

# The Week

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LABOUR  
MEN, TORY  
MEASURES

THE  
WEEK

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MEASURES

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### CONTENTS

Page	1	Editorial
"	2	The Labour Party conference.
"	3	Mr. Warbey's stand.
"	4	Young Socialists - the end?
"	5	Militancy pays off.
"	6	Scottish C.N.D. conference.
"	7	Bertrand Russell's message to the Helsinki conference.
"	8	Company taxation down.
"	9	C.A.R.D. adopts its aims.
"	10	<u>New Left Review</u> opens the discussion on the Labour Government.
"	11	<u>The Rand Daily Mail</u> fights on
"	12	Neo-colonialism in action

### LABOUR MEN, TORY MEASURES

The above head-line is not of our creation: it is the comment made by The Economist on the measures announced by Mr. Callaghan in Parliament last week. In fact, we were considering not bothering to do an editorial this week but instead ask permission from that paper to reproduce its editorial on this subject. The only thing which was missing from the Economist's editorial was an explicit call to the left. But it had this to say about the left: "The remarkable behaviour of the socialist-trade union dog in this long time has been not that it has begun to bark nastily this week, but that it was silent for so long..." Of the Government's measures it says: "It can be said that Labour has this taken the measures of a National government without forming one", and "...Mr. Wilson is heading towards an October election on what is virtually a National ticket...."

The meaning of measures is clear: Labour's election pledges, reforms of the mildest kind, housing, hospitals, etc., are all to be sacrificed on the altar of the pound. Well might the Financial Times head its editorial on the cuts: "The Pound before Politics". Yet, despite all the talk of crisis, no measures of significance at all are to be taken to put any of the burden upon big business. Monday's Financial Times said: "The trend of profits in July compares favourably with the figures for the previous quarter. Gross industrial profits show a rise of 16% against 11.9% and earnings have risen even more strongly, being 18.4% up compared with 10%...." Any argument that business cannot afford to shoulder some of the burden is, therefore, completely false.

The left must end its long silence. These measures, coming on top of the disgraceful Immigration Bill and the refusal to extend the sitting of Parliament one day to allow the Rent Bill to go through, must make us all sad. The coming conference must see some straight talking. This is not "rocking the boat" - it is Mr. Wilson and his colleagues who are rocking the boat, with the silent lefts as accomplices. More is at stake than mere election pledges. Unless the present disastrous drift is reversed a process may be set in motion that will rule out another Labour Government for a very long time indeed.

Most delegates and Labour Party activists will have by now seen the Labour Party agenda. In view of the latest serious developments in the Government's policies it is essential that the left work in a careful way into the period leading up to the Labour Party Conference, so that its voice is effective. Amendments to resolutions, constitutional amendments and nominations for the N.E.C. all have to be in by August 13th. Time is obviously short because of the holiday run-down in activities.

It is a good idea to <sup>make</sup> full use of the amendments, even if only to ensure the presence of left wingers in the compositing meetings. In addition some developments have taken place since the period when the resolutions were originally drafted. Two obvious examples come to mind: the recent deflationary measures and the attack on the Young Socialist.. The former would be covered by amendments to several resolutions and the latter subject would have to be covered in the two existing resolutions on Young Socialists on the agenda.

Other questions include Housing: the NEC gave a pledge at the 1963 conference to initiate a publicly-owned National Construction Corporation. This undertaking was given when the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers agreed to remit a resolution on the nationalisation of the building industry. This corporation could possibly utilise suggestions for factory-building of housing components. Education: many socialists feel that added pressure for complete integration of public schools into comprehensive system is needed. Incomes policy: most resolutions are guarded on this topic. The only critical resolutions come from Fulham and Nottingham West. Some amendments on this subject would help the latter two resolutions.

Public ownership: only one resolution calls for more industrial democracy but there are several which could be amended. Steel: three resolutions call for more industrial democracy in nationalised steel industry. Some are critical of the proposed compensation measures. Foreign policy: this is devoted almost entirely to Vietnam (which has its own separate section) and Dominica. No mention of specifically British foreign and colonial policy, e.g., on Rhodesia, British Guiana, Aden, Malaysia, etc. Defence: All resolutions call for reductions, "east of Suez" is criticised, but there is no specific mention of withdrawal from Aden, Malaysia, etc. The possibility of running down on arms, and diverting resources to housing is not mentioned, e.g., arms factories could become housing component factories, as has been suggested in the case of Woolwich Arsenal.

Vietnam. Only one resolution takes cognisance of the fact that the National Liberation Front has large-scale popular support, and that the struggle is between popular forces and a military dictatorship, supported by the U.S.A. and indirectly by Britain. To anticipate the possibility of foreign policy being discussed, but not Vietnam, it is has been suggested that amendments to foreign policy resolutions mentioning Vietnam should be tabled. If a large number of these amendments appear, the subject of Vietnam will be prominent in the foreign policy section, as well as its own section.

National Executive. It is hoped to ascertain and support those candidates for the NEC willing to stand for the NEC on a platform of support for clause four, and an independent socialist foreign policy.

We believe that every left-winger in the Labour Party will view Mr. Warbey's stand with sympathetic understanding. All of us are unalterably opposed to any action which could help the Tories; but Mr. Warbey's declaration, which arises out of a revolt of conscience which must be felt by every socialist in the movement, must be seen as a warning to the labour movement of the dangers which are inherent in the Government's current policy. Last week's most serious measures spell out in a foreboding way the price of alignment with the Americans in Vietnam, and the possibility of Mr. Wilson's attempt to secure a marriage between imperialist policy abroad and radical reform at home. Radical reform is the partner which has been put aside; and Bill Warbey's reaction will be followed by other similar ones unless the Government makes a sharp change and reverses these priorities. We believe that this should serve as a warning to the forthcoming Labour Party Conference; only if we clear the air there, by firmly condemning the American aggression in Vietnam and by securing the renegotiation of the incomes policy in the spirit of clause four, will be able to unite the movement on a platform capable of ensuring that Labour's promised reforms can be carried out.

HOUSING AND THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

by Bill Vester

The comparatively large number of resolutions on housing for the Blackpool conference indicates that this subject is likely to be one of the major ones for discussion this year. Many Labour activists are beginning to wonder what happened to the 1963 NEC pledge to start a publicly owned national construction corporation, given by Arthur Skeffington when he successfully persuaded the AUBTW to remit its resolution on the nationalisation of the building industry.

An interesting document on publicly owned housing component factories has been produced by the Advanced Studies Group of Hornsey College of Art. The Group concludes that in the London region there will be a short-fall in housing production of at least 40,000 units per annum for at least 20 years, and that this could be met by factory production, which could start at 40,000 per annum and reach 80,000 in 20 to 30 years. This target could be met by establishing four to six large component factories in London, owned and operated by the Greater London Council. An immediate investigation of the possibility of establishing a 10,000 unit factory on the site of Woolwich Arsenal, soon to be closed, is called for.

The report criticises the performance of private enterprise in this field - large firms have entered into licensing agreements for various continental systems, while small firms have spent their time developing no fewer than 300 different systems. It is pointed out that in Moscow 90% of flat production is fully industrialised, and that between 200,000 and 300,000 units are completed annually. In contrast, London falls well short of the Group's estimated minimum targets of 100,000 a year. It is clear that the question of housing component factories is one which could usefully be raised as it also questions the present ownership of the building industry.

ANNOUNCEMENT: Nottingham and district readers of The Week will have the opportunity of demonstrating their opposition to Apartheid in a very practical way this week end. The City Labour Party picket of the Test Match with the South African cricket team needs every support it can get. Assemble for leaflet distribution, motrocade, etc at the Trent Boulevard Co-op at 10.30 on Saturday morning. Contact Mrs. Whawell - T.N. Nottm 281833 - for details.

On Wednesday, July 21st, Young Socialist branches received details of their fifth annual conference to be held at Malvern in Worcestershire on November 20/21st. The details of the conference were circulated by Transport House and referred to the fact that the conference would be discussing two documents (to which resolutions can be submitted) on "Re-building Britian" and "Industrial Training for Youth." Only resolutions on subjects relating to the activities of the Young Socialists and of "special concern to youth" can be submitted.

According to Mr. Reg. Underhill, National Youth Agent, this means that resolutions on such general political subjects as "Vietnam", "Defence", "Immigration", "Steel", etc., will not be accepted. No reference is made in the Transport House circular to the election either of a new Young Socialist National Committee, or a new Standing Orders Committee for the 1966 Conference.

The circular also deals with the selection of delegates to the conference: "The selection of the delegate will be the responsibility of the Constituency or Local Labour Party concerned." The consequences of this are obvious. Young Socialists who are not democratically elected by their branches can now, if Local Labour Parties so decide, represent their branches at the Conference.

After the suspensions and closing of branches and federations, the suspending of the National Committee and the mass expulsion of members, the N.E.C.'s latest decision to remove the political voice of the Young Socialists and organise an undemocratic farce must come as a bitter disappointment to many members and must mean, in a political sense, the end of the Young Socialists. As the Tories mount an offensive against the trade unions, against coloured immigrants and other sections of the working class it has become imperative that the demand for socialist policies from the Labour Government must increase.

The decision of the N.E.C. with regard to the Young Socialists' Conference can only weaken this demand, and must reflect the N.E.C.'s fear of criticism after a year of Labour rule.

At the end of September the Labour Party will hold its Annual Conference at Blackpool. Could I appeal to Labour Party members, trade unionists and Young Socialists to oppose these latest decision both before and at the Labour Party Conference.

The "Save the Young Socialists Campaign Committee", which represents many Young Socialists, will be calling a meeting within the next few weeks to discuss and act upon these latest developments. Details of the campaign can be obtained from the Campaign Secretary: Mike Caffoor, 75, Tottenham Lane, London, N. 8.

\* Roger Rosewell is the Southern Region member of the Young Socialists National Committee.

Editorial note: The Week will give its most enthusiastic support to the campaign of the Young Socialist to reverse this decision. We have had, incidentally, letters and articles from several Young Socialist activists on the lines of the above. We would like to hear of any protests, etc. on this question so we can publicise them. West Nottm. Y.S. has passed an amendment, for consideration by its C.L.P., to the Chislehurst resolution.

Mr. Brown's incomes policy has taken another hard knock following from gains made by draughtsmen employed by the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation, who are to get pay increases of up to 12%, under an agreement reached between the employers and the Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians Association. 2,000 shipbuilding draughtsmen have recently taken part in a 24 hour strike, and under the direction of their union, men in four yards have staged a total stoppage. Largely as a result of these events, the Minister of Labour, Mr. Gunter, set up a Court of Inquiry, and the new wage settlement follows the publication of its report.

Under the new agreement, the employers accept the minimum wage-for-age scale claimed by the union. This will give minimum rates ranging from £15 a week at 21 to £22.10.0. a week for those aged 30 and over. Tracers will receive from £6 at 16 to £12.15.0. at 25. London area rates for all grades are £1 a week higher. The scales will operate from July 26. The employers have also agreed that in applying the new scale all draughtsmen will receive a general increase ranging from 10/- a week to £1.

The union has made some concessions however. It has promised to end its practice of unilaterally announcing new minimum scales without negotiations. The employers and perhaps Mr. Brown as well, also expect it to discontinue its policy of negotiating increases at local level, although there is a clause in the agreement providing exceptions to this rule.

The lessons from this gain are obvious. Mr. Gunter's thunderings and Mr. Brown's pleas and threats only seem to be effective against those workers who are weakly organised, or who receive inadequate backing from their trade union leaders. Against the strongly organised and determined, these Cabinet Ministers tend to appear as paper tigers.

CONSTRUCTION MEN BEAT VICTIMISATION

by Dick Skyers

After the victimisation and dismissal of one of their workmates, the employees of the International Combustion company at Wilford Power Station, Nottingham, threatened strike action if he wasn't reinstated. They also claimed additional pay for working in what can be described as the most disgraceful conditions. The management agreed to immediate reinstatement but claimed that they were unable to give extra pay for working in the clouds of dust that are everywhere to be found on the Station. Whereupon the men began to work a forty hour week. Ten days elapsed and finally the management capitulated. The extra pay was conceded and backdated to the date from which it was originally claimed.

EMPLOYERS GET TOUGH WITH CLYDESIDE ELECTRICIANS

from a special correspondent

After a long meeting the Clyde Shipbuilders' Association said it had rejected a decision of the 1,500 maintenance electricians, who started a strike on August 2nd, to confine the dispute to the John Brown yard at Clydebank. The Association decided to instruct member firms not to engage any of the men who had struck until a settlement was reached. The maintenance men had originally come out in sympathy at all the the Clydeside yards and then decided to confine the struggle. The decision of the Association was so framed as to instruct firms not to employ any of the sympathetic strikers until the dispute in John Brown's is over. The strike is official and the issues at stake are disputes over the general application of a payment-by-results scheme and a wage claim.

The West Region of the Scottish Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is sponsoring an autumn conference to consider the economic and social consequences of disarmament on the West of Scotland. There will be an assessment of resources currently devoted to armaments and plans for alternative deployment of these resources will be presented for discussion.

The widest co-operation is being sought on this project in the belief that studies of this nature are essential if a sounder structure of international relations is to emerge from the uncertainties of the nuclear stalemate. 23 Trades Councils have been asked to facilitate circulating their affiliated union branches. Already Gourock, Dunoon, Helensburgh, Port Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, Stirling, Dumbarton, Vale of Leven and Argyll County have sent lists of their councillors and civic officials. Bodies such as the National Trust, the Forestry Commission, the Scottish Council of Physical Recreation and so on are being invited to send delegates, as are all political parties. So it is a major undertaking and may be quite a significant breakthrough, aided by the atmosphere generated by the Teach-Ins. The provisional themes are: War in the nuclear age; Security in a disarmed world; The West Coast weapons complex; The Clyde Barrage scheme; The Leisure Area scheme; The Leven Linear City.

The conference will take place on Saturday, 9th October, 1965 at Dumbarton Burgh Halls from 10.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.

Enquiries should go to: Brian Smith, 13, Park Grove Terrace,  
Glasgow, C. 3. Telephone: WEST 9181.

HIROSHIMA DAY CONCERT

The Redditch and District CND have organised a Folk Concert to raise funds. The Ian Campbell Folk Group is the main attraction and there will be other singers from the Jug o' Punch, Fleece and Partisan Folk Clubs. The concert is on Saturday, 7th August at Abbey Hostel Hall, Birmingham Road, Redditch, Worcs. Tickets, price 3/6d., 5/-, 6/-, 7/6d., are available from Spencers, Evesham St., Redditch, Worcs.

CAMPAIGN FOR COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION

from Alan Rooney

The Manchester Campaign for Comprehensive Education is launching a petition in support of the Manchester City Council. We reprint the text here:

"We, the undersigned, being electors of the City of Manchester, wish to inform the Secretary of State for Education and Science of our wholehearted support for the proposals of the Manchester City Council for the reorganisation of secondary education in Manchester along comprehensive lines."

Manchester readers should obtain their copies of this petition from: Campaign for Comprehensive Education, 241a, Dickenson Road, Manchester, 13.

Editorial Note: This initiative that has been taken in Manchester points the way for readers in other towns where a similar situation may arise. The pressures which have been brought to bear in Manchester are not merely local, and if a more just education system is ever to exist nationally, socialists will have to fight for it.

## HELSINKI CONFERENCE: BERTRAND RUSSELL'S MESSAGE

The problem which confronts all those interested in peace today is the present policy of the United States. Those who are in power in the United States of America have committed that country to a systematic programme of exploitation and foreign domination. The essence of the problem may be summed up in the following way: the United States maintains over 3,600 military bases in the world. This vast international system of military control exists because American capitalism controls 60% of the world's resources although the United States contains only 6% of the world's population. The peoples of the world are in revolt against these conditions, which mean for them poverty, disease and unrelieved misery. It is obvious that no nation can retain by force of arms the control and benefit of nearly two thirds of the world's resources without meeting resistance from the people who suffer as a result. It follows that the majority of the peoples of the world must accept their circumstances or come into open revolt against American domination and exploitation. These are the essential facts which lie behind the appallingly brutal war of aggression which the U.S. is now waging in Vietnam. Let no-one be in doubt: the conditions which have caused this conflict in Viet Nam exist throughout Latin America and the greater part of South East Asia.

What is one to think of a war in which the most powerful industrial nation on earth uses all the ingenuity and resources at its disposal to annihilate the people of an agricultural country thousands of miles away? Eight million Vietnamese have been placed in virtual concentration camps. In one year alone, 50,000 air attacks with napalm were conducted by the U.S. and its puppet government. Weapons of mass slaughter are being used experimentally on civilian populations in South Viet Nam. The U.S., furthermore, seeks to overcome the determined resistance to its policy of domination by pursuing a course of armed conflict with China. It is greatly to be feared that the men who have the power in the Pentagon, in the C.I.A. are, at this moment, preparing to destroy by bombing all of the industrial cities of China. This criminal act, which will bring the world to the verge of all-out nuclear war, must be warned against and opposed with all the vigour and resolution we can muster. It has been said in the past that all parties in the Cold War are to blame for the arms race and for the threat of nuclear war. It can no longer be said with any justification. Events of recent years and present policies of the U.S. make clear beyond doubt that the threat to world peace is American imperialism. Any honest observer of the world scene, conversant with the facts, must come to that conclusion.

It is the reckless behaviour of the U.S. Government which brings the world to the brink of nuclear war. The probable results are so awful that people will not face them. U.S. policy means that if major war should be averted for the moment, there will be a new crisis soon. American power challenges the aspirations of mankind. Until the U.S. Government - its military and the C.I.A. - abandon the doctrine of counter-revolution and cease opposing the struggle for political and economic independence, the world will stagger from one crisis to another. Until people are prepared to oppose and overthrow governments which support chemical and napalm warfare, the U.S. will continue its policies of experimental slaughter.

I call upon people throughout the world to act to end the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam.

Mr Callaghan in oral answers on 22nd. June (Hansard Col. 1460) stated that between 1951-52 and 1964-65 the average annual increase in Supply Expenditure was £228 million, or 4.8%; the average annual increase in revenue from purchase, income and company taxation was £143 million, or 4.4%. He then added that whereas the percentage of increased revenue from income tax and surtax on persons has gone up by 129% in that period, the percentage decrease in company taxation has been 3%. The following is the table supplied in Hansard:

## Government Supply Expenditure &amp; Certain Categories of Revenue, 1951-2 &amp; 64-5

	<u>£million at prices of year</u>			<u>% increase/</u>	<u>£million</u>	<u>Average %</u>
	<u>1951-2</u>	<u>1964-5</u>	<u>Increase/</u>	<u>decrease</u>	<u>at prices</u>	<u>increase/</u>
			<u>decrease</u>		<u>of year</u>	<u>decrease</u>
					<u>per year</u>	<u>per year</u>
					<u>average</u>	<u>increase/</u>
					<u>increase/</u>	<u>decrease</u>
					<u>per year</u>	<u>per year</u>
Supply expenditure	3,513	6,480	2,967	84	228	4.8
<u>Revenue:</u>						
Purchase tax	338	633	295	87	23	4.9
Income tax on persons & unincorporated enterprise (including surtax)	1,230	2,821	1,591	129	122	6.6
Company taxation*	898 <sup>†</sup>	875 <sup>†</sup>	-23	-3	-2	-0.2
	2,466	4,329	1,863	76	143	4.4

\* Includes profits tax, excess profits tax and excess profits levy, together with income tax paid by companies.

<sup>†</sup> Includes tax paid by public corporations amounting to approximately £5 million in each year.

SOUTH AFRICAN MONOPOLY ENTERS BRITISH RETAILING from a South African reader

The big South African firm, Charter Consolidated, has acquired a 40% interest in the United Kingdom retail chain, Werff Bros., which Edgar Stores controls through a 60% interest bought in 1962. Charter has taken over the interest held by Montague Burton, thus leaving Edgars' participation in Werff Bros. unimpaired. The transaction has been negotiated through a subsidiary of Charter. A 20-year unsecured loan of £250,000 has been arranged to finance the chain's further development. Charter is the financial company resulting from the merger of the BSA Company, Central Mining, and Cons. Mines. Its balance sheet showed net assets of more than £156 million. This is yet another indication of the close organic links between British big business and the South African monopolies. This must be borne in mind by all opponents of Apartheid who want to understand the source of opposition in the United Kingdom to firm and decisive action against the South African Government.

The Campaign Against Racial Discrimination held its National Founding Convention on the weekend of July 24/25 at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. 30 organisations sent around 100 delegates and observers and over 150 individual members attended the Convention. A substantial part of the agenda was devoted to the discussion on and acceptance of a permanent constitution. The main features of the agreed constitution are:

- A representative National Council as the policy-making organ in between annual delegate conferences.
- An Executive Committee elected by the National Council.
- Authority for the National Council to designate areas in Britain where C.A.R.D. will carry out special activities.

The Convention endorsed the recommendation that membership fees be reduced from £1 to 5/- for individual members, so as to assist C.A.R.D. to build up a broad-based immigrant membership.

The Aims and Objects agreed on for the organisation were:

- (1) To struggle for the elimination of all racial discrimination against coloured people in the United Kingdom.
- (2) To struggle for the elimination of forms of discrimination against minority groups in the United Kingdom.
- (3) To use all means in our power to combat racial prejudice.
- (4) To oppose all forms of discrimination on the entry of Commonwealth citizens into the United Kingdom.
- (5) To oppose all legislation that is racially discriminatory or inspired by racial prejudice.
- (6) To seek to co-ordinate the work of organisations already in the field and to act as a clearing house for information about the fight against discrimination in Britain and to maintain links with organisations outside the United Kingdom having aims and objects/ <sup>similar</sup> to those of C.A.R.D.

Overwhelming majorities approved the main four resolutions. The first condemning the deterioration of the racial climate, as encouraged by both the Government and the Opposition. The second denouncing the racialism of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act and demanding its complete repeal. The third deploring the Government's Race Relations' Bill as "ineffective tokenism." The fourth calling for a campaign to stamp out the growing cancer of racialism in British life.

In addition, the Convention unanimously adopted an emergency resolution condemning the Department of Education circular on the education of "Immigrant" children as being a further manifestation of racial discrimination in Britain and demanding that the Ministry of State withdraw the circular.

At the core of the week-end debate was the conviction that for the organisation to succeed it must root itself firmly in the coloured community. A number of steps were agreed upon to facilitate this. These include: the publication of a basic pamphlet on the background to race relations in Britain; the prompt publication of accurate information about any significant development in race relations; the regular publication of a news letter; that organisation of meetings throughout the country to discuss the campaign locally and nationally; and other steps to build up the organisation. Mr. David Pitt was elected unopposed as Chairman of C.A.R.D. for the coming year.

## "NEW LEFT REVIEW" OPENS THE DISCUSSION

"The Labour Government has now been in office nine months. In that short space of time it has won the virtually universal contempt of the Left, both in this country and - even more so - abroad. Few regimes have so immediately lost all credit or respect." With characteristic lack of sentimentality, this is how the introduction to New Left Review, number 32, opens up. But in the established vein of NLR, the editors continue with a call that we must seek to "understand the logic" of development since October, rather than simply indulge in recriminations.

As a contribution to such understanding, the review offers an important article by Tom Nairn, on "Labour Imperialism." This documents in detail how Labour's subjection to all the taboos of imperial policy has involved the Government in capitulation on issue after issue, until even the pillars of the Conservative establishment, such as the Daily Telegraph or the Times, "clearly feel that the Government's policies are too candidly reactionary." The article offers an important contribution to the discussion which is now opening up, as the left begins to draw up its balance sheet. Tom Nairn's conclusions, however, strike this reviewer as inadequate. He rightly insists that "a maximalist programme can scarcely be opposed to a minimal programme in the classic fashion any longer.....the ruins of the Labour Party's minimalist positions lie scattered all about us." But to draw the conclusion that "There can only be a maximalist programme" is to accept a defeat which has not yet been inflicted: since purely maximal demands must be associated with the acceptance of a simple propaganda role. While it is perfectly true that the left must rediscover and redefine its overall socialist objectives, and that with some urgency, it is also true that this will not be possible until a practical strategy can be elaborated which can connect immediate political struggles with the socialist goal. This implies the elaboration of a programme neither minimal nor maximal, but intermediary and transitional. The left must, as it refines its understanding, translate that understanding into slogans which are capable of creating a veritable explosion of socialist consciousness. Given the acceptance of this formidable challenge there is no doubt that Tom Nairn is quite right that "the longrun chances of the left remain substantial."

The Review also contains a number of other very important articles, including a vital text of Gramsci and a most useful introductory piece on education by Quintin Hoare. New Left Review is available, price 4/6 (or 27/- subscription) from 7, Carlisle St., London W.1.

### CATHOLICS AND POLITICS

The new issue of International Socialist Journal, number nine in the series, now available, is notable for an exhaustive feature on "Catholics, the Church and Politics." Throughout most of Europe, and in the key areas of Latin America, the Church is a political presence. This symposium, which includes contributions from left-wing catholics as well as Marxist expositions, covers the role of the church in France, Spain, Italy, Poland, Chile and Latin America in general. The whole collection is introduced by a long critical essay, notable for its sympathetic and scholarly range of view, by Lelio Basso.

Other important features include a sharp characterisation of Labour's first budget by Lucien Rey, a comment by Stephen Rousseas on "America's vision of the Great Society", and an interesting item on the International Labour Office by Alberto Mari, and a study on the Italian debate on working class unity by Giancarlo Vicinelli. ISJ is available on subscription of £1 for 6 issues of or at the price of 4/6d per copy, from 19, Greenfield St., Dunkirk, Nottingham.

The Rand Daily Mail recently published a series of three articles by Harold Strachan on his experiences during three years' imprisonment. In a subsequent editorial they comment both on the articles themselves and on the events connected with their publication. Mr. Strachan's original statements were considered too horrifying for publication, but even what was printed is sufficient to demonstrate the necessity of "a prompt and proper inquiry - not by some inter-departmental committee, but in the full view of the public by an impartial judicial commission with comprehensive terms of reference and sufficient powers to enable it to get at the truth, bearing in mind that the very nature of prisons tends to foster concealment."

This is the explicit intention of the editorial, but in putting forward this demand, the editor takes the opportunity to warn readers of the partiality of any other inquiries or inspections that the government might see fit to hold. He makes it clear that his paper will not be silenced by the pressures already brought to bear, with the severe threats implicit in them that the world knows are not empty. We quote the relevant passages of the editorial here:

"In the public interest it was our plain duty to publish Mr Strachan's story. This is what a newspaper is for if it is to act as the public's watchdog.

"The response of the authorities has been swift. The public is already aware of the raid that took place on the Mail's offices on Thursday. That night unusual pressure from a high official source was brought to bear on the Mail's editor to suspend publication of the third and final article. Yesterday Mr Strachan was placed under house arrest for five years, the ban being announced personally by the Commissioner of Police within hours of the appearance of the third and final article.

"Thus it would seem that our informant's courage and public spiritedness in coming forward to testify under his own name have drawn down on him the retribution that is becoming so commonplace in South Africa these days. He has been silenced. And this under the Suppression of Communism Act. What have complaints about prison conditions to do with Communism?....."

"....This assurance we give to the authorities and to the public: We shall not be deterred by threats or browbeating or angry noises from the Government or its press and radio minions. Unless speedy and effective action is taken to deal with the utterly deplorable situation which has been shown to exist in certain spheres of our prison system, we shall be obliged to publish further evidence. We shall not wait too long."

This has not been mere bravado. We now read in the British press that this paper has published further evidence of atrocities in a specific prison on the sworn affidavits of one of the head warders, another warder and two prisoners. When there is such pressure to prevent publication of events so easily verifiable as these must be, and when a storm of protest is aroused by them, it takes little imagination to guess how much more goes on in South Africa that the world does not hear about. The Rand Daily Mail has taken a courageous stand. Socialists all over the world must see to it that such issues as these do not remain isolated, but become linked together in a struggle that will sweep away Verwoerd and all that he stands for.

The world's major cocoa producing countries: Ghana, Brazil, and Nigeria are bearing the brunt of a cocoa price, which is the lowest since the war, and in real terms, even lower than it was during the depression. On July 21st, the September contract for cocoa on the London terminal market closed at 88/9 a cwt. This is under half what the price was even five months ago. The average price for spot cocoa in 1957, when Ghana gained 'independence', was 257/- a cwt, and this was below the average for the decade.

This slump is due to the over dependence of producers on markets controlled by the large chocolate manufacturers of Europe and the U.S.A., the position having come to a head due to record harvests. In the autumn of 1963, a five week conference was held at Geneva, between primary cocoa producers and manufacturers. The primary producers wished to fix a minimum cocoa price at 215/- per cwt, but this was rejected by the manufacturers who contended that "to choose a minimum price of 215/- a cwt would so discourage consumption that it would defeat its very raison d'etre."

Following this failure to get agreement with the manufacturers, primary producers formed the Cocoa Producers Alliance, the six participants of which accounted for 80% of the world's cocoa. The aim was to cut exports once the price of cocoa fell below 190/- for more than 15 days. The alliance, in theory at least, remained out of the market for more than 3 months. It threatened to burn 20,000 tons (500 tons actually went up in flames), and convert the rest of the surplus to non cocoa uses. All this had little effect, and the major producers returned officially to the market last February. The smaller members of the pact, with limited storing facilities, had been selling for some time before this. Apart from them being unable to stop a small trickle of supplies reaching the manufacturers, the Alliance had been defeated by the heavy stocks, which the large chocolate manufacturers had been able to keep. Since then, of course, there has been nothing to stop the steady slither in world prices. The attempt of producers to find another outlet for their beans has not come to much yet.

The effects this slump will have on the economies and living conditions in the primary cocoa producing countries are obvious, and need not be enumerated here. Ghana, for example, where cocoa is the most important export, has been shown once again how little political independence means, while the fetters of the colonial economy remain, rendering the country vulnerable to metropolitan buyers, particularly when harvests reach high levels. One of the ultimate aims of countries such as Ghana, must be the implementation of Socialist economic plans designed to diversify the economy, and to break it away from the economic stranglehold of external financial interests. In the meantime, an important step would be the setting up of an alliance of all primary producing countries in the third world, which would seek to control the supply of a vast multiplicity of primary products. The above events demonstrate the futility of alliances of producers of one crop only, as defensive measures.

One further point: it can be assumed that British chocolate manufacturers have been reaping the benefits of the slump prices in cocoa over the past few months, yet there does not seem to have been the sharp falls in retail prices that one might have expected. Neither has Mr. Brown and his Prices and Incomes Commission pointed out to them that in the interest of solving the inflationary crisis in Britain, they should be prepared to share their good fortunes with others.