

The Week

April 14th, 1965. Vol. 3, No. 5



Russell and Sartre on Vietnam

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Act Now For Peace

THE reckless actions of the American Government in Vietnam have brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. The probable results are so awful that people will not face them and will not admit that they are probable. American policy maintains that the extinction of the human race would be a smaller misfortune than the permission of freedom to South Vietnam. This position is one which cannot be soberly maintained.

If we survive, Vietnam will not be the last crisis. The main conflict in the world is now between American power (with the backing of lesser Western governments) and nationalism in the Third World and China. Until the U.S. Government—and especially the military and the C.I.A.—are prepared to abandon the doctrine of counter-revolution and come to terms with demands for genuine political and economic independence, the world will stagger from one crisis to another. Until the British people are prepared to oppose and overthrow governments which support chemical and napalm warfare, the U.S. will continue to rely on Britain in its policies of extermination.

In a recent cable from Hanoi, President Ho Chi Minh has informed me of the tragic results of American bombing of his country. Women and children have been slaughtered daily, houses and villages wiped out. This is the reality behind press reports of America's efforts on behalf of the "Free World".

I call upon people throughout Britain to act for peace and put an end to our government's support for atrocities in Vietnam.

BERTRAND RUSSELL

Make Mr. Wilson speak!

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S offer of "unconditional" peace talks has been turned by Hanoi and Peking. This is hardly surprising; the Americans followed up this "peace offer" by making the biggest raid yet on the North and by flying dangerously near the Chinese island of Hainan. Next day they landed more marines in the most northern part of South Vietnam. The offer of aid is unlikely to impress the peoples of South East Asia. After all, the amount offered is only a small fraction of that used to bolster up the succession of dictatorships in Vietnam. Cambodia found it essential, in maintaining independence, to reject American aid long before the present crisis.

Yet, Mr. Wilson greeted this "initiative". He claimed it proved his "behind the scenes" pressure had done more good than public denunciation by his Parliamentary critics. The reverse would appear to be the case: the very fact that President Johnson made his offer indicates that the world-wide protest movement is having some effect. Mr. Wilson should join Lester Pearson, Canada's Liberal Prime Minister, in calling on the Americans to stop the bombings. Nobody can regard the American proposal as serious until the bombings cease. Mr. Wilson's silence becomes more and more compromising to the whole Labour Movement.

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE: "Why I Cannot Visit the U.S.A." Vietnam Butchery Denounced

WHEN Jean-Paul Sartre cancelled a series of meetings in the United States on March 18th, he gave as his reason, "The policy of violence practised in Vietnam by the government of the United States with the approval of the majority of the American people . . ."

Efforts were made by American radicals to get him to reconsider. The Students for a Democratic Society, for instance, cabled him on March 25th, inviting him to address a rally of 10,000 in Washington that is being organised April 17th to protest against the war in Vietnam. The SDS offered to organise a speaking tour and forwarded invitations to Sartre to speak over several radio stations in New York and California which have a wide audience interested in cultural and political topics.

In response to this pressure, Sartre wrote an article in the Paris weekly, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, of April 1st, explaining his position.

Sartre holds that the extension of the civil war into an imperialist assault on North Vietnam profoundly altered things. The bombings "represent an irreversible qualitative leap inasmuch as they reveal with brutal clearness the fact that the structures of American society rest on imperialism."

Up to that point, he holds, the American position was becoming more and more untenable and it could be hoped "that the Americans would begin to take account of the absurdity of their position" and would seek to withdraw.

But the bombings changed all this. Sartre came to the conclusion that "the Americans understood nothing and there could be no common language between them and us."

He thinks it would be futile for him to go to America and try to make his voice heard. He sees the entire United States caught up in a war fever such as gripped France at the height of the Algerian war; and, the voice of opposition being feeble, it doesn't count.

Nevertheless he expresses alarm about the situation. Effective action against the escalation must take place within "three months," in his opinion. "The stirring of American opinion can be provoked only by

an acute crisis—a military disaster, the grave threat of a world war. The only way we can contribute to arousing this opinion is by indicating brutal, over-all condemnation of American policy in Vietnam by trying to stir up wherever possible—that is in Europe—some protests."

Sartre condemns Washington's propaganda in the most cutting way: "What do the Americans say? That they are intensifying the war in Vietnam, that they are bombing the North, that they are utilising gas in the South, in order to make negotiations possible. The enormity of this is sufficiently impressive. Because, if you think it over, what does this mean? War is always made in order to end in peace, obviously. In a certain peace. The one chosen. In certain negotiations. Those to be imposed. But the problem is to determine if an outcome is sought that is considered to be acceptable to the adversary or if the aim is to destroy the adversary so that his successors will accept an outcome that constitutes capitulation. The government in Washington is saying: We're waiting for a sign of good faith from North Vietnam. This must be translated: We're waiting for North Vietnam to admit defeat, entreat us to stop the bombings, and promise to no longer aid the Vietcong. In plain language this means that the Americans are for the extension of the war. It is necessary to grasp this. It is urgent. After grasping it, it is necessary to draw conclusions from it. This is what I have done."

In closing, Sartre describes the U.S. course in Vietnam as "an act of open, cynical, complete aggression, without justification or even a serious alibi." He agrees that the U.S. is the mightiest military power, but he denies that it is "the centre of the world." It is even the duty of a European, he contends, to stop considering the U.S. as the centre and "demonstrate his interest, prove his solidarity with all the Vietnamese, the Cubans, the Africans, all his friends in the third world who gain existence and freedom and who prove each day, precisely, that the greatest power in the world is incapable of imposing its laws, that it is

the most vulnerable, and the world has not chosen it as its centre of gravity. The United States will evolve, of course, slowly, very slowly, but more rapidly if you resist them than if you address them with sermons."

BELGIUM

Anti-Nuclear Force Grows Greater

THE fourth Belgian anti-nuclear march, on March 28th, was a spectacular event. A record 27,000 people took part. During the three previous years, the numbers were 4,000, 10,000 and 15,000 respectively. The central slogan of this year's march was "Hands Off Vietnam," which was linked with the cry "Leave NATO." After the march, hundreds of young people went to the American Embassy, where they demonstrated, shouting "Vietnam to the Vietnamese," "U.S. go home," and "Stop your war crimes." Scuffles took place with the police, some of whom were injured.

GERMANY

Frankfurt Youth Mob US Embassy

A Frankfurt demonstration against the war in Vietnam, on March 27th, suffered from careful re-routing upon police instructions. The idea of the police was to shepherd the marchers outside the most crowded areas. To the surprise of the organisers, who expected a couple of hundred supporters, a thousand people turned out on the march. Although the police had forbidden placards which "one-sidedly condemned any of the parties to the Vietnam conflict," the march was alive with condemnation of the U.S. interventionists. Afterwards, at another demonstration at the U.S. consulate, numerous arrests were made. But Negro soldiers in the U.S. Occupation Army were impressed by those posters which read "Get out of Vietnam: take care of Alabama."

Advertisement

CAMBRIDGE CND PAMPHLETS

Apart from "Democracy and the Bomb" by Raymond Williams, which has been reproduced by **The Week**, Cambridge CND has produced:

"The MLF and Joint Control"
by George Rutter.

"The End of the Alliance"

by John Gittings
and Richard Gott

"The Risks and Limitations of
Nuclear Strategy"

by Terence Heelas

After Easter it is planned to
publish:

"Europe and the World"

by Peter Worsley

All these pamphlets are obtainable
from: Richard Norman, Queens'
College, Cambridge.

No charge is made for them but the
publishers need donations in order
to continue this valuable service to
the movement.

Three Nations Rally Against the Bomb

BASLE, Switzerland. — German, French and Swiss opponents of nuclear weapons plan to meet here Monday, April 19th, the day after Easter, to stage a big demonstration against war and for peaceful collaboration among all peoples. Basle was the site of the famous 1912 Socialist Peace Congress.

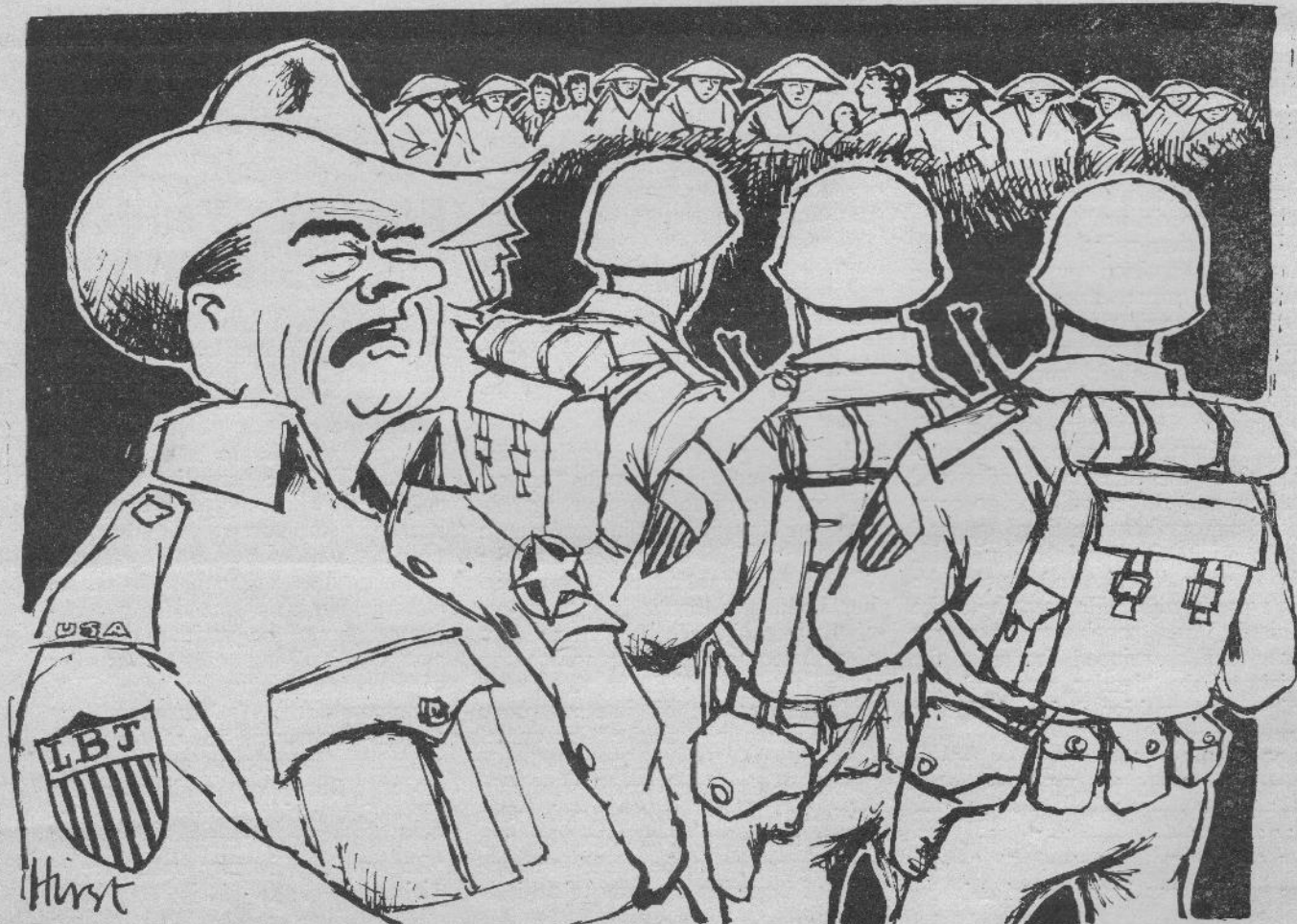
The anti-nuclear fighters plan to come to Basle after participating in demonstrations in their own countries against nuclear armaments. Meeting in the outskirts of the town, they will march to the square in front of the cathedral. One of the main speakers will be the chairman of the Cantonal government of Basle.

The demonstration is being sponsored by the Swiss Movement Against Atomic Armament as the climax of a two-and-a-half day march under such slogans as "Bread for the Peoples" — "Not War," "Switzerland to Act for Denuclearised Zones in Europe," "Against

Atomic Weapons Both East and West," and others of a more local nature.

The Basle trade union federations are actively supporting the march and the rally, much to the annoyance of the leading newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. This journal along with most of the Swiss press, has persistently denounced the Swiss Movement Against Atomic Armament as "antimilitaristic" and "Trotskyite - Communist" inspired, and has slandered it as being a "tool of Moscow."

Backers of the Movement hope that the encouragement offered by the Basle unions will help inspire similar support for the anti-nuclear movement in Germany. The movement there suffered a serious setback when the Social-Democratic party gave up its campaign against "atomic death"; and since then the unions in Germany have been reluctant to support anti-nuclear activities.



"We Shall Overco-o-ome"

Labour Students Warn Wilson

Uncle Ho becomes NALSO Sponsor

SIXTY delegates at the National Association of Labour Student Organisations were in an angry mood at their Conference held from March 29th to April 2nd. Many resolutions criticising Government policies were passed overwhelmingly, for example the following resolution moved by Alan Richardson (Birmingham) on the Vietnam crisis had only three against.

"NALSO considers that the American intervention in Vietnam is a blatant attempt to protect the interests of Imperialism and therefore demands: that the British Government takes part in no secret negotiations to apportion spheres of influence in South East Asia; that all British troops be withdrawn from South East Asia; that the Government withdraw all support from the American intervention; that the Government should urge the terms of the Geneva agreement of 1954 be implemented immediately, with particular reference to the holding of elections in South Vietnam.

Conference wholeheartedly supports the popular movement of the Vietnamese people (the National Liberation Front) in their struggle against American aggression.

As a further mark of disgust with Western actions, NALSO elected Ho Chi Minh an Honorary Vice-President of NALSO, with the highest vote of all the Vice-Presidents. In order to emphasise what damage this issue had done in the movement, Conference carried by a narrow majority a motion proposed by Regan Scott, warning the Government that many people are so disillusioned and angered by the sycophantic support of the United States in Vietnam, that they cannot be counted upon to work for the Labour Party at a future General Election.

Solidarity was expressed with the Madrid students' campaign for freedom and a protest about the Labour Government's inaction in the case of Vic Allen was passed. Vic Allen was elected an Honorary Vice-President. Ian Mikardo was elected Honorary President in place of Tony Greenwood.

In the education debate it was suggested that the campaign against

public schools should be taken into the streets, say by marching on Eton!

Home Secretary Soskice came under fire for his actions in the cases of Bert Bensen, Delgado and others, and a motion calling for his replacement was carried.

The economic and industrial affairs debate centred round three resolutions which were all carried.

The first ran: "NALSO would oppose any incomes policy of limitation on Trade Union rights to demand higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions, except as part of the implementation of a programme of nationalisation under workers' control of all major sectors of the economy."

The second: "NALSO would oppose any attack on the shop stewards' movement, or any other limitation on the right of workers to organise themselves and strike, officially or unofficially."

The third pledged NALSO to support all workers in struggles for workers' control and management.

In moving the resolutions Tony Brewer (Cambridge) pointed out that it was impossible to limit profits in a capitalist economy without distorting the mechanism of investment and hence producing inefficiency. Therefore the proposal amounted to a wage restraint measure. In any case there was implied in such a policy control over the Unions by the State which meant a blunting of the power and initiative of working class institutions which is quite unacceptable.

In the closing hour, the Conference was united in indignation against Wilson when the news came that half-a-million pounds was to be given to the Churchill fund. A telegram was despatched to No. 10, condemning the gift to the anti-working class reactionary's fund, especially in view of the alleged shortage of funds for pensioners.

The new Executive is going to convene a Conference towards the end of June to which all Labour Party members are invited to discuss the Labour Government's record. The new Chairman, Mike Harloe (Worcester College, Oxford) would like to hear from anyone interested.

Chris Arthur

HAMPSTEAD LABOUR PARTY CONDEMN WILSON'S VIETNAM POLICY

FORTY-NINE public meetings are being held in the next few weeks at which Ministers are to "report back" to their supporters on the Government's achievements so far. Last Friday's meeting at Hampstead Town Hall was addressed by Stephen Swinger, Douglas Jay, and local candidate Jack Cooper; nearly 300 attended.

Cooper, speaking first, drew his first applause when he admitted his "one disappointment" to be Labour's policy over Vietnam. The Government had abandoned its principles over this issue, he said.

A resolution calling on the Government to dissociate itself from American actions in Vietnam, had been distributed by some Labour Party and CND members at the door of the meeting. Ralph Miliband attempted to move it in question time. The Chairman ruled it out of order, despite vigorous protests from about a third of those present.

The meeting then alternated between questions on Vietnam, and on home policy. The former received a strange response — Douglas Jay contented himself with saying that one could not support everything the Americans did, without specifying what he did, and did not support. Most striking was his reluctance to put forward the Government's policy of support for the Americans, enunciated by Harold Wilson and Michael Stewart in the Commons only the day before.

The chairman was induced by the feeling in the hall to make clear that Hampstead Labour Party GMC had three times passed resolutions criticising American policy in Vietnam, and had sent telegrams of protest to Wilson going further than the proposed resolution in condemnation. He recognised that the resolution had "a sizeable body of support" in the hall, and reverted to the subject yet again in his closing remarks.

Vietnam was the live issue in this meeting, hanging somewhat ominously over everything, and creating obvious conflicts of loyalty. But an effective protest was made, and could usefully be repeated at the other public meetings.

MICHAEL RUSTIN

From the Third

ALGERIANS SUPPORT VIETNAMESE

(The following editorial, translated from the March 20th issue of the Algiers daily *Le Peuple*, indicates the attitude of the Ben Bella government and the Algerian people to the American imperialist aggression in Vietnam).

“YOU can get used to anything,” a popular saying has it. Are we then going to become accustomed to the crimes of imperialism, to the assassination of Congolese patriots, to the bombing of peaceful villages in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam?

When the armed aggression of the Belgo-American imperialists in the first part of November enabled Tshombe to re-establish his tottering position, there was a general outcry of indignation among the peoples concerned about freedom and peace. Innumerable meetings were held throughout the world, particularly in Algiers, to denounce the foreign intervention and to demand an immediate halt to it. Intense activity stirred the chancelleries of the countries concerned, particularly the African countries.

On Monday, February 8th, the “escalation” (in plain words, the day after the beginning of the dumping of tons of bombs on the peaceful and defenseless North Vietnamese inhabitants), the press featured the event in “scare” headlines and the number of columns was insufficient for the progressive newspapers to speak out against the criminal aggression of U.S. imperialism.

Today, the news concerning these questions is relegated to page nine, sometimes the space is doled out grudgingly. Perhaps as a result, public opinion has little by little lost interest. The protests have become so rare that one could imagine the problems had been resolved.

Nevertheless nothing has been settled, neither in the Congo nor in Vietnam, and not only are the im-

perialists persisting in their aggression, but they are committing more numerous and more odious crimes.

Thus the puppet Tshombe, still supported by the Belgo-Americans, without the aid of whom he would long ago have been liquidated by the Congolese people, continues to utilize foreign mercenaries to suppress them, and is multiplying his assassinations in order to perpetuate the exploitation of his masters, the monopolists of Washington and Brussels. Still worse, believing that he now has the situation “well in hand” in the Congo, and in accordance with the advice of imperialism which wants to sabotage African unity and to reconquer its lost positions no matter what the price, this puppet is now attacking the neighbouring countries, and his repeated aggressions against Uganda and Congo-Brazzaville betray the real objectives of those who work the strings on which he dangles.

Far from disappearing, the threat in Africa is only growing and becoming more definite—imperialism is becoming more virulent, encouraged by its first successes. The situation is worse than last November after the fall of Stanleyville.

In Vietnam, thirty school children were murdered a few days ago, killed by bombs made in the USA. Regularly, and each time farther to the north, American planes violate the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, bombing this peaceful country.

The Pentagon aggressors even publicly avow their intention of continuing this warmongering and criminal policy indefinitely. Here, too, the progressive and peace-minded forces have not yet made imperialism retreat; instead, it seems to be hardening in its aggressiveness.

The repetition of the crime does not make it less reprehensible. Resignation must not give the stamp of acceptance to actions that increas-

ingly threaten to unleash a world catastrophe. Any giving way is a victory of imperialism which counts precisely on the “force of habit” and its ominous effects in such circumstances.

As for Algeria, she never gave up during the eight years of the war for liberation imposed by colonialism. Now free, thanks to the perseverance and the spirit of sacrifice of which the Algerian people gave proof, our country does not intend, for its part, to close its eyes to the manoeuvres and aggressions of the imperialists, who in the Congo, in Palestine and in Vietnam place our own freedom in danger, inasmuch as they strike at the freedom of our brothers and seek to sabotage our unity and to provoke a world war.

The consistency of the struggle of our people and our leaders is to be seen in the recent meeting at Conakry, where President Ben Bella worked to block imperialism, in our firm attitude with regard to the neo-colonialist manoeuvres in Palestine, in our complete support to the patriots of South Vietnam. In like manner, our representative at the United Nations tirelessly appeals for concrete measures against the colonialism of Salazar and the racism of Verwoerd.

But Algeria’s consistent policy, which is likewise followed by other progressive countries, will be crowned with success the sooner all the peoples, all the revolutionary forces, energetically face imperialism, the sooner world public opinion, the power of which needs no underlining in the twentieth century, refuses to give up, to lose interest in the crimes of Tshombe’s mercenaries, the hangings in Pretoria, the police raids of Salazar, the U.S. “escalation” in Vietnam, the misery of the Palestinian refugees, and in general all the crimes of an imperialism whose virulence increases the nearer it approaches its end.

World



AID BURDEN CRIPPLES NEW NATIONS

A SPECIAL report from A.I.D.—the American government Agency for International Development—said that developing countries are suffering very much under the burden of loans, mainly from the United States. The situation steadily deteriorated as more loans were being made out to them. These countries are now paying back more than 5,000 million dollars a year, compared to less than 1,000 million dollars 10 years ago, 30% of the “assistance” which the developing countries received in 1964 was wiped out by interest payments on past loans. In 1955 the figure was 8%. The total foreign debt of developing nations

was nearly 10,000 million dollars in 1955, and soared to nearly 30,000 million dollars this year. By 1975 it would have tripled to 90,000 million dollars if the current rate of borrowing continued.

The report admitted that the loan terms of the United States were very hard. The “minimum interest rate” which was endorsed by the U.S. Congress last year meant that the U.S. Treasury would eventually receive 1.53 dollars back for each dollar loaned. Under the “Hard Terms” of the U.S. Import-Export Bank (5½% for 13 years) U.S. loans to Latin American governments in the 1950s “are now a drag on the

Alliance For Progress,” the Bank was actually taking 100 million dollars a year more out of Latin America than it was putting in.

A.I.D. said that Turkey illustrated the problem “in its most advanced prospect for 1965 would absorb half of the expected Turkish earnings from merchandise exports.” In India, another country which has received large amounts of “aid” from the U.S., the foreign debt was rapidly rising and was likely to be nearly 6 billion dollars by next year. It might have to devote a quarter of all its export earnings during the next five years to pay off the debt.

Keith Bloor

APARTHEID SHARPENS ITS CLAWS

THE racist and colonial regimes of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal have been stepping up their collusion in an attempt to resist the increasing opposition to their policies by the African peoples, among others, and to prolong their colonial rule in the southern part of Africa, according to the Dar - e - Salaam newspaper, *Nationalist*, on April 6th.

The report said that a new trade pact had been signed recently between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, “apparently as a buttress” in the event of unilateral declaration of “independence” by the Southern Rhodesian white minority regime. A new loan was granted to the Southern Rhodesian regime. A new committee to expand trade among South Africa, Portugal, Mozambique, Angola and Southern Rhodesia had

been established and new trade agreements between them came into force on April 1st. Five specific agreements were also concluded between South Africa and Portugal. A new agreement between the South African airways and the Portuguese airline to operate their air services in joint partnership was reached.

The South African Airways have been banned from flying over all independent African states since 1963, and have consequently used Portuguese airports at Luanda of Angola, in the Canary Islands, and Lisbon en route to Europe.

The report pointed out that “by pooling their markets and military and technical assistance, the three governments hope to hold out a little longer against boycotts and arms embargoes.”

Bill Keaton



FORMER NATO Commander-in-Chief, US General Lauris Norstad, recently visited South Africa. In an interview with South African *Sunday Express*, Norstad revealed that the South African regime planned to buy more aircraft to suppress the South African people and threaten other African countries.

Commenting on Norstad's visit to South Africa, Z. B. Molete, Secretary for publicity and information to the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, said that US investments in South Africa had sharply increased in recent years, reaching two hundred and fifty million pounds sterling. US investments now occupied second place among foreign investments in South Africa. Britain holds top place.

G. Powe

WORKERS' CONTROL

Next steps in the campaign

from Alan Rooney

TWO most important meetings on the subject of Industrial Democracy are scheduled for the next two months. Both are designed to follow up the seminar which took place last April, in Nottingham. There, 140 people, including union leaders, shop-stewards, academics, and editors of a number of socialist and radical papers, gathered for the most extended and serious discussion on workers' control to have taken place since the nineteen twenties.

The next two conferences, like last year's, are sponsored by the *Voice* newspapers. In May, in co-operation with the political committee of the London Co-operative Society, a seminar will consider problems of democracy in the industries of the public sector. The meeting will take place in London on May 8th-9th. Delegation applications, to Tony Topham and

Richard Fletcher, 1 Plantation Drive, Anlaby Park, Hull.

The second conference will take place on Saturday, June 19th, and Sunday, June 20th, at the A.E.U. District Office, 120 Rusholme Road, Manchester 13. On this occasion the aim is to highlight some further crucial areas where the demand for workers' control and industrial democracy is especially relevant to present-day developments. Groups will meet on the dock industry, the aircraft industry, existing nationalised industries, with a follow-up group on the steel industry. On Sunday, June 20th, the conference will discuss Incomes Policy and Workers' Control: What should a labour movement's response be? At 1.30 p.m. a Brains Trust, consisting of a panel of prominent Northern M.P.s, Trade Unionists, etc., will answer questions on the theme of industrial democracy.

DRAFT PROGRAMME FOR CONSIDERATION

A *Voice* Correspondent writes:

"On this occasion we are not asking people to submit individual papers for circulation. Instead we should welcome from any intending participant, or indeed anyone who thinks he has something to say, to submit ideas on the different topics as follows:—

- on the future of ownership and workers' control in the aircraft industry, to the Editor, *Aviation Voice*, 8 Ashkirk Street, Manchester 18 (by April 24th);
- on the future of ownership and workers' control in the docks, to the Editor, *Dockers' Voice*, 71 New King's Road, London, S.W.6;
- on the Steel Industry's future management system, to Councillor W. Meade, 31 Far Lane, Sheffield 6;
- on the Incomes Policy question to Ken Coates, 19 Greenfield Street, Dunkirk, Nottingham;
- on self-management in existing nationalised industry, to Tony

Topham, 1 Plantation Drive, Anlaby Park, Hull.

Summaries of ideas received will be presented to the conference. In the case of aircraft and the docks (where the chief new ground is being broken) special issues of *Aviation* and *Dockers' Voice*, containing draft programmes, and incorporating suggestions received will appear before the conference, and will be sent (on receipt of the conference fee) to all applicants.

"Whether or not you submit suggestions, we should like to receive a completed application form, if you intend to be present. Credentials and copies of appropriate journals will be sent on receipt of the form and a conference fee of 5/-, if application is made before the end of May."

If you are able to obtain delegate status from your local Labour Party, Trade Union branch, Co-operative Society, etc., please indicate this on your application.

Sweat the Budget out

MR. PATRICK COLDSTREAM, commercial editor of the *Financial Times*, had some advice, in that paper's April 9th issue:

"For those who want to escape to recover from the Budget". It appears that "... the Bahamas is the place to go.

"This is not just because they are without income tax, capital gains tax or land tax; nor because, though some prices are high, those of drink and cigarettes at least are cheap . . .

"It is because the Bahamas — and the West Indies — being part of the sterling area, are among the few sunny spots where UK residents can buy property without the new rigours of exchange control which Mr. Callaghan has imposed on UK buyers of foreign land and houses. The new villas coming up for sale on Great Exuma Island, for example, can be quite freely bought by anyone with £7,000 or £8,000 of sterling to sell.

"The Bahamas and West Indies may now have to absorb some of the British demand for villas in the sun which has been met in recent years by Spain and other countries.

"In the past few years the fashion for foreign villas has caught on. Already an acre in central Las Palmas can fetch £½ million and a foot of frontage on to the beach is worth £20. The "popular priced" holiday houses have spread southwards down the Spanish Coasts and many have been bought by the British. The rich have continued to settle for the South of France. To channel British demand to new developments overseas, specialised companies have sprung up in London — Previews Limited for houses in the Canaries, or a company called Spain Only which takes aircraft-loads of prospective buyers to view properties on the Spanish seaside."

Now, it appears that these companies will transfer their activities to such places as the Bahamas. All this goes to show that with the present system the rich can always get round rules and regulations. Only the stringent application of Government action combined with workers' control can prevent the rich from using their resources to

Jill Westby

International Finance pleased with the Budget

from
Dave Windsor

THE *Financial Times* has done a survey of the reactions of international finance to Mr. Callaghan's Budget.

The paper's correspondents interviewed leading bankers in the main financial centres of the world. I have given a selection of their replies.

In *Zurich* and *Brussels* the Budget was regarded as a serious attempt to meet Britain's immediate problems, if no more than that.

The most favourable reaction has certainly been that of the U.S. Bankers. They were pleased that the extra taxation was £50m. over that expected. In *Washington*—and even more in European centres like *Paris*, *Bonn* and *The Hague*—there was relief that the Chancellor had not handed out any more social security benefits. Among German bankers, the Budget was definitely seen as proof that the Labour Government will defend sterling, though there is no inclination to think that the troubles of sterling have been solved.

High Common Market officials felt that Mr. Callaghan's Budget had promised sufficient economic restraint to satisfy Britain's foreign creditors and remove all possibility of

devaluation in the foreseeable future. They reserved a particularly warm welcome for his undertaking to restrict capital export by £100 million a year.

Dr. H. J. Abs, of *Deutschebank*, said in an interview that Mr. Callaghan had been tough and had shown his earnest determination to master Britain's difficulties. He said he was optimistic about the future of sterling though the Labour Government still had to show it could bring about the necessary increase in productivity.

Twenty-four hours after Mr. Callaghan's Budget statement, informed opinion in *Paris* judges that the degree of austerity and deflation decided upon has probably been sufficient to satisfy Central bankers and Finance Ministers on the Continent, but only just. French officials still apparently believe that the U.K. Government should have taken sterner measures still to cut back demand in the economy, and in some quarters the line is being purveyed that Britain may yet be forced into devaluation of the pound, or at least into more stringent measures later.

Mr. Callaghan has not been able to convince leading Dutch financial experts that he will manage to prevent a forced sterling devaluation some time later this year.

A new Public School

DUNROBIN CASTLE, ancestral home of the Earls of Sutherland, is to become an independent boarding school for boys. Its owner, the Countess of Sutherland, stated that she believes its magnificent situation provides an ideal setting for a school of "distinctive character". Some idea of what is meant by this is given by a press hand-out issued by the private company which owns Dunrobin Castle.

The school will aim to give a Christian education relevant to today, concentrated on training for personal responsibility and service to community, it says. Put another way, it could be read as preparing sons of the rich for their future role as members of the ruling class. Special emphasis will be given to modern languages, history, geography and science, and to activities springing from the environment. Whether the latter includes grouse shooting, we are not told.

The new public school, which will open in September with 60 13-year-old boys, is cheap as schools go, costing only £450 per year.

It appears that its sponsors are not put off by the Government's pledge to integrate such schools into the state educational system.

Pat Jordan

MR. GUNTER'S LIFE AMBITION

from a Parliamentary Correspondent

THE Minister of Labour, Mr. Ray Gunter, told the standing committee which is considering the Trades Dispute Bill at the House of Commons on April 8th that he did not believe that trade unions should be above or outside the law.

He said: "I would consider it my life's achievement if we could get the law on industrial relations properly adjusted to modern society. We want to take a long, cool look at the problem and come to terms with it. I want to see the law brought into proper order and the trade unions embraced in it — neither outside nor above the law."

Mr. Gunter said he was not without sympathy with those who thought more protection might be required for the individual in his

dealing with the trade union.

Sir John Hobson, former Tory Attorney General, pointed out that the Bill extended an immunity from the ordinary law of the land not merely to trade union officials acting on behalf of members in the negotiations on the terms and conditions of their employment, but to any person becoming involved in a trade dispute. Employers' associations and their officials would also benefit.

Attacking the Bill, he claimed that it put a weapon in the hands of trade unionists to force other men, through intimidation to join a trade union against their will.

The Bill, which reverses the *Rookes v. Barnard* decisions, passed through its committee stage without any amendments.

WORKERS' CONTROL SEMINAR

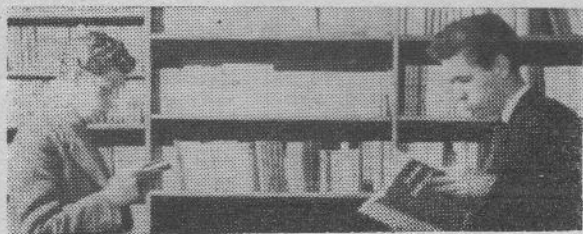
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BOOKS IN REVIEW



APARTHEID EXPOSED

Blame me on History

by Bloke Modisane, Panther 5/-

THERE are very few things which can be as irritating as the smug understanding of those jokers who profess to know what it would like to be black in South Africa . . . I submit, respectfully, that it is beyond academic comprehension." I agree. We have heard what happens there: here we are shown the reaction of one man, and although without the experience we shall probably not understand, if you want a glimmering of the appalling effects of doubting one's own humanity, feeling deprived and emasculated as Bloke Modisane felt, then read this devastatingly honest book. If you do, for it is not a pleasant experience to be shown a man who comes to feel that, if he is to be human, he must try to be white, who is tormented into becoming as depraved as the society he lives in, and who adopts the un-name "Bloke" in place of his original "William". His attempts to escape from his blackness are futile, as that is the wrong thing to escape from, and eventually he leaves the country.

Jean Holman

"Kaffirs are Livelier"

by O. Walker; Muller, 21/-

OLIVER WALKER is a South African in exile. His latest book* has been given the accolade of being banned in his former homeland. Mr. Walker has written a journalist's account of the political changes that have occurred in South Africa. He is particularly interesting when dealing with the relations between Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies and South Africa.

It is interesting how closely parallels can be drawn between Salazar and Verwoerd. Both were university lecturers. Verwoerd received his Ph.D. for a thesis on "Experimental Study on the Blunting of the Emotions". However, Verwoerd is not just relying on psychology, he has been gaining allies and preparing his army — the arms budget was raised from R71.5 million in 1961-2 to R157 million in 1963-4 (one Rand equals 10 shillings).

The clear message that this book spells out is that the white-supremacists are prepared to fight and that militarily the odds might well be with them.

M. Jackson

The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists

by Robert Tressal; Panther, 7/6

THOSE who have not read this Socialist classic have no excuse since the production of this paperback. The story is of the lives of a group of house-painters in Southern England at the turn of the century. It gives a less usual view of Edwardian "affluence", that of the working class.

The book shows the blind stupidity of those workers who identified with their bosses rather than with their workmates, who thought that

it was unfair to nationalise as they too possessed private property and who voted for those who had been trained to lead. One of Tressal's characters shows us ". . . a man lying on the ground, covered with blood, with a lot of Liberal and Tory working men kickin' 'im, jumpin' on 'im, and stampin' on 'is face with their hobnail boots. The bloke on the ground is a socialist, and the reason they're kickin' 'is face in is because 'e said that the only difference between Slumrent and Mandriver was that they was both alike." Things could be worse than they are today.

T. Newman

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST JOURNAL

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Pay Policy Guinea Pigs

from Peter Price

SOME Civil Service Unions have been decidedly coy about Mr. Brown's Declaration of Intent. One result is reported in the Journal of the Ministry of Labour Staff Association. An exchange between the Staff side and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury runs as follows:

MACHINERY OF PRICES AND INCOMES POLICY

At the National Staff Side there was a discussion on the Statement of Intent and whether the pay principles as operated in the Civil Service were in conflict with that statement.

The Secretary General had had previous discussions with the Financial Secretary to the Treasury and following his report the Staff Side came to a decision which is recorded in the following letter which Mr. Richard Hayward sent to the Financial Secretary.

On 11th February you were good enough to hand me, for the information of the Staff Side, a copy of Her Majesty's Command Paper "Machinery of Prices and Incomes Policy."

In our brief, but informal, discussion I stressed the importance which the Staff Side attach to the independence of the Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal machinery and I went on to add that the Staff Side would wish to ensure that their constituents were

not discriminated against in any way in pay matters.

I told you that the document would be before the Staff Side at their meeting on March 4th, after which I would let you know their formal position. I now do so.

The Staff Side endorsed the views which I expressed to you and reiterated the point put to you in their letter of 7th January:—

"The Staff Side do not think that the pay principles which operate in the Civil Service are in conflict with the Statement of Intent. The principles, and the machinery, have been well tried and do no more than ensure that in general Civil Service pay does not fall behind outside pay movements."

They will watch very closely the development and operation of the new machinery and they reserve their right to make representations on its application to the Civil Service as and when they consider the moment appropriate."

The reason for the apprehension of the MLSA is clear. The tendency to use workers in the public sector as pay policy guinea pigs was very pronounced under the Tories. The loss of ground made in those 13 years has still not been recovered.

Secularists foregather again

from William McIlroy*

MR. LEO ABSE, MP, was the Guest of honour at the 59th Annual Dinner of the National Secular Society held on March 20th. Mr. Tribe, president of the Society, introduced Mr. Abse as 'the MP for human relations', and referred to the work Mr. Abse had done for divorce law reform, improvement of prison conditions, and the implementation of the section of the Wolfenden Report relating to homosexuality. People claimed that the public were not ready for such progressive changes — but Mr. Abse's share of the poll increased at every election.

On March 23rd, the NSS issued a statement calling for a 'diplomatic formula which will speedily terminate . . . operations in Vietnam'. The statement also called on the Government to drastically reduce military commitments overseas and use instead its resources for housing, health and education.

* General Secretary, National Secular Society.

Woodworkers' Peace Initiative

from James Smith

TWO interesting defence resolutions have been submitted by Woodworkers' branches for their Annual Conference. They are from Annesland and Raynes Park branches and read as follows:

Annesland Branch—Resolved—

"That this Conference calls on the Labour Government to embark on a policy that will drastically reduce military expenditure — particularly overseas military expenditure. The money saved can thus be used to pay for essential social services at home, and contribute to the solution of the economic problems of Britain." — Votes for, 27; votes against, nil. Members present 29.

Raynes Park Branch—Resolved—

"Conference recognises the necessity of reducing the armaments expenditure to solve Britain's economic problems. We call for a withdrawal of troops from foreign bases, and support the right of native peoples to self-determination." Carried unanimously. Members present, 14.

Commenting on the second, the Standing Orders Committee has recommended that it be withdrawn in favour of the first. Many will hope this does not happen, because Raynes Park is making a much more specific demand than is the other branch.

Two New LRD Pamphlets:

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"Half-million houses needed" say Railway Clerks

THE April issue of the TSSA Journal contains an editorial commenting on the Milner-Holland Report, which draws some of the key lessons of this scarifying document.

Last month's shocker — the Milner-Holland Report — underlined in grim terms not just how much more should have been done in the way of house building but, equally important, what little was done to prevent the exploitation of tenants by unscrupulous landlords! In fact, the Rent Act of 1957 with its provisions for eviction was an encouragement to some of those landlords to pursue even more ruthlessly their trade in misery.

Whilst the Report was about housing in the Greater London area, the fact is that the pattern can be found in practically every large city in the country. The national housing shortage has created a situation where slum properties exist in an "Affluent Society" and where a minority of bad landlords profit at the expense of people who merely seek the basic necessity of a roof over their heads.

The land racket, high interest charges and high building costs have had their reflection in both the Local Authority and private sectors of housing. In some areas, a home has become a luxury and a vain dream for many . . .

With the top-heavy concentration in south-east England it is only too obvious that the overall answer to much of the housing problem rests with the creation of new towns far beyond the Metropolitan Green Belt — and the adoption of industrialised techniques for their construction. These would be "self-supporting" towns, with industry and all the amenities necessary for the population.

If towns and cities have insufficient building land available (including that for redevelopment with higher densities) to cope with their problem, then every possible aid should be given as encouragement to those on the housing lists to move out to the new towns.

A prerequisite to all this is lower interest rates, in some cases a form of subsidy, and a modernisation of building methods. Incidentally, might it not be possible for some of the aircraft factories threatened with redundancy to be re-equipped for the production of industrialised housing components?

In 1964 370,000 housing units were completed, and the Labour Government believes that this year a figure of 400,000 can be achieved. **A country the size of Britain ought to be able to build half a million units a year. Western Germany, which is roughly the size of Britain, already manages that number, although it ought to be pointed out that dwellings are usually slightly smaller there than in this country.**

There is a place for both the private and the public sectors in this challenge but it is evident that Local Authorities will have to take an increasingly large share of the work. Given the right conditions, they will no doubt be only too pleased to fulfil their role. Housing is one of the most human and pressing problems facing the Government.

The Week says: The demand for a target of these proportions is badly needed. Now is the time to consider resolutions to the Labour Party Conference along these lines.

Miners' leaders join The Week

READERS will have noticed that The Week has two new sponsors: Lawrence Daly, and Eric Varley, MP. Mr. Lawrence Daly recently won the position of General Secretary of the Scottish National Union of Mineworkers. He was a miners' agent in Fifeshire and a county councillor.

Mr. Eric Varley is Member of Parliament for Chesterfield sponsored by the NUM. In recent months he has been taking an active interest in the progress of the Steel Nationalisation Bill. He has also participated in the discussions around workers' control for the steel industry.

EASTER '65

EASTER MARCH: CND is organising a three-day march this year, from High Wycombe (Bomber Command HQ), via Uxbridge (USAF base), to Trafalgar Square.

The march costs a lot to organise, and all marchers are being asked to pay a 5/- registration fee. Marchers living in the London area cannot be provided with accommodation; but if you can't find anywhere to stay yourself, there will be some rough accommodation provided on the nights of Good Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. **IF YOU CAN MARCH, EVEN FOR A SHORT PERIOD, PLEASE SEND YOUR NAME, HOME ADDRESS, AND 5/- to CND at 14 Grays Inn Road, London.**

MARCH PROGRAMME:

EASTER SATURDAY: Naphill, 9.30 a.m. High Wycombe, Loudwater (lunch), Gerrards Cross (tea), Uxbridge (Metropolitan Line Station).

EASTER SUNDAY: Uxbridge 10 a.m. Ruislip, Harrow (lunch) Hanger Lane, Ealing Common (tea), Acton Green (Turnham Green Station).

EASTER MONDAY: Acton Green, Hammersmith, Kensington, Hyde Park (lunch), Victoria, Whitehall, Trafalgar Sq.

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