

The Week

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- YOUNG SOCIALISTS CAMPAIGN
- MOZAMBIQUE TERROR
- FIGHTING FIREMAN
- WILLIE GALLACHER BY LAWRENCE DALY
- RUSSELL ON U.S. IMPERIALISM

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS

Vol. 4, No. 8. 2nd September, 1965

LESS JOBS MORE PROFITS (OR WHY THE CITY IS PLEASED WITH WILSON)

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The Week

- POLITICAL SOCIALISM
- CAMPAIGN
- MODERNIST TRENDS
- FIGHTING BRITAIN
- WELLS GATEWAY BY
- LAWRENCE DAILY
- FUSSELL ON US
- IMPERIALISM

Vol. 4, No. 5, 3rd September, 1965

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS

MORE PROFITS LESS JOBS

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JOBS, THE CITY AND ROCKING THE BOAT

One again we have to report that it is in the columns of the serious capitalist papers that one can read the most clear summing up of our Government's policies and line of march. The Stock Exchange Gazette of August 27th, in an article entitled "Political Factor", had this to say:

"A 'measure of unemployment' - or call it underemployment, if you want to sugar the pill - has for long been claimed by many observers a panacea for our economic ills. Judging by recent sackings and short-time working in domestic equipment and motor industries, the exponents of this theory are going to be granted their wish. Theoretically an easing of pressure on a restricted labour market assists, if it does not solve, several vital problems simultaneously. Perhaps most important, it should impart a sense of urgency for the need, when the backdoor to an alternative job is not so widely open, of a full day's work. Secondly, it should enable for the same reason, new wage demands to be more easily resisted, thus curbing the inflationary spiral. Thirdly, it should damp down frivolous internal spending which at once has feather-bedded the indolent manufacturer and aggravated our imports burden. Finally, it should divert labour to the essential exporting industries....

"It has always been claimed that a Labour Government, above all others, simply could not risk unemployment - that to do so would be political suicide. Now we have the spectacle of one being forced by dire national necessity tacitly to accept it, whatever lip-service is paid to a policy of 'redistributing' labour. Were a General Election held in the foreseeable future it seems inconceivable that Labour's tiny majority could be held...

"At the same time, heady hopes are almost bound to buoy the market as the opinion pollsters chart the Government's waning star at precisely the time when it is taking the unpopular, but properly corrective measures from which a future Conservative Government could reap the benefit...." (our emphasis)

Everything that this journal and other sections of the left have been saying is completely confirmed by this mouthpiece of the City; The Labour Government is equating the interests of the City with those of the nation, the measures it is taking will ensure a Tory majority at the next election (it is Mr. Wilson and co. who are rocking the boat), and what is more these measures will help the Tories to keep themselves in power. The warning signs are clear, every possible effort must be made to ensure a change of course - no one can keep quiet without bearing a terrible responsibility.

THE PASSING OF A PIONEER - A TRIBUTE TO WILLIE GALLACHER.

by Lawrence Daly, Secretary of the Scottish National Union of Mineworkers.

On Saturday the 21st August, the town of Paisley, came to a halt as tens of thousands lined the streets to pay their last respects to the veteran Communist leader Willie Gallacher. The coffin was followed by over 5000 mourners, including workers from all over Britain and representatives of foreign Communist parties. The vast, silent crowds - who had repeatedly rejected the Communist Party at the ballot box - were expressing their deep personal regard for the Clydeside pioneer, who had become a legend in his own lifetime.

Strike leader on the "Red" Clyde, propagandist for the Social Democratic Federation, defender of the Russian Revolution, a founder of the British Communist Party, a frequent guest in H.M. Prisons, fiery member of Parliament for West Fife - he was remembered for his impassioned oratory, his courage and tenacity, his pauky wit, and his irrepressible good humour. Coming to politics from the Temperance movement, he retaining throughout his life a strong aversion to alcohol and a fondness for quoting the Bible. He loved poetry, particularly Shelley, and was himself a bit of a versifier, with a good comic strain. From 1935 to 1950 he gave sterling service to the people of his Parliamentary constituency and to many beyond it. Losing his seat in 1950, at the height of the Cold War, he still retained a substantial personal following.

A plea for the Soviet Brides, a word of doubt about the East European "trials", a sympathetic ear for the Yugoslav Communists: these might have stopped the rot and even the support of those workers who could not tolerate the C.P.'s voluntary mental servitude to Moscow. But Gallacher saw the Soviet Union as the bastion of the international working class, exhausted by the grim struggle against German fascism, now menaced by an atomic-armed U.S. imperialism. Criticism could only help the enemy. So he could neither understand nor forgive those who left the Party he had worked so hard to create. But throughout his 83 years he fought like a lion for what he believed to be right. With his passing the British left loses one of its last links with the pre-1914 movement, and one of its most colourful and loveable personalities.

FLYING A KITE FOR MR. WILSON?

from Dave Windsor

Writing in the August 20th issue of Co-op News, Geoffrey Rhodes, M.P., a regular columnist for that paper, had this to say about a possible Lib-Lab understanding: "...Harold Wilson has a major Trump card. He knows the Liberals realise that they must increase their Parliamentary strength by 20 or more if they are to have a useful future. Wilson also knows the Liberals believe that the alternate vote ...would enable them to do just that....Wilson can also help to keep several Liberals in Parliament by the withdrawal (in effect, if not actually in fact) of Labour efforts in their constituencies. He could put some Liberal candidates into Parliament by precisely the same process. I am convinced that the Liberal leader would settle for a limited bargain on these lines." (emphasis in the original)

The following article has been taken from a report by Peter Younghusband which appeared recently in the Daily Mail. In greater detail than we have room for, he illustrates the appalling brutality of the Portuguese colonial war. This new evidence must reinforce our demand for the Labour Government to impose a complete arms embargo on Portugal.

"A giant crucifix dominates the small island of Likoma, situated on the East of Lake Malawi, and a part of Malawi, where 3,500 refugees shelter. They are terrified fugitives whose villages on the Mozambique mainland have been bombed and machine-gunned by Portuguese planes. Some of the refugees have been treated for bullet wounds. They tell horrifying tales of brutality on the mainland - three miles away. The reprisals are vengeance for guerilla attacks by Frelimo, the Mozambique African Nationalist Organisation.

"Refugees tell of entire villages burned down by Portuguese troops; of villages bombed and strafed until every resident has fled; of villages suddenly surrounded by Portuguese commandos, and those of their population who could not escape, lined up and shot. Reprisals are always severe after the Frelimo guerillas inflict casualties on the Portuguese. They were particularly severe after a Frelimo land mine blew up a troop carrier, killing ten men.

"The Portuguese operation, which is claimed on the mainland to have been a success so far, is to obliterate villages suspected of giving assistance to the Frelimo. Now they wish to entice the refugees back to strategically situated, Government-built community housing schemes, which are being built to replace the destroyed villages. In this way the African populations in combat areas will be housed under Portuguese control, and will not be accessible to Frelimo. But few of the fugitives on Likoma are yet convinced that there is hope for a safe existence again in Mozambique."

CAPITALISM AND WAR

from Jean Holman

An interesting article appeared in the August 28th issue of The Economist, in which the profitability of war is discussed. No doubt readers will be pleased to know that, in the words of the New York Times, "Independent economists believe that Portugal gets more out of the war (in its African territories) than she puts into it." The article goes on: "It has stimulated industrial activity in a country that has for years been on a tight financial rein and known stagnation as the result."

The author then discusses some of the other recent colonial wars: "The eight-year (Algerian) war from 1954-1962, coincided with a great deal (though not all) of the French 'miracle' of economic expansion in the 1950s. The Korean War created a world-wide boom, and the war in Vietnam, though hardly felt by the huge American production machine, is certainly not having a restrictive effect." Despite this the Economist denies the validity of the Marxist "claim" that capitalists need foreign wars to keep their economies going. It repeats Keynes' opinion "that is a country was following an over-stagnationist policy it would be worth its while economically - because of the multiplier effects - to set men and machines to work even to dig profitless holes in the ground, preferably in the most complicated technological way." Thus, the Economist concludes, capitalists do not need war providing "they are managing their economies sensibly." I suppose one could ^{say} it is more "sensible" to dig useless holes in the ground than wage war, but what about the starving millions of the world who need goods?

On Wednesday, 18th August, over 500 firemen from 14 brigades crowded into Nottingham's Old Market Square in the first of a series of demonstrations which are to be held throughout the North East Midlands in protest against regional differences in wage and overtime payments.

Until the passing of the Fire Brigades Act in 1938, combined Police and Fire services were operated in most parts of the country. The act made it compulsory for County Boroughs and County Councils to maintain efficient, self contained fire brigades, and with this separation of the two services it was generally recognised that parity between police and fire brigade pay would be retained. In 1941 the fire services were taken out of the hands of local authorities, and a national Fire Service was created as a war measure under the Fire Services (Emergency Provisions) Act. Local authority control was revived in 1947.

A national rate was then agreed by the National Joint Council, comprising the Executive Committee of the F.B.U. and the various Local Authorities' Associations, and, in 1950, the principle of a £25 weighting allowance for firemen in the L.C.C. area was recognised. This £25 London allowance is the amount still recognised by the police, but the differential for firemen was suddenly pushed up to £77 in 1961 when it was quickly followed by action, outside the N.J.C., by a number of local authorities, including Coventry and Birmingham, which both agreed to pay the London rates.

In Nottingham, negotiations between the F.B.U. and the Fire Brigades Committee resulted in an offer of £50 per annum. We then had the intolerable situation whereby the recommendations of the Fire Brigades Committee were turned down flat by the Finance Committee without reference to the full body of the City Council. That is the position as it remains today - nearly four years later.

There are now wide variations in pay throughout the country, contradicting the fundamental Trade Union Principle of "one rate for the job". The £25 differential for the special conditions in London is not disputed, but the position has become farcical, not only by virtue of the 1961 award of £77 to London firemen alone, but also by the extension of the London boundaries to take in the area governed by the Greater London Council. When the G.L.C. was formed in April this year, the London Fire Brigade strength was increased overnight from 2,000 to 7,000 - out of a total national strength of 24,000. Most of this enlarged London area has conditions no different from the rest of the country. Yet the Nottingham ^{rate} is now £77 per annum below London, Coventry and Birmingham, and £65 below the county of Surrey, which has recently made an award.

Overtime payments are equally confused. In Nottingham a 48 hour week is agreed, with no overtime. London recognises the 48 hour week, but 53 hours are actually worked, 5 of these being at overtime rates. In Derby and Derbyshire a 56 hour week is in force, for the same basic pay that Nottingham firemen receive for 48 hours. Certain stations in Nottingham operate a regular 72 hour week for a paltry extra payment of 50 shilli

*Nottingham Area Chairman, F.B.U. and member of the N. Midlands District Committee.

The month of September will provide the biggest opportunity for CND activity to pressurise the Labour Government into implementing many of its policies which CND supports and abandoning those it condemns. In fact, CND activity will be greater during September than for many years and will require all the help CND supporters can give. The following are the most important activities planned:

September 5, 6, 7 & 8 : South East Region CND and Brighton CND will be co-operating with the Focus team to produce a Focus for TUC.

September 17 CND mass meeting - An Independent Policy for Britain. Speakers: Norman Atkinson, M.P., Stuart Hall, Professors Melman and Wedderburn. This meeting will be held at the Central Hall, Westminster, and is intended as pre-Labour Party Conference rally.

September 18 CND discussion conference - "Should we support the Vietcong?" A discussion on non-alignment and the attitude of the peace movement to war. Malcolm Caldwell and Peter Cadogan have been invited to open the discussion. As the hall only holds 100 people, invitations are being issued through Regions and Specialist Sections.

September 26 Eve of Conference CND march at Blackpool. This will assemble at 2.30 Gynn Square for a rally on the sands at 3.30. Among the speakers are Olive Gibbs, Fenner Brockway, Stan Orme, M.P., and Hugh Scanlon. The size of this demonstration will have an important effect on the delegates. Many of the Regions have already ordered coaches.

September 27 to October 1 CND Focus at Blackpool. CND will distribute a daily Focus to delegates throughout the week. The Focus team will work in co-operation with the North West Region.

Firemen Turn on the Heat (continued)

ings, and this is the pattern which a Labour controlled authority wants to extend throughout the county!

Any pretence at parity with the police force is a thing of the past, and provincial rates are now £7 per week below those of the police, who have a current pay claim for a further £5. And, as a background to the whole unsatisfactory state of affairs, we have the disturbing fact that men are leaving the service at an alarming rate. 1,800 firemen left last year - a shocking figure when one considers that the total national strength is only 24,000. Is it any wonder we are protesting?

The action of the Labour Party NEC in changing the form of the YS National Conference should be opposed by all socialists. Limiting discussion to officially prepared statements (nothing about foreign or defence policies) is clearly intended to prevent the youth of the Party expressing their concern at the decline of the Party's fortunes and their opposition to the Government's policies. It is one more stage in the reduction of the YS to the status of the former youth groups, with no official contacts between branches and no right to decide policy.

The effect of these moves will be to weaken the Young Socialists at a time when a strong youth movement is more necessary than ever for the Labour Party. Labour is in danger of losing the next election. The Government's capitulation before strong capitalist pressure, and its consequent failure to begin more than a fraction of its election programme, have produced demoralisation in the Party and apathy among Labour voters.

Labour badly needs socialist policies and an influx of enthusiastic and idealistic young people who will go out and win the support of the working class. How can we recruit young people to a political youth movement of the left if we are not allowed to discuss politics freely at a national and local level, if we have no national committee to make our views felt?

A meeting has therefore been called by the sponsors listed below to discuss what we can do at the Labour Party Conference to raise the issue; what issues the YS should pursue at the YS Conference, and in the year following. This is intended to be a discussion meeting; every branch should try to attend en masse or send a delegate to put their point of view, hear others and make up their minds.

The meeting will be held at the Mahatma Ghandi Hall, 41, Fitzroy Sq., London, W. 1. (Warren Street Station) on September 5th, at 2.0. p.m. There will be several YS speakers, members and ex-members of the National Committee, and, we hope, a left-wing M.P. Watch The Week and Tribune for further details.

SPONSORS: D. Ablitt, ex-member N.C. East Midlands; R. Gillespie, ex-member N.C. Scotland; R. Rosewell, member N.C. Southern Region; Tribune, The Week, Voice of the Unions, Young Guard.

SIR OSBORNE DEFENDS MR. CALLAGHAN

Speaking the week-end before last, Sir Cyril Osborne said it was "grossly unfair" to blame Mr. Callaghan for creating unemployment, even though the figure may rise to one million before the year is out. "He is really trying to make the nation live within its incomes and in this he deserves all-party support," Sir Cyril stated.

LETTER

from I.M. Martin, West Hull Y.S.

I'm pleased to see that you seem eager to give voice to the views of Young Socialists. However, I doubt whether the coming Y.S. "conference" marks the end of the Y.S. politically. The fact that the N.E.C. has taken avoiding action so far in advance by trying to keep discussion away from the more explosive issues suggests that we are being taken seriously. This could mark a new beginning.

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U.K. LAGS BEHIND IN SOCIAL SECURITY

The heavy reliance on National Assistance to supplement social insurance benefits and family allowances shows that this part of Britain's social security system is "much less than adequate".

Expressing this view in the latest issue of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research's Review, Mrs. M.F.W. Hemming points out that the national resources devoted to social security in the U.K. is less than in any of the Common Market countries. Taking cash benefits alone, the ratio is not more than about half the level in West Germany. The main reason for the low level, she says, results from the method of financing, which gears contributions to the lowest paid worker. In the Continental system, on the other hand, they are related to income, with the State paying on behalf of those least able to pay.

Mrs. Hemming says there is a strong case for establishing special benefits in the case of short term sickness and unemployment, because commitments cannot be easily reduced. There is an urgent need, too, "for bringing old-age pensions up to a subsistence level, so reducing the need for many pensioners to apply for National Assistance. There is also a strong case for automatically adjusting all pensions for increases in the cost of living, or better still, for increases in the national income."

The article claims that one of the weakest elements in the U.K. social security system is the provision of family allowances. These are much lower than in other countries which provide them. "They were insufficient when they were introduced and no real attempt has been made to maintain their real purchasing power," Mrs. Hemming adds. Trying to encourage smaller families is not a reason for reducing family allowances.

DONNELLY WANTS NEW TYPE OF PARTY

In a statement issued on August 19th, Desmond Donnelly, one of the steel "rebels" and Labour(!) M.P. for Pembrokeshire said:

"The decision of the Haverfordwest Union of Post Office Workers to disaffiliate from the Pembrokeshire Labour Party because I criticised in a newspaper article some weeks ago the Post Office in granting last April's 20% over-three-years award to postal workers spotlights in local form the national challenge facing the Labour Party and the country."

He said he was not criticising the union for taking the money. "Who can blame them? My warning was against a repetition in the coming months of a case where one government department, or indeed, any large employer, undermined the basis of the Government's whole wages policy. In short we have got to get people on both sides of industry to see beyond the ends of their noses. Otherwise the economy will crash and we may soon be using pound notes for wallpaper."

"Furthermore, the Haverfordwest case raises in microcosm the future relationship of the Labour Party and the trade unions. I believe the time is coming when we must work gradually towards a more loose association. We can learn lessons from the German S.P.D. In America, too, the Democratic Party, while receiving support from certain unions, retains its independence and objectivity. Again, I wish to make clear that I recognise and respect the political stability that the unions have given to Labour."

The new arrangements for Singapore, imposed without any consultation with the peoples concerned, underline again the artificial, foreign dominated and undemocratic nature of "Malaysia". They can hardly be seen as either an eviction or a secession of Singapore when the Federation's troops will continue to be stationed on the island, and Tengku Abdul Rahman still claims full authority over, for example, Singapore's relations with Indonesia. In addition, the continuing presence of the powerful British bases on the island and on the mainland makes it impossible to take seriously the claim that Singapore is now "independent."

The reality of continuing British power over Malaya (including Singapore) was indicated by the fact that the decision for the new arrangements was obviously made by the British government. Although official spokesmen have expressed "surprise", this referred only to the timing of the announcements, and Mr. Wilson has revealed that the new arrangements have been part of British contingency planning since January.

By creating at least a formal barrier between the squabbling groups in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, this latest move aims to prevent the imminent collapse of "Malaysia", and to open the way for some further re-arrangement should the federation nevertheless disintegrate. The opportunity has been taken to impose a new military agreement on Singapore which now enables Britain to use the Singapore bases for SEATO purposes. The British Government also hopes that the new move will tempt Indonesia to establish relations with Singapore, at least by the resumption of trade, and that these links may lead eventually to the lessening of Indonesia's "confrontation" against the British military bases.

This desperate manoeuvre does not, however, extricate Britain from its problems in the area. "Malaysia" is increasingly revealed as a British-imposed plan to protect its traditional imperial military and economic interests in the area, and this in turn further exposes the myth that the war Britain is waging is to protect "Malaysia" from Indonesian aggression. The British aims remain incompatible with the aspirations of the people there, and also with the long term interests of Britain as a nation. There is a rapidly growing realisation in Britain that the crippling cost of the bases East of Suez, of which those in Malaya form the main part, is placing the entire British economy in pawn.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom condemns the decision on Singapore as one carried out without any consultation with the peoples of Malaya in order to reinforce British imperial power in the region. We affirm our stand in support of the people of Malaya, of which Singapore is a natural part, and of Northern Borneo in their continuing struggle for national unity and self-determination. Peace in South East Asia, in Vietnam as in Malaya and Northern Borneo, necessitates the withdrawal of all foreign bases and troops from the region, leaving the peoples free to decide their own future.

NIGERIAN TRADE UNIONS TO BOYCOTT COMPANIES

Nigerians have been asked to boycott three companies which mistreated striking workers. Plans have also been made by the Joint Action Committee of Nigerian Trade Unions for a nation wide strike in protest against the dismissal of about 2,000 striking workers at the Dunlop Tyre Company, Niger Motors, which distributes British Bedford vehicles, and Nigerian Breweries.

"As kings defend their thrones, religious leaders their churches, the lioness her cubs, and mothers their children so, I consider it my duty as a trade union leader to defend the rights and privileges of every worker in Trinidad and Tobago even to the danger of my life. Here I stand, I shall not recant." This quotation from George Weekes, President of the Oilworkers' Trade Union, one of the best organised workers' organisations in the West Indies, decorates the outside cover of the pamphlet, "The N.T.U.C. and the Sugar Workers' Strike - Why I Resigned", written by Weekes himself.

The pamphlet recounts the history of the sugar workers strike against the corrupt trade union bureaucracy and which, like the Dominican Revolution succeeded, but whose verdict was reversed by the state of emergency which the Eric Williams Government declared to save the union bureaucracy and prevent a complete realignment in the trade unions favouring the rapidly advancing workers movement, which now had a revolutionary centre in that important bastion the oilworkers and their effective leadership of the NTUC.

The strike was remarkable for the employment of the paramilitary police and the army (defence force) to defeat the workers. As the pamphlet itself states: "...it is well known the movement into the (strike) area on 24.2.65. of the first batch of the Defence Force..." That was two days after the strike began. And it says in the next paragraph: "But what the hierarchy of All Trinidad (the Sugar Workers Union) did with the blessing of the employers and the connivance of the military forces is not at all well known and will in due course be documented." Acts of violence were perpetrated "against the striking workers and their supporters".

But another reason for the timely onslaught on the sugar workers and the NTUC of February-March 1965 was the attempt to influence the elections in the Oilfields Workers Trade Union which were to take place in May. It was the strength and victory of the rebel reform movement in the oilworkers union, of which Weekes was chairman, which had made possible the 2-week strike of 1960 that had paralysed the whole country. It had also made possible the conversion of the oilworkers and the TUC into a rallying centre for the entire workers movement, buttressed by progressive developments in certain other major unions. A defeat in the oilworkers union election would have been a serious blow to all these struggles.

The propaganda offensive which started shortly after the strike was broken by the state of emergency with the Report on Subversion in the Trade Unions, Civil Service, the Youth and the country as a whole, while directed as an offensive on all fronts, was immediately concerned with denigrating Weekes and preventing his re-election as chairman of the OWTU. The imperialist newspapers, radio and television and the puppets in the Government sounded off grave warnings. But the workers had learned many lessons since 1953, the period of the last counter offensive on a West Indian scale.

Weekes has won hands down. He polled 4,281 votes against his opponent Lesaldo's poll of 794.

* The West Indies News Bulletin is published by W.I. News Service,
51, Uplands Rd., London, N.8.

On August 15th I had an interview on the subject of the uprising in the black community in Los Angeles with Frank Greenwood, chairman of the Los Angeles Afro-American Cultural Association. Mr. Greenwood is the director of a touring group of actors and is founder of an Afro-American youth group called the Toussaint L'Ouverture drill club which, he says, is designed "to teach the kids drill and bearing and instill in them the pride and dignity of being black."

Q. What did cause the uprising?

A. Three hundred years of oppression of the black man in America - unemployment, police brutality, white supremacy, poor housing, over-all white oppression of the black man in America. It's not just local conditions, but general resentment at such things as the failure to bring freedom to the South while they send troops off to Vietnam. A black person on Central Avenue (a major area of the uprising) feels oppressed by most white people in America, with damn few exceptions. A white employer exploits him, the white labor unions discriminate against him. The white liberals are all talk. The whites who go into that community do so as exploiters. The white reporters speak from a racist point of view. The schools teach white history. The black man on Central Avenue thinks in terms of black versus white, and it's based on living reality.

Q. What about Rev. Martin L. King's statement that the riots are a great setback to the freedom movement and that the full force of the police and military should be used to suppress them?

A. I differ. This rising shows the deep-seated resentment which they have tried to say didn't exist. It's the Afro-American striking out in pain and anguish, a direct result of the poison of the poisonous society we live in. If the power structure hasn't got sense enough to get to the causes I believe the whole society is in great danger. King's statement is farcical. Why didn't he advocate non-violence of the police? They've killed over 20 of our people in these days. Dr. King is a most contradictory advocate of non-violence. I wonder whose side he's on. This whole outbreak shows the complete failure of the non-violent movement, its failure to do anything for the people on Central Avenue - on all the Central Avenues.

Q. Who are the leaders of this uprising?

A. I thought at first there was no leadership at all. And there probably wasn't, at first. But judging from what happened, from the way stores have been selected, it seems there is some systematic activity. But it's none of the known groups or leaders.

Q. What, in your opinion, is the general attitude of the Negro community toward the uprising, the looting, and so on?

A. Overwhelmingly favourable. There may be a few, mostly older people, preachers, etc., who "deplore" it, but the great majority are in favour. You see, nobody says anything about the 300 years the whites have been looting the blacks. If blacks looted this country for 100 years they couldn't make it up. The country owes the blacks something and it will have to pay, either socially, granting the demands of the black community, or antisocially, facing one catastrophe after another. You heard the man they interviewed on T.V. He said, "I'm not a criminal, I'm taking all I can because I'm poor." I say those people have a right to help themselves.

RUSSELL ON U.S. IMPERIALISM

Editorial Note: We reprint here part of a recent press statement by Bertrand Russell. We have omitted a large section of the statement, in which he discusses the American war in Vietnam, as the points made are covered by Ralph Schoenemann's article, 'The Nature of the Vietnam War', in the previous issue of The Week.

Americans do not sufficiently understand the meaning of their Government's policy. Any of us concerned with peace today must confront the fact that the military industrial complex in the U.S. which possesses power has committed the country to a systematic programme of exploitation and foreign domination.

The U.S. has over 3,300 military bases in the world. These bases guard the spoils of U.S. capitalism, e.g., nearly 60% of the natural resources of the world. As the U.S. contains only 6% of the world's population, it is clear that this vast international system of military control is required to suppress a world revolution against conditions of poverty, disease and unrelieved misery for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

No nation can keep by force of arms the control and benefit of nearly 60% of the world's resources without meeting resistance from those who suffer as a result of such domination. The peoples of the world must either endure indefinitely the cruel dictatorships financed by U.S. capitalism, or come into open revolt against the imperialism which subjects them.

Americans have allowed corporate capitalism to identify its selfish and rapacious aims with the national interest of the American nation. From this fact follows the essential corruption of political life in America. The C.I.A. has a budget fifteen times that of all formal diplomatic activity of the U.S. and it serves to overthrow and plot against all Governments insufficiently subservient to American financial interests. The C.I.A. is no more than a band of organised assassins but it is a powerful body and has killed heads of state. This, perhaps, is what Malcolm X meant when, in remarking upon the assassination of an American Head of State, he said "It is chickens coming home to roost." There is virtually no country in Latin America, Africa or Asia in which the C.I.A. has not purchased a section of the Army or the Police and for which a list of potential victims of assassination has not been prepared.

These essential facts underlie the appalling brutal war of aggression which the U.S. is now waging in Vietnam. The conditions which have caused this conflict in Vietnam obtain throughout Latin America and the greater part of Africa and Asia.....The U.S. is intervening militarily in countries throughout the world: in the Dominican Republic, in Korea, throughout Latin America, in Thailand in S. Korea - in fact wherever poor people with rich land are in rebellion. What then is our responsibility in the face of such behaviour? In my view we must acknowledge and state openly that the cold war and the danger of world war are the responsibility of the U.S., or more accurately of U.S. imperialism. As long as the U.S. government is controlled by corporate capitalism and its military arm, the U.S. will be represented by a policy of counter-revolution and brutality and the world must stagger from one crisis to another. A further consideration must be faced. The real object of U.S. military action is China. They realise that China as a major industrial power will serve as an example to all Asian, African and Latin American peoples. This they fear and so they wish to destroy China while they can. We must oppose and expose this..... For my part I salute the N.L.F. and its struggle for the emancipation of Vietnam from the brutal domination of the United States.