

The Week

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- ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID
- ALGERIA
- COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS
- ANOTHER MARCH ON WASHINGTON

VIETNAM

THE CAMPAIGN
TO CHANGE LAB-
OUR'S POLICY

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STOP PRESS: HAROLD DAVIES SHOULD SPEAK OUT

Mr. Harold Davies' mission in Vietnam has failed, but he can help the campaign to end the war by telling the British people what he saw and heard. Mr. Davies, an old stalwart of the left, will we are sure, have recognised the fact that the Americans are entirely to blame for the situation. We are certain, too, that if he receives letters assuring him of support if he does speak out on these lines it will be much easier for him to do so. He can be written to, c/o the House of Commons, London S.W. 1.

THE CAMPAIGN TO CHANGE LABOUR'S POLICY OVER VIETNAM

Despite the mounting campaign against the war in Vietnam, Mr. Wilson's speech in the House of Commons on Monday revealed that he remains adamant in his support for the Americans. The key question facing socialists in Britain today is how to break the deadlock caused by this refusal to budge. In this context, the coming annual conferences of the TUC and the Labour Party are vital. Every campaign that is waged in this country must be directed towards those conferences. The decisive struggle in Vietnam - at this stage, anyway - is being fought out now in the Labour Party and trade unions. The vote, the line up of forces and the determination shown at these conferences will be watched all over the world. He who wants to really do something to help the Vietnamese workers and peasants must recognise these facts.

There are several aspects to the struggle: above all, the left must ensure a majority vote against present policies; the left must also make sure that this is done on a platform which will not be thrown into confusion by manoeuvres; and the left must ensure that NEC members realise the folly of keeping quiet on the question. The prospect for victory are good: the massive vote of the TGWU gives us a good basis. Labour must go on record for the withdrawal of American troops, an ending of the bombing and Vietnam for the Vietnamese.

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VIETNAM - 'ELECTIONS WOULD BE A TRAGEDY' SAY YANKS

The following is taken from an extremely frank article written by the special correspondent of the Financial Times in Saigon, and appearing in their July 19th issue:-

"....The military experts in Saigon are determined that the Vietcong threat should be contained over the next three months. During this time U.S. air power will be restricted by the monsoon in the Southern part of the country....At present the Viet Cong are on the offensive and have the tactical initiative in almost all areas....American officers say that the 'overall military equation' is as unfavourable as it has ever been in South Vietnam, noting that the ratio of U.S. and Government troops to Viet Cong is around five to one, whereas ten to one is desirable. The U.S. will not however, be able to derive much advantage from the latest American reinforcements for the time being. The troops take time to become acclimatised.

One American aim during the monsoon period is to deny the Viet Cong conquest of important towns, such as the 40 odd province capitals. In the last couple of months the Viet Cong have, for the first time in the war, captured a few district towns (each province is divided into districts).... They have been 'knocking off the remote towns at a considerable rate' as one American officer put it and appear to dominate the vast majority of hamlets and villages. Senior American officers state that the Arvins' (South Vietnamese Army) morale is at present 'patchy' or 'fragile'. Some are openly saying, "How much longer can the Arvin stand up to it?"....American air support has been invaluable to the Arvin. Without it the Viet Cong would have won the war long ago.....

Ever since President Diem was murdered in November, 1963, the military have had the power in Saigon. The Government has taken this or that shape according to the decisions of senior officers.... Whatever happens to Ky, from the American point of view it is essential that the military men continue to dominate the Government, as they are likely to; senior officers are not prepared to tolerate the formation of a 'neutralist' Government. 'Neutralism' in South Vietnamese politics is a clearcut political concept meaning: a willingness to co-operate with the Communists in forming a Government and asking the Americans to leave the country. Thus the military are obligingly providing the Americans with a political base, which looks stable for some time to come, whatever bickering may go on among them. When one considers what fortunes some of them have made in the past, effectively out of American aid, and also what they have to lose in terms of military commands, the motivation seems quite clear. But there is also a pronounced anti Communism within their ranks, which should not be regarded as opportunism merely. The chief problem for the Ky Government and this it has inherited, is that the people do not give the Government strong and visible support. The reason why this and other Governments have not been popular- there is of course no national assembly, and Government is by decree only- are quite simple. The people are by and large fed up with the war, with conscription, with the bombing and loss of life and destruction of family. And war, including the struggle with the French, has been going on for 20 years. If elections were held in South Vietnam, it is quite possible that a 'neutralist' party would sweep the polls. The Head of State, General Thieu, Chief of the National Security Council of five senior officers, the real centre of power, has, however, announced that there will be no elections for the time being. The Americans also feel that as one official put it 'elections would be a tragedy.' With a large proportion of the country under the control of the Vietcong, elections are obviously out of the question."

(Our emphasis)

The failure of the B.R.B. and the Rail unions to do something about the demand for bonus payments by train drivers on the S.E. division of the Southern region is likely to cause a spread of the "work to rule" action which has been disrupting some services on the Southern Region within the last few weeks.

It is some months now since the drivers on the S.E. division first contended - apart from other things - that management policy towards them is reducing the size of their pay packets and, unless something is done about it, that they would be forced to take action to defend their position. On several occasions the drivers have called off their "go slow" actions so as to give the unions a chance to do something about it. The whole question was raised at the A.D.M. of A.S.L.E.&F. where it was agreed that the Executive should make it clear to management that unless something was done it would result in widespread disruption of services.

To date the whole thing is at stalemate and the claim for a £3 - 3 a week bonus is no nearer to a settlement than it was when it was first demanded.

Very few people would deny that train drivers have a highly responsible job, and as such that their wages should be commensurate to their responsibilities. For many years drivers have received "mileage payments" which has supplemented their basic wages but of recent times drivers' pay has been considerably reduced by cutting down their duties.

The drivers are annoyed because many railwaymen with less responsible jobs are taking home more pay than they are and, while they have no desire to cause inconvenience to the travelling public, maintain that if the truth was known about their position, the blame for the situation would be fairly and squarely laid at the door of the British Railways Board, who have the power to quickly end the dispute and the growing inconvenience that goes with it. The drivers are now at the end of their tether, and while no-one can accuse them of not being patient, the fact is that they are left with no alternative but to continue with a course of action that will bring a growing disruption over a wide area.

WELFARE CAPITALISM?

from a Leicester correspondent

About 150 employees of the 30-year-old North Mills Dyeworks in Leicester returned from their fortnight's holiday yesterday to find the works closed down and that they had lost their jobs.

Mr. R. Haigh, who was appointed receiver and general manager three days ago, announced that "owing to certain unprofitable contracts of an onerous nature, only continuing losses could be made by the reopening of the business after the holidays." He added that there were reasonable hopes that continuity could be effected in the immediate future, but this decision will not be known for several days.

This shows us that under welfare capitalism we must always remember, and beware, its cynical single-mindedness. Neither contracts nor welfare can stand in the way of Profit.

At a recent meeting of the "non-political" Manchester Parents' Action Committee a leaflet was distributed by the Campaign for Comprehensive Education, in an attempt to redress the known opposition of all the speakers on the platform to Manchester's plans for comprehensive schools. We reprint the bulk of the text here:

The circular inviting you to this meeting stated "We are quite sure that many parents are not aware of the implications of this reorganisation, and the object of the meeting is to try to understand what is going on and how it will affect our children." This merely underlines our point that, at a meeting such as this, a balanced platform is needed to lend proportion and perspective to ALL the issues involved. We should therefore like to draw your attention to some important points which may be raised inadequately, if at all, tonight.

First, we shall be rid of the Eleven Plus, which in Manchester requires that $\frac{2}{3}$ of the candidates fail HOWEVER GOOD THEY ARE because there are only a few grammar school places. Our children will no longer spend their final year in Primary school in torment at the prospect of this exam., and those who would have passed will be spared the cruel process of readjustment to those who would not. The primary schools will no longer find it necessary to stream at 6 or 7 to prepare for the 11+, thus writing off the B and C streams. Our children mix before they are 11; then why separate them then?

Secondly, it is high time the present inequalities of facility and opportunity were ironed out. The innacurate and inefficient 11+ already places 30% of pupils in the wrong school anyway. Manchester Grammar schools have 50 times as many science graduates per school as the moderns, and the tripartite system and single sex schools are but poor preparation for life as a responsible citizen in a democratic society.

There is every indication that standards of teaching, achievement and behaviour, far from deteriorating, actually improve with the introduction of comprehensive schools. The long established comprehensives which have built up their own sixth forms get 14% better results a A-level G.C.E. than do L.E.A. grammar schools. Grammar school education, far from disappearing, will be available to everyone for as long as it is wanted.

Finally, a mixture of grammars and comprehensives would retain the old inequalities, as the grammars would cream off the academically inclined. This problem is not confined to Manchester: it is a national one. Our educational system is inadequate for the kind of society and the kind of citizen we want in the future, and improvements will not be effected by muddling through with its social injustices and hotch-potch tripartite organisation. Not one of the benefits we want will be achieved without such important structural changes and reorganisation as embodied in the Manchester plan.

Let us, then, not be negative, with claims of administrative difficulties, cost, and bad timing. Such claims are groundless. It is clear that after a year of work, the present Manchester plan is practical, cheap and, in the interests of social justice, needs to be carried out as soon as possible. We have the chance to make Manchester a proud name in the history of educational reform - for our children's sake, let us take it.

At a special meeting on July 14th, the Nottingham City Labour Party carried nem. con. the following resolution:

1. The Nottingham City Labour should sponsor a working committee to organise the Boycott the South African Cricketers Campaign composed of representatives of the City Labour Party, the Anti-Apartheid Committee, the Trades Council, and the West Bridgford Labour Party (in whose area the cricket ground lies), and the Indian Workers Association.

2. An amount of £25 should be placed at the disposal of this Committee to be used for the printing of leaflets explaining the boycott, and the insertion of advertisements in local papers calling upon Labour voters to boycott the match.

3. That the Labour Councillors and Aldermen be asked to make a press statement to the effect that they will not participate in any civic entertainment of the South African cricketers.

4. That all members of the City Labour Party should assist the working Committee with regard to the manning of picket lines, distribution of leaflets, etc.

5. That the three Labour M.P.s for Nottingham should be approached by the Committee to declare their opposition to the visit of the Apartheid cricketers.

It was also agreed that other Labour Parties in the East Midlands be approached to ask them to assist the campaign. The match starts on August 5th.

* Mrs. Whawell is the secretary of the Nottingham Anti-Apartheid Group, and as a delegate to the City Labour Party was appointed secretary of the working committee. She would welcome support, suggestions, etc., in relation to the campaign. Her address is 78, Orston Drive, Wollaton Park, Nottingham; Telephone number: Nottingham 281833.

APARTHEID CRICKETERS PICKETED IN BRISTOL

from Tom Nicholls

Anti-Apartheid supporters in Bristol mounted a picket of the match between Gloucestershire and the South Africans on the opening Saturday. The previous week had seen a more than usual number of letters for and against in the columns of the local evening paper. By the Thursday night there was almost a page-full of letters, mainly for, and in the Evening Post next day there were banner headlines announcing that the Borough Labour Party had come out unanimously in support of the picket and a boycott of the match. A generally sympathetic editorial in the same issue drew attention to the revelations, made by the Rand Daily Mail on prison conditions in South Africa. The picket itself was notable for the number of Young Socialists who took part (although support from Labour Party members could have been much better).

WHO DONE IT?: Someone whitewashed anti-apartheid slogans at the county ground, Newcastle, on July 15th, where the South Africans were playing the Minor Counties. Slogans were also put on the T.V. outside broadcast vans. This Thursday sees the first test at Lords; on the 28th, the South Africans play Kent at Canterbury; and on the 31st they will be at Swansea to meet Glamorgan.

On July 13th, just over three weeks after Boumediene's coup, a new Franco-Algerian oil agreement was concluded. It is due to be initialled by the end of this month. It has a number of features which represent a new departure in the economic relations between oil-producing and oil-consuming countries. For the first time, the policy of an oil-producing country towards the independent oil companies will be governed by an overriding agreement on taxation, exploration, production, transportation and industrialisation with an importing Government.

France will gain a privileged position in the exploration of Sahara oil and gas, which is regarded as coming from the franc zone, as well diplomatic springboard for General de Gaulle to reassert his right to pose as the champion of the under-developed countries. At one leap, Algeria will gain higher tax and royalty revenue, direct participation in the exploitation of Sahara crude and substantial French aid for the development of a petrochemical industry and other forms of industrialisation.

The international oil companies, on the other hand, will certainly be worse off than before in financial terms, and may well find that their future activities in Algeria are as effectively controlled as in France. The agreement is line with France's particular policy of carving out, by decree and administrative controls, a large and growing share of the its own domestic market for refining and distribution for specially created state-owned concerns. The new agreement dovetails these arrangements with those for the production of oil.

The main novelty in the agreement is the concept of "co-operative association", under which a new joint state oil company will be created on a 50-50 basis for exploiting all future oil and natural gas concessions in the Sahara. This represents an advantage for France over the previous position because in the three years since independence the Algerian Government has awarded no new concessions of any significance. On another front, actual production has been limited by pipeline capacity to some 27 million tons a year. With the coming into operation of the British-built third pipeline production will probably rise to 37 millions tons per year. Although the ^{new} pipeline did not feature in the negotiations, the disposal of the oil will come under the other aspects of the agreement, therefore Algeria has lost some of the advantage it gained by defying French oil interests and going ahead with the construction of the pipeline.

These new agreement, whilst it can in no way be likened to others concluded between the imperialist powers and oil-producing countries, contains many features which could consolidate a neo-colonialist relationship between France and Algeria.

ALGERIA ITEM CRUDE SAYS DAVE WINDSOR

".....Your piece on the Algerian coup in the July 8th issue was crude and made allegations (which, incidentally, I think may not be unfounded) without producing any evidence whatsoever. The Week has, in the past, tried to document with reference material, facts and figures all its arguments - a journal which caters for serious political people carries much more weight by this method. Let others vie with each other to produce the most startling exposes of "betrayal", The Week will waste its time if it goes into this field...." Editorial Note: Mr. Windsor is referring to the item "Who is behind the Coup...." We received several other letters on the same lines.

Herewith a cutting from the latest Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin:-
"On 14/3/63 an Anglo Portuguese Parliamentary Group was formed under the chairmanship of Sir Norman Hulbert, Conservative M.P. with Mr. F.J. Bellenger, Labour M.P. as vice-president. The objective of this group is the defence in Parliament of Salazar colonialist and Fascist policies. On 16/4/65 the full composition of this group in the new Parliament was announced after a meeting in the House of Commons. Its President is now Mr. F.J. Bellenger, Labour M.P. for Bassetlaw. Vice President is Mr. Patrick Wall, Conservative M.P. for Haltemprice. The Secretary is Mr. Walter H. Aldritt, Labour M.P. for Liverpool (Scotland). The Treasurer is Lord Merrivale, a Conservative. Other members of the Group include Mr. J.A. Dunn, Labour M.P. for Liverpool (Kirkdale); Mr. Ron Ledger, Labour and Co-operative M.P. for Romford;.... Mr. Albert Robergs, Labour M.P. for Normanton and Mr.W.J. Owen, Labour and Co-operative M.P. for Morpeth.

When Salazars' Foreign Minister, Franco Nogueira, came to London to attend the N.A.T.O. meeting last May, he was able, through this group, to visit the British Parliament, and to have talks with other M.P.'s and Members of the House of Lords. A dinner given by Mr. Nogueira in the Portuguese embassy in London was attended by a member of the Labour Cabinet, Mr. Walter Padley, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

Labour members of this group are in good company. On May 8th, Mr. Brian Balcom, President of the West Ham Conservative Association, arrived in Lisbon to discuss problems relating to the Fascist International Radio Station 'The Voice of the West', which broad casts from Portugal. Before he left he praised Salazar's prisons system (P.J. 25/5/65).

Are the members of the Anglo-Portuguese Parliamentary Group not ashamed to undertake the defence of a colonialist, terroristic and Fascist regime inside a democratic parliament? Have they no scruples in shaking hands that are stained with the blood of so many murdered African and Portuguese Patriots and still fresh with the blood of General Delgado and his secretary, Mrs Campos?"

I was quite shocked to find the names of so many M.P.'s mixed up in this awful committee, with such people as Biggs Davidson. And the President is even a Labour M.P! Have you any suggestions of how we can try and dissuade these people from taking further part in supporting the Fascist regime of Salazar?

The Labour Government is also going from bad to worse on its attitude towards Portugal. In November they sent an official representative to the dinner of the Anglo Portuguese society, that bastion of support for Salazar, made up of British businessmen with interests in Portugal, and now they send Padley to the dinner in honour of one of Salazar's most notorious ministers, who in London complained of the 'lack of freedom' and 'attacks on culture' by the African governments. To cap it all, I watched yesterday Wedgewood Benn, ex-President of the Council for Freedom in Portugal and Colonies, gaily presenting three prizes to the winners of Miss 1965 - three wonderful holidays in sunny Portugal. It is all rather sad, but then I suppose that 90% of the history of the latest British Labour Government is rather sad, and only to be expected.

S.D.S. PLANS FURTHER ANTI-WAR ACTION

The decision to plan another national action against the Vietnam war was made by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at their annual convention, attended by 300 young people, in Kewadin, Michigan, on June 9-13. SDS called the March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam last April.

The SDS convention, and the national council meeting which followed, discussed the connection between the war in Vietnam and the movements for social change in this country. They concluded that the war economy and mentality prevent domestic progress in the areas of poverty, Civil rights and university reform.

The main discussion of a national "antiwar focus" was on a proposal to advocate that soldiers refuse to fight in Vietnam. It was suggested that if the Government chose to prosecute such advocacy under the Espionage Act the students would use the U.S. government's thesis in its prosecution of the Nazis at the Nuremberg trials in Germany after World War II, as their defence. The Nuremberg precedent referred to holds that the citizen has a higher duty than that to the Government when the Government is committing crimes on a mass scale.

Despite press reports to the contrary, this plan was not adopted. It had been stated from the beginning of the discussion that a referendum of all SDS members would be necessary before such a drastic plan could be carried out. The opposition to this plan came from those who didn't want a national antiwar focus for SDS, as well as from those who thought the plan too impractical or dangerous.

Because of the opposition to the plan, other possibilities for SDS-sponsored or supported antiwar activities were discussed briefly in the national council meeting held after the convention. Among the suggestions were another and larger March on Washington, a National Protest Day, a Third Continental Congress, and Hiroshima Day activity. Two international projects were proposed: an international teach-in to be held in Canada; and the establishment of an international tribunal, consisting of prominent intellectuals and scientists, who would evaluate the morality of the war in Vietnam.

All of these suggestions were referred to a subcommittee for further consideration. While the convention and national council meeting decided to focus on the Vietnam war, exactly what projects SDS will undertake next were left open for further discussion.

The convention passed the "anti-red-baiting" amendments to its constitution which were proposed by Clark Kissinger. The main amendment changed the last sentence of the preamble of the constitution, which had read, "It (SDS) feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic right." The sentence now reads, "It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program whose methods embody the democratic vision." Another amendment struck down a section relating to membership eligibility in SDS, which was red-baiting and exclusionist of Marxists in intent.

There was very little opposition to these amendments. Most of the delegates wanted to state the aims of the group positively and not in terms of what individuals or groups should be excluded. This attitude was an extension/
continued/

SDS plans further anti-war action (Continued)

sion of the non-exclusion policy followed in the march on Washington. The opposition to this policy and to the anti-red-baiting amendments was led by Tom Kahn of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID), SDS's parent group.

In a discussion with this reporter after the amendments were passed, Kahn bemoaned the fact that so many SDSers were in favour of the amendments and the policy of non-exclusion. Kahn said SDS is recruiting students who are too far left.

The national council discussed relations with LID and decided not to capitulate to conservative pressures exerted by this group. These pressures were especially strong during the preparations for the March on Washington, not only because of SDS' non-exclusion policy, but also because of the anti-administration focus of the march.

The industrial unions department of the AFL-CIO, which had been giving money to SDS, cut off its funds to the student group, largely because of the March on Washington. The convention decided to attempt to establish an independent financial base, depending upon a large number of small contributions rather than a few large ones.

Many views were presented during the convention on political strategy. They ranged from reform Democratic Party politics to independent political action. Two Young Socialist Alliance members were asked to report to the political strategy workshop on their experiences supporting the election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party and the Freedom Now Party.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge to the seating of the racist congressmen from Mississippi, the Noel Day campaign, and other forms of electoral activity were reported on. No one line on political strategy was adopted, but only a small minority favoured trying to reform the Democratic Party or working for a 'realignment' of the two major parties.

A national council was elected. Carl Ogelsby and Jeff Shero were elected president and vice president, pending a referendum to decide the organisational structure of SDS. Many delegates opposed the concept of a national officers and even national structure, preferring regional or even local autonomy. Clark Kissinger was appointed national fund raiser by the national council.

"IMPOSSIBLE TASK" FOR U.S. IN VIETNAM - WALTER LIPPMANN

The United States had set itself "an impossible task" in Vietnam, said Walter Lippmann in the July 19th issue of Newsweek. He said that despite the U.S. attempt to exercise pressure on North Vietnam by bombing raids, "there is much evidence that their (north Vietnam) will to fight had grown harder." Lippmann continued, "at some point, the President and his advisors are going to have to ask themselves why everything goes wrong - be it under Henry Cabot Lodge or Maxwell Taylor - why over the years all our hopes have been dashed and one plan after another has failed."

Lippmann said: "It is, I believe, that we have set ourselves a task, which, like squaring the circle or perpetual motion or living 200 years, is impossible to do." He continued, "It is an impossible task for the United States to reach across the Pacific Ocean and to determine what shall be the constitutional foundations of a country in Asia, or by force of American arms to assure a weak country that it will non-communist."

THE "JOHANNESBURG SUNDAY CHRONICLE" REPORTS OUR SCHOOL.

A South African reader was good enough to send us a press cutting from the Johannesburg Sunday Chronicle of 13/6/64, reporting the school The Week organised over Whitsun on Africa. We thought it worth quoting - it is surprisingly objective - as an example of how the efforts we go to in this country have an effect in South Africa. We shall during the summer be devoting a whole pamphlet to the contributions made at the school. The final outcome will, we believe, amount to a handbook on the situation in South Africa and the position of the various liberation movements.

London.

"The prospect of armed revolution as the only solution of the South African situation was freely aired by speakers from the platform and the audience at a seminar on Africa held here during the Whitsun week-end, during which London representatives of South African non-White organisations took a leading part.

But although there was much talk about armed revolution and the desirability of hastening it, no one gave any details - except for one speaker who said that activists were busy as a point of policy among South Africa's huge prison population. "Since 1960 there has been a continuous inflow of political activists and an outflow of prison graduates, many converted," he said. There was no further evidence, however, that prison activity was not just a case of making the best of a bad job.

The seminar was organised by The Week, a Socialist news analysis. Its representative told me that they were "rather to the left of the Tribune" - and the Tribune is about as far left as a journal can go without preaching Communism. (sic)

The trend of opinion was that economic sanctions and boycotts would never do more than harass the present South African regime. The only solution for South Africa, it was said, was an efficiently organised armed revolution. It was asserted that a revolutionary climate existed in South Africa, but to carry out the operation successfully tremendous material and technical resources were needed. The "international community" was asked to help in this task.

Scorn was expressed not only for South African liberals but also for the South African Communist Party, which was accused of being collaborationist - a party of reform rather than of revolution. Those who had carried out sabotage were accused of being naive. Did they really think that by protests and sabotage they could bring about a change of heart in the South African Government? The only language the Government understood was force.

But as in all the emigre bodies that have gathered and schemed in London throughout the centuries, much time was spent in recriminations. There were longing references to a united action front, but it appeared obvious that the rifts between South African organisations were as wide as ever.

The African National Congress, for instance, was accused of being too closely allied with White Liberals and the South African Communist Party. The Panafricanists' view was that as they were the majority body, others should amalgamate with them and on their terms. Two speakers said consolingly that no doubt when the revolution came unity would follow.