, we never found his signature. We never heard of him selling little left-wing papers outside meetings, or signing appeals and petitions for colonial freedom-fighters in imperial prisons, or shouting loud interjections at party conferences.

It is, therefore, all the more interesting to listen to what he has to say about Labour's present foreign policy, if such it can be called.

"I am a little embarrassed," he said, "to introduce a discordant note in what seems to me to be a phoney engagement between the two front benches. My objection to the White Paper is that it is almost exactly what I would have expected from the Leader of the Opposition if he were still in power. I am still waiting for some explanation as to why Labour Party defence policy, which was worked out over a number of years, has been abandoned and Conservative policy adopted in its stead." There was Opposition laughter at this point, as well there might have been.

He went on to say that if the Government did not fulfil its election promises, then Nuneaton and Leyton would not be the nadir of our misfortunes: they would be only the beginning. At this point there were Opposition cheers: and no wonder.

Later in the debate Mr. George Jeger said that the nuclear deterrent worked to maintain the peace. The White Paper also accepted that nuclear bombers and Polaris would be maintained; and accepted responsibility for providing facilities for German training in Britain. He welcomed these changes in policy.

May we echo Mr. Paget's concern and perplexity? In the age-old dispute about whether Conference or the Parliamentary Labour Party controls policy, the stock argument of the right has been that MPs are answerable only to the electorate. They are elected, it has been argued time and time again, on a programme which gives them their only mandate. All this has now been blown sky-high. Mr. Paget rightly wants to know why our election policy has been abandoned and that of the Tories embraced.

Our view is that this is a good question. We are in favour of taking over the assets of the capitalists, not their liabilities. Their policies can scarcely be included among their assets.

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## Mr. Wilson writes to 'The Week'

The following duplicated statement was sent to **The Week** from the Prime Minister's office in response to our petition on the Vietnam crisis:

### VIETNAM

"As the Foreign Secretary made clear in Parliament on February 8th, the dangers of the situation in Vietnam were not created by the action taken by United States and South Vietnamese aircraft against certain military targets in North Vietnam. *This carefully limited American response to the provocative attacks made on their military personnel in South Vietnam only drew attention to the gravity of dangers*

*that have existed for years.* (Our emphasis.)

"The first need is some indication, on the part of the North Vietnamese, of readiness to compromise. As the Foreign Secretary told the House of Commons, it would be much easier to consider any ideas of this kind if the Viet-Cong were first to stop fighting. Once anyone can see any prospect of an agreed basis for a settlement, there will be little difficulty in devising the means of negotiation."

We do not think that this statement requires any comment in view of the recent unprovoked attacks by the U.S. on North Vietnam.

## Incomes Policy — a letter

**A**T present a fog of confusion envelops the discussion on an incomes policy. Some see it as a means for securing a more equitable distribution of the national product, while others — especially businessmen and financiers — regard it as a cunning way to ensnare workers, getting them to moderate their wage demands and to tilt the national income even more favourably to Capital.

It is for that reason that I argue the struggle for a socialist incomes policy should be linked with a re-affirmation of Clause Four of the Party's constitution. This tactic has the advantage of starting the battle from ground already conquered. At the same time, it places our opponents at the maximum disadvantage: they are unlikely to want to re-open the old wounds inflicted on the Party by Hugh Gaitskell's attempt to drop Clause Four. Yet, if they don't disavow the constitution, it will take mental gymnastics of Olympian standards to reconcile the present incomes policy with securing "for workers by hand and by brain the full fruits of their industry".

We are now in the resolution-drafting season of the year, and I would suggest our resolutions to the Labour annual conference should incorporate some of the following points:

1. that we call upon the Labour Government to adopt an incomes

policy that is openly and avowedly socialist, which acknowledges that 2 per cent. of the community owns 50 per cent. of the wealth, and strives to remedy this gross inequality by applying the principles embodied in Clause Four.

2. that an essential pre-requisite for any discussions about an incomes policy should be a knowledge of what precisely people's incomes are, and therefore a Labour Government should immediately bring in legislation that opens the books to trade union inspection. Then the income of capitalists, as well as workers, will be equally well known. How can George Brown allay suspicion among the rank-and-file if he does not give them the full facts?

3. that the Labour Party and Government should use Prices and Incomes courts to expose the anti-social grip that monopolies already have over large sections of the economy. The court could be used to focus public attention on such scandals as the fact that sparking plugs, costing sixpence to produce, sell at five shillings; that a bar of soap, production cost 1½d., sells for 10d. or more; that the TSR2, supposedly to cost £200 million, is likely to cost £700 million. Where monopolistic restriction has raised prices to the sky, Labour could receive popular acclaim by taking the industries concerned into public ownership and reducing prices.

—Raymond Challinor

## Soft Boards For Lords

IN Britain, where a company's list of directors often reads like a tear sheet from *Burke's Peerage*, many a titled tycoon sits on more boards than he can count. Lord Boothby, who is one of this happy breed himself (he has "eight or nine" directorships), explained last week just what directors do in return for adding prestige to corporate letter-heads, "No effort of any kind is called for," he told an audience of Yorkshire clubwomen. "You go to a meeting once a month in a car supplied by the company. You look both grave and sage, and on two occasions say 'I agree,' say 'I don't think so' once, and if all goes well, you get \$1,440 a year. If you have five of them, it is total heaven, like having a permanent hot bath."

Alec Acheson

## BOSSSES TALK TOUGH

STATEMENTS by two employers who are at present in conflict with the trade unions indicate a hardening of attitude. Mr. Walter Womar, general manager of the Potteries Motor Traction Company, made a statement at Stoke-on-Trent on March 4th. He claimed that the provincial bus companies would price themselves out of business if the busmen's demands were met.

Mr. Womar, whose crews have struck three times, said that granting the demands would mean a serious reduction in existing services and an "astronomical increase" in fares. He added: "The minimum fare would have to be increased from 3d. to 5d. and all other fares proportionately. We may just as well put up the shutters. We will be pricing ourselves out of business."

On March 3rd, a representative of the Pressed Brick Makers' Association claimed that the ban on overtime and week-end working by maintenance men in the fletton brick industry "will inevitably lead to loss of brick production on a mounting scale."

The employers were facing leap-frogging pay demands "with no prospect of their ever coming to a conclusion," the statement went on. This "untenable position" was caused on the one hand by claims for increased differentials for Electrical Trades Union and Amalgamated Engineering Union members and demands for similar payments to restore the

## TGWU SLATES PACKAGE DEAL

ON March 3rd the three-year package deal in engineering was fiercely criticised by the executive council of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

In a surprise decision, it instructed Mr. Les Kealey, the union's chief engineering negotiator, to keep a close watch on the operation of the agreement and to report back to further meetings of the executive.

Mr. Harry Nicholas, acting general secretary, said that the executive was disturbed at "certain aspects" of the settlement, which was reached after hard bargaining between the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Employers' Federation.

Union officials predicted a rash of shop-floor unrest as a result of the package deal, which covers pay, hours and holidays for the next three years. "There's a tremendous amount of feeling against it in the districts," said an executive member.

"We expect to get a series of piecemeal applications for adjustments in the absence of proper national negotiated improvements."

Meanwhile the T.G.W.U. continues to go from strength to strength. Membership increased last year by 52,060 compared with 1963, to an end-December, 1964, level of 1,464,663. It seems militancy pays!

## JACK TANNER

THE death of Jack Tanner, former president of the TUC and of the AEU from 1939 to 1954, is a vivid reminder of the manner in which the most militant trade unionists can succumb to the pressures of capitalist society.

To many in the labour movement he will be best remembered as the director and driving force of the insidious, anti-Left organisation IRIS (Industrial Research and Information Service) which 'exposes' the activities of communists and left-wingers in the labour movement in a McCarthyite fashion.

Yet in his younger days he was very much the militant himself. He was a member of the Social Democratic Federation and went as a shop steward to a congress of the Communist International in Moscow in 1920.

Although he had a bitter polemic with Lenin over the question of Communist tactics in the trade union movement, Tanner presided over a meeting of Left-wing groups in Britain during the same year, which inaugurated the British Communist Party.

Tanner developed over the years into an extreme rightwinger. His career should be a sombre warning to those who reject rank and file action in the labour movement, preferring to 'pressurise' trade union leaders.

Roger Protz

balance for their employees in the Transport and General Workers' Union and National Union of General and Municipal Workers.

In the circumstances the employers had last month rejected an E.T.U. and A.E.U. application for an increase in a 10/6 lieu bonus, or for any increase in the differential for maintenance workers, and ruled out further negotiations on maintenance workers' pay "unless and until the other unions concerned were present," the statement added. The maintenance workers had decided to work strictly to rule from March 1st, and essential maintenance work, normally done at week-ends, was affected.

Of course we have all these arguments before—back in the 10-hour-day campaign the employers claimed that all their profit was earned after 10 hours had been worked. The significance of these statements however must be seen in relation to the Government's attitude towards an incomes policy. The very hardness of the employers' attitude would suggest that perhaps they expect support from the Government.

If Mr. Womar wants us to take his claim about 'being priced out of business' seriously he should give the trade unions and rank and file busmen access to his books. The brick manufacturers' tactics of playing one union against another should be met by a united trade union front.

by Dave Windsor

# The Young Socialists

IT is not surprising that the Young Socialists are in such disarray and confusion. Since 1923 the Labour Party has had to abort, at increasingly regular intervals, the infant organisation from its mother. This record can not be remotely challenged by any continental Social-Democratic party.

It is an open secret that the Transport House officials intensely disliked the idea of the Young Socialists. They threw their whole weight in the Gaitskell Youth Commission against any idea of a truly national or self-governing youth movement. Their young men prophesied that the Young Socialists would be doomed and Len Williams saw visions of the previous struggles that had been lost to the reds in the Labour League of Youth. Their battle to stop the Youth Sections being woken up was heroic. An unfortunate leak to the press forced them to accede to the demands that the Young Socialists be formed but they went down gamely. Two months before the launching of the Young Socialists "The Labour Organiser" carried a eulogy on the Youth Sections and how important it was not to tamper with them.

The opening of the Young Socialists was scarcely spectacular. One way of not unleashing a tide of young radicalism for Labour was to produce the copy of Labour's Monthly Youth Letter that launched the Young Socialists so ambiguously schizoid; one half was full of news about the Young Socialists, the other half refused to have anything to do with the upstart and steadfastly referred to the future of the Youth Sections.

The major battle seems to have been won. The initial waves of young idealists have been repulsed; either disillusioned or expelled. One last skirmish and the old guard can come out of their slit trenches, bury the corpse of yet another youth movement, cut one more notch on their guns and shed tears for the mysterious demise of the departed.

After a preliminary softening up process, during which the opinion formers will worry why the Young Socialists, who were given more freedom than any previous youth organisation, spat in their benefactor's eye, it will finally be decided that the Young Socialists cannot be trusted with the little autonomy that they have and that a fully integrated

Youth Section structure should be adopted.

The usual life-cycle of a Labour Party Youth organisation includes a climb in membership, full scale war with the paid officials, who run the organisation's apparatus, followed by a decline and then final interment. The Youth Sections only experienced the decline and fall segments of this wheel of history. There was no national organisation, and few members.

Many solutions are going to be offered to the crisis within the Young Socialists. It is up to us to ensure that Labour never again fails so completely to attract young people as it did during the period of the Youth Sections. The Young Socialists need more self government not less. It is worthwhile remembering that while the Labour Party consistently fails to build a youth movement it has, in self-governing NALSO, the largest socialist student organisation in western Europe.

—Ronald Kirk

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## YOUNG GUARD

YOUNG GUARD, a democratic Young Socialist paper (controlled by its readers through readers' meetings). It seeks to unite left-wing young socialists to fight for a democratic Y.S. movement within the Labour Party, and for the spreading of Socialist ideas and influence among young people.

Editor: Fred Lindop. Copies (6d. post paid) from Flat 5, 37-41 Gower Street, London WC1.

## Transport muddle analysed

JONATHAN RADICE, an economist and a journalist, analyses today's transport muddle in a new Young Fabian pamphlet.\* The author after examining urban transport, inter-urban transport, and rural transport, makes a series of recommendations for the future.

On parking, he says "It is important to cut down the number of long stay parking places near places of work . . . All off-street car parks should be brought under central control . . . (City authorities could) lease parking space owned by private developers."

He suggests a congestion tax "to relate as directly as possible the benefits which a road user obtains from a particular stretch of road at a particular time to the costs he

incurs and imposes, both on other road users and the public generally".

On subsidies, he suggests "Public services in towns should not therefore be required to make a profit . . . They should be allowed to obtain subsidies from the City corporations" Likewise local bodies should be able to subsidise British Railways.

The author does not see the need for "a structural reform of goods haulage" as he points out "over 80 per cent of road tonnage is carried for less than 50 miles" but he believes "The present licensing system must go" and there should be "far stricter supervision of lorry operations". The Ministry of Transport "plating" scheme is supported. \* "Transport", by Jonathan Radice, 2/9d. p.p. from Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London, SW1.

## WORKERS' CONTROL SEMINAR

— a correction

In our report of the London Co-operative Society's Seminar on industrial democracy there were two mistakes. In fact the date is the weekend of May 8th and 9th, and the delegation fee is five shillings. Preparations for the meeting are well-advanced, and we shall report further developments in our next issue. Enquiries should be addressed to the Convenor, 1 Plantation Drive, Anlaby Park, Hull.

STAN MILLS

## Sale of Railway houses

MORE than 200 railway houses in North Blyth and South Shields have been sold to property companies. Prices for each house ranged from £260 to £400.

But once they had got hold of them the property companies offered the houses to the sitting tenants at more than twice the price paid.

This scandalous story was outlined by two M.P.s from the North East, Mr. Edward Milne and Mr. Arthur Blenkinsop, in the House of Commons.

In North Blyth about 86 houses had been sold at around £260 each and almost immediately offered at £750 each. In South Shields the houses cost about £400 and were offered sitting tenants at £900 a few days after they were bought from British Railways.

The houses were first offered to the local authorities at £70,000 in the case of North Blyth. Bedlington urban council refused even to pay half that price and they went to a property dealer for £23,000.

Mr. Milne said that British Railways had spent about £16,000 on the houses.

For the Government, Stephen Swingler, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport, said he would make further investigations.

He understood that in the case of North Blyth, tenants had been approached some years ago to accept higher rents in order to gain some improvements.

But they had refused. The Board had decided to dispose of them. And they tried hard to sell them to the local authority.

It was only after this that the Board advertised them for sale.

It was the same in South Shields.

On the reason why houses had not been offered individually to tenants, Mr. Swingler said that for administrative and organisational convenience they had to sell them as a block.

British Railways still own many thousands of houses. They are trying to dispose of them as fast as they can.

They should be stopped immediately from selling another house until the major issue is settled, and that is: "Who really controls such a national asset as the railways, and who has the power to see that the public interest is not damaged by too much 'free

enterprise' in our publicly owned industries?"

The public corporation as conceived and pushed through by Morrison has not worked. It cannot work within the terms of proper economic national planning.

Freedom to operate as an independent commercial enterprise is inconsistent with public ownership and planning and should be dropped.

What we need is comprehensive planning to use our resources in the very best way, through integration, common accountancy and overall direction of function.

We could then put an end to the wasteful competition between the railways and British Road Services and the nationalised bus companies, between the coal, gas and electricity industries. We could plan railwaymen's housing properly in conjunction with other nationalised industries and local authorities. Market dictation is inappropriate to such arrangements.

In short the sooner we get down to true socialist planning and achievement the better it will be.

—Railway Review, 19/2/65

## ALGERIA

## WORKERS' CONTROL DEMAND

(The following article has been translated from the February issue of the *Bulletin de l'Autogestion* (Bulletin of Self-management), published by the Frantz-Fanon Co-operative in Algiers. The article appeared under the title, "Le Controle Ouvrier Est Une Etape Necessaire a la Revolution Socialiste" (Workers Control Is a Necessary Stage in the Socialist Revolution.) (Translation by *World Outlook*.)

**T**HE idea of workers control in the capitalist sector of our economy is growing in popularity by leaps and bounds in the working class. The militants of the UGTA (Union Generale des Travailleurs Algeriens) and the party (the Front de Liberation Nationale) understand that self-management cannot really triumph unless the capitalist sector of the economy is controlled in such a way that the employers, in complicity with counter-revolutionaries hidden in the state apparatus, cannot block its march forward. Several months ago, our vanguard trade union sectors, particularly in the oil industry, asked for a broadening of the powers of the enterprise committees which up to now have served as a transitional institution leaving the economic power of the bourgeoisie untouched. Since close to eighty per cent. of the national industry is in the hands of foreign and national capitalists, revolutionary measures must be undertaken if we expect to save industrial self-management from the terrible competition deriving from the capitalist industrial sector.

That is why in No. 2 (January) of this *Bulletin of Self-Management* we drew attention to the idea of workers control. We are able to report with satisfaction that since then, this idea has been picked up by many militants, including an important part of the working class still exploited by the industrial bourgeoisie. For several months some of the trade union sectors have stressed the necessity of organizing workers control in the private enterprises. The national press has published accounts of this which we cite below. The importance of this idea is evident to everyone, particularly in

recent weeks when workers control has been requested in numerous enterprises and explained in trade-union congresses.

One of the first to suggest workers control was the union at Renault-Algerie. At a General Assembly on May 20th, 1964, the Renault section passed a motion in which it "asked the government to promulgate a law instituting workers control in the non self-managed enterprises." (In *Le Peuple* and *Alger Republicain*, May 28th, 1964.)

At the congress of the Regional Union of Algiers, a delegate spoke on workers control (see *Le Peuple*, September 7th, 1964): "Another participant," writes *Le Peuple*, "proposed instituting workers councils to control the employers' management (handling of funds, profits) in the capitalist plants." In a study on the industrial zone of Rouiba-Reghai, *Le Peuple* concluded with an article September 25th, 1964, entitled: "Enterprise and Workers' Control Committee in Employers' Management" in which it was shown that the broadening of the powers of the enterprise committees must aim at giving them power of decision in the economic area, thus putting into practice workers control over production.

The Federation of Oil Workers at the time of their national congress (beginning of October) launched the idea of joint management. The press commented on this slogan as being "a form of workers control."

Many studies and documents on the oil industry in the press have shown that the objective there, too, is to broaden the power of the enterprise committees.

Recently workers control was discussed at the congress of the UGTA. At the congress of the Lumber and Building Workers, a delegate declared, *Le Peuple* reports: "The private and self-managed enterprises must participate in elaborating national planning so that the plan will be of effective economic force. In the plants and industrial complexes, the UGTA must be able to propose delegates able to intervene in administering the plan. In order to make it imperative to apply the plan in the private sector, we

propose that the UGTA organize effective workers control in the private enterprises, by granting broad powers to the enterprise committees, which, under union auspices, must become management bodies." (Also see *Alger Republicain* of the same date.)

A few days later, the congress of the EGA (*Electricite et Gaz d'Algerie*) workers continued the discussion on workers control, not only in the capitalist sector but also in the state sector of the economy. Thus an Algiers delegate said (see the reports in *Le Peuple* and *Alger Republicain* for December 12th, 1964): "In our particular case of struggling against the bureaucracy, management by the ranks is required, and we must create the organisms to give us the right to control and to manage EGA as a whole. It's up to the congress to concretize these measures by forging the instruments to apply them."

With regard to workers control in the private sector, the same report stressed: "For the unions in the front line of the struggle in capitalist production, workers control of production, of merchandising and of planning is the most important task, if we want to meet the constant sabotage of our economy by the employers who have not understood and will doubtlessly never understand that our socialist option is irreversible."

The question was considered so important that the EGA workers in the port of Algiers proposed a motion concerning the line that the Federation of the EGA should support at the second national congress of the UGTA—workers control organized by the UGTA. Here is the motion:

"In view of the coming congress of the UGTA, the second national congress of the EGA, meeting December 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th in Algiers, passes the following resolutions:

"... Whereas it is necessary to carry out the Charter of Algiers in practice;

"... And the national mass organizations control the state apparatus but imperfectly;

“... And the UGTA includes in its ranks the workers of field and industry:

“(1) Proposes that the UGTA sit with full rights in all the state organisms and that the National Assembly be composed essentially of workers and poor peasants.

“(2) On the capitalist enterprises.

“Without opposing working with bosses who are ‘willing to play the game,’ we hold that workers control of production, merchandising and planning is the only worthwhile guarantee to prevent injury to our socialist option.

“The Federation of the EGA goes on record to struggle henceforth to put the UGTA congress in March 1965 on the axis of these two fundamental problems.”

In recent days, a series of strikes was unleashed in the capitalist industrial sector (at Durafour, SATI-Michelin, Saints-Freres, even in the nationalized Minoteris because of a bureaucratized management uncontrolled by the ranks of the workers). With regard to this the daily *Alger Ce Soir* of December 15th, 1964, ran a headline on the WORKERS CONTROL requested by the 600 workers of SATI-Michelin who “are raising the problem of broad-

ening the rights of the enterprise committee to include control of the management of the business.”

It has been established that WORKERS CONTROL has sunk deeply into the consciousness of the working class. That the workers under self-management or in the state sector likewise propose that this idea should be discussed only illustrates the profound unity of our masses on the same objectives: to lay the foundations of a socialist economy. Workers control has been directly linked to the problem of planning. In truth it is impossible to plan an industrial economy, eighty per cent. of which is held by the employers, whose anti-national attitude now need no demonstration. On the other hand, the sector of these employers who accept our fundamental option and conform with the requirements of a national plan, can find a place during the transition period. But without real workers control, the industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie will continue their tendency to anarchistically exploit our natural resources and our workers.

To safeguard self-management from the disloyal competition of capitalism; to organize national planning quickly; to make socialism irreversible in our country; let's organize WORKERS CONTROL in the capitalist plants.

## SERETSE KHAMA

THE name Seretse Khama comes back to the headlines after a long absence, bringing with it memories of the halcyon days of coal nationalisation, food rationing and snook.

It is one of those strange quirks of fate that his return to prominence should coincide with a new Labour Government and the political demise of Patrick Gordon Walker, who was prominent in the handling of his exile a decade and more ago.

Despite unforgivable treatment by the British Government in 1950, the new prime minister of Bechuanaland—like many African leaders before him who have been imprisoned or banished by the ‘mother country’—seems unlikely to upset any diplomatic or financial apple-carts.

Some of his first statements on taking office last week seem certain to stir up considerable opposition from other emergent African states. At a press conference after his appointment had been made official by the resident British commissioner, Seretse Khama declared that Bechuanaland would continue to trade with South Africa.

Seretse Khama's friendly attitude has brought him a most unusual distinction from the Verwoerd regime: it has lifted a fifteen-years-old ban on his entering the country.

## The Way Forward in South Africa

by Barney Desai\*

This is the conclusion of a speech he made in support of the Alexander Appeal in the House of Commons on 18th February.

THERE had been the belief in recent years that the intransigence of the Verwoerdian regime could be broken down by a short, but intensive struggle on all fronts. To be sure, some leaders had held before the people the prospect of constitutional change by the white supremacy government under pressure from imperialism. To both beliefs there has emerged a negative answer. The Verwoerd Government, backed by western imperialism, is powerful and has the capacity to conduct a long struggle in defence of the status quo and secondly, imperialism will only intervene to stabilise the situation in order to protect their investments.

This action might well take the character of staving off revolutionary conflagration.

It appears that where some organisations sought to coerce the Verwoerd Government to bring about changes by a resort to force, the Government not only suppressed their violent attempts ruthlessly, but in addition, were assisted by Western countries in this suppression. The lessons that we have learnt vis-a-vis imperialism's intertwining interest with white supremacy, are being assimilated by our people. The result will be that the struggle for political equality and economic justice is going to be resumed on a higher level, taking not only an anti-Verwoerd but an out and out anti-imperialism turn. In such a confrontation force will decide the outcome.

It is now widely predicted that

“chaos and barbarism” will be the outcome of such a revolution. We reject this prophecy. “Chaos” will be the order of the day for the mine owners, industrialists and land barons. The revolution of the oppressed, dispossessed, disenfranchised, non-white chattel, will be its own authority. It is our prophecy that “barbarism” will come from the privileged whites, who are presently arming themselves with modern weapons and poison gases to challenge the ideas that are ripe for South Africa.

\* President of the South African Coloured Peoples Congress and former Cape Town City Councillor. This important speech is being published as a whole. We shall advise readers how they can obtain the full speech when available.

# CHARTER FOR RACIALISM

The document which is partly reproduced below was recently handed over to the IUSY General Secretary in Blantyre, Malawi, by an exiled Southern Rhodesian African nationalist. It is said to have been circulated secretly by the Rhodesian Front Party. We have no definite evidence of its authenticity. The document is, however, a good reflection of the opinions propagated by the present Rhodesian Government.

**The dilemma of the white Rhodesian  
Can we afford to be constitutional?**

**T**HIS article introduces a new argument not previously used when discussing the vote and it draws a line of distinction between Africans who

- (a) use their vote as we do in a civilised way to express an opinion, and
- (b) as an offensive weapon — one which is far more deadly and dangerous than a rifle to overthrow the white regime and conquer the country for exploitation by the Communist Bloc.

**Points that can be used**

All our politics revolve around the African vote.

- 1 Should he be given more?
- 2 Should he keep those he has?
- 3 Should all those he has be taken away?

Any argument is inconclusive because an argument for can be countered by an argument against.

But the facts are that:

- 1 An African armed with a vote is more dangerous than an African armed with a rifle;
- 2 That you cannot shoot a vote with a rifle;
- 3 That a white man armed with a rifle cannot protect himself against an African armed with a vote.

**The vote is mightier than the Rifle**

I don't think everyone realises that our country is really at war today — and that just at the moment with today's peculiar values an African armed with a vote is a far greater menace and more dangerous to us than one armed with a rifle.

To illustrate — the Afro-Asian Committee bloc demanded that the African be given the vote and Britain France and Belgium, three powerfully armed nations agreed.

Within a few years a wave of Black Nationalism, armed only with a vote and with out firing a shot has conquered the whole of Africa north of the Zambezi — in the sense that the control of the country has passed from white to black.

And make no mistake — the white man today in Kenya has been completely defeated. He is losing his civil rights, is entirely at the mercy of his conquerors, cannot appeal against injustice, and can be deported at 24 hours' notice.

History will refer to this as 'The African War of Black Nationalism'.

It is a modern type of war, a cold war fought with new weapons — the vote. It has also been one of the cheapest and most successful wars ever fought whereby the Communists have conquered nearly the whole African Continent. The white man has been knocked out and defeated and he still does not know what really hit him.

And now, with interest-free, no strings attached loans, they are forging a new kind of control that will effectively enslave the African.

Every white person today fears the future — what no one person can understand is how, a hundred years ago, a handful of Boers armed with old fashioned guns could decisively defeat the powerful Zulu army, yet now we, a nation armed with modern rifles appear powerless to withstand against the unarmed African of today.

In a civilised community a vote is a privilege given to an adult person to enable him to express his wish.

But if the opposition abuse this privilege, exploit it, and the African actually uses his vote as a weapon with which to fight and overcome us, then surely we must acknowledge that a state of war exists and use our vote as a weapon too — to fight with, to defend ourselves and keep control.

Can it be denied that the white of today is —

- 1 Daily being deprived of more civil rights and possessions.
- 2 In danger if he in any way opposes the Government.
- 3 Is today, in practical terms, a captive of the Blacks.
- 4 Can it be denied that China is taking over Kenya and that the white man may soon find himself a prisoner of the Chinese.

It would be interesting to ask the whites today what they think of their oath of allegiance to the Queen and their loyalty to Britain.

If they were given a second chance would they again let their loyalties encompass their ruin or would they fight.

**Brain washing and the Cold War**

We have all read about the effects of brain washing and all heard about a new warfare called a cold war.

We are also inclined to dismiss the whole thing as being too nebulous and a widely held view is expressed by the words "If it comes to trouble give me rifle and I will take on a hundred Africans any day."

The fallacy of this argument is that while you can shoot an African with a rifle, you can't shoot a vote with a rifle.

How much of the following argument is true and how much fantasy? The Communists wished to conquer Africa which was controlled by four powerful nations: Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal.

To conquer they must wage war and they have two alternatives:

- 1 A hot war with modern weapons.
- 2 A cold war in which the African was armed with a vote.

Remember too, that a victory in war is not measured by the number of the enemy killed, but by the nature of the peace terms the victor is able to dictate.

Deciding on a cold war with the use of wireless, propaganda, and brain washing at UNO, the whole world and Africa in particular, they sold the idea that:

- 1 The African is enslaved and must be freed.
- 2 The only hope for the whites to avoid a blood bath is to come to terms with the African before it is too late.

This has generated the wave of Black Nationalism which has swept through Africa replacing white control by black.

from Julian Atkinson



## Against Apartheid

### Glasgow Anti-apartheid movement Conference

THE inaugural meeting of the Glasgow Anti-Apartheid Movement will take place in the form of delegate conference at the Highlanders' Institute, 34 Berkeley Street, Glasgow, C3, on Saturday, April 10th. The meeting will start at 2.15 p.m., and among the speakers will be Councillor William Taylor, leader of the Labour Group Glasgow Council; Cecil Williams, a South African exile; Rev. Max Magee; Frank Stephen, DATA District Secretary; and S. Abdul, Secretary of the British Anti-Apartheid Committee.

Applications for delegates' credentials should be made to The Glasgow Anti-Apartheid Movement, 5 Whittingehame Court, Glasgow W2. A fee of 2/6 per delegate is being charged.

It is hoped that all *Week* readers in the Glasgow region will do their utmost to ensure that this meeting is as representative and well-attended as possible. from Tony Southall

### Kitson Fund Exceeds Target

AT the last count £3,040 had been received by the Head Office of DATA for the Kitson Aid Fund. The Union had set a target of £3,000. The legal costs, amounting to £2,271/10/0 have now been paid. Assistance is being given to Mrs. Kitson and her children. Her husband's income ceased when he was arrested.

Mrs. Kitson will be seeing her husband later this month for the first time since the trial last year. She is allowed only one visit and one letter every six months. She will discuss with him whether, for the children's sake, she should come to Britain. If she comes to Britain the South African authorities have indi-



### Alexander Defence Committee set up in United States

OSSIE DAVIS, Ruby Dee, Maxwell Geismar, Horace Kallen, John O. Killons, Slater King and Staughton Lynd have invited other prominent people of various political beliefs to join them as sponsors of the United States Alexander Defence Committee in aiding the Defence of Dr. Neville Alexander and other political prisoners in South Africa.

Officers of the committee include well-known leaders of the Freedom Now struggle in the United States. In addition to raising money the committee will conduct intensive educational activity and will organise demonstrations to protest against the increasingly repressive South African regime.

Any queries about this committee should be sent to: Alexander Defence Committee, P.O. Box 245 Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013, U.S.A.

cated that they will withdraw her passport. She will not be able to re-enter South Africa.

The fund will be used to enable Mrs. Kitson and her children to come to Britain should Mrs. Kitson wish to. DATA is anxious that in all her other problems, Mrs. Kitson should not be oppressed by financial worries.

A glance at the list of donations shows that DATA branches from nearly every important factory in the country, together with many other DATA branches and other labour movement organisations, contributed to the fund. It is a great tribute to the internationalist attitude of the British trade union movement.

### Irish Anti-apartheid opposes SA Rugby tour

IRISH Anti-Apartheid has issued a leaflet on the forthcoming South African Rugby tour of Ireland. It points out that in South Africa sportsmen are banned from participating in games purely because of the colour of their skin. It cites several cases and points out that several international sports organisations have suspended all-white South African organisations.

It concludes: "For too long has the rest of the rugby-playing world tacitly accepted South Africa's traditional way of life, her racial discrimination. The issue of apartheid in sport must now be faced in Ireland." The leaflet demands the cancellation of the tour; it appeals to players not to play and spectators not to attend matches; it asks people to protest to the Irish Rugby Football Union (Landsdowne Road, Dublin 4); and attend a protest meeting at the Mansion House, Dublin on April 8th.

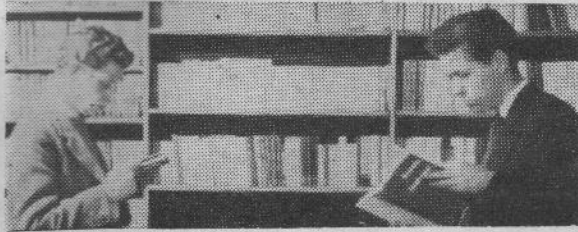
Anyone wanting copies of the leaflet or any other information about the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement should write to: Flat 3, Fortfield Road, Dublin 6.

from Mrs. Whawell

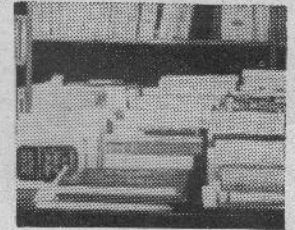
### Scholarship Fund

FURTHER to the article in *The Week*, Vol. 3, No. 5, on South Africa Scholarship Fund in Durham, the initial appeal has realised £1,400—from personal contributions from staff and students. Activities are under way to raise the remainder. Donations will be willingly received—to Roy Thompson, President, Durham University Students' Representative Council, 52 Old Elvet, Durham City. The rag charity this year in Durham was Defence and Aid.

from Ian Taylor



## BOOKS IN REVIEW



### Society Split

**N**ICOLAS DAVENPORT, City correspondent for *The Spectator*, has written a book\* which should be of great interest to socialists. The book has two central themes:

(1) Over the last decades Government policy has altered, and indeed encouraged, "the interests of finance capitalism" to "dominate the industrial and trading livelihood of the working masses" (page 179). For example in the recent period of Conservative rule "the workers must have felt that they could not relax in their struggle to keep their wages ahead of the rise in prices. A gain in their real standard of living of only 50% in about 13 years does not stand up against the rise of 183% (in real terms) in the value of equity shares (225% with net dividends added) which the owners of capital enjoyed." (page 68).

Davenport is equally critical of the Labour Government of 1945. Though himself no socialist he confesses that he can understand the "disillusionment" which befell the working class after a Labour Government had been in office nearly six years." He writes: "They had been told to prepare for the dawn of the socialist millenium but nationalisation turned out to be a very different affair from the socialism which they expected. It appeared to them merely as an alternative system of management. Public ownership was so to speak downgraded from socialism to managerialism and the only difference between the old managers and the new was that the old were topped-hatted capitalists while the new were bowler-hatted bureaucrats. . . . Nothing came of the old boast in one of the party memoranda that "Labour stands for democracy in industry and for the rights of the workers, both in the public and private sectors, to full consultation on all vital decisions of management, especially those affecting conditions of work." The new managers of the public boards were not disposed to have any nonsense of

shop-floor democracy. To knock this into the workers' heads the Government invariably chose a retired Army General to fill the chairman's seat." (page 54).

(2) Davenport's second theme is that "a class war monetary policy" has allowed "the moneyed ruling clique" to sacrifice domestic industrial capital to finance capital. It is his passionate opposition to this that partly explains why he allows himself the sort of reflections quoted above.

\*"The Split Society," Nicolas Davenport, Gollancz.

R.B.

### Nicolas Kaldor's Essays

**N**ICOLAS KALDOR, the Cambridge economist who has been appointed by the Labour Government to advise the Treasury, has just published a collection of essays on economic policy. The introduction to the first volume of these essays tells a story which has a moral for all those who wish the Government to implement its programme. Over the last decade Kaldor has been invited by no less than six governments in the Third World to advise them on tax reform, he reports:

"... since I inevitably urged the adoption of reforms which put more of the burden of taxation on the privileged minority of the well-to-do, and not only on the broad masses of the population, it earned me (and the governments I advised) a lot of unpopularity, without, I fear, always succeeding in making the property-owning classes contribute substantial amounts to the public purse.

"The main reason for this . . . undoubtedly lay in the fact that the power, behind the scenes, of the wealthy property-owning classes and business interests, proved to be very much greater than the responsible political functionaries (whether presidents, prime ministers or ministers of finance) suspected. Thus when the Finance Minister of India,

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, made an honest and determined attempt, in his April 1957 Budget, to bring the tax system of India more in conformity with the "socialist pattern of society," which was so broadly proclaimed as the major political objective of the Congress Party, he faced the most bitter opposition, first in the Cabinet and then in Parliament . . . he failed, in the end, to carry his scheme into law, except in a much truncated and emasculated form."

Kaldor describes the similar fate that befell his schemes in Ceylon, Turkey, Mexico, Ghana and British Guiana and then comments: "These events have shown that in underdeveloped countries the moneyed interest is capable of exercising its influence in strange and unexpected ways. . . . My experience as a tax advisor has thus brought me face to face with the realities of *power*, in a setting that is not normally within the province of the economist. In retrospect I do not think the advice I gave was wrong. In most underdeveloped countries, where extreme poverty co-exists with great inequality in wealth and consumption, progressive taxation is, in the end, the only alternative to complete expropriation through violent revolution."

Now it is well known that Britain, too, is not without inequalities in wealth and income—in fact 5% of the population own over 75% of personal wealth while the ratio of profits to wages in the national income has been the same in the early sixties as it was in the first decades of this century. It is also known that the Labour Government, with Kaldor's advice, is helping to introduce an effective tax on capital and profits. Further we may assume that our own bourgeoisie is at least as strong, and at least as capable of "exercising its influence in strange and unexpected ways," as the youthful capitalist class of India or Mexico. From all of which it follows that Kaldor's foreign experience may find some British echo.

Robin Blackburn

## NORTH AMERICA

### Liberal College under attack in Ohio

**T**HERE is an organised Right-wing campaign to dry up the financial sources of Antioch College, the liberal school located here.

President James P. Dixon told a college assembly: "It is now beginning to appear that there is a concerted letter-writing campaign to corporations saying that if Antioch is a recipient of any of their largess, the letter-writers would turn in their credit cards."

Antioch depends, as do most privately-operated colleges, to a large extent on contributions from corporations.

Dixon noted that the letters followed a common pattern. He also pointed out that "there was a repetitive quality" to the questions telephoned to him during his appearance on the Dayton radio show, "Conversation Piece." A number of the questions dealt with events which had taken place during the McCarthyite witchhunt era. "People knew things about Antioch that it seemed impossible for them to know unless they were told," he said.

Denying any "paranoid fear" of conspiracy, Dixon pointed out: "There has been a change in the form of attack on liberalism. Present attacks are much more organized; much more skillfully executed."

In recent months Antioch has been publicly attacked by the American Legion, whose national convention called for a Congressional investigation of the college, as well as by the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan.

All these attacks appear to be traceable to anger over the civil-rights activities organised by Antioch students. Perhaps another factor was a speech last year by President Dixon noting that while the college, since its founding in the last century, had been unofficially on the side of desegregation, he wished to make clear that it was now "official."

Antioch gives work-credits, under its works-study programme, to students working for SNCC in Mississippi and other parts of the South.

Arthur Maglin

### Malcolm X murder protest

**O**VER 200 people took part in a demonstration in London to protest against the assassination of Malcolm X. The demonstration, called by the Council of African Organisations, started from Speakers' Corner, Marble Arch, on Saturday, 27th February.

In a statement issued by the Council of African Organisations, Malcolm X's contribution is assessed. They say: "Malcolm X regarded the use of force in self-defence where violence is unleashed against the Negro's demands for freedom and for human rights as justifiable only because the hand that prevented them had been unamenable to negotiation and peaceful demands. He had little faith in those who, while breaking his head with a cudgel, exhorted him to be passive and love them. Malcolm X aimed essentially at the forging of stronger links between Negroes in America, Africans and all oppressed

peoples in Asia and Latin America, and that is precisely why he was murdered . . .

"The Council of African Organisations, representing over 40,000 youth and students in Britain, and the Union of African Students in Europe, are shocked and angered by this savage assassination by the agents of U.S. imperialism of our nationalist leader and militant fighter for Afro-American freedom, human rights and dignity. We express solidarity with his aims and work, which no act of brutality can undermine or obliterate. We are determined to continue his just struggle by which the rights of Afro-American people will be secured and human dignity established."

Editorial note: Copies of the COAO statement and other information about the movement can be obtained from: Africa Unity House, 3 Collingham Gardens, London SW3.

Pat Jordan

## Iberian News

### SPAIN :

**T**O counteract workers' demands for better working and living conditions, the management of the Babcock-Wilcox metal factory in Bilbao, capital of the Basque Vizcaya province in Spain, has dismissed four workers and suspended three others for the period of six months.

These measures were undertaken in connection with a demonstration of some 800 workers held on 12th February, 1965 at the factory's gates. The workers protested against the new collective agreement.

The collective agreements in Spain are not drafted as a consequence of the negotiations between the employers and the workers, represented by their trade union committee, but are imposed by the authorities seconded by the state-run trade union organisation, the so-called "sindicatos verticales". They group workers, employers and technicians together and are under the entire control of the government and the ruling Falange movement.

Fred Green

### PORTUGAL :

**T**HE Canadian Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Paul Martin, said last week that his Government was opposed to West Germany's wish to sell 50 Luftwaffe-surplus Canadair Sabres to Portugal. Mr. Martin said that the aircraft had been supplied to West Germany in good faith for NATO purposes. Bonn is reported to have made the intended sale conditional on Canadian consent.

Portugal now seems to have reached a dead end in her search for second-hand fighters to replace her now very aged F-84G Thunderjets. The USA refused to supply replacements for these MAP-provided aircraft years ago. Last summer negotiations between Portugal and Hawker-Siddeley for the possible sale of refurbished Hunters were broken off on the orders of the Conservative Government, as Portugal declined to give an undertaking that the aircraft would not be used against native populations in Angola and Mozambique.

Tom Nicholls

# CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

THE Campaign Against Racial Discrimination met in London on February 20th. Here are extracts from the main speeches. First by Dr. David Pitt:

“... There is a great deal of racialism being preached in this country at the moment under the guise of a discussion of immigration. One of the sad things in the society in this country is that racialism is steadily becoming respectable. If we allow a situation to develop where to be a racist is regarded as being “U” rather than “non-U” we will be facing very very serious consequences. The sad thing about it is that instead of the people of this country getting the leadership they should in this matter, the main political parties are vying with each other as to which can show itself to be more beastly to the immigrants.

For example, when Sir Frank Soskice makes the sort of speech which he made in Parliament about enforcing the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, about preventing illegal entry, whether Sir Frank knows it or not, he is making his contribution towards making racialism respectable in this country.

While this question of dividing minorities is as old as the hills, at the present moment it is the Pakistanis who are under attack. And I say to my West Indian friends, my African friends, my Indian friends: we must rally to the Pakistanis. It is not so long ago when it was the West Indians who were under attack. I want to tell my West Indian friends: do be very careful. I know that you are being told that of course you are alright — that you can speak English, that you can settle down and integrate easily, but of course that it is the question of others who cannot speak English and who have different customs and different cultural background. Well, now don't believe it. It is all eyewash. This question of language and culture has little to do with it. It is the question of straight-forward race prejudice.

We have said it very clearly that there is a distinct difference between discrimination and prejudice. You can legislate against discrimination. But you can't legislate against prejudice. Prejudice has to be dealt with by education. The fight against prejudice is a very long one. CARD is concerned not only with fighting discrimination but doing everything possible to fight against racial prejudice.

We have selected legislation as our first field of activity because the Government is already committed to a bill against racial discrimination. What we are setting out to do is to see to it that the Government is aware of our views, and to bring public opinion to rally to the type of legislation which is required. The reason for it is this. The Government legislation is unlikely to include employment. But, you know, employment is the most important field. It is the most important field because we have a large number of coloured boys and girls going through our schools. Given 4 to 5 years, there will be a large number of coloured youths who will be well qualified for jobs but which they will not get because there is discrimination against them on grounds of colour. And, therefore, you must have legislation against discrimination in employment. Once you have made your legislation as broad as we expect it to be, you cannot merely leave it to the criminal courts to deal with. That is why we have suggested the setting up of a statutory commission whose duty it will be to see that the law is carried out.”

Secondly, from a report by Hamza Alavi:

“At home, Britain is faced with grave social problems. What the immigrants have done is not to create these problems. What they have done is to dramatise the existence of some of these problems. Faced with these difficult social problems, which those in authority are unable or unwilling to solve, they try to take shelter behind the excuse that it is the immigrants who are creating these problems.

In fact, if we looked at the role of the immigrants in the British community, in British economic life, we would realise that all these problems which immigration is supposed to have created are in fact fields in which the immigrants have made important contributions towards their solution. We talk of the housing problem. Our chairman, Dr. Pitt has on many occasions defied his audience to show that immigrants in fact have not built more houses than they occupy. (Dr. Pitt: “I defy this one too.”). In the field of employment, again, there are crucial areas, crucial gaps in the labour situation in Britain, in which the immigrant community has provided the necessary labour force.

The objective of our campaign is this. To mobilise the sane opinion in this country; to mobilise the honest opinion in this country, and to make those in authority realise that it is high time for them also to take a firm and honest stand in this matter. To make them realise that Britain will not stand for the growth of racialism. We have seen in history terrible examples of what racialism can do to a people. We have seen what it can do to their culture and their values. We cannot allow it to happen to Britain.”

Beverley McCauley

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Advertisement

## Against South African Tyranny

Saturday, March 13  
7.30 to Midnight

Africa Unity House  
3 Collingham Gardens, SW5.  
(Earls Court Tube)

Dancing to an  
AFRICAN STEEL BAND  
and 'THE SHUDDERS'

BAR . . . . . BUFFET  
Three Shillings and Sixpence

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