

# The Week

# WILSON'S RHODESIA SELL-OUT?

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS

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Volume 8 No 9 August 31st 1967

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**P R E P A R I N G**  
*for*  
**O C T O B E R**

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WILSON'S  
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A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIETY  
Volume 6 No 9 August 1973

PREPARING

for

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PREPARING FOR OCTOBER (1)

All serious politicians in the Labour movement are preparing for October. Mr. Wilson has made his Government changes and is trying to suggest that he intends to do something about unemployment. The left - the clearest and most consistent section being the organisers of the Scarborough Sunday teach-in - is likewise preparing for the Labour Party conference. Needless to say, nobody is suggesting that Wilson's new moves are the start of a new policy: they are merely designed to cover up the mistakes he has made.

Much of the switching of Government posts is window-dressing but there are a few changes worth noting. Firstly, as explained elsewhere, some of the changes seem to be linked with Mr. Wilson's desire to come to an understanding with the Smith regime. That he should be making these moves just as guerilla warfare breaks out in Rhodesia is no co-incidence: the essence of Wilson's Rhodesia policy has been to prevent a mass movement against Smith. Wilson is astute enough to know that any struggle which begins against Smith's Apartheid policies is bound to end with an attack on British capitalism's investments in Rhodesia. Moreover, once the struggle starts in Southern Africa it will be difficult to prevent it spreading to British imperialism's second biggest trading partner: the Republic of South Africa. There are signs that the liberation movement in these countries understand that their struggles are linked: this is entirely commendable and should be assisted in every way possible.

Mr. Wilson's economic measures - seen with the back-cloth of the removal of Jay - merely tinker with the problems. They seem to be designed to make it appear that something is being done about growing unemployment. As has been noted by Labour M.P's and other the measures will do nothing to assist the areas most badly affected by the Government's policies. Mr. Jay's remarks in his resignation letter are worth noting: ".....a great deal needs to be done by this Government in the promotion of social justice, the expansion of exports and the reconstruction of the Development Areas...."(And so say all of us!) The degeneration of the Wilson Government is clearly shown by this incident: Douglas Jay, an enthusiastic supporter of Gaitskell, is very much to the left of the present Cabinet.

This whole situation makes it more important than ever that a firm struggle be waged against the Government at the Scarborough conference. Wilson is clearly perturbed by the prospects of defeat at the Labour Party and T.U.C. conferences: this in itself is vital confirmation of the attitude of those who have argued that it is important to defeat Wilson at Scarborough. Like all manipulators, Wilson is appalled at the prospect of rank and file mass opposition. Defeat at Scarborough could do much to increase the prospects of mass action against the Government. All those who are serious on the left should endeavour to turn this prospect into a reality.

PREPARING FOR OCTOBER (2) The response to the campaign of the October 22nd Demonstration Ad Hoc Committee has been enormously encouraging. From all over Britain and from a wide variety of organisations there have come indications of strong support. Readers of The Week should start immediately to organise local committees of support and get their organisations committed to the demonstration. Our co-thinkers in the United States are relying upon us: we should live up to their expectations.



Sir Dingle Foot, who last week resigned his position as Solicitor General on "grounds of age" (he is 62), has now clarified his motives in a resignation letter which announces his intention to take part in debates "with greater freedom than is possible in office." "I do not believe", he said, "that there is any acceptable compromise to be found with the Smith gang. No understanding that they give is worth anything at all. Very few people in this country appreciate the vicious and preposterous colour bar that exists in Rhodesia."

The Sunday Times this week, commenting on the resignation, and the implication of a forthcoming sell-out to Ian Smith, draws disturbing conclusions from a study of cabinet changes over the past year and a half. It sees in these a picture of a cabinet in which Harold Wilson has "reduced to a whisper" the voices against the Government's Rhodesia policy. "One by one, the Ministers most likely to make a fuss over the Rhodesian situation are being moved to posts where they can exercise minimal influence. Had the Tiger talks been accepted, several of these Ministers would have resigned, including Sir Dingle. Today, by design or fortunate coincidence, they are busy in other beehives."

In support of this argument, the Sunday Times cites the examples of Barbara Castle, moved from Overseas Development to the Transport Ministry in December 1965 - the month after Smith declared UDI. Her successor, the "mild left winger" Anthony Greenwood, was later moved to the Housing Ministry; and the subsequent succession of Arthur Bottomley, himself an opponent of the Smith regime, coincided with the downgrading of the post to non-Cabinet status.

Lord Beswick, appointed Under Secretary for Commonwealth Relations and Colonies in October 1965, told the Lords in February this year, "I want the sanctions to be as severe as possible." In July, Wilson made him the Government Chief Whip. Another conveniently moved Minister was Judith Hart, a "known hard-liner on Rhodesia", who was appointed to the Ministry of Social Security a few weeks ago.

The current Cabinet changes, announced on Monday night, certainly bear out the Sunday Times hypothesis. Arthur Bottomley has departed, and Harold Bowden, the Commonwealth Secretary of State, whose personal statement on Rhodesia have left little room for manoeuvre, has been moved to take over Lord Hill's job as Chairman of ITA.

SUPPORT THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN RHODESIA by Sir Dingle Foot

Sir Dingle Foot, Q.C., M.P., whose resignation as Solicitor General is referred to above, said in a BBC Home Service interview on Monday that the time was coming when Britain should aid African guerrillas in Rhodesia. "They and we are on the same side", he said. "Like resistance fighters in the last war, these fighters are fighting for a similar cause - against alien rule and the doctrine of the master race." Sir Dingle thought that few people in this country are fully aware of the facts of the case. "It is simply a police state based upon extreme racial discrimination."

He objected to the emotive word "terrorism" to describe guerrilla activity, and added that he doubted Smith's claims to be mopping up resistance fighters almost as they crossed the border.



Stokely Carmichael, now in North Vietnam to express the solidarity of Afro-Americans with the struggle for the liberation of Southeast Asia from U.S. hegemony, noted in his recent OLAS speech that more than one hundred rebellions have already taken place in the urban ghettos of the USA. These eruptions continue, a permanent reminder of the uniformly wretched conditions so long endured by the black populations of America's largest cities. The most recent outbreaks have been in Jackson, Michigan, and New Haven, Connecticut. The latter city, where conservative Yale University has been situated for over two centuries, was the scene of four hundred arrests last week.

Newark, New Jersey, meanwhile witnessed a dramatic counter-offensive by a variety of political movements who are responding to the now usual attempt by city governments to indict militant figures as responsible for 'criminal anarchy and insurrections'. In Newark, the NAACP and American Civil Liberties Union have brought a different indictment into the courts: their suit charges 'acts of violence, intimidations and humiliation to keep the Negro community in a second-class status' and alleges that 'state police and the National Guard, under pretext of civil disorder, visited massive retaliation on the Negro community. Supporting affidavits will be filed by a large number of groups and individuals, including the Newark Community Union Project, originated in early 1964 by members of the 'new left' organisation Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Its first organisers were white, and a large percentage of the staff remains so. It is highly significant that these organisers were able to move freely in the streets of the black ghetto during the thick of the 'riot', gathering scrupulous evidence on police brutality and reprisals. That they were able to do so is eloquent tribute to the non-racialist character of the consciousness of this particular black community.

The Government offensive against black militants presses onward. Mr. Rap Brown, who recently replaced Mr. Stokely Carmichael as chairman of SNCC, was first arrested and charged with inciting to insurrection in connection with the rebellion in Cambridge, Maryland; he was later indicted for travelling across state borders while carrying firearms. Bail was set at an unprecedented \$25,000, later reduced to \$15,000. Mr. George Ware, who accompanied Mr. Carmichael to the OLAS Conference and who was denied entry into Britain immediately thereafter, was arrested in Nashville, Tennessee. His bail is set at \$10,000. His crime is a series of statements made at a public meeting; the charge, 'sedition'.

Stokely Carmichael's significant speech 'Black Power and the Third World', delivered at OLAS, will appear in the September number of the London Bulletin of the Russell Foundation, along with an introduction by Ken Coates analysing its relevance for British socialists.

#### THE SCARBOROUGH TEACH-IN      New Details

Further details are now available of the Important Meeting "A Socialist Programme for the Labour Movement", to be held in the Olympia Ballroom, Scarborough, on Sunday, October 1st - the eve of the Labour Party Conference.

In addition to the Speakers already mentioned in last week's full page announcement, the following have agreed to participate: Stephn Yeo, Stan Orme M.P., James Kincaid, Jim Mortimer, Royden Harrison, and Representatives of the Myton Strikers, the Brighton Strikers, and the Roberts Arundel Strikers. The Chair is to be taken by Bill Jones. The organisers have also applied for visas for three Trade Unionists from North Vietnam, as an exchange for the visit there of a delegation from the Derbyshire Miners.



The big change since last years T.U.C. is that the Executive is now formally opposed to a Government incomes policy and will also certainly record it's opposition to reduced employment levels at next weeks Brighton Conference. Last year, the T.U.C. leaders gave institutional endorsement to the freeze. This year, membership anger will ensure that no such cover will be offered to the Government.

The Pages of the Report which will be presented to Congress at Brighton contain ample evidence of the posture which the leadership has adopted. Last November I pointed out that the Government appeared to be still concerned exclusively with the re-distribution of incomes among workers as distinct from re-distribution of incomes in general. The Government White Paper of that month met none of the major obstacles which the General Council had expressed, and again the White Paper had little to say about known wage incomes or profits or dividends.

There is a marked contrast in the White Paper between the treatment of Employment incomes and other incomes. The General Council goes on record that in activating the compulsory powers under part IV of the Prices and Incomes Act, the Government made 14 orders in relation to wage and salaries and one on prices. They further state that Trade Unions are not interested in an Incomes Policy which is based on the assumption that a share of the National Income going to working people will remain the same. Their interest lies in a radical progressive incomes policy which will increase their share of the National wealth.

This is fine fighting talk and a marked advance on the uncritical support which the Government has enjoyed hitherto from Congress House. But how does the T.U.C. express this radicalism in action? The weight to the bureaucracy's objections to present policies is directed against compulsory Government powers, continued under Part II of the Prices and Incomes Act. George Woodcock, in discussing the T.U.C. voluntary wage vetting scheme, which is offered as an alternative to Government compulsion, has claimed that the T.U.C. could be tougher than the Government. He has argued that it dispenses with a need for Government compulsory delaying powers over wage claims; but concedes that if this fails to achieve restraint, his case against compulsion would fall.

In making other than insignificant modifications in the T.& G.W.U's £15 minimum wage demand, the T.U.C. gives priority in its wage claim vetting system to claims below that level, but has rejected many claims which generally fit this criteria. Between November 1966. and July, 1967, Unions notified 340 claims covering 4,0000 workers to the T.U.C. Approval was withheld from nearly 40% of these claims covering 40% of the workers involved. What is this if not redistribution of incomes among workers? Moreover, where is the programme with which a working class movement can achieve a radical incomes policy which redistributes incomes against the property owners?

If the T.U.C. continues with its present wide vetting exercise, the tensions created within the trade union movement will ensure that it is short lived.

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THE ISSUE BEFORE THE T.U.C. ( Cont'd )

In 1950 the T.U.C.'s initiative to sustain wage restraint was rejected by Congress: the Union executives which had supported the freeze were rebuked by their National Delegates policies. Already in 1967 the T.U.C. has been led to complain that the Government has actually embarrassed it by granting some public service claims in excess of the T.U.C. criteria!

The questions which must be posed at Brighton, therefore, concern the nature of the alternative programme to the Government's policies. Whilst getting the T.U.C. to strengthen its opposition to compulsion, language, the left at Brighton must challenge the profoundly inadequate alternative at present on offer.

Some resolutions tabled by Unions for debate provide opportunities for such a challenge to be expressed. All the incomes policy resolutions are critical to some extent to Government policy. There is not a single one of these pious statements of loyalism so dear to the ears of Lords Carron and Cooper. The T & G resolution stresses the demand for 'minimum wage of £15 a week at current living costs for a normal 40 hour week or less'. The N.U.G.M.W. demands equal pay for women as part of any incomes policy. Many resolutions demand the restoration of free collective bargaining, the Boiler-makers demanding a complete withdrawal of present Government policy, which is "a negation of democracy". The D.A.T.A. resolution draws attention to "the new criminal liability on workers who compel, induce or influence an Employer to improve wages....." The Scottish Motor Men condemn an incomes policy which does not control capital and profits.

The question of how profit and capital are to be controlled and curtailed is not faced squarely in any of the incomes policy resolutions. However, two resolutions in another section provide the beginnings of an approach to this problem. The N.U.R. calls for an examination of the question of workers' participation though its resolution is ambiguous and requires scrupulous examination in a debate on the subject. It is disappointing, too, that this is the only resolution on the question so central to an alternative strategy. However, the Post Office Workers resolution on consultation in Public Industries comes close to the sharp edge which this strategy requires. It emphasizes its belief that for industrial democracy to become meaningful to working people, the trade union representatives must have access to all the information and data that Management considers it necessary to have before its own decision can be taken. This is an admirable expression of the demand for the opening of the books.

The failure of the T.U.C. to get closer than these few approximations to a viable alternative which gives meaning to its radical phrases stems in part from the nature of the T.U.C. itself, and its leaders' views on how policy is formed and influenced. George Woodcock is fond of saying that he did not think anything important could be decided at Congress and that votes do not matter. It is true, of course, that the rank and file find it difficult to gain access to the rostrum at the T.U.C., but the fact

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THE ISSUE BEFORE THE T.U.C. ( Cont'd)

that the Leadership is under public scrutiny means that it is under some democratic pressure from its members. This we trust be greatly strengthened by planned lobbies at Brighton, for example by a liason committee for the defence of the Trade Unions. But Woodcock's attitude is, of course, the product of his faith in Committee influence - the corridors of power and so on. 'Our new Over Lord' or better, 'the Minister responsible for unemployment' wasted no time in calling George and the President of the C.B.I. to Downing Street last week, in his attempt to head off the mounting tide of resentment against unemployment and falling living standards. Of course, if George does enjoy the confidence and confidences of that man and his corridors, he must avoid at all costs any actual mobilisation of the working class. He must foster the illusion that change and practise will follow from collaboration in the process of capitalist planning, modernization and rationalization.

This explains the unsatisfactory nature of another section of the T.U.C. Report which deals with planning. The 'NEDDY and Little NEDDY' structure in which the T.U.C. is so closely bound is given an extensive review. The document of planning which will be presented to Congress assumes the effectiveness of this machinery. But whilst the document draws attention to the growing state subsidy of private interests, and calls for accountability, it cannot show how the highly bureaucratized NEDDY structure can enforce this demand. There is no possibility of mobilizing working class control in this way and in the end the planning document falls back upon language which takes the corporate view.

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ADVERTISERS ANNOUNCEMENT

P R E P A R E F O R

O C T O B E R 22

FILM "DEFENDING HAIPHONG" AND MEETING TO DISCUSS PLANS  
FOR 21-22 MOBILISATION

Caxton Hall, 8 p.m.

Tuesday, September 5.

October 22 Ad Hoc Committee, 49, Rivington Street, E.C.2.

Tel. 739 6851



## COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR WILSONISM

by John Swinton.

The arguments used by the Sunday Times in the article mentioned on page 2 are disturbing enough. But, even more disturbing is the basic assumption that Ministers have a responsibility for Government decisions which is restricted to their own departments. This is not a criticism of the Sunday Times contributor, who is merely recognising, quite correctly, the degree to which collective responsibility has degenerated under the Wilson Administration.

The Rhodesian situation is only a case, and not the most central case, in point. In terms of answerability to the electorate, economic policy on the home front is more likely to be the potent factor. The Government's shocking record in this field is not a matter for which Harold Wilson and James Callaghan alone are answerable, and no amount of musical chairs within the Cabinet can absolve their colleagues of their measure of responsibility for policies which make a mockery of the word 'Socialism'.

The betrayal of the Party's class support is not one that will be forgotten with the passage of time; the Tories will see to that. The measure of the scale of the betrayal is to be seen in the disgraceful summer figures for unemployment - the highest since 1940. By setting this new yardstick of "acceptable" unemployment, the Wilson Administration has not merely made more likely the return of a Tory Government. It has also presented such a Government with a reactionary weapon which it could never have forged for itself.

If the Labour Party as a whole is not to carry this stigma, it is imperative for rank-and-file M.P.'s to assert themselves. At the best, they may reverse the tide: at the worst, they will give something to build on for the future. The omens are not good, and already, in the latest reshuffle, at least one "left-winger" has accepted appointment to a post where he cannot influence, but can only carry out, the policies which he should be opposing.

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### OCTOBER 21ST DEMONSTRATION PROPOSED IN GLASGOW

from Tony Southall

At a widely representative meeting held in Glasgow last week on the initiative of the local Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, it was decided to organise a march and indoor meeting on October 21st in support of the American anti-war movement's Autumn Mobilisation on Washington. The meeting included representatives of the V.S.C., C.N.D., British Council for Peace in Vietnam, Youth for Peace in Vietnam, Afro-Asian Council for National Liberation, 3 Y.S. Branches etc. Tony Southall Secretary of Woodside Constituency Labour Party and V.S.C. member was elected Chairman and Rita Baxter of the B.C.P.V., Secretary of the Committee. Further details of the demonstration will appear at a later date.

### VIETNAM MEDICAL AID, GLASGOW.

Glasgow Vietnam Solidarity Campaign is organising 2 events in September to raise money for medical aid to the National Liberation Front and the D.R.V. On September 2nd there will be a Flag Day. Sellers will operate from the Trades Union Social Centre, 81, Carlton Place, 10 - 5 p.m. During the following 2 weeks pub collections will take place in two areas of the city. Further details from: Tony Southall, 97, Otago St., Glasgow, W.2. Tel: 041 KEL-5849.

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INDUSTRIAL NOTES - STOCKPORT AND BRIGHTON DISPUTES CONTINUE

Week of Protest over Roberts-Arundel Dispute.

This week marks a new stage in the nine month old dispute at the Roberts-Arundel works in Stockport, Cheshire, where the picket lines have been manned since 140 strikers were sacked last November after a series of disputes with the American management of the company. Workers from factories throughout Stockport are participating in an 'action week' called by the Roberts-Arundel Joint Action Committee. Workers at the Henry Simons, Hawker Siddeley and Mirrless National works have decided to stop work on Friday in solidarity with the strikers. Many other factories in the area are expected to declare their support for the stoppage, which is expected to be almost total in the engineering factories.

A mass picket is to be mounted at the factory where, despite the mass demonstration of Stockport workers in February, the management have refused union recognition. At the February demonstration a number of workers were arrested by the police and fined. Despite instructions from the AEU National Office that the strike cannot be supported 12,000 workers in the area have pledged their support behind the Joint Action Committee. John Tocher, AEU District Secretary, told reporters, 'This week will be a massive effort to bring this strike to a successful conclusion'. The workers are determined to carry on the struggle until their union is recognised and the sacked workers are reinstated.

Brighton Hosery Workers in 21st Week of Fight for Union Recognition.

15 workers in Brighton who have been picketing the CBR Jersey Mill Ltd., factory, for 13 hours a day since April this week, entered their 21st week dispute with CBR with the issuing of the 'CBR Lockout News'. The bulletin claims that since the dispute started the price of CBR shares have fallen from 5/9 to 3/4½. Both the T & GWU have refused to do work for CBR; the AEU have blacked repair work on CBR machines at Wildt-Mellor - Bromley, and the chemical workers are blacking the supply of die-chemicals to firms that do dying and finishing for CBR.

The dispute started when CBR demanded that the workers should sign over a six-penny stamp, a declaration that they would not join the union. This action followed an attempt by workers in the factory to organise themselves to improve conditions - the working week at CBR was 72 hours. The dispute culminated last week with the issuing of a writ for libel against George Dearing the, Hosier workers president after he had circulated shareholders of the company about the dispute.

Delegates at the TUC conference will be given a broadsheet explaining the dispute and it is expected that both the Chairman of the Brighton Trades Council and the NUHKW president will raise the matter in conference.

Donations and requests for speakers should be sent to : JOINT CBR ACTION COMMITTEE (CBR Lockout Committee) BRIGHTON TRADE COUNCIL SECRETARY, MIKE TAYLOR, 7, SILLWOOD PLACE, BRIGHTON.

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## REPORT ON SECOND MEETING HELD IN SOLIDARITY WITH LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by Claude Anderson

As a sequel to the successful meeting held in solidarity with the OLAS conference on July 26th, which incidently drew an overwhelmingly enthusiastic audience of over 600, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation held another successful meeting on the same theme of solidarity with the revolutionary struggles in Latin America.

Although there were considerably less people attending this meeting, about 500, the speakers tackled the subject at a higher theoretical level, and the tone of the meeting generally was one of serious political analysis.

The feature of the evening was a report from the OLAS conference by Ken Coates who had represented the Russell Peace Foundation at the conference. Mr. Coates talked about his experiences in Cuba and spoke of the country in the context of the economic and political situation in Latin America generally. He then went on to consider the OLAS conference itself and dispelled the grossly exaggerated interpretations that the Western press had given to the conference. According to him, the delegates at the conference accepted almost unanimously the general resolution on the necessity of the use of armed struggle for liberating Latin America. The same general acceptance applied also to the resolution condemning Soviet support for the governments of the continent engaged in repressing revolutionary struggles. He also emphasised the freedom and depth of discussion that took place at the conference, and the committed and serious nature of the delegates, which was in total contrast with the impressions that the Western press had tried to present.

The secondary feature of the meeting which later during the evening caused some important discussion, was a talk by Robin Blackburn and Malcome Caldwell who had recently returned from Bolivia after having studied the case of the imprisoned French journalist, Regis Debray. The discussion was basically concerned with the arguments for and against the Cuban strategy for revolution in Latin America, and the book by Regis Debray; 'Revolution in the Revolution-?' Some contributions from the audience seemed to be totally ignorant of the political developments that have taken place in Cuba recently; The same charges of 'adventurism' that were thrown at Fidel Castro in the Sierra Maestra days were made to the Guerrilla movements of the continent.

These two meetings that have taken place certainly seem to augur well for an increased interest that is developing in this country towards the revolutionary struggles that are intensifying on this continent. Let us hope that this is contributing towards achieving a greater international awareness among British socialists. The fact that the OLAS conference took place at the same time as the outbreak of Guerrilla warfare in the cities of North America itself, and the presence of Stokeley Carmichael at the conference gave great prestige to the OLAS conference as being a coordination of continental strategy against imperialism. The Russell Peace Foundation is doing a very important job in developing its campaign on Latin America, and bringing the attention of people in this country not only to the objective reality of the continent, but also propagating the movements that are actually fighting against imperialism in situations that have all the potentials of being future Vietnams.



DEBRAY'S PUBLIC TRIAL DELAYED AS VIGILANCE ABROAD INTENSIFIES.

from Russ Stetler.

The trial of Regis Debray, which had already been protracted in a dual effort to provide a semblance of carefully administered juridical procedure and to wear out Debray's supporters (including the numerous foreign journalists now lodged in the deathly-dull oil town of Camiri), has been postponed. The public part of the trial is now expected until September 8 or 9. Four investigators who had been despatched to Bolivia by Bertrand Russell to gather evidence on the trial returned last week. Their dramatic reports have already appeared in The Observer (by Perry Anderson and Robin Blackburn) and in The New Statesman (by Tariq Ali). Their important evidence not only demonstrates Debray's innocence (establishing conclusively that Debray entered Bolivia legally as an accredited journalist in peacetime, that he was unarmed at the time of his arrest, etc.), but it also confirms Debray's counter-charges in many cases. Debray's contention that he has been interrogated by CIA officers from the U.S. is supported by a suspicious list of U.S. 'military men' who arrived in the obscure town of Camiri immediately after Debray's arrest. The names of these men, obtained from hotel registers in Camiri, are given in The Observer.

A recent release from Agence France Press indicates that the Bolivian authorities have permitted the Anglo-Chilean journalist George Andrew Roth to return to Chile. Roth, who was accidentally captured with Debray, was held incommunicado for six weeks and subjected to the same brutal treatment as his co-defendants. Later 'released', he was denied permission to leave La Paz, in a crude psychological game which menaced him constantly with re-indictment and offered him unconditional freedom if he would testify against Debray. It is to Roth's credit that he withstood this great pressure. His final release also indicates that the Bolivian authorities could no longer afford to carry out threats against Roth, in the presence of foreign journalists whose sympathy for him is universal. Clearly, the Bolivian authorities feared what Roth would tell the journalists and even his possible testimony at Debray's trial.

In a related development, Richard Wigg of The Times (25 August) gave a penetrating account of the industrial crisis with which Bolivia is currently faced vis-a-vis tin. Wigg writes, 'From the consuming world's viewpoint the 24,900 tons of Bolivian tin exported last year came from high cost and low productivity mines -- and Malaysia was first anyway, exporting 68,900 tons. But to Bolivians that tonnage represented 70% of all their country's exports and tin, together with other less important minerals, accounted for 95% of Bolivia's total foreign exchange earnings.' He adds that the price of tin has fallen from a 1965, high of \$1.76 per fine pound, to \$1.50; next year, it will be worse, since world supply will exceed demand. The mines are under military occupation, and in June 24 Government troops massacred more than two dozen miners (with their wives and children). Those wounded are said to number over one hundred. Wigg's description of life in the pits could be taken from The Road to Wigan Pier -- but for the fact that high altitude sharpens the contrasts of temperature and light for the Bolivian miners. It is on this base that the Bolivian guerrilla army is built.



What is the interest of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in Latin America and OLAS ?

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation is concerned to mobilise opinion, everywhere, against imperialism. It has become perfectly plain that imperialism and world peace are completely incompatible, and that until the power of the old empires, and particularly that of the United States, is overcome, not only will the arbitrary repression of the poor peoples of the world increase, but so will the danger of world-wide nuclear war. Having done everything possible to counter the threat of nuclear war, and having explored the attitudes of all the major world statesmen on this matter, some years ago Bertrand Russell came to the conclusion that the basic threat to the peace of the world arose from the United States. In the meantime the utter barbarism and ruthlessness of the US administration has been made terribly plain in its remorseless attacks on the people of Vietnam. Now all the signs are that the stimulating lessons of the Revolution in Cuba are being learnt throughout Latin America, in that the forgotten and oppressed poor of that continent are seeking a way out of under-development and privation, and discovering that no such way exists without a fundamental structural political and economic change. Equally, all the signs indicate that the United States Government will do everything in its power to inhibit, block, and reverse any movement to such change, as the recent events in Dominica bear witness. It is our view that the peoples of Latin America have both the need and the right to reorganise their society in such a manner as to eliminate hunger, illiteracy, disease and squalour. Since this requires united action first to roll back the power of imperialism, and then to begin the planned development of the continent's resources, all of us in the Foundation have the highest hopes of the OLAS conference, as the first vitally necessary step towards the achievement of such action. I might add that I am profoundly impressed with the serious work which has gone into the preparation of OLAS, with the extremely exhaustive documentation it has produced, and with the obvious will to unity which it has inspired. Once the continent has gained its independence, it is apparent that it will quickly become a beacon for the whole world, both in the zeal with which it will tackle and solve its back-breaking economic difficulties, and in the content of the rich culture of freedom which is already heaving latent beneath the surface of oppression.

What are the immediate objectives of the Foundation in Latin America ?

Both the Foundation and Lord Russell personally receive hundreds of appeals from the victims of repression in Latin America. They present a heart-rending picture of almost random brutality on the part of the oligarchs who dominate the continent. The first thing we hope to do is to help to co-ordinate a world-wide campaign for the defence of the victims of this oppression. We wish to defend all the political prisoners, to expose and mobilise opinion against all the concentration camps, and to tell the world in detail about every repressive action. Russell himself has suffered imprisonment for his views, and he feels particularly deeply about the ruthless deprivation of elementary political rights which appears to be normal in almost every part of the continent. We all think that vigorous campaigning for all those who fall victim of repression can serve a valuable dual function; it can aid the victims, at the same time as it mobilises world opinion against their tormentors. We hope to establish a situation in which all the oligarchs may know that civilised men, all over the world, are watching them, and are angered by their brutality.



We also want to take steps to inform opinion in Europe and North America about conditions in Latin America at large, and in Cuba in particular. For us, Cuba marks out a new milestone in the progress to human freedom, and we want her enormous humane achievements to be generally known and understood throughout the world. We think there is no country in the world which could not learn something valuable from the Cuban experience.

What is the relationship between the Russell Foundation and The War Crimes Tribunal ?

Lord Russell set up the Foundation to further his general activities for peace and against imperialism. It defends the victims of oppression and colonialism all over the world, and intervenes wherever in the world its services are needed. The war in Vietnam is at once so crucial a front in the imperialist military design, and so remorseless an attack on a peaceful and creative people, that Russell became convinced that it was urgent to attempt to mobilise the very widest condemnation of the war crimes which are daily being perpetrated by the US Government. For that reason he called into existence the War Crimes Tribunal, to concern itself entirely with that duty, which is imperative for any man who is not a slave at heart. The Tribunal is a completely separate and autonomous body, governed by its judges, although, of course, the members and supporters of the Foundation all participate actively in its work. Indeed, one of the directors of the Foundation, Ralph Schoenman, has played a crucial role in the development of the Tribunal's work. But, because it is concerned with the single issue of Vietnam, the Tribunal is wider in its scope than the Foundation, and involves many more people.

What impact has the Tribunal had on Public Opinion ?

Perhaps you can best measure this by the response of its enemies. The Tribunal was formally barred from half the countries of Europe, including some in which it had no desire to meet. It was hunted out of Paris at the very last moment, after the US Government had mounted an insistent campaign of pressure against it. It has been proscribed by Harold Wilson, and the threat of deportation has been made against those of its members who visit England. In spite of this, facing a hostile press, the Stockholm session broke through, by the sheer weight of its unanswerable case, to make a significant impact especially on the peoples of the capitalist countries. After all their persecution had failed, even the enemies of the Tribunal had to admit it had succeeded. And, of course, it is not finished. We have every reason to hope that the second session will make an even greater impact than the first.

What perspectives does the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation have in the light of this success of the Tribunal ?

First we have to carry on and intensify the campaign for Vietnam. As the Tribunal presents the evidence, so must the mobilisation of people throughout the world, against the war crimes and those who commit them, be augmented. Secondly, Lord Russell has been overwhelmed with requests from other peoples who are defending themselves against imperialism. The latest and most serious has come from the Arab peoples who were viciously attacked by imperialism, acting through the State of Israel. The aggression of the Israelis was apparently mounted under a barrage of the same terror weapons which have been brought to perfection in the bombardment of the Vietnamese people. Lord Russell is examining this situation with keen concern, and it will be investigated by a team he is assembling for the purpose. I have already spoken about our plans in Latin America. These different theatres of interest cover a substantial part of the globe. Accordingly, I think that thirdly, we should set ourselves the task of creating on a world scale a current of informed opinion, which can begin to co-ordinate its response to imperialism on a world scale. As this becomes possible, so our work can be developed to a new level. Russell is already a very old man: but there is every reason to hope that he will live to see this level gained.