

**BERTRAND
RUSSELL
JOINS OUR
TEAM**



The Week

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS
Vol. 4, No. 10. 16th September, 1965

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FREE SPEECH CAMPAIGN

— THE LATEST
NEWS

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WELCOME, BERTRAND RUSSELL!

The Week is delighted to report that Earl Russell has agreed to join our board of sponsors. We have in past months been proud to publish his fearless articles. He has with ruthless honesty pillorised Imperialism as the enemy of peace and freedom, and with great courage aligned himself with the hungry peoples of the Third World against their tormentors. As the most eminent living liberal thinker, it is of symbolic importance that Bertrand Russell has become one of the world's foremost spokesmen against Imperialism. To have his support for our paper is an encouragement of very great value indeed. Perhaps, also, it signals something else: the beginning of the end of the fragmentation of the British left, and the start of a regroupment in which substantial forces will be gathered to stand firm for principled, socialist, humanist politics. It is now up to our readers: if we are to develop the kind of journal worthy of such aspirations, we must secure the circulation and resources which can carry us firmly into print and on to a mass readership.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Our news story on page 10 is yet another indictment of U.S. imperialism and would indicate that the impulse for this war came from the Indian side with the tacit support of at least the "hawks" in the American administration. However, this does not alter a socialist assessment of the regime in Pakistan; that country is ruled by an anti-working class military junta which, in the absence of viable capitalist class and the failure of working class parties to emerge with sufficient strength to pose a socialist alternative, carries out the same function as a native ruling class. Items we have carried in the past indicate what this means for the Pakistani workers and peasants and, for that matter, any democratic forces in that country.

The most sensible commentary on the whole affair has come from the leaders of the Indian and Pakistani Workers' Associations in this country. They have called for the unity of the Indians and Pakistanis in this country against racial discrimination and against efforts to split them. We firmly hope that these sentiments are sufficiently powerful enough to prevent chauvinistic elements from utilising the war. The Indian and Pakistani workers and peasants, must surely see that the problems that face them - extreme hunger and ever-decreasing standards of living, will not be solved by a senseless war. As for Kashmir, self determination is the only answer.

NOTTINGHAM CITY LABOUR PARTY LAUNCHES VIETNAM MEDICAL AID CAMPAIGN

At its last meeting on September 9th, the Nottingham City Labour Party passed, with only one vote against, the following resolution, which had been submitted by West Nottingham CLP:

"That the City Labour Party be called upon to initiate activity in support of the appeal for medical aid to Vietnam, and that its efforts be based upon an appeal to supporters of the Labour Party."

A collection at the meeting raised nearly £4 for the fund and subsequently, one of the wards in Nottingham - the first to meet after the resolution had been passed - made a donation of £3. Nottingham City Labour party has produced a special appeal on the lines of the resolution and it is to circularise every Constituency Labour party in the country with this appeal. On the local front the collaboration of the trades council is being sought to ensure that all local trade unions respond.

All readers of The Week should ensure that when this is brought up at their Labour Party the response is generous. We should be pleased to hear of outcome of such efforts.

AMERICAN EMBASSY BACKS DOWN

from Raymond Challinor

Burnley United Nations Association invited me to debate Vietnam with a representative from the American Embassy. It was to have been held on any mutually convenient date in late September or early October. But the Embassy replied that, due to pressure of work, it must decline the invitation. This excuse is fatuous. America has the largest staffed embassy in Britain. Surely, it could have spared one of its members. Or does it fear having its case heard along side the case against it?

Personally, I think it would be a good tactic for other organisations to approach the U.S. Embassy when holding meetings on Vietnam. Its bland refusal to participate would not only be judged as a sign of political bankruptcy, but also provides a fitting contrast with the National Liberation Front, eager to present its case to the British public.

A LETTER FROM A PETERBOROUGH READER

In the present situation I consider The Week is 'doing a grand job.' More power to its pen. Re Vietnam reports - I am now trying to get the sympathisers among my friends to join the 10/- each effort. I have also sent protests on the visa refusal to our M.P. and to the Prime Minister. One query on the Vietnam matter. In Bill Vester's article he includes the Communists among those "failed dismally." I would question this, as the Daily Worker has reported all activities and given Fenner Brockway space for a full article (Ballot) last Saturday.

George Fovargue

PIANO RECITAL IN AID OF PEACE FOUNDATION

The world famous Chinese pianist, Fou Ts'ong is giving a benefit performance for the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation on Friday 24th September. The performance will be at the Central Hall Westminster and starts at 7.30. As readers will know the activities of the Foundation are purely dependent on donations and such activities. In view of the magnificent ^{work} being done by the Foundation every reader should make every effort to publicise this effort. Tickets from B.R.P.F., 3 & 4, Shavers Place, Haymarket, London S.W.1.

FREE SPEECH CAMPAIGN MAKES PROGRESS

The Nottingham City Labour Party passed the following resolution, with one vote against, to be sent to Annual Conference: " This Annual Conference of the Labour Party regrets the Government's decision not to grant visas to the three representatives of the Vietnamese Liberation Front, led by Professor Nguyen van Hieu, who wish to come to this country to participate in 'teach-ins' and to explain their point of view. Conference believes that this measure is in contradiction to the Foreign Secretary's remarks earlier this year at the Oxford Teach-in, when he stated that it was 'essential for British people to have access to news information and comment from all over the world... to form their own opinions and to express these opinions freely.' Conference requests the Government to reconsider its decision."

It was pointed out at this meeting that the puppet 'government' of South Vietnam had had a spokesman at the Oxford teach-in where Mr. Stewart made his famous speech, and the ambassadors of this government - headed by a self-confessed admirer of Hitler, ^{or the} are allowed to move freely amongst us, whilst the point of view/South Vietnamese Liberation Front, as presented by them, has not been heard in this country.

There has been a growing response for the free-speech campaign from back-bench M.P.s. Stan Newens, Joyce Butler, Trevor Park, Anne Kerr, Emrys Hughes and Marcus Lipton have all pledged their support and promised to raise the issue in Parliament. Expressions of support for the campaign have come from Central Nottingham U.S.D.A.W., Lenton Ward Labour Party, the President of the Nottingham Trades Council. The Hull Peace in Vietnam Committee has promised to distribute the appeal, and the Scottish N.U.M. is circulating an appeal to branches to support the campaign. The West Hull Labour Party has mandated its delegate to Conference to support the above emergency resolution.

Donations have reached us from the Leicester Peace in Vietnam Committee, Ayrshire, Bristol, Cardiff, Cheam, Essex, London, Nottingham, Oxford, Peterborough and Wigan, and an £8 anonymous donation. All money received will be acknowledged.

YORKS PEACE GROUPS PROTEST OVER VISAS

Fourteen Peace Groups, meeting at York, called upon the Labour Government to dissociate itself from American aggression in Vietnam, and called for a peaceful settlement based on the 1954 Geneva Conference. They also condemned "in the strongest terms" the Government's action in not issuing visas to representatives of the National Liberation Front.

SPECIAL LEAFLET ON FREE SPEECH CAMPAIGN

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has produced a special leaflet for use in the campaign to get visas for the three N.L.F. representatives. Attractively produced it argues the case for their admittance and calls upon people to take action by protesting to their M.P.s and the Prime Minister. It also calls upon members of the Labour movement to canvass support for the Nottingham emergency resolution for Labour Party conference. Copies of the leaflet can be obtained from either The Week or the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 3 & 4, Shavers Place, Haymarket, London S.W. 1. - a donation to help to cover the cost and postage would be appreciated.

The Campaign Against Racial Discrimination issued a memo to all T.U.C. delegates. The following is the text:

"The General Council Report, para 238, does not deal adequately with the attitude of the the trade union movement on the issue of racialism and immigration.

"Coloured immigrants are primarily workers and it is as workers that they will integrate in our society. It is vital that the trade union movement should declare its solidarity with coloured workers.

"CARD would urge that in the discussion of para 238 of the General Council's report the following points be made:

"1. That Congress should recognise and welcome the contribution of those immigrant workers who are playing an active role in the trade union movement.

"2. That Congress should express appreciation of the contribution of immigrant workers to the growth of the British economy.

"3 That Congress should reiterate rejection of all forms of racial prejudice and discrimination and declare that the growth of racialism threatens the ideals as well as the interests of the British people in a multi-racial world.

"4. That Congress should reject the use of immigration debate to obscure the real issues underlying deeprooted social problems such as housing.

"5. That Congress should use its great influence on the labour movement to reverse the dangerous trend in present Government policies as reflected by the Race Relations Bill, the Education Circular and, above all, by the White Paper on Immigration from the Commonwealth.

"6. That Congress should urge upon affiliated unions that they should take positive steps to establish the closest contacts with immigrant workers and encourage them to play their full part in the movement.

"CARD recognises the vital role of the trade union movement in the fight against racialism and in promoting integration. The immigrant is, above all, a worker. It is a worker that he will establish solidarity with the British worker and resist racialism attempts to divide them. We call upon trade unionists to play their full part in this aspect of our fight for a better society.

"We invite trade unions to affiliate to CARD.

"We invite trade unionists to become individual members of CARD.

"For information contact CARD at 23, St. George's House, Gunthorpe Street, London E.1. Telephone Bishopgate 5581."

CARD organised an extremely successful meeting on the Sunday evening before Congress began. David Pitt was the main speaker and W. Lindley of the Watermen, Lightermen, Tugmen and Bargemen's Union was the chairman.

HAMPSTEAD LABOUR PARTY ORGANISES CONFERENCE ON IMMIGRATION WHITE PAPER

Recently the Hampstead Labour Party passed an emergency resolution which it hopes to get debated at Annual Conference condemning the Government's White Paper on immigration as being "economically unjustifiable and morally indefensible." The party realises, however, that no matter what happens at Conference, there will be a clear need for some time to come for an honest re-examination of attitudes and principles within the Labour Party on this issue, no matter how painful this may be electorally. With this in mind party is organising an aggregate meeting.

The meeting will take place at A.S.L.E.F. headquarters at Arkwright Rd., Hampstead on Wednesday, 22nd September, 8.15 pm. All London constituency parties have been invited to send representatives, as well as many trade union branches in North West London. In addition Lena Jeger, M.P., Reg. Freeson, M.P., David Pitt, Paul Foot, the party trade union liaison officer, Ross Pierson (who is himself a white immigrant and opposed to the way the White Paper discriminates against coloured immigrants) have been invited. The purpose of the meeting will not be to discuss the White Paper, but to plan a campaign to reverse its findings in co-operation with any branch, unit, constituency, or individual member of the Labour Party. And further to give what support is possible to members of Parliament who are prepared to vote against the White Paper.

Enquiries about the meeting and further information can be got from the secretary of Hampstead Labour Party: John Keohane, 24a, Carlingford Rd., London N.W. 3.

CONFERENCE: HOW TO STRENGTHEN THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

2.30 p.m. Sunday 10th October

at 4, Portland Street, Clifton, Bristol 8.

Afternoon session: "The Labour Party and the Government"
(prominent speakers being arranged)

Evening session: "The left must organise"

Accommodation can be arranged on request.

Contact: C. Gibson, 21, Briavels Grove, Bristol 6 for further information.

BUILD FOR PEACE MARCH

On Saturday and Sunday, September 18th and 19th, West Midlands CND will be organising a march from Wolverhampton, via Walsall and Dudley, to Birmingham through the "Black Country" industrial region. The special theme of the march will "Build for Peace" and it is hoped to use the march to highlight the need to use Britain's manpower and resources for peaceful and constructive purposes. The march starts at 10.00 on the Saturday from St. George's Church (forecourt), St. George's Parade off Bilston Street, Wolverhampton. It finishes in the Bull Ring, Birmingham at 5.45 and a meeting will be held. Please write to West Midlands CND, Factory Rd., Birmingham 19 for further details and to make offers of help.

One of the striking features of the present Labour Government is its total ineffectiveness of action and future plans for dealing with the old basic industries of Wales; coal and slate are in rapid decline. Total employment has dropped in them from 124,000 in 1959 to less than 100,000 today. Manpower in the South Wales coalfield is now 70,000 (lower than it was a century ago) and is still dropping by some 6,000 per year. It is the younger and more vigorous men who are leaving. Increasingly pits are being worked with a preponderance of men over 50 years of age. Pits are now closed because not enough men are available to work them safely or economically.

Every pit closed is a step into deeper crisis, a blow to what confidence in the future of the industry remains. The NUM have called on both Tory and Labour governments to take drastic measures necessary to halt the decline, the call has been in vain. The Cambrian pit disaster drew once again the tribute of the national press to the heroism of the miners and of the burden of danger, disease and discomfort every time they go down to work. Within a few weeks the NCB under pressure from the Government's incomes policy refused a modest 25/- wage claim and offered the miners a derisory 10/- to 15/- rise. This to day wage men who after stoppages, take home less than £10 per week.

Small wonder that reports since the Cambrian explosion speak of a further rise in the number of men leaving the industry. Small wonder also that the frustration of the miners bursts out in a day long bitter debate over methods of resisting pit closures at the South Wales miners' annual conference in May this year. Much of the heated argument lost its way in the blind alley wrangle over whether strike action was the way to resist closures or not. But the deep feeling on the issue was shown when unanimous support was given to a resolution from Coedely Lodge:

"This conference condemns the disastrous running down of the mining industry, the lack of any comprehensive fuel policy and the blatant disregard for the security, wages, and conditions of miners, all of which is the result of the policies pursued by the previous Tory Government. We call for the full power of the union in South Wales to be used in a public campaign to compel:

- (1) a halt to all closures, except those caused by exhaustion of reserves;
- (2) a Government guarantee of an expansion target for coal commencing from an annual target of 200 million tons; and
- (3) an immediate and substantial improvement in wages, hours, and conditions, sufficient to attract and maintain more miners in the industry."

This resolution expressed the growing understanding among South Wales miners that the decline is not an inevitable natural process, but something which is created and hastened by the ruthless inefficiency and planlessness of capitalism. Many of the problems facing the industry are only capable of solution by political decisions. The miners of Rhigos underlined this lesson last December. Their one day strike and demonstration sparked off the movement leading to the South Wales lobby of Parliament against closures. They did not succeed in forcing the Coal Board to keep their pit open, but they showed that the fight was not to be won by each individual pit, but by mass political pressure to win new policies from the Government.

Editorial note: We hope to carry regular reports of the struggle of the South Wales miners - a struggle which has been virtually ignored in the English press.

Provisional estimates for the second quarter of 1965 of the volume of industry's capital expenditure (at 1958 prices, seasonally adjusted) shows a small reduction, about 2%, from the level of the previous quarter. This, taken with a negligible increase in the first quarter of the year over the preceding quarter, indicates a levelling out of the underlying trend of investment. Compared with the first quarter the main fall was in expenditure on plant and machinery, and there were also decreases for vehicles and building work. For manufacturing industry, capital expenditure is provisionally estimated to have fallen by 5% (on the same basis); most industrial groups showed small decreases.

It should be noted that these figures are for a period before the Callaghan cuts and before many of the Government's restrictive measures had time to "bite." Combined with the cuts in Government expenditure, this trend reinforces the view that we are in for a rising curve of unemployment.

MORE "REDEPLOYMENT" NECESSARY SAYS GEORGE BROWN

As noted in a recent article in the Stock Exchange Gazette, which was quoted in The Week, a new term has come into usage in speeches and White Papers: redeployment. A cynic might be tempted to say that this merely means that people lose their jobs and are forced, if they are lucky, to go into other jobs where their conditions and wages may or may not be as good as in their original ones. Experienced trade unionists will be certain to say that for large numbers of workers to be "redeployed" there is a very severe danger that the employers will force down conditions. However, Mr. Brown doesn't seem to see it in this light. Speaking at Portsmouth on Sunday he said:

"We have to have our people working on jobs and on projects which are immediately relevant and immediately earning." He could earn cheap applause by telling his own union members: "Stay put". But this would not do them any good, or the country. Instead he had to say to them: "Change there has to be - moves from traditional jobs to new jobs, from traditional industries to new industries."

He continued: "We are a revolutionary" (sic) "epoch-making Government, but there are limits to our revolutionary fire." One thing they did not want to do was to disturb the constitutional requirement that we should have another general election in October, 1969. "Unless something else happens you will have to wait until then," he added. No doubt Mr. Brown realised that these remarks would sound strange to trade unionists for he continued: The barriers to increased productivity must be thrown down. The "protective devices" of the trade union movement belonged to the days of heavy unemployment, injustice and inferior bargaining power. But we mustn't go on carrying these beliefs into an age where they no longer belong." Mr. Brown declared. Thus one can see clearly that the Labour leaders are determined to the job the bosses would dearly like to do themselves, if they dare try!, that of tearing down the protective devices of the trade unions and using "redeployment" as a weapon in this.

THAT "CLOSED SHOP" PLAN FOR MOTORS

from an industrial correspondent

According to Ronald Stevens, the industrial correspondent of the Daily Telegraph, the plan to introduce a closed shop in the motor car industry has one aim only: to intimidate unofficial strikers. By getting the unions to agree to expel unofficial strike leaders, these men would automatically lose their jobs. So much for our "Labour" Minister, Ray Gunter.

The Congolese (Brazzaville) Government has decided to take over all schools belonging to churches and private persons. High-ranking Government officials and leading members of the ruling National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) have been touring the various regions of the country to implement the decision. Last month, a law on nationalisation of education was passed by the national assembly. It provides that all schools of churches and private persons in the country will be transferred to the state. The law will be implemented before the new school term which begins on October 1st.

The decision was warmly welcomed by wide sections of the public as shown in the large number of letters sent to Government ministries by students, parents and teachers supporting the decision. The executive committee of the General Union of Congolese (B) Students held an extraordinary meeting to examine the implementation of the decision. It called on teachers and students to oppose activities against the law. But there has been stubborn opposition from foreign Catholic churches. Since the adoption of the law, more than 120 foreign teachers and priests have threatened to resign in an attempt to create difficulties for the Congolese Government.

The Congolese Government is making every effort to surmount difficulties. At the initiative of the MNR, many teachers and university students have pledged to give voluntary course to students in primary and secondary schools. The majority of schools and colleges in the country were formerly run by churches and private persons. The students in these schools were forced to take religious studies. Children from non-religious families were not allowed to enter the schools run by the churches.

SIX MONTHS FOR HAVING A BANNED BOOK

from a South African reader

The Johannesburg Star of August 23rd reported:

"Her offence of possessing old copies of "Fighting Talk", a banned publication, had to be regarded in a serious light, Mr. J.T. du Toit told 36-year-old housewife Pixie Olga Benjamin in the Johannesburg Regional Court today. Mr. du Toit was sentencing Benjamin to six months' imprisonment for possessing four copies of the publication.

"'Offences under the Suppression of Communism Act are different from those affecting only the welfare of the individual and must therefore be regarded in a more serious light,' he said. Benjamin of Forbes Road, Fellside, was charged with possessing the literature after police found it during a raid on her home in July last year. She was charged two weeks ago. Notice of appeal was given and she was granted bail on a surety of £50.

DETAINED FOR 180 DAYS AS A "MATERIAL WITNESS"

A Johannesburg man, Mr. Izzie Heymann, was arrested by Security Branch police on 1st September in terms of the new "180-day law" for State witnesses. The law - the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act passed in June allows the Attorney General to order the detention of any person likely to give evidence for the state for periods of up to six months. The Attorney-General may also order that the person be held incommunicado. Mr. Heymann, 45, is the manager of a department store in Johannesburg. His wife told the press that he had been stopped by security policemen while on his way to work. The Security Police head in Johannesburg refused to confirm or deny the charge. N.B. He has since been released and immediately re-arrested on another charge.

Two recent articles in authoritative U.S. journals shows the tremendous crisis in policy that faces the ruling circles in the United States. Because of the complete failure of its attempts to pose as a defender of democracy in Vietnam and the increasing restiveness of its allies, U.S. imperialism is having to re-think all its attitudes. Hence the ferment of ideas and arguments in the bourgeois papers. The first article appeared in the September 13th issue of Newsweek, and was by Walter Lippmann. Entitled "The Vietnamese War Today," the article argues:

"...with its enormous sea and air power the United States can seize and hold strong points on the rim of the Asian mainland," but it had not the power to reach out deep into the interior. "Nor have we shown that when we occupy a point in the interior we can leave and not have it overrun again by the Viet Cong."

The article listed the "profound changes" detrimental to U.S. imperialism that have taken place in the balance of forces in Asia in recent years. Lippmann said, "...thus, in the spring of 1964 the Saigon Government had not yet lost the war in South Vietnam. Now, for all practical purposes, it has lost the war. This had happened by the end of 1964 and was the main reason for the adoption of our bombing policy. For it was feared that the Saigon army and the Saigon Government would fall apart. Nevertheless, today the Saigon Government does not govern the countryside, and even in the big cities, including Saigon itself, it is unable to provide security. There is little prospect of reversing the defeat of Saigon and little reason to believe that a government which will have the support and confidence of the Vietnamese people can be formed by the Saigoneses soldiers and politicians."

"A second change in the Asian balance of forces has been the decline of British power from Aden to Singapore. The United States is faced with the prospect of being the only Western power left which is still operating with military force in Asian affairs." The closer ties between Indonesia and China and between Pakistan and China were the "third change of far-reaching importance. In Japan and in the Philippines there is, moreover, a rising tide of anti-American feeling. Our very considerable military effort on the mainland has thus far not been accompanied by a rise in American political influence."

Lippmann concludes: "...we must, I think, come to the conclusion that we cannot be the preventer of revolutions on the mainland of Asia. To do that is not a practical objective for a nation, like ours, which reach no farther into Asia than its sea and air power can operate."

The September 10th issue of U.S. News and World Report had an article which asked: "How helpful are U.S. allies?". The article said: "Americans, linked in defence pacts with 42 nations, find these partners of scant help in today's world...aid given by the U.S. to these allies to help their economy and their armed forces adds up to \$76 billion." But when "partners are called upon for help in military operations or in aid", "that impressive strength" "is found by U.S. officials to fade away." Citing Vietnam as an example, the article continues: "In Vietnam, the U.S. almost alone is called upon to carry the burden of a mean and costly war. Allies mostly offer only advice, much of it critical." Dealing with criticism from America's European partners, the article went on: "The President must make up his mind which he wants most, American freedom of unilateral action or the political support of his European allies." One can see from this article and the previous one what a key role British support of U.S. plays. If Labour were to break with this policy Johnson would really be in a mess. It is to be hoped that that takes place.

I have extracted the most relevant parts of an article by Victor Anant which appeared as the lead story in the Daily Telegraph of September 13th. The article had a by-line: "by Victor Anant who left New Delhi so as to be able to send this report uncensored. The article begins:

"Before India made its decision to embark upon the war with Pakistan the American Central Intelligence Agency told New Delhi that a coup d'etat in Pakistan was imminent. CIA Agents said that Field Marshall Ayub Khan, the Pakistani President, was politically unstable. They reported that he would soon be deposed. The Indian decision to re-occupy posts across the ceasefire line in Kashmir was "cleared" with U.S. Embassy in New Delhi. I have reasonable grounds to believe that Mr. Chester Bowles, American Ambassador, also had advance knowledge of India's intention to open a second front. A hint of American approval of, but not connivance with, India's determination to escalate the conflict was given to me on Saturday, Sept. 4. It was the day Mr. Bowles called on Mr. Shastri....

"Since then I have been able to piece together some of the facts in the CIA effort. The relevance of the operation is not so much of America's commitment to India, but of the State Department's urgent desire to cut President Ayub Khan down to size. The story begins, tenuously, three autumns ago when the Chinese invaded India. The Americans then told President Ayub of their intense disapproval of Pakistan's indifference to India's plight. Pakistan, of course, added fuel to the fire. President Ayub retorted that India deserved the humiliation it had brought upon itself. By the middle of 1963, the largest American holding in Pakistan, General Motors, was "advised to sell out". It was bought by a firm of which Capt. Gauhar Ayub, the President's son is a director. After this relations deteriorated fast. It was in about Sept., 1963, that the CIA began to work in earnest in Pakistan.

"President Ayub was determined to hold an election and establish himself legally in power. Two American officials were withdrawn for allegedly "supplying funds" to the opposition candidate, Miss Fatima Jinnah, sister of the founder of Pakistan. The centre of CIA activities in West Pakistan was in Lahore, today the scene of the fiercest fighting in the present war. One United States information officer was suspected and he moved to Delhi. In Lahore, too, was Gen. Azam. He was once governor of East Pakistan, but was so popular that President Ayub had him removed. Gen. Azam seems to have been the CIA's choice to succeed President Ayub ultimately. However, I understand that the general was reluctant to "play ball." Dismayed at the total disarray of Miss Jinnah's supporters, the CIA is reported to have made an attempt to recruit two Government Ministers directly, one of them Mr. Shoaib, in charge of finance. A halt to American aid to Pakistan was threatened and it was through Mr. Shoaib that these veiled threats were passed on.

"Last May, soon after the Rann of Kutch battle, reports said that Pakistan's top brass was divided into two factions, the "hawks" and the "doves." The "hawks" were eager to swoop on India, but the "doves" advocated restraint. It was about July this year that the CIA must have first passed on to military intelligence in India news of Pakistan's preparations for a renewed push in Kashmir. When, in August, Pakistan sent infiltrators, the Indian Government seems to have been convinced of the accuracy of the reports. On August 15 the "hawks" and the "doves" were said to have been summoned by President Ayub. After listening to them he went away to the Valley of Swat to decide. The first major CIA error seems to have been made around August 23. It was reported that the "doves" were ready to oust President Ayub. In Swat, President Ayub decided to put the loyalty of both factions to the test. When he returned a decision was

continued over/

taken which was to have tremendous significance. During the Rann of Kutch days he had specifically given orders that on no account were Indian Air Force planes violating Pakistani air space to be shot at. Now he gave orders that Indian planes were to be brought down if they were used in Kashmir.

"Meanwhile in New Delhi, Mr. Bowles had returned from leave. It was officially announced that America had postponed the "Aid Pakistan Consortium" meeting from September 9 to September 23. The fall of President Ayub was said to be imminent. It was then India decided to cross the ceasefire line for tactical reasons, and to escalate the war by opening a second front. I have not been able to ascertain whether this vital decision was taken with the approval of the United States. I am certain, however, that American sources in New Delhi were aware of it. Mr. Shastri at a private briefing for six leading Indian journalists told one of them that the Kashmir situation put India in the same position as the Americans in Vietnam. Asked if he thought the Chinese would support the Pakistanis by invading elsewhere, he said: "We have considered that possibility. If that happens we will not be alone." Whether or not American authorities actually approved of India's action, it is certain that much reliance was placed upon American intelligence reports. It is also clear that the Indians had reason to feel sure this time, but not during the Rann of Kutch battle that the United States would not disapprove of a measured escalation.

"I am personally convinced that the breaking/^{point}in relations between the Americans and Pakistanis has been reached. The result of this would be ominous for Asia. British advice during this period seems to have had little effect. Anti-British opinion has been steadily building up in India the last three days through newspapers and privately at the diplomatic level. One leading Anglophile in authority told me: "Why don't the British pack up and go?" Bluntly, one by-product of this Indo-Pakistani war is likely to be that America will gradually take over from Britain the responsibility for keeping peace in the sub-continent. Because of the CIA's amateurish blunders the Americans may have made a bad start."

BRITISH CAPITALISM'S STAKE IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Immediately after the war between India and Pak'stan broke out the Financial Times did a survey of British investment in those two countries and the likely affect of the war on the investment. This article was very informative and confirmed the thesis that the granting of political independence to India and Pakistan did not mean the end of economic exploitation. Quoting Board of Trade figures, the paper estimated that "the U.K.'s total stake in private industry....now totals around £425million." The bulk of this is in India where "at the end of 1962..the total net assets of U.K. companies in India (but excluding oil and insurance) were £256million." Further, "Taking oil and private investment together...gives a total of around £320 million in 1962 and £360 million today, the fifth largest investment by British countries in any country overseas."

"Moreover, there are several indications that this figure...understates the true extent of British investment. First they represent assets at book value and in many cases...these book values are far below the current value of installations valued at replacement cost." Whilst British investment in these countries only amounts to about 8% of all British investment abroad, British investment in India amounts to 65% of foreign investment in that country, and the figure for Pakistan is just under half.

I have read with a certain incomprehension reactions of many liberal and Negro leaders in the United States to the revolutionary uprising of American Negroes in the United States. Who can deny that the entire negro population rose up as one against conditions with which they have had to live for decades? It is instructive that those who place such emphasis on formal legislation involving voting rights (yet unimplemented) only discover the true situation of the American Negro, when he takes to revolutionary action.

Los Angeles has placed its Negro population in slums when crowding and insanitary conditions are so appalling that there is no alternative but to seek the streets for air and release. The white police function as an occupying army keeping a helot class in order. Suppression of deprived people historically has inspired revolution, but when those people suffer humiliation and contempt on racial grounds the cruelty of the oppression is magnified and the uprising assumes a national character. The oppressed Negro nation is rising against its three hundred years subjection. Why should people not revolt against conditions wherein they are shot down or beaten to death in police cells? The density of population in the Negro sections of Los Angeles is five times that of white people in Los Angeles. The incidence of disease is equally high. It is increasingly clear that American Negroes are discovering the unreformability of the system which oppresses them. It is not possible for the American military industrial system to depend upon exploitation and domination in Vietnam and also to effect a revolutionary transformation of the conditions of the Negro within the United States. I suspect that only the American Negro is able to understand fully the nature of U.S. oppression in Vietnam, the Congo, the ican republic or other areas of Latin America, Asia, or Africa.

The President has decried what he calls violence and rioting. I had never before realised that the President was an advocate of non violence. He is not an advocate of non violence in Vietnam or in the Congo, nor when he encourages state police in their use of dogs, gas and bullets. It is only when the Negro in desperation, defends himself by violent means against long endured violent oppression that President Johnson, and those who think like him, discover their antipathy to violence.

What is to be done? The elementary step is the tearing down of every slum in the United States and the construction of new and adequate houses, schools, hospitals and cultural facilities in their place. Beyond this, professional training programmes and full educational opportunities should be made available, particularly to the oppressed sections of the United States. Such a programme would require an end to military expansion and domination on the part of America. It could not be undertaken at the same time as a war of oppression in South East Asia, nor could it be undertaken without a fundamental transformation of social and economic relations in the U.S. Is it likely that large industry, its military partner and the intelligence agencies which guard this partnership will countenance the transformation of social relations in the United States or abandon their control over 60% of the world's natural resources? It is unlikely, and no amount of reformist legislation would appear to have a chance of affecting such a transformation. It is my hope therefore that the Negro mood which is taking hold of the oppressed Negro people will find an organised political expression and that sections of the white population, particularly the more deprived, will come to see the way they have been used. Such an alliance may in time change the United States. The absence of one will bring America to the threshold of overt Fascism, in which martial rule and terror will be needed... The very least middle class and professional people can do is to understand and support the American Negro in his struggle. Such understanding and support must encompass Los Angeles.