

THE

Week

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS

**VOL. 2. No. 5.
10th AUG. 1964**

9d.

Editors: Ken Coates & Robin Blackburn

CONTENTS PAGE

PAGE	1	Editorial Notes: A second look at the Far East Crisis.
PAGE	2	Britain against U.S. aggression.
PAGE	3	The world against U.S. aggression.
PAGE	4	The Vic Allen affair: Amnesty take up Vic Allen case Stop press items: Demonstration in Manchester. Scottish miners denounce American action. D.A.T.A. calls for meeting of 14 nations.
PAGE	5	Industrial notes: The Hull transport strike.
PAGE	6	Political notes: Comprehensive education in Bristol. L.C.S. to organise second workers' control school? Editor of <u>Union Voice</u> produces policy for oil.
PAGE	7	Political notes: Castrol victim of 'restrictive conditions' North West CND publishes conference report. London Busmen angry with package deal
PAGE	8	South African notes: Apartheid victims maltreated in prison. South African Trade union H.Q. raided.
PAGE	9	U.S. NOTES; Indiana Young Socialists face further persecution. A letter from an old American socialist.
PAGE	10	New Zealand notes: The Maori problem. Background material to the recent New Zealand L.P. annual conference.
PAGE	11	Communist World notes: Chinese shift position on Stalin.
PAGE	12	Economic notes: Production cut-back likely in motor car industry.

LETTER TO READERS

The response to our appeal contained in the special supplement was good considering the time of the year, etc.. Encouraging, too, was the fact that we have received nearly enough in donations to cover the extra cost involved - although we must stress that there should be no relaxation on the financial success.

We are getting compliments, too, for the special workers' control issue - and we will have to do a reprint to meet all orders.

During this period correspondents must understand if their reports are delayed in publication (or even in some cases, not used) this is due to difficulties which arise from the ten-day schedule and the fact that any given time there is at least one of our staff away on holiday.

Just a reminder about the Index. Work on this is still proceeding but we would like to have everybody who wants one to order it before we print - that is the only way we can get a correct idea of the number to print.

STOP PRESS: NALSO Chairman has telegraphed Wilson over his silence on Far East.

A SECOND LOOK AT THE FAR EAST CRISIS

At time of writing the Vietnam position is no longer the main talking point in international affairs, the Cyprus crisis having taken its place. Undoubtedly the Turkish attacks on Cyprus have been inspired, to a certain extent anyway, by the U.S. attack on North Vietnam. Moreover, the U.S. must be not a little pleased that something has come up to divert attention away from the Far East. No one should be lulled into a sense of false security - the Far East crisis is infinitely more dangerous and explosive than that of Cyprus. The U.S. attack made a completely qualitative change in the situation - the Chinese were quite correct in their assessment that the U.S. had gone over the brink. The present position is a lull rather than a ceasefire, and the situation remains so fluid that any day some incident could take place which would give the excuse for a fullscale attack on the North.

We give elsewhere news of activities on this question, but we must reiterate that the campaign must continue with concentration on the key issue - that of putting pressure on Wilson to repudiate the American action. Wilson's silence up to present is tacit support for the Tories and completely inexcusable. The Economist of August 3rd had this to say: "That a test of will on this scale was coming in Vietnam has been perfectly obvious for several weeks", so confirming that U.S. action in the Gulf of Tonkin was deliberate and well-prepared beforehand. There are, of course, some obscurities about the two actions...It is vastly odd, that the mosquito of the North Vietnamese navy should attack the tiger of the Seventh Fleet....Two things can be said without doubt.

"First, if a country's ships are attacked in what international law holds to be the open sea, it is entitled to fight back and, if the attack is repeated, to take action against the haven from which the attacks came. Second is, Tuesday's action in the Gulf of Tonkin provided the suitable moment for that limited military action against North Vietnam which the United States has been threatening all summer in order to make Hanoi disengage from the rebellion in the south. .." The paper's report from Washington states: "Six or seven weeks ago, when Administration spokesmen high and low were talking darkly of the dangers of a spread of fighting in the Far East if the communists failed to get the message that the U.S. was in earnest there, the Admin. almost certainly did not intend what happened this week. If the Admin. is resolved not to submit passively... (it)..is also anxious to avoid land campaigns in Asia, the use of seapower, and the attendant risk of naval skirmishes, seems to follow."

"It remains a puzzle why the North Vietnamese, when they were doing so well in the guerilla fighting .. should have chosen to engage the U.S. in an element in which their inferiority is so complete....official accounts do not explain why, unless they have taken leave of their sense, the North Vietnamese should have acted as they did." The correspondent summarises what has happened and outlines the perspectives. He continues by asking what the North can do, and say ^{ing} they can intensify their land fighting. He concludes: "..So far there is one habitual dissenter, Senator Wayne Morris, he noticed what others have not, that on Sunday Hanoi radio was complain^{ing} of South Vietnamese raids on Hone Me.. The Senator stated the Maddox patrolled further out to sea while General Khanh's small boats were shelling these islands... Khanh's coastal raiding policy is one aspect of his campaign to carry the war to the North.." (our emphasis throughout)

How can you remain quiet, Mr. Wilson?

PROTESTS AGAINST AMERICAN ATTACKS ON NORTH VIETNAM

Reaction was quick to the U.S. attack - a number of individuals and organisations protested immediately: Lord Russell, as might be expected was quick to send cables, to issue a statement and send cables to Johnson, and the Governments of China and North Vietnam; three trade union leaders: Dave Lambert, AUFW, Percy Belcher, TWU, and Terry Parry, FBU, issued individual statements criticising the U.S. action and calling for speedy action to prevent the conflict from spreading. Fenner Brockway, M.P., too, called for immediate action to meet a "very grave" situation. On Wednesday, as people began to organise, more and more groups of people swung into action: over 150 people took part in CND lunch-time demonstration in Whitehall; a deputation representing various peace groups in Edinburgh saw the U.S. consul and told of their horror at the attack; 200 demonstrators circled the U.S. Embassy in London, Grosvenor Square, carrying banners denouncing the action; the Glasgow Trades Council, representing nearly 100,000 workers unanimously condemned the U.S. action; more trade union leaders spoke out: the Glasgow District Council secretary of the NUR, Peter Sweeney, John Wood, Scottish Area secretary of the NUM, and others condemned the action; SNP issued a statement demanding that the British Government should not give "blind support" to the U.S.; North West CND denounced the American action and called upon its supporters to turn the Hiroshima demonstration into a protest against American action; Nottingham and Cheltenham trades councils called for action by the Labour movement to avert war; telegrams were sent by 25 workers in Shettleston B.R. workshops, the management and staff of the Victoria restaurant, Broadstairs, Nan Milton, Stirling County Councillor and secretary of the Avonbridge Labour rty, and numerous efforts from the Nottingham area ..

On Friday two letters appeared in the Times both calling for an immediate recall of the 14 nation Geneva conference, one letter being signed by six Labour M.P.s - including Barbara Castle and Jennie Lee - and Lord Faringdon, the other with Canon Collins and Kingsley Martin heading six well-known names; among the organisations sending deputations to the Foreign Office to hand in protests were: M.C.F., Peace Pledge Union, C.N.D., I.C.D.P., British Peace Committee, Friends' Peace Committee and the Russell Peace Foundation; a deputation went from the Southampton CND to the American Consul in that town protesting; a telegram signed by all the members of the Glyncorwg UDC called upon the Government to withdraw support from the U.S.; 500 postcards were sent from the Merseyside area to the U.S. Embassy saying that the British people did not support U.S. action; the Manchester District Committee of the AUBTW protested and demanded the recall of the Geneva Conference; protests were signed by 40 workers at Manchester dry dock and 130 workers at Thrupp and Maberly's (London); telegrams went from a group of women in Stoke Newington and the officers of the Nottingham Anti-Apartheid Committee and another demonstration took place outside the U.S. Embassy.

As the crisis drifted into the background the volume of protest slackened but by no means ceased: Kingston branch of the National Society of Metal Mechanics at its August meeting denounced the attacks and called for withdrawal of all foreign troops from South East Asia, 40 people from Ealing signed a protest to the Prime Minister; the Kirkcaldy Trades Council went on record against the U.S. action, a group of pacifists in Gloucester telegraphed the U.S. Embassy; some 500 people took part in a C.P. protest demonstration in London; and yet another demonstration took place outside the U.S. Embassy. (N.B. we thank all readers who sent in reports as above)

WORLD PROTESTS AGAINST U.S. ATTACK ON NORTH VIETNAM

As might be expected the most strident protests and the biggest demonstrations against American aggression have come from China, including one march by 2 million people in Peking past the North Vietnam Embassy. However, all the Communist countries have had demonstrations and sent protests so we will confine ourselves to those in the capitalist and third worlds.

One of the first and most violent demonstrations took place at Dacca, East Pakistan, where 200 University students stormed U.S. Information Centre and smashed it up; elsewhere in Pakistan there has been universal condemnation of the U.S. attack, M. Rahman and M. Ahmad, members of the National Assembly denounced the action, and the papers, Daily Jang, Daily Anjan, and the Pakistan Times, have all carried editorials attacking the U.S.; in Algeria the Trade Unions, youth organisations, students, all the leading newspapers, and numerous groups of workers have all come out against the U.S.; in Buram, the writers' union, several student organisations, the papers Ludu and Rangoon Times, Daily Mirror, Working People's Daily and Rangoon Daily, various mass organisations, and numerous leading politicians and public figures have all issued statements denouncing the attack on North Vietnam; in Egypt, the headquarters of many African nationalist organisations, statements on the questions have been issued by groups representing Angola, South Africa, Mozambique, the Congo, South Rhodesia, South West Africa, Spanish Guinea, Portuguese Guinea, and French Somaliland, supporting the North Vietnamese against the U.S. aggression; and in Cambodia, where the Government has been sharply critical of the American action, there have been demonstrations and support their Government's stand from all walks of life including various political formations, the student organisations, all the leading papers, etc.

In Canada, the Prime Minister said in Parliament on August 6th that his Government had asked the U.S. to avoid further actions which would endanger peace, T.C. Douglas the leader of the NDP said that the Canadian Government should make it clear to the U.S. that it would not support U.S. military designed to keep in power 'discredited regimes'; in Japan a meeting was representing 137 organisations, including the C.P. and S.P., was held on August 6th to discuss measures to cope with the urgent situation in the Far East, the meeting decided to organise protests to the U.S. Embassy and to form a working committee to organise mass activity and meetings against the U.S. aggression, demonstrations have taken place outside the U.S. Embassy nearly every day since the attack, statements have been issued by personalities from all walks of life and from all political parties denouncing the U.S. action, the Japanese Socialist Party held an emergency meeting at which it was decided to press the Government to demand that the U.S. put an end to the attacks and refuse to allow the American to use Japanese military bases; in Sweden, a demonstration was organised by various youth and peace organisations outside the U.S. Embassy on August 5th; in Ceylon the Prime Minister expressed her anxiety over the U.S. attack and said that peace could be best served by the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the area, all the important papers have denounced U.S. aggression, mass organisations, including the trade unions and youth groups have done likewise, a mass meeting of protest was organised on August 6th which had speakers ^{from} all the left parties and two M.P.s Robert Gunawardena and Edmund Samarakkody;

Virtually every organisation and section of opinion in Indonesia has expressed itself against the Americans and there have been numerous demonstrations, including some against the U.S. Embassy; in Denmark two demonstrations were staged in front of the U.S. Embassy on August 5th; in Paris on August 7th a mass meeting was held to denounce the U.S. air assault on North Vietnam; other actions have taken place in Belgium, Ghana, Nepal, Sudan, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zanzibar, India, Australia, New Zealand, Chile, Norway, Italy, and the U.S. itself.

AMNESTY TAKE UP VIC ALLEN CASE

from Alec Acheson

Amnesty have issued the following appeal:

"The case of Dr. V.L. Allen, who was arrested in Nigeria on June 17 and is now being tried there on charges of sedition, along with three Nigerians, has aroused considerable concern in this country - in the universities and trades unions and among M.P.s. Information reaching this country regarding the case has been scarce, contradictory and disturbing and there was sufficient anxiety for Amnesty International, which has much experience in cases of this kind, to advise sending a legal observer to the trial.

"This had to be done quickly as there was only a week between the preferring of the present charges and the opening of the trial; and with no publicity in order not to prejudice the chances of the observer being allowed entry into Nigeria. In order to ensure that the observer could go a loan of £250 was raised to cover the initial cost of fares and expenses through a local branch of Amnesty. We are appealing for donations towards the repaying of this loan and would be grateful if you would collect and send such donations, marked "Allen Fund" to

Amnesty International,
1, Mitre Court Buildings,
Temple,
London E.C. 4.

"An explanation of the necessity for sending the observer is attached together with brief details of the arrest, treatment and trial to date of Dr. Allen, which you may find useful for the purposes of collecting donations from private individuals and organisations with which you are connected."

N.B. Copies of this statement, which is for private circulation, can be obtained from the above address.

STOP PRESS ITEMSDEMONSTRATION IN MANCHESTER

from Alan Rooney

Over 350 people marched through Manchester last Saturday on a CND Hiroshima march - themes "No War over Vietnam" and "Disown Goldwater Policies".

SCOTTISH MINERS DENOUNCE AMERICAN ACTION from a Glasgow reader

Meeting over the weekend, the Scottish area council of the N.U.M. passed a resolution calling upon the Government to declare that "under no circumstances will it give moral or material support to the unprovoked aggression by American imperialism" in North Vietnam. The resolution denounced the American action as a violation of the rights of the people claiming national independence, and called for the removal of American armed forces from South Vietnam and the territorial waters of South East Asia.

D.A.T.A. CALLS FOR MEETING OF 14 NATIONS: The executive of the Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association, meeting over the weekend, called for the reconvening of an early meeting of the 14 nations making up the Geneva Conference. This should discuss the present crisis and meet unconditionally.

THE HULL TRANSPORT STRIKE

by Ray Edwards

July 24th, 1964, was a day in the history of the 10/15 Road Passenger Transport branch of the TGWU. For 38 years this branch has experienced no strife, 1926 was the last time they had been out on strike. The strike, when it came on the 24th of July was as much a protest against trade union bureaucratic inaptitude as against managerial injustice.

The trouble started over a new system of schedule operation and duty rosta. It was quite evident from the outset that the management were making considerable economies under the proposed new operations, the busmen wanted a share in the benefits of these economies. They sought improvements in their working conditions. The new schedule and rosta applied only to one section of the branch: the men who operated East Hull services. From the first meeting, which was convened for the men to consider the new system of operations, protests were registered as to the many anomalies apparent in the new system. The management did concede one or two points by making amendments to the system.

From the beginning, the East Hull men met opposition from their own T.U. officers, who used everything available to coerce the men into operating the schedules for "a trial period." The men, however, had learned from past experience that once accepted (even for "a trial period") the new system would become established and more difficult to alter. After almost 5 months of argument the management declared the matter as a dispute to the NJIC and attempted (without success) to dictate terms of reference to the emergency committee sent to investigate the dispute. The men through their lay representatives had repeatedly appealed to have the matter referred as a dispute but were met with hidebound trade union officialdom and repeated "NO's".

The disputes committee found against the men on the major point of the dispute, but referred back for local settlement 6 other points. When the management was approached by the branch officers at a subsequent meeting some form of settlement was reached. Two days after this the amended schedules were published with a commencing date of July 24th. There had been no reference back to the men although a resolution was standing compelling the branch officers to do so. The East Hull garage steward, who had diligently led his constituents throughout the dispute was on holiday, and it appeared that the men were leaderless..

However, leadership did come from an ex-garage steward who was working whilst on holiday from Ruskin College. He petitioned the men and the branch officers were forced to convene a meeting to give a report on the settlement which proved to be wholly inadequate and was rejected. The branch officers were directed to re-open negotiations and failing a satisfactory solution the men would strike. The management flatly refused to comply with the wishes of the men - even after a 6 month's dispute over the alteration of a local agreement, they required the statutory 3 months. On 23rd July the men resolved to strike the following day. The stoppage of the East Hull services in dispute was 100% effective. However, at 2.30 p.m. all the busmen on other routes began to run their buses in, and came out on strike in sympathy. For one hour an unexpected show of solidarity became evident but one of the strike leaders had to get the men back, in order not to engender public illwill.

On the following Saturday a meeting was arranged with the management. The result was put to the men at a branch meeting held on Sunday. The report amounted to a complete capitulation by the management, conceding all demands. The threat of further strike action was withdrawn, and the offer of the management was accepted. The 10/15 branch will never be quite the same again, and this should be to the good of all concerned!

COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION IN BRISTOL by Tom Nicholls

Controversy is now raging over the Labour Council's proposals for extending comprehensive education in Bristol. Following the disclosure of part of the proposals by a Citizen member of the council, the Labour Group have now published the whole of the plan in detail. The long-term proposals involve increasing the number of comprehensive schools in the city from the existing 14 to 20, and a major reorganisation of the rest of the secondary schools to fit into a comprehensive system, e.g., absorbing seven existing council grammar schools. These proposals are complicated by the fact that the Minister of Education has not granted the money for new school building, and in three areas short-term plans have been drawn up.

Eleven plus selection will end next year and there are to be no more Corporation free places in the direct grant (fee paying) grammar schools. It is this last proposal which seems to have stuck in the throats of the traditionalists most of all, and the opposition has taken on an almost last ditch appearance. The local press has featured prominently in the controversy and there has been at least a page full of letters on the topic most nights. Those from opponents of the scheme, many of them of the "angry parent" variety, have predominated, but they have not had their own way by any means.

L.C.S. TO ORGANISE SECOND WORKERS' CONTROL SCHOOL? from a London reader

Following a suggestion by Richard Fletcher (Editor, Union Voice; Director, L.C.S.) the Political Committee of the London Cooperative Society is considering sponsoring a further weekend school on the theme 'Democratic Control' to carry on the pioneering work of the Nottingham school earlier this year. Dates being canvassed include the end of November and early December. Frank Beswick is secretary of the LCS Political Committee and it is hoped that he will contribute from his wide experience on international problems - e.g., democratic control of world commodities such as oil.

The London Society is the largest retail cooperative in the world and spends up to £50,000 p.a. on political and educational purposes. A successful national conference on democratic control, held in the capital a few weeks after the return of a Labour Government could have immense impact - particularly it is well attended by representatives of nationalised industries, and especially by steel workers. The LCS has played a leading part in the present move for cooperative reform. The recent resurgence of political and educational activity shows what can be done in these related fields.

EDITOR OF "UNION VOICE" PRODUCES POLICY FOR OIL

We have received from Richard Fletcher a statement entitled "Policy for Oil". This examines the changing patterns of fuel consumption and prices, and draws the conclusion that because the price of oil is expected to drop sharply (as much as 50% has been predicted) it is bound to play an increasing role in the economy. On the other hand it points out that a free oil market would have a disastrous effect on the coal industry and would cause balance of payments difficulties. Having posed the problem the statement, argues for Government control, etc. and takes a look at British Petroleum and the oil industry in Britain. Copies of the statement can be obtained from R. Fletcher, 71, New Kings Rd., London SW 6.

CASTROL VICTIM OF 'RESTRICTIVE CONDITIONS' from a special correspondent

Castrol, one of the most familiar names on the advertising hoardings, is under pressure from the big oil companies. The company has sent out the following letter to people writing in for information:

"....As the largest independent lubrication specialists, we are proud that Castrol is Britain's most popular and widely distributed oil. However, we have heard from several motorists that, on calling at certain garages, they have been told that Castrol is no longer in stock. In explanation, we would tell you that certain of the international petrol companies have become landlords of garages and forbid the tenants to sell Castrol. To other garages they offer sums of money if, in return, Castrol is no longer displayed on the forecourt or used in the service bay..."

They also enclosed a form to give particulars of any incidents motorists might come across of this kind of thing. This form entitled "This fight for freedom is also yours.." explains the "solus" site system: "The Solus Site System of petrol distribution is in principle, as its name implies, an arrangement whereby a garage is committed to sell exclusively the petrol produced by one particular company. A garage proprietor can obtain petrol without going "solus" but, by so doing, and in order to offer the public several makes of petrol, he has to forego 20% of his profit..." We can thank Castrol for making generally known one of the aspects of the so-called private enterprise system.

NORTH WEST CND PUBLISHES CONFERENCE REPORT from Alan Rooney

On 18th/19th July, 1964, the North West Region of CND held a discussion conference on the economics of disarmament. A report of the conference has now been produced. Several papers were produced for discussion at the conference and copies of these are available. CND are shortly to produce a pamphlet: "The Economic Consequences of Staying Alive". The report is not priced but supporters are being asked to make donations in return for which they will receive the report and/or the papers. An order form can be obtained from: CND, 14, Tib Lane, Manchester 2.

LONDON BUSMEN ANGRY WITH PACKAGE DEAL from a London busman

The latest issue of Platform indicates very clearly the considerable dissatisfaction that exists with the recent package deal entered into by the Central Bus Committee and the London Transport Board. The first words of the front page article read: "ANGER - CONFUSION - FRUSTRATION. These are the only words that describe the state of mind of the bus section in the aftermath of the big inquiry, the long negotiations, and the final settlement. The anger stems from the contents of the package deal, and, above all from the denial of the right of the branches to take the final decision on its acceptance. The confusion arises from doubt as to actually what it IS that we have accepted. The frustration expresses itself in inability to do anything effective about the situation..." The journal also published letters from Branch representatives from Edgware and Sidcup criticising the deal. Hounslow, Elmers End and Merton branches have passed resolutions condemning the CBC for concluding the agreement according to the paper. Space does not permit us to quote at length the details of the criticisms Platform makes of the package deal but perhaps the best comment is that the staff situation has gone from bad to worse - the LTB is now over 4,000 understaffed.

APARTHEID VICTIMS MALTREATED IN PRISON by Bob Pennington

Dr. Nevilee Alexander, one of the eleven people sentenced by the Cape Court last April to terms of imprisonment ranging from five to ten years, has been physically assaulted by warders at Robben Island. After receiving ear injuries which necessitated medical treatment, Alexander was placed in solitary confinement, along with four other prisoners who witnessed the assault. Robben Island - Verwoerd's concentration camp - houses over 900 political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe, the Pan-African leader. Sobukwe was sentenced to three years' gaol after the Sharpville massacre. Although his sentence has now expired he has still not been released.

When the Alexander defendants appealed to the Cape court in May, Judge van Heerden refused them right to appeal. He did, however, grant 'special entries' in the record, because of what the defence claimed were irregularities and illegalities at the trial. Because of this they can now appeal to the Supreme Court at Bloemfontein. Cyril Jacobs, who had the charges under the sabotage act against him withdrawn by the Cape Court on June 5 writes: 'to petition the Chief Justice, Bloemfontein Supreme Court, to grant the main appeal would involve additional expenses and as our financial position stands it is impossible for us to finance this. Please help us in collecting any possible funds.'

The chief defendant's mother, Mrs. Dobeta Alexander says: 'a lot of money goes to pay for court records. Please let us know if any funds have been collected to help us further.'

Readers of The Week will I am sure be interested to know that a public meeting has been called in London at Caxton Hall on Friday, Sept. 4, 7.30 to help to publicise this case and to raise funds for the defendants. Donations for the Alexander Defence Appeal should be addressed to its acting secretary:

C. Kirkby,
27, Thursley House, Holmwood Gardens,
London S.W. 2.

Tickets for the meeting and credentials for delegates can also be obtained from the same address.

SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNION H.Q. RAIDED

based on Reuter reports

Police raided the offices of the South African Congress of Trade Unions in Johannesburg on August 3. After a 45-minute search they took away 10,000 leaflets which a Congress spokesman said were ordinary organising material. In Pretoria security police, for the second time in a week, raided the home of the chairman of the local branch of the Liberal Party, Mr. Walter Hain.

In Capetown, 46 coloured prisoners escaped from the new Pollsmoor Prison, near Capetown, over the weekend, but 22 were recaptured. The gaol-break, which took place on Saturday afternoon, is the biggest in the Cape Province for many years. When a warder entered the prison courtyard prisoners stormed the gates, running off in all directions.

INDIANA YOUNG SOCIALISTS FACE FURTHER PERSECUTION from Sylvia Riley

On May, 1963, Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan - officers of the Young Socialist Alliance at Indiana University were charged under a McCarthy-era state sedition law, with having assembled for the purpose of advocating the violent overthrow of both the federal and Indiana state governments. One of the main charges was that they had sponsored a campus meeting at which a young Negro socialist spoke on civil rights. Thanks to a nation-wide defence - the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students - and the support of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, whose chief counsel, Leonard Boudin, drew up the constitutional defence brief, the prosecution was defeated. The local judge threw out the indictments on March 20 on the grounds that the thought-control law was unconstitutional. Similar laws have been ruled unconstitutional in other states.

Now Prosecutor Thomas A. Hoadley has filed his appeal brief, within the time set by law, to be carried to the Indiana supreme court. The Indiana press reports that Hoadley will petition for an early hearing this Autumn. Enquiries should be sent to CABS, P.O. Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y., 10003 for further information.

A LETTER FROM AN OLD AMERICAN SOCIALIST

I am saddened to find that the socialists and radicals generally are splitting into the inevitable little groups and cliques - this always happens to the left people. Why is it? From the earliest times of which I have read, the Russian revolutionaries split up; and now the Russians and the Chinese, and over here it is the same. The Negroes in Harlem are furious that Dr. Martin Luther King came up and visited with the Mayor about the riots. The radical Negroes (Malcolm X, Rob Williams in Cuba, Worthy, Epton, Lynn et al) are split off from the conservative groups such as the NAACP, the CORE and so it goes. My own opinion is that it hurts the big cause.

I have for 45 years been FOR the Russians and am now FOR the Chinese, without one bit abating my respect and love and admiration for the Soviets. I understand why they want peace and security; they've arrived, they are not afraid any more of being strangled, so they want everything to be nice and peaceful so they can have their cars and TV sets, and the good living they deserve and have worked so hard for. But the Chinese have not yet reached that stage - they are lean and hungry, only 15 years old, with the hot blood of youth and the hungry belly...

Heigho, how differently I feel now than I did when I was 20 (I'm now 75) and wanted to take on the world. I still feel pretty cocky and always side with the fighters, the revolutionists. I'm hopeful that the Negroes will keep right on rioting, bursting out in one city after another - it is amazing (amusing, if it weren't so damned dangerously serious) to see the way our white upper bourgeoisie are falling all over themselves to give the Negroes what they want. You will see, even Catholic-dominated New York will, as soon as the thunder dies down...The goddam hypocrites- say- "The Communists did it." By God, did the Communists build those noisome slums? Did a Communist murder that little Negro boy? Did the Communists deny, for 100 years, jobs and housing and any kind of equality to the Negro? Communists, my eye, but it is a wonderful scape goat for this lousy, hypocritical society over here. Taylor Adams (publisher of The Other Side, Box 1015 GCPO N.Y. 17)

THE MAORI PROBLEM AND SOCIALISTS

by P. Piesse (Christchurch)

The position of the Maori people in New Zealand society is fast becoming of increasing concern to Socialists. There is a tendency for the Maoris to move, at an increasingly rapid rate, from the rural areas, where for generations they have been leading a semi-communal existence, to the towns. When they arrive, they are not socially or academically educated for a commercial and urban way of life. Thus they inevitably converge - almost as an entire race - into the working class. Nor do they usually enter the ranks of the proletariat as tradesmen, or with any real industrial skills, but they come as unskilled labourers.

Receiving, generally, the lowest wage rates, they can afford only the cheapest housing. This indicates a tendency, which, while not yet pronounced, is still perceptible toward "ghettoisation". The Labour Party's solution for this problem is the de-centralisation of industry, it being the intention to provide employment for the Maoris in the countryside, so that they do not have to move to the towns to find jobs. Such a solution is, however, impractical, not merely because it would consolidate the present isolation of the Maori in New Zealand and reinforce his social separateness as a race, but also on economic grounds. Such small, decentralised industries could not conceivably operate on the economies of a scale to make them efficient, whether they be capitalist or socialised - and it is not likely that ^{the} Labour Party is envisaging the latter.

The Maori does not desire assimilation or isolation, and he is justifiably suspicious of exactly what the Pakeha (European) means by integration. The Maori wants to retain his identity, traditions, and culture, and yet be the equal in all respects of the Pakeha. A capitalist society is unable to accommodate this.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL TO THE RECENT NEW ZEALAND L.P. ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Ed. Note: we have carried two items on the recent New Zealand Labour Party annual conference, and our New Zealand correspondent has given some background facts to the shift in the balance of force that conference revealed. We shall publish more material from our correspondent in the next issue about the general political situation in New Zealand.

Current support for socialism within the NZLP comes primarily from two sources. Firstly, it comes from what might - for want of a more valid terminology - be called "intelligentzia" branches. There are very few of these, and they consist for the most part of new recruits from the universities, in alliance with the remnant of the 1930 Left which has clung tenaciously to the party through the years of political decadence. Most of the left of that tumultuous era resigned from the party with the expulsion of John A. Lee in 1940. The second, and more important area of support comes, with two notable exceptions from the trade unions. This leftward trend in the unions is also rooted in the past. At the time of the waterfront lockout in 1951, many of the strongest unions were not in the Federation of Labour, which, at that time, had a solid majority of white collar and right wing unions, composed for the most part, of inactive members who were often in the unions only because of state legislated compulsory unionism. These right-wing unions thus had a superficial strength in terms of bloc voting,

to be continued in the next issue.

CHINESE SHIFT POSITION ON STALIN

by Pat Jordan

The full text of the "Red Flag's ninth comment on the CPSU open letter" consists, in the main with all-too-familiar material. However, there are two features, both of which may indicate quite a radical shift in the Chinese ideological position. A section of the second chapter will illustrate this:

"..As the Soviet Union was the first, and at the time the only, country to build socialism and had no foreign experience to go by, and as Stalin departed from Marxist-Leninist dialectics in his understanding of the laws of class struggle in socialist society, he prematurely declared after agriculture was basically collectivised that there were 'no longer antagonistic classes' (in "On the Draft Constitution of the USSR") in the Soviet Union and that it was "free of class conflicts" (report to the 18th Congress of the CPSU), one-sidedly stressed the internal homogeneity of socialist society and overlooked its contradiction, failed to rely on the working class and the masses in the struggle against the forces of capitalism and regarded the possibility of the restoration of capitalism as associated only with armed attack by international imperialism. This was wrong both in theory and practice. Nevertheless, Stalin remained a great Marxist-Leninist..."

This chapter goes on to denounce Khrushchov for pushing through a whole series of policies which have "greatly hastened the forces of capitalism....in the Soviet Union. Being more explicit it speaks of "the generation of new bourgeois elements on a large scale and the acceleration of class polarisation." It gives examples of "leading functionaries of some state-owned factories.." using "their positions....to set up 'underground workshops' for private production.." and of functionaries who "turn collective economic enterprises into economic enterprises of new kulaks", these people being protected from above. All this leads them to the conclusion: "Obviously, they all belong to a class that is antagonistic to the proletariat and the labouring farmers, belong to the kulak or rural bourgeois class" and that a "privileged bourgeois stratum has emerged in soviet society." Shades of 'state-capitalism.

The next chapter defines what the Chinese mean by this privileged stratum and refers to Lenin's struggle against the re-emergence of capitalist forces in the Soviet Union. They say "he laid great stress on adherence to the principle of the Paris Commune in wage policy...".. Whilst they claim Stalin continued this struggle they admit: "It cannot be denied that before Stalin's death high salaries were already being paid to certain groups and that some cadres had already become bourgeois elements..." What Khrushchov has done, according to them, is to speed up this process. They call upon the masses of the Soviet Union to "smash the plot for the restoration of capitalism."

Thus we have two conflicting tendencies, as usual, in the Chinese positions. On the one hand they are now beginning to admit that the bureaucratisation of the Soviet Union began under Stalin, and at that, in part at least, Stalin's incorrect theories were responsible. This is a development which all socialists, no matter what their assessment of the Sino-Soviet dispute is, should welcome. This shift, especially if it is developed will materially help the democratisation of the Communist states. The other tendency is disturbing: if the Chinese come round to saying that Russia is 'state-capitalist' the unity of Russians and Chinese against U.S. imperialism will receive a death-blow.

PRODUCTION CUT-BACK LIKELY IN MOTOR CAR INDUSTRY based on Financial Times report

"Last year's car output exceeded most forecasts and much the same seems to be happening in 1964. Nine months ago..most manufacturers were happily talking in terms of a further 5% increase in output."(But) "...the first half of 1964 has seen production nearly 30% up on the same period of last year....but..the present boom has a narrow base. It is built on the unexpectedly long upsurge in domestic sales, which were a third higher in the first half of 1964 than in the corresponding period of last year. Nerves were shaken..when production for the domestic market flattened out during May..Since then, the factories have resumed working at capacity and June output was up a fifth on 1963. Now, however, there is another worrying trend. Production is at last catching up with demand, and stocks seem likely to start rising once the present works holidays are over.

"..The vital question to decide is whether the upsurge in sales is mainly a once-for-all occurrence or reflects a permanent upward shift in demand. Temporary factors have certainly played an important role. In particular, the availability of a wide range of new models has undoubtedly served to make many people change their cars sooner..But there does also seem to have been a basic upward shift in demand. For one thing, car ownership habits are increasingly moving toward the American pattern in which few people want to buy a secondhand car...

"..What the car manufacturers are really afraid of is that a general worsening of the economic situation will compel the Government to introduce tougher financial policies..tighter credit is bound to cut back the demand for vehicles. Moreover, if this does happen, it will come at a time when the motor industry would anyway have expected a levelling off in sales for 'normal' reasons - the rate of growth has simply been too fast to be maintained..All this suggests that production for the home market will fall more than just the usual seasonal amount in the next few months...it may well be a seventh below the second half of 1963, and a half below the first half of 1964. And the outlook for next year is not much more promising, with few manufacturers looking for any growth in the domestic market...The export position, on the other hand, is more encouraging. It is true that progress will probably be slower than in the first half of 1964. This is partly because to some extent the recent rise in exports reflected the fact that U.K. manufacturers had a lot of well-designed new models at a time when relatively few were coming out of the Continental factories..It is partly also because competition is likely to become keener.

"...Outside Europe, a further rise in exports also seems likely, but its extent is bound to be limited either by competition from Continental manufacturers..or by the lack of foreign exchange and the uneven distribution of income..If this 'crystal-gazing' is anything like correct, it looks as though the industry will export some 330,000-350,000 cars between July and December, so pushing 1964 exports an $\frac{1}{8}$ or more above last year..it is unlikely to be enough to offset the decline in home markets in the next few months. Assuming that the winter sees a return to a seasonal pattern..with no unusual stockbuilding, it looks as if the industry will make something like 760,000-800,000 cars in the 2nd half of 1964. This is less than in the same period last year, and over 250,000 fewer than in the first half of 1964..A levelling out of this kind is unlikely to hit all the manufacturers in the same way, and as usual BMC and Ford are likely to be least affected..Vauxhall also seems well placed...Standard-Triumph and Rootes are likely to be hit, however, since these two have benefited in recent months from a short-fall in the availability of some of their competitors' vehicles. Both of these companies have competed with larger firms in the market for mass-produced vehicles, but their smaller scale of production has generally tended to put them in a weak position whenever the market has faltered..."