

THE WEEK

A news analysis
for socialists

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Business and
Editorial Address:

54 Park Road,
Lenton, Nottingham.
Tel. Nottingham 48369.

Editors:
Robin Blackburn,
Ken Coates

A case for disengagement

BITAIN is sliding into an all-out war with Indonesia. For socialists, this is a crucial challenge: upon our ability to impose peace on the Labour Government may depend not only British Labour's own future, but, perhaps, world peace itself.

There is throughout England a great reluctance to spend the word 'imperialist' as good descriptive coin. Those who use it tend to simper self-consciously, to giggle, or to sneer apologetically. This touchiness, indicative as it is of a bruised conscience, cannot in any way prevent the peoples of the third world from seeing things for what they are. Rightly, they characterise Malaysia as an imperialist creation, concerned with the financial and strategic security of British capital alone. They also see the present tension, all of which was 'made in England', and which is the successful result of a succession of frenzied export drives, as a simple result of imperialist provocation. Our Government's reluctance to abandon imperialist priorities is something about which all too many socialists have been soft. The facts are now presenting their reckoning: and in it all the potential gains of Labour rule at home are in the gravest possible danger of dissolving in the insistent pressure of these alien commitments.

Labour's complicity in the creation of the present conflict dates back to at least 1961. In August of that year, Mr. John Strachey came home from a lecture tour in Singapore, where he had been lecturing on his book 'The End of Empire'. He wrote an article in the *New Statesman*, under the title 'Why Singapore Matters'. It was most revealing. In it he presented two simple alternatives: either a federation of Malaya, Singapore and the Borneo territories would create "a viable, and for that matter, economically strong, non-Communist, independent state in South-East Asia" . . . or red ruin Chinese dominance. "For the British Authorities," said Strachey, "a stark alternative looms up: unless this wide federation . . . can be realised, Britain may well be faced with the necessity of either reverting to direct colonial rule or of evacuating the Singapore base." The snag, of course, could even then be clearly seen: the Borneo territories were unready for the marriage. "But can their unreadiness be allowed to obstruct the only way in which, as it seems, a viable non-Communist state can come into being as a successor to the British Empire in South-East Asia?" Of course not! For the author of 'The End of Empire' this was inconceivable. And so today his shade looks down on the Borneo jungles, as the implications of his peace-keeping policies are spelt out in bullets and mortars.

Mr. Strachey was trapped in the narrow, nationalist horizons which toppled the Labour Government in 1951, as it tailed along in the cold war to the inconceivable slaughter of Korea, and financial crisis at home. Mr. Wilson, however, came to power with the word 'disengagement' on his lips, and with a record of having opposed the effects of the cold war debacle of 1951. Is he too, having triumphed, to submit to the logic of his petty-minded fore-runners? British Labour must answer no. Here is a time and place for disengagement. Every socialist must speak and agitate against war with Indonesia. There must be every ounce of democratic pressure from the unions, the constituencies, and all the organisations of Labour, to ensure that the sick, paralysing history of the fifties does no repeat itself.

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Hands off Vietnam !

The American authorities and their South Vietnamese hangers-on have now admitted (one almost might say have boasted) that their forces are attacking the North. Last week a splendid move was made by 21 M.P.s and other well-known people in making a call to the Government to use its influence to bring about an end to the war in South Vietnam. The Week pledges full support to their move and calls upon all its readers to throw their weight behind a campaign for Labour initiative to end the war in Vietnam.

In arguing its case the letter says:

"**F**IGHTING is at present resulting in very heavy casualties and untold misery for the people. The national press have recently published photographs which show peasants being subjected to torture during 'interrogation' and which have aroused the horror and disgust of many people.

"There is also strong evidence that napalm bombs and other inhuman weapons have been used in this 'undeclared' war. We ask the Government to express, through its representative at the United Nations and by other means, its condemnation of such brutalities.

"We believe that this war only continues because the United States Government is improperly interfering in the affairs of Vietnam. The U.S. has obstructed the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, which provided for the independence, unity and military neutralism of the whole of Vietnam.

"It is financing the war to the extent of some £700,000 a day. Some 20,000 U.S. military personnel are on active military duties in South Vietnam, though disguised as 'advisors' and 'instructors'.

"The Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the South Vietnam Liberation Front, have continuously reiterated their readiness to conclude a further agreement for the neutralisation of Vietnam, as envisaged by the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

"We believe that the Labour Government should take an independent initiative for the convening of a further international Conference at which the peaceful reunification and the neutralisation of Vietnam could be agreed upon. This would be in line with the policy of neutralisation of South-East Asia envisaged by the Labour Party in Opposition.

"It would also correspond to the wishes of the Vietnamese people, who are weary of bloodshed and foreign intervention, and who desire only to be left alone to order their own affairs in peace and freedom.

"The recent military coup overthrowing the civilian government of South Vietnam, the latest of a series of changes in the administration which reveal the instability of the regime, and a growing realisation in the United States of the futility of maintaining the war, add substantial reasons for intervention by Britain's Labour Government to establish peace."

Signatories include: Fenner Brockway (chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom), Bertrand Russell (director, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation), Councillor Mrs. Olive Gibbs (chairman, C.N.D.), Benjamin Britten, Benn Levy, Ethel Mannin, John Platts-Mills, Q.C., A. J. P. Taylor, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Rev. Dr. Donald Soper, and Dorothy Woodman.

The M.P.s include: William Warbey, Frank Allaun, Lt.-Col. Richard Crawshaw, Robert Edwards, Will Griffiths, Dennis Hobden, Hugh Jenkins, A. W. J. Lewis, Kenneth Lomas, Alf Morris, Stan Newens, Stanley Orme, Tom Oswald, John Rankin, Paul B. Rose, Julius Silverman, Sydney Silverman, David Weitzman, Mrs. Renee Short, and George Craddock.

The Week has organised a petition campaign to back this letter. Copies may be obtained from us. More important is that organisations should go on record in favour of this campaign. We should be informed of all moves.

Young Socialist Rally

TRANSPORT HOUSE has announced that arrangements have been made for this year's Young Socialist National Rally to be held at the Morecambe Bay Holiday Camp from 15th-22nd May. The circular announcing this says that during the week there will be lectures and study groups as well as other educational and political activities and a wide range of social and sporting events. The cost for accommodation and facilities of the Holiday Camp for the week is £10/10/0 per person. The circular states: "It is hoped that constituency and local parties may each be able to award at least one

scholarship." Young Socialist branches can send members, and "individual applications will also be welcomed."

This announcement indicates that, at present, there are no plans afoot to disband the Young Socialists as had been widely predicted. It is to be hoped that there will be a strong-Left-wing contingent present at the rally. By May the main themes of the Labour Party Government's policies will be much clearer. This Rally should give an opportunity for an intelligent discussion of the many problems posed by these policies.

Poll has sombre warning for Labour

A GENERAL Election round-up by National Opinion Polls vividly demonstrates, whatever George Brown may think, the continuing existence of sharp class divisions in Britain today.

Dividing the electorate up into ABs (professional, upper and upper middle class), C1 (lower middle and white collar), C2 (skilled workers) and DE (unskilled, pensioners, unemployed), NOP found that 74.7 per cent. of ABs voted Tory, 60.7 C1s, 33.9 C2s and 30.9 DEs.

Labour's strength is in the reverse direction: 59.1 DEs, 54.4 C2s, 42.8 C1s and a meagre 8.9 of ABs.

The survey contains a few sharp warnings for complacent Labour officials. The party held its own in the middle-class belt but made no progress at all, professional people remaining overwhelmingly Tory.

There was a slight improvement for Labour in the C2 class, but the Tories actually made gains from DEs.

Most significant of all is that it was old-age pensioners, apparently 'grateful' for a few meagre pickings from the Tories, who swung right. With Labour already retreating on the pensions issue, they are doing nothing to halt this erosion of traditional support.

Equally alarming is the sizeable vote for the Tories amongst trade union members. The Tories claim that 3 million trade unionists voted for them and NOP shows that 27.7 per cent. voted Conservative compared to 62.2 for Labour.

If this dangerous trend is to be halted, Labour should quickly launch its own detailed inquiry into the General Election results and attempt to find out why so many trade unionists—nearly a quarter—vote Tory.

The answers may well confirm the Left's contention that Labour will only increase support from the working class and middle class if they mount a nationwide campaign to really press home party policy—and that policy must be radically different from the Tories'.

by Roger Protz

Voice Steel conference— a correction

In our last issue we announced that the monthly paper of the trade union Left wing, VOICE OF THE UNIONS, was to hold a special conference of steel workers to prepare recommendations to the Government on the drafting of the Bill to nationalise the industry. It is extremely important that this opportunity to make an important breakthrough towards industrial democracy should be grabbed with both hands by the Labour Movement. The conference was announced as scheduled to take place in Nottingham, on the weekend of the 6th and 7th February, 1965. These arrangements have now been altered, and the gathering will be held on the same days in Sheffield.

Credentials are obtainable from Richard Fletcher, 71 New Kings Road, London S.W.6.

Already considerable interest has been evinced from steelworkers in Yorkshire, Wales and Lincolnshire. WEEK readers who live within reach of the steel areas are asked to do all they can to inform trade union representatives and active socialists within the industry of the fact that these plans are being discussed, and to invite them to participate. We shall carry reports from steel towns about the progress of the campaign.

Higher rents— says Crossman

DURING a tour of local housing developments in Leeds last week, Mr. Richard Crossman, Housing Minister, had this to say about Government policy:

"During the next six months we shall be coming up with ideas which are likely to be in legislation in the next session." Negotiations were to be started with local authorities on the revision of subsidy policy, so that subsidies were going where they were needed. But people must get used to paying higher rents if they were to be provided with high quality housing, said Mr. Crossman. "I think it is true that if you improve the quality of houses people can be induced to understand there must be a sense of responsibility about rent paying and look at rents in terms of reality," said the Minister.

Of course the "terms of reality" include higher interest rates to save the pound. These terms include the situation where houses cost many times their construction price because of the operation of the money market.

Farmworkers and builders enter claims

THIS week farm workers had an extra 12/- in their wage packet. But this increase was the first they had received since 1963 and was the result of negotiations which started in the middle of last year on a claim for £12 a week. The resulting wage of £10/2/0 for 45 hours is far from satisfactory and there is still too big a discrepancy between the earnings of farm and industrial workers," said Lord Collison, General Secretary of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, at Cambridge, on Saturday.

"But the discrepancy between the two will not be rectified merely by improvements in the basic weekly rate. The two other factors which have to be brought into line with the general standards in industry are the length of the working week — at present 45 compared with 40 to 42 hours in industry — and recognised additional rates for special skills and responsibilities.

"The Union's proposals for a proper wages structure in agriculture were first put before the Wages Board in 1961. Discussions on the principle are still going on and the workers cannot be expected to be kept waiting much longer for some definite arrangements to be brought into effect. Everyone in the industry is agreed that farm work is highly skilled and that it demands greater technical know-how every year."

Lord Collison, who was addressing a Conference of branch officers of his Union, went on to say "... In February we shall be presenting a claim for a 40-hour week to the Wages Board. I hope that on this occasion the industry will be big enough to approach the matter positively with a view to seeing how it can be achieved—instead of, as on past occasions, throwing up its hands in horror and claiming that it cannot be done.

"Every time there has been a reduction in hours there has been wild talk about its adverse effects and the extra cost. None of it has ever proved to be correct; both total production and output per worker have steadily increased, and wages as a proportion of all production costs have decreased. For every 10 tons of food produced by a farm worker eight years ago he now produces over 16 tons."

NEGOTIATIONS are expected to start shortly on a new wage demand for more than 1 million building workers. The industry's present £150m. hours and wages agreement ends in November, but union leaders are preparing their claim for a further wages increase well in advance.

The present agreement, signed after the 1963 national building strike, has provision for two wage rises this year—a cost-of-living rise in March and a final phased rise of 2½d. an hour for craftsmen and 1d. for labourers in November.

The executive of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, which negotiates for all the building unions, is under strong pressure to seek the award of a sub-

stantial increase immediately the current agreement expires.

The Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers recently proposed, without success, that the N.F.B.T.O. should demand immediate pay rises of 11d. an hour for craftsmen and 1s. for labourers.

Federation leaders are determined, however, that the 1963 settlement should run its course.

They nevertheless expect to achieve a 40-hour week in the industry within the year. A claim in this direction was anticipated in the 1963 negotiations and last week's announcement that Imperial Chemical Industries is introducing the 40-hour week is regarded as a further spur to action.

Incomes Policy—^{A CAVEAT} by SYD HILL

Writing in the February Issue of the Public Employees' Journal, Syd Hill, who is the General Secretary of NUPE and a member of the General Council of the TUC, made the following important statement.

THE joint declaration by representatives of the trade unions, employers' organisations and the Government on the broad principles of an incomes policy has been widely welcomed as a revolutionary development. This enthusiasm is understandable in view of the speed with which the Government acted. But, without wishing to appear unduly pessimistic, it is worth remembering that the really tough bargaining has yet to come.

The general statement, setting out a belief in the need for an incomes policy, has now to be shaped into a positive programme of action. During this process the trade unions will have to exercise all of their negotiating skills and deploy their organisational strength to protect and advance the interests of their members.

It is frequently stated that the objective of an incomes policy is to stabilise wages, prices and profits in relation to output. But this is a dangerous over-simplification. It implies an acceptance of the present division of the nation's wealth among the various classes. If an incomes policy is to be based on social justice — if

it is to assist in breaking down the class structure—it must redistribute the nation's wealth. The degree of priority given to community needs over private profit-making must therefore be demonstrated by an expansion of the public services. And this in turn must be reflected in the wage packets of the workers in those services.

These are the kind of standards our Union will apply as it examines the details of an incomes policy as they emerge in the coming months. The degree of enthusiasm we accord that policy will depend on how far it satisfies those standards."

The fact that public employees' wages are frequently scandalous, even in cases where they are working under Labour controlled authorities, is only one of the results of the ideas of 'mixed economy' which dominate too many people in the Labour Movement. Instead of using the public sector to make the economic pace, to undermine the private sector, and to advance the interests of labour, it is held back as a sort of perpetual Cinderella, or handmaiden to the capitalist order of things. Both local enterprise and the nationalised industries should set the standards of employment in our country, taxing private industry in order to do so. If incomes policies are not prepared to move in this direction, they are certainly unworthy of support.

DARE WE DISARM?

At this moment, the jobs of many individual workers rest on some section of the arms industry.

Almost all of us agree that world disarmament is urgent and necessary, but a man thinks twice before putting himself out of a job: does full employment really depend on the Arms Race? What can one man do, to make sure that annihilation or unemployment are not the only alternatives? Where and when can the Trade Unions help most?

These are questions that concern every working man and woman, questions that we can and must all join forces to answer.

Wolverhampton CND and West Midland CND have made arrangements for this conference where workers and employers, Conservatives, Socialists, Liberals and Communists, "Ban-the-Bombers" and others can all exchange views.

Several well-briefed speakers will supply facts and figures on the situation here and now.

SATURDAY, 30th JANUARY:

1. The Problem

2.30 p.m. **Brian Mathers** — A Trade Unionist's point of view. (Brian Mathers is a full-time official of T. & G.W.U. in Wolverhampton area).

3.00 p.m. **Alan Rooney** — A CNDER's point of view. (Alan Rooney is a technical teacher whose particular subject is economics. He is on NW Region CND Executive Committee, and editor of the aircraft workers paper "Aviation Voice").

3.30 p.m. OPEN DISCUSSION of the above items.

5.00 p.m. TEA.

2. Towards a Solution

5.30 p.m. **Geoffrey Goodman** — **Disarmament in Action: Ways and Means.** (Geoffrey Goodman is an economist. He also served in the R.A.F. during the war. As a journalist he has worked on the "Guardian", "News Chronicle", "Daily Herald" and is now industrial correspondent of the "Sun". He has written an outstanding pamphlet: "The Economic Consequences of Staying Alive".

6.00 p.m. OPEN DISCUSSION and questions on the above items.

6.30 p.m. PRACTICAL STEPS: What can one man do? — A FORUM INCLUDING ALL THE MAIN SPEAKERS. **RONALD DURHAM** will be in the chair

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YOUR JOB AND THE BOMB

Incomes and Policies

UNION conferences in 1965 are going to be addressing themselves to both the working class and the Labour Government. It is therefore important that the usual 'perennials' on the agenda of every conference be balanced with resolutions that will provoke thought and action on things that matter; and, even more important, that our decisions are of practical value to the problems the movement is facing. Plans are more necessary than postures.

The ASSET conference at Hastings in April may lead the way, judging from the preliminary agenda now circulating in the branches. Taking just two subjects: incomes policy and workers control, ideas for action will be put to the delegates that cannot fail to create enthusiastic discussion.

On incomes policy, the traditional (and understandable) line of total rejection of "any form of wage restraint" is stated in resolutions from Hendon and Sheffield branches, while Edinburgh throws into the arena the demand "That there must be no negotiations on incomes policy until the employers open their books for inspection by the trade unions." The relevance of Edinburgh's motion has been highlighted by the recent price increases of foodstuff—why not trade union and consumer control of prices? One way to mobilise the working class as a whole against the monopolists!

The demand for workers' control (in some form or another) in the nationalised industries—as a beginning—is already TUC policy. It is no accident that ASSET members within these industries are raising specific demands for action on these lines now. A kind of socialist "declaration of intent" . . .

Footnote: The only blot on the agenda is a resolution from Liverpool North raising the ugly head of racialism under the guise of a concern for the nation's health. Perhaps the best comment on its sponsors is the other resolution moved by the same branch and appearing immediately above it, entitled "Crude Sewerage"!

By Gavin Kennedy

Do-it-yourself law

MR. JUSTICE STREATFIELD told a man at Glamorgan Assizes on January 13, charged with maliciously inflicting grievous bodily harm on another man, that his victim 'had thoroughly deserved to be beaten up to teach him a lesson.'

The man, who pleaded guilty to the charge, attacked his victim when he saw him indecently expose himself before two boys. The victim received a fractured leg and laceration of the lip.

The judge told the attacker he could be forgiven for hitting his victim with his fists and knocking him down, but he 'made a mistake' in using his boots when the other man was lying on the ground.

He added: 'I think anybody can readily understand your rage. I would say he thoroughly deserved to be beaten up to teach him a lesson. You were no doubt doing a public service but you lost your temper and went too far.'

From ROGER PROTZ

CND FORUM — Zilly speaks

The new Government has had to devote considerable energy to economic problems that it inherited from its Tory forerunner.

It is, also, becoming clear that the former Government had helped to create a very difficult position on defence and foreign affairs. There is a very clear link between economic policy and foreign affairs, and CND has always maintained that no British Government could ever launch an ambitious programme of social reform and, at the same time, retain the tremendous arms bill which has increased year by year.

In order to provide the opportunity to discuss these matters we have convened a special conference, which will take the form of an open discussion forum.

Mr. Konni Ziliacus, M.P. for Manchester (Gorton) has kindly agreed to open the discussion and it is hoped that a number of other M.P.s will be able to take part.

The forum will be at the Milton Hall, Deansgate, Manchester, on Saturday, 6th February at 2.30 p.m. There will be no charge for admission, and the forum will end at about 5.30 p.m.

It would be appreciated if you would draw the attention of your members to this opportunity to hear about and to discuss this vital area of policy, upon which our future depends.

Buccaneer scare scotched

The following item has been extracted from the front page article of the January issue of **Humberside Voice**:

IT is the view of almost all recent visitors to South Africa that no peaceful settlement of this mounting conflict is now possible.

Harold Wilson pledged, in 1963, that "we shall undertake to bring employment to the areas affected—not excluding government orders for the equipment needed all over Africa for the war against hunger and poverty." He gave an assurance that any contracts lost would be replaced by others. And he gave a warning, that Labour's opponents would "go to the constituencies where the manufacture of arms for South Africa is carried on and drop dark hints that Labour's policy would mean unemployment." **SCAREMONGERING**

He was right. THE HULL MAIL has played politics with the natural fears and anxieties of the Brough workers who at present have to earn a living, by carrying on this "inhuman traffic." Again and again it has re-

turned to the scare, ending on November 16th, 1964, with these words: "Workers at Brough have far more cause than the average citizen to await with anxiety the decision by the British Government on the question of trade with South Africa. If a ban is placed on the export of Buccaneer aircraft to that country, their jobs will be seriously imperilled." If the MAIL had really cared, it could have banner headlined the Labour Party's pledges of "NO UNEMPLOYMENT"—again and again. When the news was given that the existing contract for 16 Buccaneers would be "honoured" the MAIL—and we regret, Hull M.P.s—expressed "relief." This implied that there had been a threat to Brough jobs. Walt Joester, however, AEU district secretary in Hull, responded "we have always been confident that the government would honour its pledges that work would be maintained whatever the decision had been." Even without the pledges, if the contract had been cancelled, there would have been no serious unemployment prob-

lem. Natural turnover would have taken care of the drop in labour demand, and building Buccaneers for the Navy will keep Brough busy until at least the end of the decade. **RUMOUR-MONGERING**

The SUNDAY TELEGRAPH went snooping at Brough, and produced this sensation, on November 22nd. "BUCCANEER: POLITICAL LEVY ROW. A revolt on the factory floor has begun here against the possibility of a government embargo on Buccaneer aircraft for South Africa. Members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union have asked to contract out of paying the union's quarterly shilling political levy . . ." **FACTS**

The Hull AEU district returns show that 29 members out of a district total of 6,041, have contracted out recently. (Beginning of December.) **TWO OF THESE WERE BROUGH WORKERS**, out of the union's strength of **THREE THOUSAND** at the factory. So much for the "revolt"!

Anti Apartheid News



Act of war, says Canon

The following letter by Canon Collins, which appeared in the Johannesburg Star of 8th January, speaks for itself:

THE present South African Government tries hard to create the impression that persons charged under its apartheid legislation are not political opponents but common criminals; so it has taken good care to make it known throughout the world that Vuyisile Mini was charged with complicity in a murder.

There was, therefore, no deception either intended or committed by accident, on the part of Christian Action in its advertisement concerning the hanging of Mr. Mini. Indeed, I am at a loss to understand why the Star sees fit to become a cat's-paw in this case of the Nationalist Government.

In an attack on our advertisement a leader-writer of The Star says: "Whatever the political overtones, therefore, this was a plain case of murder . . ."

It was nothing of the sort, as the leader-writer himself must well know: he says that Mini and his two colleagues who were hanged with him "were not alleged to have committed the murder themselves"; he goes on to point out that three other men "are now being tried at Graaff-Reinet for the actual murder."

And it is the political overtones which, in a case of this sort, are vital and cannot be ignored.

In the present situation in South Africa thousands of Africans like Mr. Mini regard themselves as already — against their wishes — involved in a civil war and think of their resistance to apartheid in some such terms as the Maquis in the Second World War thought of theirs to the German occupation of France.

The African National Congress — of which banned organisation Vuyisile Mini was a member — had, before its banning, sustained for many years a non-violent campaign against apartheid and all the indignities and tyranny involved in it.

Where all democratic rights and non-violent means of protest are denied to them, men and women who suffer under such conditions of tyranny will tend to see sabotage, which leads to death, not as murder,

but as an act of war.

Nationalist Governments in South Africa have persistently and increasingly used violence against those who make legitimate and non-violent attempts on behalf of the vast majority of South African citizens against racial injustices and racial intolerance; and previous Governments were not without blame in this respect.

By what right then do privileged Whites in South Africa now castigate the victims of unjust legislation and intolerant behaviour for any decision they may make to abandon for the time being the way of negotiation and peaceful protest? The Government has deliberately closed the way of negotiation; and it meets any peaceful protest with brutal force . . .

It is not, perhaps, without significance that throughout the history of South Africa the Afrikaaners have treated their own political offences of violence as something noble, and their own "political criminals" as national heroes.

Readers of The Star will know, for example, that the Nationalists, as a mark of homage to them, celebrated the Voortrekker centenary by carrying through the streets of Pretoria the beam on which the rebels of the Slagtersnek Rebellion were hanged; and Jopie Fourie, who was executed for murder, is regarded as a national hero by the Afrikaaners of the Nationalist Party. The Africans of

South Africa who regard Vuyisile Mini as a hero of the resistance to apartheid are only following the example of those who claim to be so superior to them.

SOUTH AFRICA is rapidly running out of small arms, pistols and ammunition.

A Pretoria dealer has stated that unless the world-wide bans were relaxed, all arms dealers would be out of business within a year.

He said South Africa was at present being boycotted by 52 arms and ammunition manufacturing countries throughout the world.

Small pistols could still be obtained from Spain, but the factories there were inundated with orders from South Africa.

No ammunition could be obtained from Spain, however, and bullets for Spanish guns had to be imported from elsewhere.

Belgium and France still granted limited permits for the export of arms and ammunition to South Africa, but this was "absolutely inadequate," said the dealer.

"Japan is quite willing to sell to South Africa but their arms factories are controlled by America and American capital. They are therefore forbidden to export to us," he added.

"The situation is getting worse every week.

"We still have some stocks left from the last orders from America and Britain, but they are running out," he said.

"I cannot see how any arms and ammunition dealer could possibly last longer than 12 months."

*JOHANNESBURG STAR, 6th January.

From the Third

WEST INDIES — Sugar turns sour

These reports from the WEST INDIES NEWS SERVICE (91 Station Road, London, N.3) indicate the severe effects of neo-colonialism on the small, usually single-crop, economic units of the West Indies.

THE West Indies is sugar and sugar is crisis after crisis. The highly mechanised Australian sugar industry is the new threat to West Indian sugar. The previous threat (and crisis) came from Britain's intention to join the European Common Market. Australia's low production price threatens the price structure of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement under which Commonwealth sugar producers negotiate the price year by year.

The fall in the world market price of sugar presents this problem. About one-third of the production will be sold at approx. \$135.00 (W.I.). Cost of production, though varying, is over \$192.00 per ton according to sugar producers' figures.

The slogan of W.I. sugar producers (i.e., Tate and Lyle principally) is mechanise or perish. British journals generally see the same alternatives. Follow Australia is the new slogan. But while Australia suffers from scarcity of labour supply and encourages immigration, the West Indies suffer from over-supply of labour and emigration doors are being closed. Unemployment ranges from 14% to nearly 25% of the

labour force in West Indian territories. Mechanisation in agriculture and industry is a major political and social problem in the West Indies and the politicians are realising this.

Kirkwood, President of the British West Indies Sugar Association, has called on West Indian Governments to convene a conference of the Governments' sugar producers, cane farmers, and trade unions.

The Nutmeg Association of Grenada, one of the biggest producers of nutmegs in the world, has found it necessary to approach producers in Trinidad and St. Vincent to form some type of joint marketing arrangement in the Canadian market so as to protect the price of this agricultural raw material.

Quite recently, the Jamaica All Island Banana Growers Association took similar steps to negotiate a joint marketing arrangement with the Windward Islands Banana Association so as to eliminate their price war in their principal market—Britain—and to avoid further price drops.

The shippers and marketers for the Jamaica banana industry are Elders and Fyffe while it is Geest Industries (a U.S. subsidy) which ships and markets for the Windward Islands.

Production in the Windward Islands has increased considerably. The price according to THE TIMES has been depressed below the price of £41 to £42 per ton which is the Jamaican cost of production.

Students protest

During the opening session of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association held in Jamaica recently, students of the University of the West Indies demonstrated against the Southern Rhodesian Government's attempt to impose White Minority rule on the Southern Rhodesia. The students supported the call of the Zimbabwe nationalists of "one man one vote."

The students also protested at the presence of Southern Rhodesia in the conference.

Union man sacked

Hugh Small, Barrister-at-law, legal adviser in the National Workers' Union in Jamaica and an active member of the Young Socialist League has been relieved of his Union duties.

His dismissal follows a strike of the headquarters and field staff of the N.W.U., the Trade Union wing of the ruling People's National Party, at an emergency meeting of the Union's Executive.

Small was reported as saying that "neither the N.W.U. nor the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union meant the workers of Jamaica any good, and the workers should take over and create a full socialist state."

When asked about Small's dismissal, Thos. Kelly, dual president of the N.W.U. and the Caribbean Congress of Labour, said "he was dismissed in the normal course of events. The executives of the N.W.U. decided that Small's activities were not in the best interest of the Union."

Significant was the fact that certain persons who are simultaneously members of the N.W.U. and P.N.P. executive, sympathetic to Small's views, were not invited to the N.W.U.'s emergency meeting, which decided Small's fate, thus reflecting the split in the P.N.P., one faction seeking the interest of the workers, while the other remained predominantly on the side of big business.

*One W.I. dollar equals 4s. 2d.

Trinidad Unions force take over

Bus Services in North and South Trinidad have been taken over by the Trinidad and Tobago Government. The take-over took effect as from 1st January, 1965.

The Government alleged "mismanagement on a grand scale" and "constant operational deficits" by the Companies. The Government has had to pay subsidies totalling \$4,545,819 (West Indian) to the companies.

During the recent successful 58-day strike led by the Transport and

Industrial Workers' Union, the workers demanded the take-over of the company.

It was after a similar four-month strike by the Telephone workers that the Government took over the Telephone Company.

Prior to the take-over, the Government appointed a working party to consider the implications of a take-over of the bus transport system. The T.I.W.U. had its own representatives on this working party.

World



Pakistan - Union denounces Govt.

IN a press statement issued on 24th December, 1964, Mohammad Sharif, president of the Pakistan National Federation of Trade Unions, denounced the Government's deliberate failure to bring about a revision of its present labour policy despite the continued demands of the Pakistani trade union movement which were fully supported by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The PNFTU underlined that because of the Government's refusal to act large-scale strikes and industrial unrest had taken place, many trade union organisations had been destroyed and workers' wages had been kept at a very low level. In its statement the PNFTU denounced the Government's policy which requires compulsory industrial adjudication since there is no right to strike. It declared that present laws do not provide any solution to the problems of the workers and merely makes endless civil litigation necessary. Thus the workers are subject to various repressive acts, victimisation and unfair labour practices.

The PNFTU further stressed that contrary to promises made by the Government of West Pakistan regard-

ing contemplated amendments in various labour laws, these amendments — instead of simplifying and liberalising the provisions of the laws — envisage further curbing and restriction of the trade union movement and of the impracticable compulsory industrial adjudication system.

Declaring that the trade unions strongly oppose any restrictive measures, the Pakistan National Federation of Trade Unions issued an appeal to all members of the Electoral Colleges and East and West Pakistan to "take into consideration the miserable plight of the workers and exercise their votes judiciously, ensuring social justice and fair play for the toiling workers". In its appeal the PNFTU stressed that it stands for democracy, the right to strike, progressive labour legislation, freedom of thought and speech, freedom of association, freedom of the press, the achievement of a peaceful and dignified life for all and a strong national and international trade union movement. On the other hand, the PNFTU will continue to fight against any discrimination, economic exploitation, social injustice, illiteracy and against restrictions on education.

Rhodesia - Campaign for T.U. Freedom

ON behalf of five million non-manual workers, grouped within the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, the organisation's general secretary Erich Kissel has called upon the Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Mr. Ian Smith, to secure the immediate release of Edward Watunga, General Secretary of the Rhodesian Commercial Workers' Union. As long ago as 14th September, 1964, after learning that Watunga had been arrested on 31st August, 1964, together with eight other trade union leaders, Kissel had cabled a protest

at his unwarranted detention.

In his latest letter to Ian Smith, Kissel underlined that Watunga has been a devoted and active trade unionist working tirelessly on behalf of his African colleagues in an effort to raise their standard of living and that he has provided an outstanding example to them of how a trade union and its leaders, through hard work and devotion, works democratically and effectively on their behalf. Kissel has also written to U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, and to Mr. Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Algerians strike

WORKERS for the British firm Constructors John Brown, which is building the Algerian Government-owned oil pipeline from the Sahara to the Mediterranean coast, went on a partial strike on January 11th to protest against the dismissal of a number of Algerian employees.

According to a spokesman for the company the dispute affects only some of the workers at Laghouat, central point of the 500-mile long pipeline. The spokesman said the company had in fact dismissed a number of Algerian technicians and labourers at Laghouat, but in agreement with the Ministry of Labour and the unions it had taken on an equal number at Ghardia, farther south.

The Laghouat strike is seen in Algiers as symptomatic of the wide and still spreading labour unrest in Algeria. Workers employed by foreign firms have been striking for varying periods over the past two months. Salary increases, special bonuses and improved working conditions have been the main demands.

The Algerian Government have given tacit support to the workers' demands and to the strikes. They did not, however, support the action when 7,000 dock workers stopped work and paralysed Algiers' port. After three days of discussions, the National Workers' Union ordered the men back to work and the ports began to operate again on January 9th.

From Manila . . .

FILIPPINO loggers lodged a protest with the U.S. Subic naval base authorities against their preventing them from conducting logging operations in Philippine territory, according to a Manila report quoting the MANILA CHRONICLE, January 7th.

The loggers said they had a permit from the Philippine Bureau of Forestry to conduct logging operations in the area but the U.S. Subic naval base authorities did not allow them to do so.

VEITNAM

Thieves fall out

U. S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk attended another Senate Foreign Relations Committee session on Jan. 8th to give his "testimony" on South Vietnam. This was his third "testimony" in a week on the question before the Congress.

Chairman of the Committee J. William Fulbright revealed to newsmen later that at the session Rusk "is undergoing close examination." He said that next week the Committee would ask Rusk to continue to "testify" on U.S. policy in South Vietnam, but he added, "it's premature to say whether the Committee can arrive at a consensus."

Member of the Committee George Aiken said that he saw no signs of progress in the South Vietnam situation. He disclosed that there were differences of opinion among the members of the Committee on what the United States should do in South Vietnam. "Everyone has a view," he said. "I don't see how we can arrive at a consensus in the Committee."

Another member of the Committee Karl Mundt said that he felt the "consensus" among Committee members was that the situation in South Vietnam "is worse than it was three or four months ago." Mundt said that he found nothing good in the situation there outlined by Rusk.

An editorial in the NEW YORK TIMES of January 8th said "the growing pressure in the United States Senate for a full-scale debate reflects a growing uneasiness in the country." It conceded that never in the decade of direct U.S. involvement in South Vietnam had the prospects of that "unfortunate country" looked less promising and nor had the political situation there ever been more confused. Rusk's "testimony" on South Vietnam had "brought out the strongest differences of opinion" in the Congress.

The WASHINGTON EVENING STAR acknowledged on January 3rd that the U.S. policy in South Vietnam "have never been popular here" and "the American losses have mounted in recent weeks and the Vietnamese continued to demonstrate an inability to create a stable government, frustration here has risen." This, the paper said, was reflected by a number of Senators, in recently

made "we-never-should-have-become-involved - in - the - first - place" statements.

According to the paper, Richard Russell, Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said recently, "I thought we made a terrible mistake getting involved in Vietnam. I don't know just how we can get out now, but the time is at hand when we must re-evaluate our position." Senator Frank Church also believed that the United States was "mistaken" when it decided at first to intervene in South Vietnam. "Our present policy," he said, "is leading us toward the same calamity as befell the French 10 years ago." Earlier, Senate Democratic Party Leader Mike Mansfield and Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee J. William Fulbright had criticised — gently or sharply—U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Some other Senators, however, advocated increasing U.S. involvement in South Vietnam. They even openly called for expansion of the war.

The ASSOCIATED PRESS reported on January 6th that only 81 of the 100 Senators responded to its recent survey on the U.S. policy in South Vietnam. "Eight indicated they had no suggestions, and 24 refused to comment at all."

The report added, "there were conflicting undercurrents of Senate sentiment for outright U.S. withdrawal or for expansion of the U.S.-backed warfare. But those views came only from a handful of Senators." The opinion of many others reflected the present U.S. "dilemma" in South Vietnam; they "reluctantly" expressed their support for the present U.S. policy and "saw it as a temporary measure."

The report quoted Senator Milward Simpson (Republican) as saying, "I do not know precisely what changes should be brought about in American policy in Vietnam, but I do know that we can neither withdraw nor cling to the precarious *status quo* which is causing us to lose the war in which so many Americans already have died." Another Senator who did not want to be identified said, "I don't know how you get off a tiger's back."

SPAIN

Living costs soar

CONTRARY to the optimism about the political, economic and social position of Spain, expressed by General Franco in his annual New Year message, "Arriba," organ of the Falange movement — the only legal political party in the country—admitted on 1st January, 1965, that the cost of living has increased considerably during 1964. Underlining that food prices have risen more than prices for other consumer goods, the paper stressed that the index had increased by 7.3 per cent. for the period from January to September last year.

The real figure, however, is much higher, and according to expert estimates, the Spanish workers' cost of living rose by over 25 per cent. in 1964 while wages remained at the same level, with small increases in some industrial enterprises. The general demand of workers for 150 pesetas (2.50 US dollars or 18 shillings sterling) minimum daily wage was only obtained in exceptional cases. According to estimates made by the Employers' Association of Madrid, the daily budget of a married worker with two children living in Madrid is 186 pesetas (about 3.10 dollars or one pound two shillings sterling). The legal minimum daily wage in Spain is, however, only 60 pesetas (one US dollar or seven shillings sterling).

"Arriba" also revealed that unemployment amongst agricultural workers has increased. In September 1964 there were 52,000 unemployed agricultural workers, compared with 24,000 in September 1963.

A few days before delivering his New Year message, General Franco promulgated a new law entitled "law on freedom of association," which was passed by the Cortes, the Spanish version of Parliament, on 22nd December, 1964. Contrary to its name, this law is aimed to ban all organisations opposed to the principles of the Falange movement and other basic statutes of the present dictatorial regime, or to moral or public order, or which "represent a danger to the political and social unity of Spain."

NEW YORK —

Welfare strikers sacked

from Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, Jan. 6 — A high level of militancy and unity has dominated the first days of a strike here by city welfare workers. The liberal city administration of Mayor Robert F. Wagner has dismissed thousands of strikers under the state's Condon-Wadlin Act in an attempt to break the strike. It is the first time since the act was passed in 1947 that the city has ever applied its provisions for automatic dismissal of public workers who strike.

The strikers are demanding higher pay and working conditions which will permit them to do a better job for the city's half-million welfare cases.

The walkout was called by the Social Service Employees (SSE) and Local 371 of the AFL-CIO State, County and Municipal Employees. The strike action was originally sparked by the SSE, an independent union formed by dissident members of Local 371. It recently won an election to replace Local 371 as bargaining agent for the Welfare Department's 6,000 social investigators. Many of these are young college graduates. The AFL-CIO union still bargains for the 4,500 clerical and supervisory employees.

Despite the rivalry, strike solidarity has so far been achieved with the unions pledged to respect each other's picket lines. The strike began in the face of a judge's restraining order and the threat of the Condon-Wadlin Act. The New York Labour movement has traditionally been bitterly opposed to the Act and the Democratic Party has promised to repeal it. Nevertheless, the Democratic Party city administration applied the act Jan. 5, the evening of the second day of the strike, dismissing 5,398 workers whose names had up to that time been turned over to the city comptroller's office.

City officials admitted that 90 per cent of the social investigators and at least half the clerical and supervisory workers stayed out the first strike day. Picket line morale was high and even more stayed out the second day. Some pickets carried placards headed "Fink List" and "Scab List" with names of workers who crossed the picket line.

Aside from wages, the chief grievance is the huge case load. It is supposed to be 60 cases per investigator but often runs up to 90. The SSE is demanding a reduction to 500 cases and additional help to eliminate overloading. The city administration refuses to negotiate the key working conditions issue.

The unions point out that working conditions and frustrations of not being able to handle the case load properly are so bad that the yearly turnover of social workers is 40 per cent.

The daily press, which is usually engaged in a campaign to make welfare harder to obtain, has suddenly begun to shed crocodile tears for the city's needy. An editorial in the Jan. 4 'New York Times' demanded that the city invoke the Condon-Wadlin Act, replace the strikers and break the strike "in fairness to the most deprived of New York's citizens." At the picketed welfare centres, however, relief applicants express sympathy for the strikers. Brooklyn CORE and other social-action groups sent members to march on the picket lines. So did the Seafarers International Union, AFL-CIO.

Ed Note: A leaflet issued by the Social Services Employees Union reads:—

"... everyone should know that the inefficient operation of the Welfare Department and the disorganisation caused by staff turnover results in daily suffering for thousands of people including old people and children. This is the suffering we are trying to end.

We want to help people, not just perpetuate their misery. We want to be able to rehabilitate our clients, not humiliate them. We want to be able to encourage people toward independence, not just send checks.

We are asking for a salary scale that puts a premium on experience. We are asking for lower caseloads and for better working conditions. We are asking for an end to overcrowding in the children's shelters, and an end to staff overwork there, that deprives children of the individual care they so badly need.

We urge you to support our fight for a Welfare Department that can really do the job it is supposed to do.

If you want to help, contact:
Social Service Employees' Union,
Department of Welfare,
408 Jay Street,
Brooklyn, New York."

Messages of support from British trade unionists would be very welcome.

Dollar democracy

"IF you are thinking of running for political office, forget it—unless you are ready with big money to spend. That seems to be one lesson from the 1964 campaign," says the January fourth issue of U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT.

The magazine gave the following examples: Robert Kennedy spent 2 million dollars to win a seat in the Senate from New York and his rival Kenneth Keating spent as much; in California, two contestants had spent 1 million dollars each, battling for the Senate nomination.

"Candidates report that the going rate for a typical statewide campaign for the Senate is about 500,000 dollars. With each side spending that much, the total becomes 1 million.

"A typical campaign for a seat in the House of Representatives is reported to cost about 75,000 dollars each for winner and loser," the magazine said.

"It is not only seats in Congress that come high. So, often, do state offices," the magazine noted, adding that in campaigning for the Governorship of Massachusetts, John Volpe, Francis Bellotti and Endicott Peabody had spent as much as 2,224,000 dollars altogether.

The over-all cost of political activity in the U.S. last year—federal, state and local—was earlier reported to have been at 200 million dollars, marking the year as "the most expensive campaign year" in U.S. history.

The cost of a Solicitor

BERNARD SHAW said that any profession is a conspiracy against the people. That may be putting it simplistically but, nevertheless, it is a fact that the important professions have inbuilt devices to preserve a monopoly position. A very important component of the Establishment is the legal profession; as witnessed by the number of M.P.s who are solicitors and barristers. The FINANCIAL TIMES is at present doing a series of monograms: "Choosing a career." Number eight in the series was entitled "Becoming a Solicitor." The article was dominated by the table of what becoming a solicitor would cost a "5-year non-graduate." This read:

WHAT IT COSTS

	5-yr. non-graduate
	£
Enrolment fee	20
Loan of books	18
Law school fees:	
Part I	63
Part II	52
Examination fees:	
Part I	18
Part II	21
Admission fee	5
Maintenance at £7 p.w.....	1,720
	1,917

Explaining what qualifications to start training there were, the article said: "... an applicant has to be interviewed by a panel of solicitors appointed by the Law Society, and this panel can conceivably withhold consent on the grounds of mental immaturity."

But rewards are good to those who can afford the initial outlay; to quote again: "At first his salary will probably be in the range of £1,050 to £1,200, and a regular advance to £1,500 is standard. After a few years—and this period is becoming shorter—he can hope to enter a partnership. To do this he may have to acquire a share of the firm's capital and goodwill, but this can usually be done out of his annual earnings.

"Many solicitors of course, prefer to remain in salaried posts in private practice, rejecting the possibility of taking a partnership. The ablest of these should expect to earn £2,000, and in exceptional circumstances even more. Alternatively, many solicitors leave private practice early on, and enter the legal departments of the Civil Service, local government, the nationalised industries and of industrial companies. The Civil Service generally recruits solicitors sometime after they have qualified, and offers a starting salary, at the age of 24, of £1,280. After that further promotion depends on ability and luck, and the very able or very lucky) can hope to attain posts in the Civil Service at over £5,800 per year."

by Dave Windsor

Don't Stream our Schools

by Julian Atkinson

THE Fabian Group that produced this pamphlet, including as it did John Vaizey and Tyrrell Burgess, might be expected to have produced a worthwhile effort. This expectation is correct.

The pamphlet deals with problems of teacher supply and suggests that auxiliary staff must be brought in to help the teacher and that the number of places for teachers in training proposed in the Robbins Report should be brought forward at least four years. The authors also devote considerable space to arguing the case for non-streaming from 8 to 13 years.

"We firmly believe that, from the point of view of our society as a whole, streaming is a deplorable practice and recommend short-term measures to include positive encouragement to Junior School heads to unstream their schools. Considering that many Junior School heads are products of the selection 11 plus-grammar school syndrome, we must ensure that the reorganisation is done as a positive advance in educational development, with faith and conviction, and also with courage. Like all improvements in the Junior School it might be much easier to carry out with classes of 30, but in the foreseeable future this is impossible. It can, and has, been made to work with classes of 40, and in schools with a normal turnover of staff, and the usual proportion of newly qualified teachers. As has been said before, heads who have unstreamed their schools have indulged in a complete educational strip-tease to demonstrate their beliefs and their methods. It is up to the Secretary of State to influence Her Majesty's Inspectors, to Education Officers to influence their committees, and to training college principals to see that their lecturers and students not only observe but practice these techniques."

All in all, "New Patterns for Primary Schools" may be said to come out on the side of the angels and could prove itself very useful in the struggle for a decent education system.

*New Patterns for Primary Schools, a Fabian publication, from the Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, S.W.1, costing 2/6.

Don't Knock the City — Douglas Jay

Speaking in Glasgow on January 8th, Douglas Jay, President of the Board of Trade, was at pains to put at rest the City of London's "imaginary fears." Mr. Jay said "Attacks of financial nerves are no more helpful to the nation's solvency than delays in the docks." The City of London

owed it to the nation to stick to its responsible job "and not be too often diverted by imaginary fears and rumours." The City of London also had an invaluable contribution to make to our visible and invisible export earnings, he added.