

MILITANT

FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

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UNIONS DEMAND

TAKE OVER KEY FIRMS!

Socialist measures the only answer

by KEITH DICKENSON

The increase in unemployment expected towards the end of this year has not taken place. Now the professional economists are estimating that it may be avoided until the end of next year, or even later. The "failure" of the "deflationary" measures taken by the Government is expressed in this fact. Under the pressure of the bankers and industrialists the Government imposed stringent measures in the import surcharge, the measures of the Budget to cut "consumption" and the drastic cuts in Government expenditure on the social services.

The intention of the ruling circle of monopolists and financiers was to impose a "stop" on production for the home market in their own interests. How shaky and impotent the measures that can be taken to "plan" and "control" a capitalist economy are indicated by the fact that Callaghan's Treasury "advisers" had expected precisely the opposite of the present situation.

The upswing of production continues. It is 3% higher at present (October) than 12 months ago. Unemployment has dropped 10% over the October 1965 figure. It is now 1.3% of the labour force. Exports have increased 7% in this time. Meanwhile retail prices have gone up 4.8%, while wages have lagged behind at the average increase of weekly wages of 4.5%. All these are official figures and thus artificially slanted by the index taken, but give some idea of the processes taking place in the economy. Profits have been increasing even faster than production, and this year will once again break records. The capitalists are finding new loopholes to guarantee themselves "capital gains." The Financial Times in its issue of 26/10/65 ridicules the efficacy of the measures taken by the first post-war Labour Government and the present one. They point out that it is the most parasitic "take-over" merchants who get the benefit of the Finance Bill. The Capital Gains Tax, in the United States they say had the same effect.

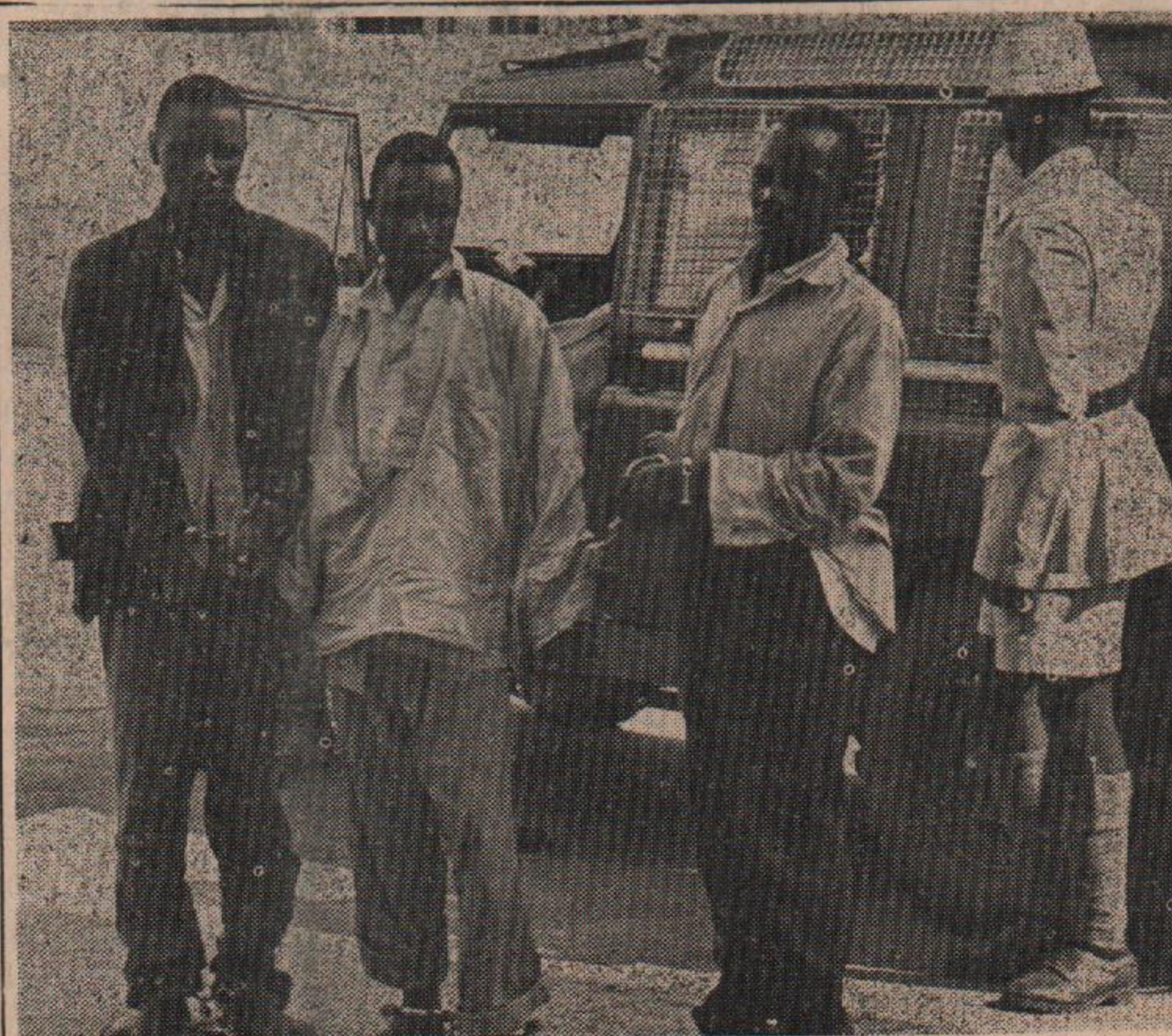
STRENGTH OF WORKERS

Thus the measures of the Government leave the relations between the capitalist class and the working class much as before. That is why the capitalists are "tolerating" the Labour Government. Full Employment has continued because of the increase in world trade and the increased capital goods market at home. The working class is in a strong position to get a bigger share of the wealth they are producing. Hence the propaganda of the capitalist press on the iniquity of wage increases, especially those which go over the Incomes Limit of 3½ to 4%. This in spite of the fact that the cost of living, according even to the official figures quoted above, has gone up more.

Working class standards of living are maintained by overtime and the labour of the working women.

The capitalists are exerting pressure to try and "hold the line." The Financial Times and the Times both have editorials which, in effect, demand that the less well organised and skilled sections of the working class, including the formerly privileged sections of the white collar workers on whom the capitalists depended for support, should not get the benefit of wage increases which they are grudgingly compelled to concede to the highly organised industrial workers. In its editorial of October 27th headed "Please do not disturb" the Times opposes the increase now granted by the National Board for Prices and Incomes to the administrative and clerical workers in the electricity supply industry. They ask sternly "What hope is there for the Government's prices and incomes policy if every settlement is to be accompanied by kindly "disturbance" settlements for other people — some of whom may be on the periphery of the work under scrutiny? It is almost unbelievable that the Government should have welcomed this report and commended its findings and its recommendations."

Thus clearly the capitalists view the Incomes Policy as a means of holding back the legitimate claims of the workers and increasing their own wealth. The less the share of the workers in the wealth they produce the higher the share of the capitalists. This year for the first time the amount of capital investment of the national income has reached 20%. This is a record and comes close to that of the advancing capitalist economies on the Continent. The capitalists are anticipating an increase of 5% above the investment figures of this year next year. It is this that has kept the economy stable.



Rhodesia

let the people decide

by TED GRANT

Photo: Three political prisoners are taken to Smith's jails. Also see Background Article, P 2

History plays some peculiar tricks on those who think they have direct control of the fate of nations. For generations the British capitalists maintained control of the areas of Africa, which they carved into an Empire; by fire, sword, and the basest trickery. The entire policy was based on domination of the black majority by a small minority of whites. This policy was expressed in the Rhodesias by the domination of the 4 million Africans of Southern Rhodesia by a tiny minority of 220,000 whites.

It is not much more than a decade since the Tory Government established the Central African Federation, which in the expression of its first Prime Minister established "partnership" between black and white, the "partnership of horse and rider." This collapsed with the opposition of the Africans, and the fear of British Imperialism of the development of a resistance movement on the lines of the struggle of the Algerians against French Imperialism. Had they resisted the "wind of change" the Imperialists stood to lose everything and drive the African peoples into the arms of "Communism", at the least to accept the support of the Chinese and the Russians.

Consequently they changed their tactics and decided to rely on an "elite" of Africans and hoped thus to safeguard their investments and interests. The "settlers" howled about "betrayal" in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and other colonies. But the Imperialists, understood that in any event the position could not be maintained. Thus they trampled on the position they had carefully built up for the Europeans and compromised on the basis of African independence, politically if not economically.

Now the stage is set for an explosion in Southern Rhodesia. After the collapse of the Federation in 1961, Southern Rhodesia was given a

Constitution which gave 15 M.P.'s out of 65 to the Africans. A ludicrous relationship which the leaders of the African majority refused to accept.

POWER FOR WHAT?

One of the main factors in this result has been the increase in world trade especially of industrial goods, which increased by 14%. Britain's share of exports only increased by 7%. This has meant a further decline in the share of the world market held by Britain. This is going to pose terrible problems before the Labour Movement in the future. If in the best conditions for the capitalists to concede increases in wages and standards of living they claim that "Britain"—i.e. the ruling class—cannot afford it what is going to happen when the inevitable decrease in world trade and recessions (little slumps) and big slumps takes place? The "Plan" of the Government has no more substantial a base than the "deflation." It is based on the whims of the capitalist mar-

ket. It will follow the trend of this market especially on the world scale.

What then of the future? Wilson, say the now favourable commentators, is interested in "Power". But the problem is power for what? The miners, the railwaymen, the engineers, the dockers, postmen, chemical and other sections of the working class in the organised trade union and Labour Movement have their own ideas on the subject. They want better conditions & steps to change society in the direction of Socialism. They are right. The leaders in the Government are living in a fool's paradise if they think the workers will accept limitations of income for the benefit of the monopolists. Turn the attack instead on the handful of capitalist parasites who have landed the country in this mess. Nation-

Consequently their organisations were made illegal, and their leaders such as Nkomo placed under restriction. This under conditions so bad they made a terrible impression on Harold Wilson when he heard about them at first hand. It can be imagined what conditions must be like in the gaols, and for the detainees of more humble stature, if that is the condition of the leaders.

1923 AND THE ARCHBISHOP

The Rhodesian Front Government is demanding its "independence". How did they come to be in a position where the representatives of a tiny minority can make this insolent ultimatum? In 1923 the British Government gave virtual control in Rhodesia to the white settlers. They thought the interests of the copper mining magnates and other millionaire investors would best be served with the whites in control. At that time there was no protest from the

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alise the 400 monopolies, the banks and the insurance companies as the only solution to the problems facing Britain.

NATIONALISATION CALL

Already the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has demanded the nationalisation of the machine tool, aircraft and key engineering industries. This is a good beginning. It is on these lines that the Labour Movement must proceed. But it is not sufficient to pass resolutions. The Confederation should begin a campaign first in their own unions, and then throughout the Labour Movement and the working class to demand the nationalisation of these industries, as well as the steel industry.

Power is vital. But it is only of use if it advances the interests of the workers and not the capitalists.

Rhodesia: the facts

by PETER TAAFFE

The bellicose attitude of Smith and the 220,000 white settler population of Rhodesia with their "what's good for Smith is good for me" has a very material basis. Their lush living is at the expense of terrible poverty, and discrimination against the African population in terms of political and democratic rights. In income, ownership of land and general standard of living the 4 million Africans lag far behind.

In fact the average earnings of the Europeans are ten times that of the African workers. The most recent statistics give the average income of the European as £1,241 a year while that of the African is barely £121 a year. But most Africans earn considerably less than this, barely grubbing an existence. An example of this is the scandalous wages paid by European farmers.

LAND

Central to the impoverishment of the African and the "good life" of the white population has been the Land policies of successive Rhodesian Governments. Under the guise of "helping" the African farmer the last 30 years has seen the introduction of a number of Land Apportioning Acts viciously biased against the African farmer. As the banned African Congress stated in 1959 these Acts have been used "for the purpose of dispersing and impoverishing the African population and retaining political and economic power in the hands of the settlers". So much so that the white settlers, barely one sixteenth of the population, own nearly one half of cultivable land. But this is only half the story. The 41 million acres of the Europeans, are far superior to the 44 million acres owned by the Africans. It has been estimated that 98 per cent of the region suited to dairying and fruit farming, is owned by the Europeans. Similar figures exist for other zones suited for intensive farming.

The hysteria, and we may add the historical blindness, of the "colon" farmer, who is the backbone of Smith's "Rhodesian Front", is rooted in the belief that his privileged position is at stake in the granting of political power to the Africans. Indeed the enormous discrepancy in land will be one of the first things to be tackled by any Nationalist Government. The African farmer presently eking out a living on his miserable plot of land, will not long tolerate a situation where more than a third of European estates consist of 20,000 acres or more.

LEGAL RIGHTS

Not content with crushing the African financially, successive Governments of course denied them any voice in the running of the country and have gone a long way to emulating South Africa in stripping the African of even elementary legal rights. The International Commission of Jurists, not the most radical of bodies commented last year "Southern Rhodesia is not un-

der a state of emergency but the content of its legislation is characteristic of such a state of affairs". Reduced to the language of reality this means that sentences of 3-10 years for intimidation directed at expressions of opinion (interpretation arbitrary); 5-20 years for throwing or threatening to throw an article at a car; 2-7 years for boycott; the death penalty for arson against property, are applied to the African.

The long term interests of Imperialism in Africa determines the stand of Britain supported by the other imperialists, against a Unilateral Declaration of Independence, and not at all the "moral" abhorrence of Wilson, Johnson and other leaders of the "West" to the regime of Smith. The threat of economic sanctions would mean economic chaos and possible collapse, particularly in such industries as the Tobacco industry, with its total reliance on Britain, Western Germany and the United States. Not for nothing did the Financial Times wryly comment "when Mr Smith declares independence he must also pass a law compelling every Rhodesian to smoke at least 500 cigarettes a day" indicating the dilemma of Smith and his henchmen. Indeed if the market in Britain and West Germany who between them buy over 60 per cent of Rhodesia tobacco dries up the tobacco industry faces ruin. The same issue of the Financial Times summed the situation up perfectly; "but when it is realised that tobacco is by far Rhodesia's biggest single export UDI sounds like plain insanity." And of course the tobacco manufacturers would wholeheartedly agree with that, as witnessed in their opposition to Smith's "insane" course.

IMPERIALIST STAKE

Not least of the factors worrying British Industry is that if U.D.I. should be declared, to be followed by economic sanctions, it would be their "interests" that would suffer. The Stock exchange has been on edge as to what will happen to its loot, the £200 million of estimated British investments in the area. The possible closing of the Zambia frontiers, would mean for instance that the copper markets could lose an estimated production of 30,000 tons of copper a month. Hence the boost of copper shares in the last few weeks. Firms like the Rhodesian Anglo American and Roan Selection Trust which between them produces one eighth of the world copper supplies are very much opposed to the "complications" both long term and short term, of Smith's stand. Other firms which stand to suffer are Tate and Lyle, with over £1 million pounds invested in Rhodesian Sugars; Imperial Tobacco with a stake of over £4 million, the British American Tobacco; Dunlop tyre company and numerous other British and American firms. The dilemma

of the British Capitalists was expressed by their organ the Financial Times in its issue 9/10/65 when it said "Some British firms including a few major clearing banks and insurance companies could find themselves in between the devil and the deep sea—with the British Government ordering them to cease operations, and a Rhodesian "rebel" government threatening to take them over if they do so."

AMERICAN PROTEST OVER VIETNAM WAR

by COLIN PENFOLD

October saw many demonstrations throughout the United States against the war in Vietnam. 10,000 people participated in a demonstration in New York alone. A similar number demonstrated in Washington and there were further demonstrations throughout the country. This movement is growing stronger every day and many civil rights workers are involved. Many of the demonstrators destroyed their "callup cards", which is a federal offence, and is being viewed with great alarm by the authorities.

This is undoubtedly the most outstanding anti-war movement in the United States for decades. The demoralisation that is apparent particularly amongst the "long time serving" American servicemen in Vietnam is seeping back home. The reports of Gas bombs and terrible brutality have not gone unnoticed. As *The Times* of

join the 'Students for a Democratic Society', the largest of the new left groupings. 'People are signing up by the hundreds,' one of the SDS leaders said. 'It's the shot in the arm we've needed all year.' The conscience of America is stirring in revulsion at the killing and bru-



American students demonstrate at football game against Vietnam war

18/10/65 reports..." there is no stomach for the violence of American destruction. Consciences do not seem to be assuaged by the wholesale shipments of artificial limbs, the call for plastic surgeons and the dispatch of teams to care for hundreds of thousands of refugees. These acts of official charity seem only to support the reports of American violence uncurbed..."

It is now apparent to Johnson & Co. that they can no longer rely on the unquestioning support, of the overwhelming majority of Americans for their war in Vietnam. Pickets are being organised outside army recruiting offices and draft centres. This is what the 'New Statesman' 22 October, 1965 reports:—"All week, students flocked to

INDONESIA

by ALAN WOODS

Indonesia has in the past month, seen the precarious balance of class forces, tenuously maintained by an ailing Sukarno, shattered as Army officers have ruthlessly pursued their drive against the Communist Party (P.K.I.). Taking as their cue the abortive coup of Air Force officers on September 30th, the Army generals have used the opportunity to deal a blow at their "partner" in Sukarno's "Nassokom" the so called "united front of all progressive classes." To the accompaniment of massive Moslem demonstrations, the P.K.I. has been banned, summary executions have been reported, and its three million members live in fear of arrests, looting and arson. While their leaders Aidit and other party bosses, skulk into hiding, the rank and file pay dearly some with their lives, for the compromising policies of the P.K.I.

At one time, Indonesia was a rice surplus area; now it has to import 150,000 tons of rice every year. The once flourishing tin and rubber export industries have dwindled away. Only oil remains as an important earner of dollars. The economy is heavily in debt to the world banking community, especially to US bankers. Each year the budget deficit doubles. The expected figures for this year is around 1,000 billion rupiahs. The value of the rupiah has sunk to a hundred of its legal value, as the result of the chronic inflation which in the past six years has caused the cost of living to increase by 2,000 per cent. In the past year alone rice prices have trebled.

In spite of this catastrophic economic collapse, the State

spends 1,000 million dollars a year on arms i. e. 75 per cent of the State Budget. With this of course goes an enormous parasitic military elite which the Financial Times points out has "weighed disastrously on Indonesia's economy." Such is the case also with the civilian bureaucracy ideally represented by Sukarno himself. In the midst of mass privation, low wages and a huge housing problem Sukarno and his elite live like kings. Sukarno occupies a white mansion — formerly the residence of the Dutch governor — surrounded by sumptuous furniture and expensive works of art. Under his direction huge sums have been lavished on prestige buildings like the Hotel Indonesia in Djakarta white according to the Sunday Times "three million people mostly poor live in low buildings which are falling apart."

GROWTH OF P.K.I.

The poverty and hardships of the masses led to an extraordinary rapid growth of the P.K.I. With the economy sliding downhill fast. Sukarno was forced to nationalise increasing numbers of foreign enterprises. To do this he had to lean on the P.K.I. Nowhere in the backward countries has the C.P. made such rapid strides in the last decade as in Indonesia. Its total paid up membership was three million. It commanded the support of ten million; the Financial Times of 7 October 1965 estimated that the total support of the P.K.I. was "any thing up to one-third of the country's population." It commanded the organised support of 10 mil. trade unionists and organised peasants, as well as 40 per cent of the Army. In the conditions of Indonesia the P.K.I. was in an enormously strong position from which to mobilise the peasants against the landlord capitalist regime, represented by Sukarno. Instead the leadership chose the familiar path of the Stalinists in the colonial areas of a bloc with a mythical "progressive national capitalism." This in a period when developments in one country after another have shown that the colonial capitalists are incapable of carrying through the elementary tasks of the capitalist revolution; land reform, industrialisation and the other measures which their brothers in the West carried through in the past. The weak bourgeoisies of the ex-colonial countries are too enmeshed with foreign finance capital to carry the nationalist revolution through to the end. The P.K.I. leadership chose to ignore the lessons provided by history, instead of basing themselves on the objective crisis of Indonesian society.

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EDITORIAL

Y.S. Conference

The fifth Young Socialist Conference takes place this month in Malvern. In many ways this conference is the most important yet: There has never been a greater need for the Y.S. to take a clear position on all the major issues confronting the Labour Movement. Consider the background to this conference. The Labour Government has been in office for just over twelve months. During this time, a few reforms on pensions, prescription charges, security of tenure, have been introduced with the full support and backing of all sections of the movement including the Y.S. But experience, demonstrates that the working class and the people general will judge the Government on its overall ability to radically change society.

Before the election, Brown, Wilson and Callaghan pilloried the Tories for their policies of "stop-go", for the Casino society, and the "lush living" of the "top people". But what have our leaders done to change all this. They have adopted with perhaps even more zeal precisely the same "stop-go" policies, for which they attacked Maudling and Selwyn Lloyd. After a hue and cry from the City, The Financial Times and that supposedly "public servant", Lord Cromer governor of the Bank of England, government expenditure has been viciously slashed. Just what this has meant, will be known to every local council, and council house tenant. The document "Rebuilding Britain" to be presented to conference cheerfully mentions the achievement of the Government in cutting "inessential government expenditure". Perhaps the thousands of council tenants up and down the country, who have recently had their rents increased by enormous amounts will take some comfort in this. Why have the Labour Leaders retreated from even their own minimum reform programme?

Why have they capitulated to the pressure of the City, and The International Bankers? These are the question which the conference must answer.

The National Executive document "Rebuilding Britain" in practically every paragraph demonstrates the "gradualist" attitude to the problem of changing society. While it correctly underlines the decay and decline of British Capitalism since the end of the Second World War e.g. on Britain's share of world trade: "It fell from 24 per cent in 1951 to 13½ per cent in 1964", the remedies proposed are to make the economy "more efficient". The "efficiency" so far, is in the interest of the capitalists and not the working class. The leading article in this issue shows that despite the attempts of the Labour Government to "whip industry into line" Britain's

share of world trade still dropped relatively last year. No amount of "carrots" or incentives can alter this. The capitalists are quite willing to see Wilson and Brown feeding the working class on great doses of "sacrifices" in "the national interest". They are quite willing to accept the Incomes policy for the workers, but when it comes to control of profits, then as their organisation, the Confederation of Britain Industries calmly stated, this is "unrealistic".

Instead of the appeals for "sacrifices" the labour leaders, could solve the problems of the economy, by a thorough going Socialist programme. It is our task to pose the alternative, i.e. bringing the "commanding heights" under the control of the state as the only answer. It is the basis upon which the campaign for a democratic Y.S. Conference; for real control of our organisation at every level, can be continued.

This conference could mark a turning point in the history of the Young Socialists, despite the organisational restrictions placed on the conference. The bureaucrats of Transport House, received a shock at the Labour Party Conference. Besides the fact that they were forced to concede to introduce a resolution on foreign policy, the rank and file vociferously opposed their restrictions on the Y.S. 75% of the rank and file at that Conference voted overwhelmingly against the platform. What enormous capital upon which the Y.S. can draw in the next period. It is the basis upon which the campaign for a democratic Y.S. Conference; for real control of our organisation at every level, can be continued. This vote of confidence is an answer in itself to those comrades who have felt pessimistic about the future of the Y.S. Another answer is the beginning of the regeneration of the Y.S. in the last few months. There is evidence that the Y.S. will take on more flesh in the next months.

The future of the Young Socialists has never been brighter. The two documents submitted to the Conference by the N.E.C. provide a framework around which an alternative policy for the whole of the Labour Movement, can be formulated. One of the most important subjects to be discussed at the Conference is a Youth Programme for the Young Socialists. This can help the Y.S. to develop into a living movement. As the resolution from Hackney says the Y.S. must develop into a movement capable of "winning the youth of the factories, mines, railways, schools, and universities to Socialism".

Some comrades may genuinely feel pessimistic about the future of the Y.S. A clear understanding of the tremendous developments which will push the Labour Movement to the left in the next few years, is the best guarantee, against this.

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and subjectively preparing and mobilising the masses for power they chose the path of compromise, of willing partners in Sukarno's "Nassokom."

Not least of the factors determining their attitude has of course been the foreign policy of the "revolutionary" Chinese "Communist" Leaders, with their "friendly" attitude to Sukarno. The Chinese C.P.'s main interest was in manipulating and manoeuvring with the "national" regime of Sukarno as with Ayub Khan, in the "national" interests of the Chinese bureaucracy. While criticising the Russians for their "deals", they were prepared to do the same thing themselves. They encouraged the leaders of the Indonesian P.K.I. to carry on their policy of capitulation to "national" interests, without raising the class issues. This policy of the Chinese means that they could send "condolences" and "best wishes" to Sukarno when he was sitting back while Communist Party militants were arrested by the thousands; some even shot. As the Daily Telegraph cynically pointed out on October 12th "The Communist Party of Indonesia is itself to blame for the predicament. It used the familiar technique of finding junior officers with a taste for power." Reaction is, according to all reports on the rampage in Indonesia. The supreme "arbiter" Sukarno is unable at the moment to bring the generals to heel, but it is not entirely ruled out that a compromise can be found. As the Economist on 16th October pointed out "His appeal for unity has a basis of common sense. The most significant party in the country can hardly be driven underground without a risk of civil war." But if the Generals pursue the campaign against

the P.K.I. then we shall probably see the P.K.I. begin a guerilla war.

The lessons of the present Indonesia situation should be absorbed by the militants and activists in the Labour Movement. All theories programmes and policies sooner or later find expression in practice. The third largest Communist Party in the world, has opened the road for rampant reaction by its class collaborationist policies. The impasse of Indonesia society will not be solved by the measures of repression against the Indonesian "communists." The rank and file in the cities and villages will bear the brunt of the savage measures of the generals. However once before in 1948, the C.P. was smashed at that time for an irresponsible adventurist uprising. But the desperate position of the workers and peasants, led to their rapid recovery, and with ten times the support. Landlord Capitalism in Indonesia is a monstrous caricature of even capitalism in the West. **The Poverty and suffering of the peasant masses, their hunger for land remains the most powerful factor in the situation.** There remains the possibility of a compromise, or of a section of the "Socialist" officer-caste with Sukarno adopting the greater part of the programme of the C.P., as with the Baath Socialists in Syria, this under the pressure of the unsolved crisis. On the other hand, if they try and maintain the present shaky structure and continue the repression of the C.P., it will take to the road of Guerrilla peasant war, having nothing more to lose, as did the Chinese Stalinists in the 1920's under the pressure of Chang Kai Shek's butchers. One thing seems certain, **the end of landlord capitalism in Indonesia.** A real socialist democracy in

Indonesia will only be accomplished by the victory of workers socialist democracy in some advanced industrial power of the west which would join together with the workers and peasants in Indonesia and other backward countries. Meanwhile the ending of Capitalism-Landlordism would mark an immense step forward for the Indonesian people.

...Mr. Boris Belitsky, a commentator for Moscow Radio following up the radio campaign on the Great Train Robbery of 1963 said it was "an enormous hoax played on the British public" by the British Secret Service.

Comrade Belitsky said the Secret Service organised the robbery of the mail train because it feared the L.P., would cut its expenditure.

Lenin maintained scrupulously that the leaders of the movement must always tell the truth to the working class. What contempt the Russian rulers must have to feed the workers with irresponsible fairy stories like this. The real crimes of imperialism and capitalism, of the Secret Service do not need embellishment like this. It only provides ammunition to capitalist reaction to discredit the ideas of Socialism.

Incidentally the most nauseating feature of this whole distasteful episode is the silence of the "Communist" Party and the Daily Worker. Not a word of comment has appeared in their press.

Shares

'At the present time only 9% of the adult population owns any shares' this is one of the findings of a survey run by the Wider Share Ownership Council. It appears that workers prefer to save in Savings Banks etc. Of course the real reasons are that the returns on the small amount of shares which the average worker could afford do not justify the loss of his money for length of time involved. The workers savings are different from the capitalists, the former saves for future use and cannot afford to have his money tied up in share capital for any length of time.

The next time a headline in a financial newspaper to the effect that profits are up by 2 or 3 million pounds it should be remembered that the lion's share will go to a tiny handful who own the major part of the shares. Actually it is a fact that 1% of the population owns between 40% and 50% of all capital (including shares). In view of these figures, it is easy to see how pathetic are the apologists of capitalism such as the Wider Share Ownership Council who in answer to the problems of capitalism put forward the old, worn out ideas of a 'people's capitalism' in which everyone owns some shares. This question was conclusively dealt with by Marx 100 years ago, when he noted the tendency for capital (shares) to concentrate into fewer of which is inadvertently admitted by the Wider Share Ownership Council themselves!

LEFT AND RIGHT

Night shift workers in engineering will now be able to work four long night shifts, each of ten hours, from Monday to Thursday, instead of having their 40 hour week spread over 5 nights. In spite of the reactionary nature of night shift work, this stand taken by these workers against both their Union leaders and the employers, demonstrates again the tremendous strength of organised labour in this period.

In order to be represented in this matter by their union leaders, the workers had to force them into activity by boycotting the Friday shift. The Financial Times puts the union leaders' position clearly "Last month the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering unions) unwillingly recognised this shop floor pressure and replaced its initial opposition to four long nights shifts with a statement that the matter should be handled locally". This shows that when something is at stake the T.U. workers are not apathetic but, on the contrary, realise exactly the role of their union bureaucracy. The rank and file know that they are

the union, and if necessary they will act "unofficially" to acquaint their leaders of this fact. The real worry of the employers is not that the workers have gained this minor concession, but that they will not be content with this and further demand a cut in the shift work.

The opposition of the employers on the other hand does not stem from any philanthropic "concern" for the health of the workers. On the contrary they have never objected to endangering the workers health through piece work, excessive overtime, and other means of squeezing profit from the workers. The employers understand that the demand will soon grow for an 8 hour shift, and, or a 35 hour week. The stand of the Engineering workers on this issue is testimony to the enormous strength of the organised workers in Britain today.

Workers should demand that in view of the inflated profits of the employers, which are increased by night work, the workers should get the same pay for a four night week with the reduction to 8 hours maximum.

For a Living Wage

by T. O ATKINSON

Mr Wilson has repeatedly said that we must get our priorities right; then so must the Ministry of Labour and the Prices and Incomes Board. The first priority should be the abolition of slave labour. Today in so-called modern Britain, there are in the country in general, and in the North East in particular, thousands of men working for wages of under £10. for a 40 hour week. Now when it is remembered that a man with a wife and child can draw unemployment benefit of £7.12.6. per week and then further obtain National Assistance towards paying his rent, it can be clearly seen that a labourer working for £9.2.0. (usual factory wage in North East) before compulsory deduction of National Insurance and Graduated Pension gets less than a man unemployed, then the labourer working is clearly subject to slavery. Thus any labouring man with two or more children is actually paying for the privilege of working.

Mr. Jo Grimond stated in the "Sun" recently that men in this country were not being encouraged to work. No doubt he's right, but not for the reason he implied; the facts are that no man in his right senses would go out to work for less than dole money. It is not the unemployment benefit that is over much, on the contrary it is labouring wages that are far too small, because dole money no doubt, is worked out with slide-rule and is the minimum necessary on which a man can exist. Yet employers have the gall to expect men to work for less. The smart Tory answer to this, is to tell a man to work hard and elevate himself. But if everyone in the country was educated to B.A. standard tomorrow, the thousands of labouring jobs would still have the best educated-labourers in the world. The fact is that these so called menial jobs are as vital to the country's welfare and economic stability as any other job; one is much dependent on the other. Therefore, men performing them should be well rewarded. The real necessity is for a minimum wage to be set as in New Zealand, this must be much higher than unemployment benefit, and under which figure no employer can employ a man. Also with all the indirect taxation which exists today, income tax should not be payable on wages under at least £15., although £20 would be a fairer figure.

NABARRO AND £30,000

Another nauseating aspect of this whole business is the appeals being made up and down the country by Tory ladies and gentlemen and even Labour Ministers, (it is becoming increasingly difficult to know for whom they speak) to workers to make sacrifices, to put their backs into it, "to pull their fingers out", to exercise wage-restraint etc. If the economic situation is as serious as it is made out to be, why don't these people, these imperialist flag-wavers, set an example? Why don't they, all of them, take just for one year a labourer's wage of under £10 per week? After all they would not have to live on this, they could draw on the money they must have accumulated over the years, and live as well as they ever did. But should they all set this example, the country would soon be out of its economic troubles. Surely these "super-patriots" would do this, after all no sacrifice is too big to make for "Queen and country". (Even the much maligned labourer has made

the supreme sacrifice in two imperialist world wars, and is still so doing in defending Capitalist loot east of Suez). But as we all know these people just pay lip service to the country's needs. Sacrifices are all right just as long as they don't have to make them.

Recently we had the case of the director and his £273,000 for his "efforts" over one year, and our dear old "friend" Nabarro when asked by a lady on a radio programme whether this was fair replied, "My dear lady, what will he get after tax? I'll tell you, just £30,000." Just £30,000! Just what a labourer would get for 60 years at £10. per week. These are the type of people who should be making the sacrifices, but as we all know these people have standards to maintain, whereas empty bellies rags and a hovel is good enough for the labourer.

Finally, who are the people who matter? If, as in the views of one past political thinker, if all royalty, their hangers-on, the peerage, the landed gentry and the so-called ruling classes, who even today think they are by divine right born to rule, were struck down tomorrow by lightning, the country would carry on as before, but should all the producers be struck down, what then?

Yes, Mr. Wilson let's get our priorities right and first look after the people who really matter, the workers, the producers, not the parasites.

Let's implement the Socialist policies for which you were given a mandate. Now!

RHODESIA

(Cont. from page 1)

Archbishop of Canterbury or any other high dignitaries of the Churches at this blatantly racist policy. Neither unfortunately were there protests from the trade union and Labour Movement.

The assumptions of the ruling clique were that the colonial peoples would accept the rule of their white masters for generations, if not centuries. In Rhodesia, North and South they created a privileged layer of whites on whom to rest their rule. White control of the police, armed forces, civil service. Colour bar laws and exclusive privileges for the whites. Worse discrimination laws than even in the American South, and on a par with the vicious racialism of South Africa were the rule in Southern Rhodesia. It is on this white caste that British Imperialism in Southern Rhodesia based its rule. As recently as a few years ago Africans in Salisbury could be fined for walking to work on the pavements and not in the gutters.

SUPER EXPLOITATION

The imperialists encouraged tens of thousands of whites to settle in the country on the basis of being pampered and maintained as a ruling elite. The Correspondent of the Sun speaks of a white barman earning £2,000 a year, and having a black assistant to wash the glasses! The African earning about £120 a year, and doing the "menial" tasks, beneath the overlord to do. Incidentally the whites in Salisbury and other towns have swimming pools, cheap native servants to do the housework and look after the children, cars, fridges and other amenities. In general a much higher standard of living than the Americans possess. This standard has been based on the super-exploitation of the African people.

Now that the awakening of the African peoples has begun it is impossible for this artificial privileged society to be maintained for any length of time. The Imperialists recognising this fact want to shift the basis of their interests. They created

this society of privilege based on a white skin, to increase the exploitation of the Africans. Thus their share of the wealth extracted by the toil and virtual slavery of the Africans, was intended to have a secure base. Now the white privileged layers do not wish to give up their domination. It would rapidly end their privileges. History takes its revenge. The imperialists are now faced with resistance to the idea of handing control, even gradually, and even to a new African elite. Both Big Business in Rhodesia and the big mining industrial and farming interests, controlled by British capital, would regretfully like to hand over to a new privileged layer of Africans, as the new basis for maintaining their profits. Their erstwhile support cannot reconcile themselves to this. Hence the conflict of the Rhodesian Front Government with that of Britain.

It is the world repercussions, as well as those on the whole of the African Continent, which dictates the policy of the British Government. The world is a different place from pre-war. The colonial peoples are on the march. If Smith and his foolish clique size independence, the Africans will immediately set up their own Government in exile and probably start a guerrilla war at home. With a relationship of nearly 20 to 1, with the Africans already stirring, with the support of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world, an "independent" Rhodesian state would not survive for long.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

It is this which has caused the British Government to threaten drastic economic sanctions, which would cripple the weak Rhodesian economy, in the event of a Unilateral Declaration of Independence. The dilemma of the British capitalists is expressed in the declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury to support the use of force against an "illegal" declaration. How often in the past have the British Imperialists used force against recalcitrant colonial peoples. At this moment they

have suspended the Constitution and are using force in Aden. Only sections of the Labour Movement have protested.

Wilson and the British capitalists are doing their best to force a "compromise", to convince the Rhodesian Front Government of Smith, of the hopelessness and insanity of their course, and to persuade the African Nationalists of the need to accept a gradual assumption of power, probably over a decade or so. This would mean that an African elite would come to power and share this power with a white elite, probably at the expense of the uneducated masses, as in Kenya, and other countries. It is possible that Wilson may succeed in persuading Smith. One thing is sure that the present status quo cannot be maintained. By raising the issue, the Rhodesian Front have made it a world problem. They have thus made it impossible to maintain the old position. They must make a unilateral declaration or retreat. If they retreat that would be the best result for British Imperialism. They can arrange for those whites not willing to accept the position of Negro equality, however nominal, to emigrate to Australia, South Africa and other countries. They can hope to maintain their investments—at least for a time—virtually intact.

SETTLER REGIME DOOMED

On the other hand a U.D.I. would force them to take to the road of sanctions. A demand has been raised in the Labour Movement for force to be used. It is true that time and again to protect the British capitalist interests force has been used both at home and abroad. To protect their interests, if on balance they found it favourable, the British capitalists have never hesitated to use the armed forces. They would do so in Rhodesia if they considered it necessary for their purposes. Economic sanctions alone within months would mean the collapse of the Smith "government". It is fear that the liberation of the Africans would be the result of armed fighting in Rhodesia which frightens the capitalists. Either way the settler regime is doomed.

ONE MAN ONE VOTE

Militants in the Labour Movement must demand a real democracy in Rhodesia on the basis of "one man, one vote". The speedy arming of the Africans in Southern Rhodesia and in Zambia is the only real solution to the problem. Only by relying on their own forces, arms and organisation will the African people gain liberation, without laying the basis for a new elite, or protecting the interests of the capitalists and big farmers. Bread and land will only be gained by the Africans by their own struggles. While demanding support for the rights of the Africans, British workers will understand that that is the only solution of the problem which would deal a real blow to the capitalists in Britain as well as Rhodesia.

The Myth of Competition

Marxists have always maintained that one of the factors indicating that society is overripe for Socialism is the tendency towards monopoly. This has been confirmed recently by an unusual source, one of the "captains" of British industry, a Mr Kearton chairman of the giant combine Courtaulds. In a speech quoted in the Financial Times 18/10/65 he said: "We are in an age where the true competition is on an international scale, between businesses whose size—and the benefit which go with size—is fundamental to their competitive survival. Too often the necessary industrial moves needed in this country are impeded by pre-occupation with concepts of how the Government should intervene to make competition work, which derive from an earlier

age (our emphasis-Ed). In this as in other aspects of policy too many of our administrators cling to the concepts they acquired as students". So there you have it. All this talk of "competitive" capitalism is so much hooey. Monopoly, at least, on the home front, is the tendency today. Why not take Mr Kearton at his word Mr. Wilson? It could hardly be an "infringement of the individual's" right if the labour movement decided that in the "nation's" interest it is necessary to replace private monopoly, with a public monopoly, which would have the advantage moreover of being accountable to public control, instead of filling the pockets of the handful of coupon clippers who presently control British Industry.

Militant Readers' Meeting—Malvern

Young Socialists and the Future of Labour

Speakers: T. Grant, P. Taaffe
6 pm Sat Nov 20
TUDOR HOTEL, Wells Rd.

Irish Group
Aid Irish Strikers
Social Sat 20 Nov 1965

Lucas Arms, Grays Inn Rd
(Near Kings Cross Tube St)

Tyneside Militant
Readers Forum
Nov. 28th Miners Hall
Station Rd. Wallsend

SUBJECT
"Incomes Policy and the Labour Movement"

Speaker: ARTHUR DEANE
Administrative Officer
Chemical Workers Union