

MAY DAY,

**40-HOUR
WEEK,**

USDAW,

ALGERIA, AEU,

MARTELL'S SECRET,

U.S. GANGSTERS.

THE Week

a news analysis for socialists

sixpence

May 6, 1960.]

THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

IMPORTANT
NOTICE

SUNDAY NEXT.

THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
EIGHT HOUR LEGAL
WORKING-DAY DEMONSTRATION

Ask all taking part in that Demonstration
to observe—

1. Absolute punctuality as to assembling and starting;
2. Complete obedience to the directions of the Marshals;

TO REMEMBER:

1. That the Legal Day Procession occupies the North or Strand side of the Embankment;
2. That it leaves the Embankment by the East end and goes along Oxford Street to the Marble Arch;
3. That its Platforms will be the more Eastern of the two semi-circles of platforms, the ones nearer the Broad Walk;
4. When the Resolution has been put, all will at once disperse and make their several ways out of the Park, and home.

THE WEEK

a news analysis for socialists

SPONSORS INCLUDE: PERRY ANDERSON, JULIAN ATKINSON, MICHAEL BARRATT-BROWN, NEIL CARMICHAEL MP, RAYMOND CHALLINOR, HENRY COLLINS, JOHN DANIELS, JOHN EBOR, RICHARD FLETCHER, RAY GOSLING, TONY TOPHAM, TREVOR GRIFFITHS, ELLIS HILLMAN, RALPH MILLBAND, STAN MILLS, JIM MORTIMER, JOHN REX, ERNIE ROBERTS, ALAN ROONEY, DAVID STEELE, STEPHEN SWINGLER MP, EDWARD THOMPSON, RAYMOND WILLIAMS, BERT WYNN, KONNI ZILLIACUS MP. (all in their private capacity)

Editors: KEN COATES, ROBIN BLACKBURN

THE WEEK, 54 Park Road, Lenton, Nottingham

Recent issues have carried reports on: *Call-up Threat, Economic Prospects for 64, Recent Profit Levels, Intensification of Labour, Young Socialists, Union Struggles, Labour Party, CND, New Tactics of Neo-Capitalism, Portuguese Opposition to US A, South Korean Economy in Ruins, Argentinian CP Split, Italian Centre Left Government, New Italian Socialist Party, Ghanaian Developments, Venezuelan Guerrillas, Comcon, Life in Peking, International Steel Glut etc.*

MAY DAY. Our picture shows the call for the first May Day demonstration in Britain, on May 4th, 1960, issued by the Central Committee for the Eight Hours Legal Working Day Demonstration (founded by Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling). The London Trades Council had a separate procession, in which the dockers and the 'gentlemen compe' marched side by side. In all, some half a million gathered in the Park. The 'People's Press' was the official organ of the Railway Workers' Union, Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union, Shop Assistants' Union and others.

THE WEEK..

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS



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Editorial Address:

19 GREENFIELD ST.
DUNKIRK
NOTTINGHAM 74059

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may day

Labour's day, May-day, will be celebrated with especial warmth this year, as the movement prepares for a major electoral victory. Argument about the future is not popular on May-day, which has traditionally become a time for reminiscence. But as our contribution to the festivities we would like to mobilise the past in order to assist the future to take its proper course.

May-day began as a two-fold celebration. It celebrated the internationalism of the working-classes, and it demanded their freedom from wage slavery. The manner in which it attacked capitalism was precise in the extreme: the slogan was simple: "for an eight hour day!" In Britain, the late eighteenth-eighties saw the flowering of this demand as a crucial unifying force. Marxists like Mann, Fabians like Webb, radicals like Cunningham Graham, all came to find a common platform from which they could address the Gasworkers, the Dockers, the great unorganised masses, as well as increasing numbers of those who had already become trade unionists long ago. Years later the Webbs were to point out that the campaign for shorter hours, unlike the struggle for better wages and other similar crusades, solidified the workers into a class-conscious body. Wage struggles were apt to open up problems of differentials and to skim off group from group. But shorter hours were uniformly desirable, and attainable only in common struggle. On the soil of the eight hour campaign, the modern Labour movement put down its first firm roots. But today, if we accept the five day week as won, the eight-hours battle is still on.

editorial

Yet today the fight for shorter hours is not the simple unifying force it used to be. Piece rates, built-in overtime, and similar devices combine to separate skilled from semi-skilled, men on time-rates from pieceworkers, and so on. Here is a big part of the reason why the forty hour week, which is a demand of the T.U.C.'s constitution and which it has been pursuing on and off since 1945, still eludes us. And here we see the relevance of the demands of the pioneers. The first May-day rally, in Hyde Park, was about a legal eight-hour day: it called upon Parliament to legislate shorter hours for everyone without loss of pay. Now once more, with Labour poised to take up power again, the legal forty-hour week becomes practical politics. It would liberate many thousands of workers from sweated work, and force the backwoodsmen in industry to put their houses in order. It would share work, make men freer, and win votes.

But another reminder can speak to us from the first May-day. Recently, Ted Hill made a call for a European campaign for shorter hours. Why not? Why not a link up between the Unions of Europe, regardless of their religious and political schisms, to synchronise their gains and eliminate the strident cries of "foreign competition" which go up on all sides when workers ask for improvements in their conditions?

These are two key problems of freedom for all workers everywhere: the problem of freedom in work and that of freedom from forced work. To build international unity of action on the second cannot but help us in coming to grips with the first.



TRADE UNION NOTES

A.E.U. NATIONAL COMMITTEE: meets in Worthing on April 27th, to start a fortnight's debating. 52 delegates represent the union's 26 territorial divisions.

The fight for the demand for a £2 a week increase for all male workers is likely to dominate the wages debate. 13 of the divisions have resolutions down on wages, and of these 8 make the call for the £2 increase. Carron and other members of the National Executive will oppose this call and, instead, ask National Committee to adopt the same policy as last year. This was for higher minimum payments, and "progressive wage increases on a long-term contract basis."

Aberdeen and Dundee division urges the executive to use ruthless measures if necessary to get a swift settlement of the claim now being considered by the employers. But the motion stresses that this should not be allowed to delay a new claim for £2 a week.

There is also a heavy crop of resolutions on shorter hours. These fall into two categories: those pressing for the 40-hour week in one go this year, to be followed by demands for a 35-hour week; and those taking the line that the unions should simply continue to press the existing claim for a 40-hour week as a priority.

The Gloucester Division urges that unless a 40-hour week is conceded by June an overtime ban should be imposed. The Kent division has a similar resolution but gives September as the deadline.

Twenty of the 26 divisions have tabled demands for improvements in the scale of holidays. Most of these call for a third week's holiday, and higher holiday payments.

U.S.D.A.W. ANNUAL DELEGATE MEETING: meets in Blackpool on April 26, 27, and 28.

Hours and wages are the main topics. Leeds co-operative wants a universal five-day 40-hour working week established for all shop workers without any extension of late night working. There are no less than 19 resolutions on hours. Wages and holidays are the two other main issues to be debated. 13 resolutions on wages and ten on annual holidays have been submitted.

Derby co-operative calls for a vigorous policy to improve pay, while Nottingham C.W.S. instructs that special attention be given to the wages of the lower paid sections of membership.

Watford co-operative seeks an immediate application for a wage increase of 7½% for all members. It considers a percentage application should be the basis of future wage applications to safeguard all differentials, and calls for settlements to be retrospective to the date of the first meeting of negotiating parties.

Birmingham co-operative branch is concerned with establishing the five-day 40 hour working week in the national agreements for co-operative service. It argues that if this principle is to be established throughout distribution it is essential that a start be made with agreements with the co-operatives.

Hucknall and London co-operative branches want 3 weeks' holiday to be minimum for all co-operative employees.

A major row on the wages front will take place over the question of equal pay for equal work. There is very considerable dissatisfaction with the fact that although this has been the policy of the union for many years, agreements are still being entered into which widen the gap between men's and women's wages.

On the wider political front, London C.W.S. regrets the omission of any reference to industrial democracy in "Signposts for the Sixties". It instructs the executive council to formulate a policy for workers' control within the publicly owned co-operative movement.



BRITISH WORKERS LAG BEHIND IN THE FIGHT FOR SHORTER HOURS

The latest issue of the International Labour Review Statistical Supplement has a table of figures on the 'General level of hours of work' which show British workers are lagging behind in the fight for shorter hours. Of the countries quoted, only Peru has a worse record, and even countries like the United Arab Republic are reducing their hours of work whilst British workers slip back.

We have reproduced below the most important sections of the tables:

Year	U.A.R.	U.S.A.	PERU	JAPAN	FRANCE	W.GERMANY	U.K.	NEW ZEALAND
1955	51	40.9	-	45.0	45.4	48.9	46.9	-
1956	51	40.9	-	46.0	45.7	48.2	46.6	-
1957	49	40.5	44.7	45.8	46.0	46.5	46.4	39.0
1958	51	40.1	45.0	45.7	45.6	45.7	46.0	39.1
1959	50	40.0	46.3	46.2	45.5	45.6	46.7	39.0
1960	49	40.0	46.0	46.8	45.7	45.6	48.0	39.3
1961	48	40.1	46.5	46.4	45.9	45.5	47.4	39.1
1962	46	40.1	46.5	45.7	46.1	44.9	47.0	38.9
1963	-	40.1	-	-	-	-	47.6	39.0

CLERICAL WAGES SURVEY SHOWS WOMEN'S WAGES FALLING BEHIND based Upon Ministry of Labour Gazette report

Since 1959 the Ministry of Labour has carried out an annual enquiry into the earnings of salaried employees. The latest, which relates to October 1963, indicates that average earnings of male administrative, technical and clerical employees in the production industries (excluding agriculture, forestry and fishing) were £114. 8s. for the month in the case of those paid monthly, £16. 12s. 9d. for the last pay-week in the case of those paid weekly and, combining the two on a weekly basis, £22. 2s. 2d. Female employees earned £49. 11s. 8d. (monthly-paid), £8. 8s. 11d. (weekly paid) and, combining the two, £9. 2s. 9d. Compared with October, 1962, there has been an increase of 4.8% for all males but only 4.0% for all females. The position is even worse when considered over a longer period; the average level of salary earnings rose between October, 1959, and October 1963, by 22.4% for all males covered by the enquiry but only by 20.2% for all females. Thus the already bad position is getting worse.

The position in particular industries is shown by the following table:

INDUSTRY	MALE		FEMALE	
	% increase between Oct. 62 & Oct. 63	% increase between Oct. 59 & Oct. 63	% increase between Oct. 62 & Oct. 63	% increase between Oct. 59 & Oct. 63
Food, drink & tobacco	5.0	21.8	4.6	21.2
Chemicals	6.6	22.0	3.9	21.8
Metal Manufacture	3.1	19.1	4.7	17.9
Engineering & Electrical	4.6	21.7	3.7	19.4
Shipbuilding	2.8	16.2	2.8	10.7
Vehicles	5.8	23.7	1.8	17.7
Metal Goods	3.8	19.8	4.0	20.1
Textiles	3.7	20.7	4.1	19.5
Clothing & Footwear	4.3	24.5	4.8	19.4
Bricks, Pottery, glass, etc.	4.4	20.4	4.3	22.3
Timber, furniture, etc.	2.4	22.0	3.7	20.8
Paper, printing, etc.	4.2	23.4	4.4	21.2
Other manufacturing	5.2	22.7	3.9	17.6
Minin & quarrying	6.4	27.6	4.6	25.9
Construction	4.7	23.8	4.2	20.7
Gas, Electricity & Water	5.9	27.6	4.0	21.8

MARTELL'S PLANS

The self-appointed high priest of anti-socialism, anti-communism and anti-unionism, Edward Martell, has announced his plans to his supporters in a private and confidential letter. We have obtained a copy and reproduce it herewith for the information of all socialists and trade unionists:-

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

Freedom Group: Progress Report

April, 1964.

POST OFFICE GO-SLOW: In the event of the Postal Workers carrying out their threat to slow-down the mails, plans are now complete for establishing a network of Receiving Centres throughout the country and running a far more extensive Emergency Delivery Service than we did last time. We should again issue our own stamps.

ELECTRICITY GO-SLOW: Throughout the duration of the dispute our legal advisers will keep continuously under survey and no opportunity will be missed of proceeding against the union leaders in court. We are advised that applications for Injunctions, or actions for damages, may well be successful in the light of the recent *Rookes v. Barnard* case. It is quite clearly our duty to stand up to the unions as nobody else seems prepared to do so.

In view of the electricity crisis, a second Generator has now been installed in our printing works at Tileyard House. We therefore have the capacity to keep all our essential work going, regardless of what may happen to the public power supply.

WEEKLY PUBLICATION: Negotiations have reached an advanced stage for acquiring on advantageous terms a well-known and well-established weekly periodical, which would be of value to our Organisation in two ways. In the first place because it would give our printing concerns a contract with a turnover exceeding £2,100 per week. In the second place because the publication is a highly profitable proposition.

UNION DRIVE FOR CLOSED SHOP: At the beginning of this year two of the leading Printing unions, representing London and Provincial craftsmen, merged and in the last fortnight they have opened a determined campaign to spread the Closed Shop. We have already been asked to assist in two instances, and have placed our resources at the disposal of the firms concerned. We anticipate considerable activity over the Closed Shop issue in the printing industry during the next few months. We shall resist every case that comes to our attention.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON TRADE UNIONS: Following the biggest Letter-Writing Campaign we have yet undertaken, 150 Conservative M.P.s, representing more than half the Party's back-benchers, have signed Parliamentary Motions calling for the setting up of a Royal Commission on trade unions. The Government have already conceded some kind of enquiry after the General Election, but in such vague terms that we believe it is essential to continue to press for a full-scale Royal Commission to be set up.

RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES: We have this week opened a big drive to bring home to the Government, to M.P.s, to the Press and to the Public the fact that 500,000,000 working days are being lost every year through the enforcement of restrictive practices by trade unions. We believe that if we can make the public understand that here are all the houses, hospitals, schools and roads the country needs far more quickly than at present visualised by anybody, the outcry against Restrictive Practices will be sufficient to force the Government to act. Solving this problem would, in fact, accomplish even more than that. It would do more than anything else to retrieve our export position and bring prices down.

RECRUITING CAMPAIGN: Our new Recruiting Campaign to enrol fresh Supporters is proving highly successful. It should be possible to double the number of names on our Master Index by the end of the year. As far as we are aware, our numbers are now far greater than those of any other similar or kindred organisation in the country.

KEEPING THE SOCIALISTS OUT: At the right moment we propose to distribute a leaflet entitled "Work It Out for Yourself" by the million in marginal seats. (See specimen enclosed). A number of tests have shown us that this approach is likely to have a considerable effect on the electorate.

MAILING TO SUPPORTERS: A general appeal to all our Supporters throughout the country to join in the many Campaigns we have in hand, and particularly the one directed to assisting in keeping the Socialists out at the General Election, will begin to go out this week. Tests we have made show that the result of this appeal should enable us to become, for the first time, a really effective national organisation. With the mailing is going a Referendum Form which will enable Supporters to give us their views on all the matters we have in hand.

Issued by Edward Martell, Chairman of the Freedom Group, Tileyard House, London, N.7. (NORTH 7441) and printed by Tileyard Press Limited



AFTER JULY 6th LIGHTNING STRIKES MAY BE ILLEGAL

Professor Otto Kahn-Freund, professor of law at the University of London (L.S.E.), writing in the April issue of Journal of General Federation of Trade Unions, warns that after July 6th strikers who do not give one week's notice of the intention to strike may face the threat of damages. Professor Kahn-Freund, who is considered to be one of Britain's leading industrial law experts, came to this conclusion after making a detailed study of the Reekes v. Barnard High Court Judgment.

He says: "on July 6th, 1964, the Contracts of Employment Act, 1963, will begin to operate, and by the terms of the Act, everyone who has been in the employment of the same employer for 26 weeks or more must give at least one week's notice of termination of contract. After that date, and if Reekes v. Barnard is allowed to stand, the threat of damages will hang over all those who strike even for a day without giving a week's notice..."

Later in the article he expresses the opinion that the right to strike can now only be restored by legislation, and that "it would probably have to consist in a very short statute amending the relevant sections of the 1906 Act so as to make it clear that intimidation, except by a threat of physical violence is not actionable if done in contemplation of furtherance of a trade dispute."

ROW BETWEEN HOUGHTON AND CIVIL SERVICE UNION LEADER OVER CIVIL SERVICE PAY TRENDS

Mr. C.T.H. Plant, General Secretary of the Inland Revenue Staff Federation, has taken Douglas Houghton, Labour Party spokesman on pensions, to task in April issue of the union's journal. He attacks Mr. Houghton for implying that Civil Servants will be getting pay rises at about twice the $\frac{3}{4}\%$ "guiding light" rate over the next three years.

Mr. Houghton, who was secretary of the IRSF before Mr. Plant took over, made this suggestion in the journal of the Civil Service Clerical Association Red Tape. He also argued that very often comparison with outside industry was invalid as such industry might be efficient whilst the Civil Service might not. Mr. Plant says: "some of the arguments Mr. Houghton employs are as specious as they are surprising coming from such a source." He continues: "How can he say that of the IRSF, to defend only ourselves, when he knows that we are co-operating fully with the Board in the introduction of automation and mechanisation in the taxes and collection branches?"

Mr. Plant concludes: that the attack was "ill conceived, that is, in both the form he employed, a Civil Service trade union journal, and in timing his article to appear just before a General Election."

This kind of argument hardly augurs well for the Labour Party's declared intention of implementing an incomes policy.

t.u. notes

NUGMW fears automation.

The agenda for the annual conference in June of Britain's third largest union, the 800,000 strong National Union of General and Municipal Workers, reflects fear of the possible consequence of Automation.

Sutton Oak refers to the spread of shift working due to automation and proposes a special committee to investigate "the difficulties that shift workers will meet in an affluent society."

Glasgow and Northwich suggest that a shorter working week would help ease the problem.

There is also a resolution on the extension of engineering three-shift working. Clydebank refers to its effect on the workers' social and family life, and says that "the social services and amenities must be brought into line with these changing conditions", and that the present agreement on three-shift payment must be revised.

The British Economy



INCREASING STEEL IMPORTS UPSET NEDDY OFFICIALS

A special correspondent reports: The growing imports of steel into Britain are worrying some members of the National Economic Development Council. Figures issued by The Iron and Steel Board put the average weekly intake of steel last August at 24,400 tons. The figure had more than doubled by February of this year when it reached 55,800. It is feared that if the present trend continues, Britain's balance of payments will be affected.

Neddy's last report drew attention to the study being made of this problem by the Steel industry. Some of the reasons given are:

1. With surplus steelmaking capacity on a world scale, some foreign producers and merchants have been offering supplies at very low prices;
2. U.K. steel imports have for some time been complicated by shipments of material sent here for re-rolling. The finished products are sent back to the country of origin;
3. The February figures were also inflated by the deliveries of steel because of the Fort Talbot strike.

Despite these factors there have been sharp rises in imports of certain sectors. Blooms, billets, slabs and similar products, for instance, totalled £1.9 million in February this year as against £495,000 a year earlier, while shipments of wire rods almost doubled from £235,000 to £456,000. In these spheres both price and delivery dates have operated to increase imports. Much of last year's imports of wire rods came from Sweden and were said to have been bought on the grounds of superior quality rather than for price reasons.

Neddy has calculated that if wire rolling is excluded from the figures, net steel imports have actually fallen since 1961 - mainly because imports have expanded while exports have remained roughly the same. It has also stated that the situation is especially significant for the balance of payments. It is estimated that the additional importing of $\frac{1}{2}$ m. ingot tons would cause a deterioration in the balance of payments position of £15m.-£20m. per annum.

£ ? \$

WERE THE MARCH TRADE FIGURES SO GOOD?

By Pat Jordan

It has been argued that one of the reasons for the silliness of the budget was the fact that Mr. Maudling had in his possession the March trade figures. These were supposed to have convinced Mr. Maudling that the country was doing well and that the warnings given by various bodies that the inflationary pressure had to be relieved by decreasing purchasing power were alarmist.

A close scrutiny of the figures, however, would suggest a different picture. When the sensational trade gap of £120 m. for January was announced, the Tories were quick to point out that this was 'freakish' and that, anyway, one must consider not a single month but the position over a period. What happens when we apply this latter suggestion? We find that the import figures for January-March are 7% up on the previous 3 months, 1% higher than the 1963 monthly average, and no less than 21% higher than for the same three months last year. But what of exports?

These were 2% higher than the last three months of 1963 and 5% higher than the average for 1963 (it is impossible to compare exports with last year's January-March quarter figures because of the abnormally bad weather). Putting these two sets of figures together we find that not only are imports going up faster than exports but that the rate at which the gap is widening is also increasing.

Whether or not this tendency will continue is hard to say. Two factors are involved in the increase in imports: (1) the so-called stockbuilding, whereby manufacturers increase their stocks in anticipation of increased production later; and (2) the increasing success of foreign manufactured goods in Britain's markets. Some experts argue that the first factor has now played itself out, but there has been an unending tendency for imports of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods to outstrip exports in times of boom. The second factor is a reflection of the growing competition for markets because of excess capacity. Either way they amount to one thing: British capitalism is, for a variety of reasons, relatively 'inefficient' as compared with most of its rivals.

On the other side, experts are now beginning to feel the effects of the increasingly 'protectionist' aspect of the Common Market. In 1963, it was precisely a very rapid increase in exports to the Common Market countries (in particular France

and Italy) which accounted for most of the improvement in the position. This will become more and more important as time goes by - the alternatives, EFTA and the Commonwealth, are nothing like as promising because their economies show no sign of increasing at the same rate as those of the 'Six'.

Having said this it is unlikely that there will be an immediate balance of payments crisis. Sterling as a currency is strong just now because other currencies are facing difficulties (inflationary pressures, etc.) and therefore a run against the pound is unlikely in next month or so. In the event of the trade position getting very bad Britain could, no doubt, cover the position by an IMF loan. However, it will be the late summer position that could provoke a crisis. By then other currencies may be stronger, and by then, if the Tories have failed completely to stop the inflationary tendency, foreign bankers may very well decide that their money could more safely be deposited elsewhere.

The combination of the withdrawal of foreign deposits and a bad trade position could induce a serious balance of payments crisis on the eve of or just after the election of a Labour Government. Suspicious people might suggest that this would not be accidental timing.

A Lesson From Sweden from James Wilcox

On April 7th the Swedish I.L.O. (T.U.C.) concluded a general wages agreement with the Federation of Employers. The agreement exposes the folly of those in England who suggest that the English Trade Union Movement should involve itself in arrangements taken from the Swedish model.

The two year agreement allows for a 1.3% rise in wages in the first year, and 3.4% for the second. The extreme modesty of the planned wages increases does not follow a period of rapidly rising wages: in the previous two years the average rise was 2.75% and 2.25% respectively. The Swedish agreements make no adequate provision for profits, which, in the last six year, have risen twice as fast as wages. Moreover the Swedish workers are submitted to a rigorous labour discipline. Most forms of strike action are illegal, including the recent blacking of South African goods by dock workers. On the other hand, the employers are not subject to any form of inspection or control.

HAVE THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS A FUTURE?

By Dave Windear

Bashing Transport House with many people has become the be-all and end-all of their activities. Actually the best way to bash Transport House is to build links with the young factory workers, etc. How many times has anyone sent a report of a strike in which young people were involved in to *New Advance*, or similarly with other issues which effect young people? and why not? If the report was published all well and good, if it wasn't then one would have a real grouse. But I strongly suspect that many would not send in such reports on principle. If a new start is to be made on building a mass deeply-rooted Y.S. then a break will have to be made with all forms of sectarianism. Each Y.S. branch must by forming links with trade unions, shop stewards' committees, tenants' associations, CND Anti-apartheid, etc. take a vigorous part in all struggles. But they should take part in them not as contenders for the leadership but by seeking to direct them along the line of turning the Labour Party into the instrument of all workers' struggles. Thus the place for any young people would be in the Y.S. I hope the editors will allow me room to answer the critical letters I expect to get for this effort.

YOUTH NOTES

ALSO DISCUSSES FUTURE OF YOUNG SOCIALISTS

By Ron. Kirk

Among the working papers submitted to the N.A.L.S.O. Conference was one dealing with the Young Socialists. This paper was commented upon in journals as far apart as the 'Times' and 'Tribune', and caused a minor furor at Transport House. The paper itself is not sensational, and the attention given to it is mainly due to the timing of its release. That Tony Greenwood should tell the N.A.L.S.O. Conference that relations between the student organisation and the Labour Party were good in spite of this paper being presented to conference spotlights the present panic stations attitude of the Labour Party N.E.C. to the Y.S.

The paper starts with an attempt to pose the general problem of Labour Youth movements. "The present problems of the Y.S. should not be considered as being in any way new or special but must be seen in the perspective of previous attempts to build a Youth movement. The history of the various youth organisations is seen to repeat itself time and time again. An

obvious characteristic is the way that the official youth paper has languished whilst 'Unofficial' papers have thrived... The future of the Labour Party depends to a large extent on recruiting new members. This would follow from a large Y.S. If only for this reason, it is imperative that imaginative measures are taken to build a healthy, vigorous youth movement. The concept of youth sections directly under the control of the Party has been tried and has singularly failed. The present cautious compromise between freedom and control seems not to provide the answer; therefore new approaches have to be explored."

"Attempts to make the Y.S. reject its policies of unilateralism, withdrawal from N.A.T.O., workers control, etc., will only worsen relations between them and Transport House. The Y.S. will be left, but they do not have to be anti Labour Party... The tedious formalities of trying to stop political discussion at area and regional level should be stopped.... So that it (*New Advance*) should be a journal of the Y.S. and not imposed from Transport House, an Editorial Board should be elected on a regional basis, by delegates to the Y.S. Conference. Safeguards could be insisted upon that guaranteed minority rights... The Y.S. should have an E.C. rather than a National Committee, with rights to communicate to the branches directly, call demonstrations, etc., while keeping the Labour Party informed.... A more tolerant approach would mollify the left and enable the Y.S. to turn from its introspection into the positive field of making socialists, campaigning against the evils of a class divided society, and for a Labour Party that had its respect even though political differences were admitted."

The Paper is limited by not stressing the essentially political nature of the problem. Only a fool however, would deny the relevance of problems of organisation. It has to be recognised that a section of our Party is so completely committed to Parliamentarianism, that Youth activities which are not social, or motivated towards helping the Party to run election campaigns, are regarded at best as being irrelevant, but more usually subversive. This Paper has the merit of opening the debate on how to build a Labour youth movement in a constructive way, rather than just joining in the frenetic slanging match. Whether we can save the Y.S. or whether we can do no more than write a suggested constitution for a Labour youth organisation of the future, does not alter the need for the debate to continue.

**ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA
WOULD WORK SAY EXPERTS**

Papers written for the London conference on sanctions against South Africa, show conclusively that the country would be very badly hit by a policy of economic boycott.

According to Mr. A. Maizels, of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, a greater part of South African industry could be brought to a standstill for lack of materials and components. He explains that South Africa is heavily dependent on foreign trade, with exports accounting for a quarter, and imports for a fifth of the gross domestic product. Even selective sanctions; for instance, an

embargo on the export to South Africa of capital equipment, would produce very considerable economic dislocation.

Mr. G.D.N. Worwick, vice president of Magdalen College, Oxford, stated that the effects of sanctions could be minimised by combined U.N. action. However, even if Britain acted on her own, the damage at the most would amount to a £210,000,000 loss to the balance of payments and 2½% of the GNP. The loss of the 4½-5% of Britain's total export market in manufactured goods could lead to 150,000 workers being put out of a job. But these workers could soon be absorbed in other fields. The loss of investment income to British shareholders would amount to £60,000,000 a year.



ANTI APARTHEID NOTES



APARTHEID IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The latest issue of Pan Africa, a fortnightly published in Nairobi, Kenya, draws attention to the effects of Apartheid on South West Africa. This country has been forcibly incorporated into South Africa despite resolutions at UNO. The paper says that the 428,000 Africans in South West Africa have no educational and political rights at all in the land of their birth. The Africans are herded in the already overcrowded reserves. They have no choice but to leave their homes, wives and children to go and slave on white farms and in mines, the article continues. It points out that the United States and Britain are accomplices in this ruthless exploitation of South West Africa by Verwoerd's fascist regime.

Education in South West Africa is in line with Verwoerd's general policies. Only 30% of African children of school age attend school, while many students have to leave their studies to do low paid manual work because their parents are too poor to afford their schooling. The Africans and other coloured children are taught

at school to accept a position of permanent slavery, oppression and discrimination, the article says, while the white children are taught that they are the chosen race and masters of the country. In South West Africa, no Africans are allowed to establish their own schools.

The article criticises the European Catholic missions for political persecution of students in the secondary schools run by them. Students in these schools are not allowed to take part in politics. They suffer victimisation even if their relatives are politically active. In 1963, 70 students were expelled from one teachers' training school for being in possession of political pamphlets.

African teachers are exploited and persecuted as employees, coming under Government control for 24 hours a day and 365 days a year. Teachers who oppose the regime are immediately expelled. The European principals may take advantage of the situation to confiscate part of the salary of African teachers who have no means of redress.



Liberty Wears A Hat.
The Flag of Cuba's 26th July Movement Flies From the
Statue.

Gangsters in Business

Peking, April twelfth (Hsinhua).

An article in the March thirtieth issue of U.S. News and World Report, dealt with the infiltration of gangster money into U.S. business. The article said: "by latest official estimates organized crime in America is now producing 'an annual income of billions', and the crime bosses, faced with the problem of what to do with their illegal wealth, are moving ever deeper into a variety of legitimate businesses...."

US NOTES

"In recent months, it has been discovered that mobsters with long criminal records are infiltrating multimillion-dollar business enterprises. These include banks and Wall Street brokerage houses, big real estate syndicates, sizable corporations serving the public in many ways."

"In New York, at least one well-known hotel is owned outright by criminals, U.S. officials said. Gangsters also own hotels and motels in Miami and Miami beach, La Vegas, Detroit, Chicago and other cities. Law-enforcement officers in other large cities throughout the country can name important properties owned by known criminals,...

"Enforcement officials believe racketeers and gamblers have gained a foothold in many large banks through stock purchases. They attempt to use their position as stockholders to obtain special favours - and often succeed", the article went on.

It then quoted one Washington official as saying: "Frauds in which the underworld and the financial world are linked have misled the public of many millions", and added: "sometimes the stocks peddled by racketeers through brokerage are worthless certificates in non-existent companies."

"The field of entertainment and sports - big business in the U.S. - also are heavily infiltrated by the underworld", the weekly said.

Answering the question: "who are these hoodlums who have invaded U.S. business?", the article said: "the mafia and other criminal gangs exist in every sizable city in America. New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Boston, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Kansas City, Miami and Miami Beach, Tampa Providence, and Las Vegas are known to investigators as the centers.

"Many of the richest gangsters made their millions in the old prohibition days ... now the big money in crime, officials say, is made in gambling, narcotics, and 'loan-sharking' - the lending of money at exorbitant interest rates. These illegal activities provide the billions which the underworld is funnelling into legitimate businesses. When a businessman falls behind on hip payments to a loan-shark, the gangster simply takes over the business."

We have received from the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, Atlanta, Georgia, a reprint from the American magazine "Newsweek" which shows the extent to which the white-supremacists of the Deep South are prepared to go to protect their entrenched political power. The SNCC have a most courageous record in the fight for civil rights, especially in the South itself. Several of their members have been shot for daring to organize Negro voters' registration campaigns, and the number of times their organizers and supporters have been arrested and beaten are too numerous to mention. They are very pleased to supply material to interested organisations and can be contacted at: STUDENT NONVIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE, 6 Raymond St., NW. Atlanta, Georgia, U.S.A.

MISSISSIPPI:

Allen's Army

The second summer of the Negro revolt was still months off. But ever since the first, Allen Thompson, the graying, sabbat smooth mayor of unincorporated Jackson, Miss., has been acting as though Armageddon were just around the corner.

Guarding for a new wave of civil-rights demonstrations this summer, Thompson is massing an impressive—and expensive—deterrent force of men and military hardware. To defend the capital city of 144,422, he is building up his young, tough, riot-trained police force from 390 to 430, plus two horses and six dogs. The force is "twice as big as any city our size," Thompson boasted last week—and it will be backed by a reserve pool of deputies, state troopers, civilian city employees, and even neighborhood citizen patrols.

With a hefty \$2.2 million budget to spend, the department recently bought 200 new shotguns, stockpiled tear gas, and issued gas masks to every man. Its motor fleet includes three canvas-canopied troop lorries, two half-ton searchlight trucks, and three giant trailer trucks to haul demonstration POW's off to two big detention compounds. "I think we can take care of 25,000," the mayor said.

Weapons: But the pride of Allen's Army is Thompson's Tank—the already popular nickname for a 13,000-pound armored battlewagon built to the mayor's specifications at roughly \$1 a pound. The twelve-man tank, abristle with shotguns, tear-gas guns, and a sub-machine gun, flopped on its first mission—putting down a demonstration at all-Negro Jackson State College two weeks ago. As it rolled up, a tear-gas shell went off inside, and all twelve men stumbled out crying. Nevertheless, Thompson says reverently: "It's a wonderful thing."

Would a collision come? Thompson thought so—and so did the young war-bawks of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, already mapping a massive summer campaign in Mississippi. SNCC was dispatching questionnaires last week to prospective recruits for its own nonviolent army of 500 to 1,000—mostly college students—to staff



Thompson, troops—and armor

"freedom schools," community centers, and voter-registration drives. "The summer of 1964," SNCC chairman John Lewis said, "could really be the year for Mississippi. Before the Negro people get the right to vote, there will have to be a massive confrontation, and it probably will come this summer... We are going to Mississippi full force."

And when they come, Thompson feels he has the means to contain them. "There will be no unlawful marching

and peaceful picketing," he vowed. "We are not going to let them come into the downtown area."

The mayor insists his army is only a second-strike force designed to preserve law and order. "We have to wait," he told NEWSWEEK's Karl Fleming, "until they start trouble." But Thompson is certain trouble will come. "This is it," he said. "They are not bluffing and we are not bluffing. We're going to be ready for them... They won't have a chance."

ALGERIAN NOTES

The National Congress of the Industrial Self-Managed Socialist Sector held at Bab El Oued, marked another step forward for the Algerian Revolution. 1,134 registered delegates, democratically elected in some 450 enterprises, discussed the problems they face, and spoke with great freedom, expressing often sharp criticism as they made suggestions for the improvement of self-management. The most important points of the resolutions that were adopted were as follows:

1. Regroupment and consolidation of the self-managed enterprises.
2. Constitution of a credit institution for the socialist sector.
3. Extension and strengthening of the state supervisory body on a regional and local scale controlled by the workers.
4. Establishment of national and regional councils for planning in the socialist sector.
5. Absolute priority for the socialist sector in government buying.
6. Removal of the outmoded administrative procedures inherited from the colonial epoch.
7. Absolute priority for the socialist sector in all markets as against private industry, provided that the prices of goods produced by this sector are not more than 20% higher.
8. Protection of the socialist enterprises against competition from local or foreign private enterprises.
9. The surplus, i.e. income from sales minus costs of production of socialist enterprises, after certain specified deductions, should be placed at the disposal of the General Assembly of the Workers (one of the self-management bodies).
10. The Congress recommended that distributions of the surplus should in no case be more than a worker's wages for a month.

One of the most interesting contributions was the closing address may by Bachir Boumazza, the Minister of Economy. Below are some of the highlights of his remarks:-

"In many countries too many workers have seen the fruits of their victory seized by others In the face of the speculators and vultures of all kinds, following independence, the government posed the principle: socialism means land to those who work it; it means factories to the workers.

"The only realistic way to solve the problem of productivity and profitability, so long as a market economy remains, and adequate planning measures have not been taken, is to utilize the principle of materially interesting the workers and thus mobilizing their enthusiasm."

Boumazza declared that the self managed sector must become a model on an economic and political level in the struggle for the advancement of the socialist revolution. He stressed the need to reinforce the solidarity between the workers in the private and self managed sectors, and suggested the holding of a Congress of workers in the private sector.

Analyzing the demand put forward at the Congress for the creating of a body to handle credits for the socialist sector, Boumazza said that financial problems would be resolved by a



Algeria Continued ...

decree fixing the obligations of the Central Bank, and the Algerian Treasury of Development. He intimated that funds for credit to enterprises in the socialist sector should be drawn not only from funds pooled by socialist enterprises, but also from private firms, and that the state organism responsible for collection and distribution of funds for credit should be controlled by the workers.

Upon the question of the role of planning, Mazza said: "Planning will determine the goals of production, of financing, of marketing. The plan will be carried out by bodies managed by the workers. Planning is the only socialist method for promoting economic development."

Amidst all the hopes and optimism that the above information may bring forth in the minds of socialist in Britain, it is still necessary to remember that the socialist revolution in Algeria is very far from being complete. The state structure still retains many of the traits of French rule, especially with regard to bureaucracy. Also Algeria faces heavy economic pressure from France and other capitalist states. Such problems are directly linked to the congress of the P.L.N., which has been scheduled to open on April 16th. One of the main problems to be considered at this Congress is the transformation of the P.L.N. into a mass revolutionary socialist party.



SEATO

FRENCH PAPERS BLAME SEATO

Commentaries by leading French newspapers are as critical of SEATO as they have been of NATO, reflecting the French Government's increasing area of differences with the U.S. The paper, Le Combat, said of the recent SEATO Ministerial Council meeting in Manila: "In Asia, there is no longer any appearance of the Western Alliance. The common front of the West has cracked and is in confusion." Dwelling on France's differences with the United States in Asia, Le Combat, attacked the U.S. Government for exercising complete control over South Vietnam. It said: "The principal question of SEATO - South Vietnam - is discussed through bilateral contacts between Saigon and Washington outside of the organization." The paper continued: "The principal question of Asia - the attitude to be taken towards Communist China - keeps up a public polemic between the U.S. and France, two important members of SEATO."

Affirming its belief that there are complicated differences between the U.S., France, Britain, the Netherlands and West Germany in South-East Asia, the paper said, "There exist therefore at least five different allied policies in this part of the world."

Another paper, Paris Jour, also commenting on the Manila meeting said, "The strategic actions of SEATO, apart from some joint manoeuvres, cannot be much developed." and "No South-East Asian problems will be solved" at the Manila meeting.



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"... the main voice of Peking in Europe."—Joseph Alsop, **New York Herald Tribune** (15/2/64)

"REVOLUTION'S multi-racial staff claim to be unattached Marxists." **Daily Mail** (7/3/64)

"... it has become the most eloquent organ existing of what the French call the *tiers monde*—third world... its documentation is invaluable. It has scope (including jazz, history and drawings by the French cartoonist Sine) and a keen sense of informed outrage and desire to change." **West Africa** (14/12/63)

In fact, REVOLUTION is an illustrated monthly review of the world's revolutionary struggles, founded in Algeria after independence and now printed in Europe for a world-wide audience.

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NENNI SOCIALISTS 'AS TAME AS HOUSEHOLD PETS'

The *Financial Times* of April 14th carried an article by its Rome correspondent: "Three bad years in the Bourse". This article commented upon the continuous decline over the last three years in Italian share prices. It analysed the various reasons for this and towards the end of the article referred to the entry of the Nenni socialists into the government and the possible effect of this on share prices. It said:

"...The inclusion of the Socialists in the Government coalition and the fear that a serious effort to make people pay a larger share of their taxes than they have been accustomed to do in the past has apparently terrorised investors. Yet so far, at least, the Socialists have been behaving like the tamest of household pets.

"Admittedly Signor Riccardo Lombardi's occasional blasts of fire and brimstone in the official Socialist paper "Avanti" or in public speeches have undone most of the good work of his colleagues in the Government.

"The unfortunate fact is that by sabotaging the present "Centre-Left" Government, investors are risking something much worse coming to power. At best they are forcing the Government to consider imposing policies and restrictions which otherwise would have been unnecessary and would not have been taken into consideration. Italy's allergy to paying taxes, for this is really the fundamental problem, appears to be becoming almost suicidal."



PAUNCH CORPS

AN organisation designed to preach the gospel of American free business in semi-developed parts of the world, particularly in South America, Asia and Africa, is rapidly taking shape. It has been unkindly described as "The Paunch Corps" as its "troops" are men in their sixties.

Its real name is the Executive Service Corps, and it has the full support of the Johnson Administration. Unlike the Peace Corps on which it is modelled, it is to be run entirely by private industry after the Government has supplied several million dollars to "get it off the ground."

The heads of the organising committee are Mr. David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and Mr. Sol

Lanswitz, chairman of the Xerox Corporation.

The "troops" will be former businessmen who have been forced to retire at 60 or 62, but who want to go on playing an active role in world business affairs. They will become tourists with a purpose.

It is hoped to get as many as 1,000 of them "into the field" within 30 months, and that as the plan picks up steam private industry will foot the bill.

We are reprinting this terrible, horrifying feature from I.F.Stone's Weekly. We hope it will stir our readers to protest to the appropriate place.

What We Are Doing to Innocent Villagers in Vietnam and Cambodia

Ordinarily the Associated Press will sell photos like the one on this page to non-subscribers for \$15. We ran into a fog of double-talk when we tried to buy this one from the AP last week. Permission was refused, though for no clear reason. We obtained a glossy print through channels of our own. We think it tells a story every decent American should heed. This is what we are doing to the innocent in South Vietnam and Cambodia. The AP, early in our negotiations, wanted to be sure that we would not change the caption under the picture. Its caption said:

INNOCENT VICTIM—A Vietnamese child, body completely covered with burns from a napalm bomb, is held by father after rescue from Vietnamese village near the Cambodian border. Child was found in a plain of reeds after Vietnamese Air Force bombers strafed a village, where Communist Viet Cong guerrillas sought to hide among innocent civilians.

The Right of Pursuit

The *New York Times*, in printing the picture, March 20 left out the reference to napalm bombs and said it was an injured Vietnamese child being comforted by its father after an air assault on a village near the Cambodian border. We suspect this was the Cambodian village which the Vietnamese with the aid of our "spotters" bombed on March 19. The U.S. now says this was a mistake. But our Vietnamese allies have long insisted (AP from Saigon, *Baltimore Sun*, March 21) that they should be "permitted to pursue Communist guerrillas a reasonable distance into Cambodian territory" and there, presumably, do what they do at home—burn out any village in which they suspect guerrillas may be hiding.

For this purpose, in addition to napalm, we supply "a phosphorous explosive, fired from artillery and also from lighter bombers" which "erupts in a white cloud, burning through everything it touches" (AP from Saigon, *Washington Star* March 22). "With explosives such as these," the same dispatch went on apologetically, "civilians are bound to get hurt." We hope the villagers, too, will see this as a kind of military traffic mishap. "The spectacle of children lying half alive with napalm bombs across their bodies," this AP report added, "was revolting to both Vietnamese and Americans entering a Cambodian village after it had been under air attack by government planes Thursday." That was March 19, the date of this picture. We hope you find it revolting, too.



Sen. Church: "Wars Against George Washingtons Not Easily Won"

Q. Is it your view that we are succeeding in Vietnam?

A. I'm not optimistic. If Hu Chi Minh, the leader of North Vietnam, is regarded by most Vietnamese people, North and South, as the authentic architect of independence from the French, as the George Washington of Vietnam, it will be hard. Wars against George Washingtons are not easily won.

Q. Do you think the way out in Vietnam may be to carry the war into North Vietnam, or even Red China?

A. That is certainly not the way out. As I look at the map, that is the way in. I would hope that we don't make South Vietnam a launching pad for another Korean War.

Q. Do you see merit in President DeGaulle's suggestion of a neutralist settlement in Southeast Asia?

A. If the whole of the archipelago could be neutralized, including North Vietnam, then I should think that this

would be positively in the American interest, as well as in the general interest of all the people concerned.

Q. Do you think we can achieve the neutralization of South Vietnam so long as we are or appear to be losing?

A. It happened in Laos. It could happen in Vietnam.

Q. You don't agree with the official position that neutralization would mean giving Vietnam to the Communists?

A. Several neutral countries in that region are not Communist. Laos and Cambodia are examples. I thought we had gotten over regarding neutralism as anti-American.

Q. Then would you say the Geneva accords of 1962 on a neutral Laos are working?

A. It became obvious from the course of the fighting preceding that agreement that without it the whole of the country would soon have fallen under Communist control.

—Sen. Church (D. Id.), *Wash. Sun, Star Mar. 15* abridged.

Letters

MORE ON THE LABOUR CND COMMITTEE STATEMENT

Thanks very much for your copy of The Week and the help you have given my Committee. I would like to comment briefly on Peter Price's criticism of the Labour CND statement.

Para. (1) The only reference to the United Nations is the sentence:- "The United Nations must be brought more and more into international relationships." This does not mean "unconditional" support for every activity or decision of the United Nations. UNO is, of course, an imperfect instrument to function as a world government, but it is the best medium available to bring conflicts to the conference table and its police forces are probably the most suitable to man agreed demarcation zones. The present United Nations structure and functions are very different from the original pattern.

Para. (2) just sets up skittles to knock them down. It is hardly responsible criticism to alter the context of a sentence by leaving out words and then slamming the remainder. To deduce that the statement:- "The immediate danger to the peace of the world, as we see it, arises now not so much from the activities of the two world powers, as from the narrow nationalist ambitions of some of the smaller powers. We must at all costs prevent these powers from controlling or using nuclear weapons" - coming from a Labour CND Committee, could reasonably be interpreted as relating to the revolutionary activity of emerging nations, rather than to the danger of proliferation of nuclear powers, rather suggests a subjective antagonism to the general line of the CND Labour Committee, rather than an objective analysis of the statement.

Personally, I stand for co-existence, but not as synonym for collaboration. The conflict between the haves and the have-nots, between the owners of capital and the wage earner, is continuous and fundamental; but this fight for human status, as distinct from boss-worker status must be carried on by appropriate methods suitable to the immediate situation.

It must not be fought out with nuclear weapons.

With Best wishes,
Yours fraternally,
Len Youle (treasurer of the
Labour CND Committee)

A suggestion for The Week: Could we have a bibliography of "Socialist Books" when they are published? I mean ones printed by small publishers (Plough Press, I.S. Peking, U.S. Socialist Parties). I order political books for our library and have a hell of a job trying to keep track of these odd publishers. I am sure others are in the same boat. A lot of information not currently found in the "Free Press" is missed - and not available to the public.

David Lane (Birmingham)

Editor's Comment:- We think comrade Lane has a good point here. We will, in the next issue or so, commence this service. There are considerable difficulties involved and we will welcome any help and suggestions from readers.

APRIL ISSUE OF VOICE OF THE UNIONS OUT

The latest issue of Voice of the Unions contains, as usual a wide variety of articles on industrial and trade union affairs. Of special note in this issue is the centre spread done by Ernie Roberts. It has as its theme the necessity of the Labour Party drawing up and putting before the electors an Industrial Charter. This article outlines the main features of what such an Industrial Charter should embrace and ends up with a call for readers to exert pressure for this project through their M.P.'s, trade unions, etc., Ernie also suggests that people should write to Transport House putting forward their ideas on the subject.

Other articles include ones on "The other America", London busmen's case, the Rookes v. Barnard judgment, London Co-op, the fight for the 40-hour week, the Rent Act, the Seaman's case, T.V., the Labour Peace Fellowship, Films, a page of letters, the study group on industrial democracy, etc. and, as usual, the youth section - Voice of Youth. Among contributors are: Frank Allain, Dick Winterbottom, Stan May, Walter Kendall, Harry Gates, Terry Murray, Andrew Kirkby, Eddie Hough, Bill Vester, Bertrand Russell and Unitas.

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