

# The Week

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- U.N.-D. CONFERENCE
- HOMELESSNESS SCANDAL
- INCOMES DEBATE
- UNION NEWS
- DICTATORSHIP IN  
WEST GERMANY

## DISARMAMENT AND JOBS



DISARMAMENT

AND JOBS

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STOP PRESS

Foyles, the bookseller, having agreed to negotiate with USDAW, which called last week's strike, have reneged. Consequently, the strike is on again. Pickets are needed and Week readers are asked to lend a hand. Roll up to Charing X Road and volunteer. Remember, Foyles is black - but Collets is just across the road.

ON THE BRINK

Mr. Cyrus Eaton, friend of Khrushchov, gave this warning after returning from a visit to Moscow, where he met Mr. Kosygin: "I have never seen a man so serious, so grim", his remarks boiled down to him saying that the U.S. had declared war. "We need a miracle within a month" to avoid disaster, Mr. Eaton concluded. The People's Daily of Peking wrote on June 1st: "The Johnson administration...in all likelihood will escalate the war in Vietnam to a Korea-type, localised war." China and North Vietnam could no longer recognise the 17th parallel military demarcation, the editorial added. Yet our Government turned down Mr. Michael Foot's call for an urgent discussion in the House of Commons on Vietnam before the Whitsun recess. All serious observers agree that Labour's acquiescence over Vietnam encouraged Johnson to go into Dominica. Silence now will encourage the Americans to take further steps in Vietnam. The whole movement must throw its weight behind the demand that the Labour Government decisively dissociates itself from U.S. policy in Vietnam.

IS HAROLD WILSON'S CONSCIENCE A-MOULDERING IN ITS GRAVE?

One of the first jolts administered to the left by the Wilson administration was the climb-down on the arms boycott of South Africa. The delivery of Buccaneer bombers to Verwoerd shocked even the most hardened supporters of the Government. Last week, insult was added to injury. According to the Daily Telegraph of May 28th, Bedford have won a contract to supply heavy lorries to the South African Defence forces. "Reports from Washington have said...that the 4-wheel drive lorries could be converted easily as armoured vehicles", the paper added. "The U.S. and Canadian governments are said to have forced Ford Motor Co. to refrain from bidding for the business," the paper went on. What does Mr. Wilson have to say about this? It normally follows the U.S. lead, why does he not this time? If the balance of payments requires the pouring of African blood into the scales, we would rather see the whole apparatus overturned.

The 1965 Easter March demonstrated conclusively that C.N.D. had emerged from the doldrums of the last few years and was a going concern again. The task of the C.N.D. Annual Conference (London, June 5-7th) must be to consolidate the gains and to deepen a strategy that makes sense and awakens a feeling of urgency in the Britain of the late 1960's.

Vietnam, as would be expected, is given great prominence in the resolutions for conference. Perhaps the most comprehensive resolution on this subject comes from Brentford and Chiswick C.N.D., which presents the conference with five demands to campaign around: an immediate stop to the bombing raids on North Vietnam; a cease-fire in South Vietnam; negotiations between the U.S.A. and the Vietcong; withdrawal of American troops; and free elections in Vietnam.

This conference could be a vital one for C.N.D. as regards its future organisation. Two proposals have been circulated regarding membership of C.N.D. The first calls for the establishment of a formal membership; sponsors who will pay a minimum subscription of £3 a year direct to the national campaign, and who will have the right to vote, associates who pay a minimum subscription of £1 a year to their local groups, and supporters. Groups who wish to qualify for representation at conference would have to have paid £12 to the national campaign in the previous calendar year.

This proposal is supported by some notes from Alec Leaver. His basic arguments are that this move would put the campaign on a firm financial footing, would more fully commit individuals and link them with the national campaign and would provide the campaign with a more accurate picture of its strength.

The second proposal is far shorter and, in fact, merely formalises the present situation:

"Annual Conference considers that a C.N.D. group should be allowed to enroll supporters in whatever way seems most appropriate and will itself decide the minimum annual contribution to be required from each; the group to retain the whole of the income thus obtained...."

Notes in favour of the second proposal were provided by Rosalind Delmar. She argues that it must be proved that it is easier to raise money from members than supporters and that income from membership could financially support the campaign. She is uneasy about the formalised membership as this could lead to expulsions from C.N.D. and the acceptance by all of one set of principles for the campaign, with consequent lack of flexibility. The adoption of formal membership laid the campaign open to the possibility of proscription.

#### COUNCIL FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM SET UP IN DONCASTER from Colin Livett

A Branch of the British Council for Peace in Vietnam has been set up in Doncaster. The Vietnam petition will be circulated as widely as possible among the trade unions, Labour Parties and the peace movement, and a stall is to be taken in the market to get maximum publicity. A poster parade is to be held and there will be a public meeting on the eve of the lobby of Parliament. Vietnam has already been discussed with success in the local Labour Party and Trades Council, and it is hoped that there will be a large contingent from Doncaster to the lobby of Parliament.

The appointment of a Minister of Disarmament by the Labour Government was widely interpreted last year to signify that the Government took the question of general disarmament seriously, especially since the Minister has been backed with a specialist Research Unit. The Defence White Paper, and the general theory that Britain has special "peace-keeping" roles "East of Suez", have by now been correctly assigned their own part in the general scepticism about the Minister's role. The steady abandonment of agreed Party policy is too clear to be obscured by the symbolic appointment. The United Nations General Assembly may also have been conducting an exercise in myth-making when it adopted the "Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations" in December, 1961. We may be excused our scepticism when we compare the practice of governments, and particularly the United States Government, with the grand plan envisaged in the statement. This includes "...disbanding of armed forces...elimination of all stockpiles of nuclear, bacteriological and other weapons...cessation of production of such weapons...elimination of all means of delivery...abolition of the organisation and institutions designed to organise the military efforts of states, cessation of military training...discontinuance of military expenditure."

But it is possible to work out after assuming the reality of disarmament, what the economic and social consequences may be, and to make serious recommendations as to how "planning for disarmament" might be carried through. This the United Nations Association has done in the pamphlet under review, by appointing a Working Party which consisted of an M.P., trade unionists, and economists. The pamphlet contains contributions from Eric Lubbock: "Defence and the British Economy"; Edward Dommen: "The Disarmament Plans"; (which discusses the American and Russian variants in the Geneva discussions based on the U.N. plan); Jim Mortimer: "A Union View of Disarmament"; Janet Blackman: "An Employment Policy for Disarmament"; and a statistical appendix which details the effects of alternative methods of re-deploying resources at present devoted to "Defence".

All the contributions set out the problems in plain, workmanlike style, and avoiding technical economic jargon, they provide an easily assimilable account of the qualities involved - in terms of manpower and resources. What emerges for the socialist are two crucial issues, which are in fact two parts of the single issue of democratic planning. First, how are workers to respond to the inevitable threat of redundancy which is posed by disarmament, and second, what processes of decision-taking are to be used in deciding upon the reallocation of resources for peaceful uses? Miss Blackman raises the first question in saying that "no section of the community must feel left in the dark" when the changeover is being planned. "Consultations between management and union officials after the plan has been made are not sufficient". And further - "...many of the problems stem from the lack of power of the men most vitally affected to take part in decisions." The second question is suggested by the calculations in the Statistical Appendix, where three alternative forms of "redeployment" are suggested: 1. the reduction of taxation, leaving consumers spending to determine re-allocation; 2. expansion of social services; and 3. investment incentives to industry. (For socialists, this third alternative might be re-written to imply the expansion and diversification of the publicly owned sector.) The issue of democratic planning is here posed in a form of rare simplicity. How shall we re-allocate what amounts to between 7 and 8% of our total output? How can we imagine that the process of arriving at a decision of this magnitude can be remotely "democratic" whilst industry itself is governed autocratically, secretly, in the interests of an owning class, and whilst the State reflects this pattern through its own increasingly corporate relations with that class?

\* "Disarmament and Jobs", United Nations Association, 25, Charles St., London W.1., price 2/6d.

The Greenwich and Woolwich Trades Councils appeal to the people of South East London to protest to their M.P.s against the decision of the Government to close the Royal Ordnance Factory, Woolwich. This closure would not merely be the end of a landmark of London's industrial history and an economic measure carried out on very doubtful economic reasoning. It will not lead to any increase in the large area of Arsenal land which has long been available for housing.

It could bring hardship to several thousand workers, the destruction of an establishment able to contribute much to the New Industrial Revolution of modernisation to which the Government is pledged, the wastage of millions of public money invested in buildings and equipment, the dispersal of a team of highly skilled men, possibly to situations in which their skills will be wasted, and a depression of wages and working conditions in the area. This is why it is in the interest of us all that the closure should not take place.

Even without arms orders, however, the ROF has time and time again shown it self capable of turning out non-military goods, from turbines and railway wagons to laundry presses and silk stocking machines. Mr. Wilson, before becoming Prime Minister, suggested its conversion to produce engineering goods for the developing countries; several have suggested its adaption to fabricate industrial building units to tackle our constant housing problem. Mr. Cousins, the Minister of Technology, is worried about the inadequate output of the British computer and machine tool industries. The ROF has built a wide range of these devices.

The United Nations experts in their report on the "Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament," unanimously agreed that "all the problems and difficulties of transition connected with disarmament can be met" and "that the diversion to peaceful purposes of the resources now in military use could be accomplished to the benefit of our countries and lead to the improvement of world economic and social conditions." Britain has a chance to prove this by the painless conversion of a relatively small proportion of productive capacity and working people to peaceful production without redundancy, dislocation of lives, worry, hardship and waste of resources, mechanical and human.

Editorial note: this article first appeared in the June issue of Labour's Northern Voice.

#### WOOLWICH ARSENAL SHOP STEWARDS "PLACED TOO MUCH TRUST" IN LABOUR

In the May Monthly Report of the Woolwich Arsenal Shop Stewards Committee, the Executive Committee of the stewards summed up their fight to retain the factory: "....Though we have known for a long time that the cards are stacked against us, there was the possibility that we could muster enough support and interest amongst Labour M.P.s to make the Labour Government think again. In retrospect many people will probably give many different versions of where we went wrong. Most of us feel that we placed too much trust in the Labour Government and that unfortunately we were endowed with weak Ministers and Assistants in the Ministry of Defence. We tried to obtain help via Newspapers and television. Perhaps we have been too nice to make news..." The report goes on to compare the support obtained from large and small trade unions, nationally and locally. The small unions and the local units of the larger unions were the only ones to really respond.

The following is the text of a letter sent by Labour C.N.D. to Mr. Wilson recently:

The above committee - which is composed of active Labour Party members - has asked us to write to you to voice the widespread concern within the Labour Party and among Labour Party supporters about the drift of the Labour Government's foreign and defence policy and especially over its failure to dissociate itself from American action in Vietnam. We know - that like all of us - you are profoundly concerned over the dangers of further escalation and the dangers of the "thaw" breaking up involved in that conflict. But we feel you have been very badly advised. For a long time Labour has been committed to a series of independent peace initiatives and Vietnam presented a classic occasion for an initiative of that kind. We have no alliance with the U.S. over Vietnam. Our policy has differed from theirs since Britain agreed to become co-chairman of the Geneva Conference of 1954. When that policy was abandoned by Lord Home you rightly criticised him....The whole of the labour movement was grateful to the United States for helping us to bring a Tory Government to its senses over Suez. Labour Britain should have performed - and can still perform a similar service for the U.S. over Vietnam.

Unpublicised protestations over the telephone - if indeed they were made - were bound to be ineffective. But there is an opposition to American policy over Vietnam building up in the United States, ranging from Senators to students. A strong British denunciation would have - and still could - substantially strengthen that opposition and thus help to modify the intransigence of the President of the United States. Settlement of the Algerian conflict and settlement of the post-war Franco-Vietnam conflict was substantially delayed by a refusal to negotiate with the guerillas who were doing the fighting. Today Britain must tell America that they must negotiate with the Vietcong. This they have so far refused to do. Secondly, they ought to be told that they must be prepared to accept - as was provided in the Geneva agreement of 1954 - the reunification of Vietnam at a later date. Thirdly, they must be made to realise that they cannot impose a regime of their choosing on South Vietnam - the South Vietnamese must be left free to determine their own future.

Britain cannot make any effective contribution to the settlement of that conflict - or indeed retain the respect of the uncommitted world - unless she clearly and publicly dissociates herself from American policy. Failure to do so may well have contributed to the further breach of the United Nations Charter involved in American aggression against the Dominican Republic. When Labour was elected to office it was committed to abandon British nuclear weapons, to promote disengagement in Central Europe and to take independent initiatives for disarmament and the relaxation of tension. It is a major disappointment to many inside and outside the Labour Party that the policy of abandoning nuclear weapons has itself been abandoned. Instead we are still pushing the ANF - a scheme opposed by the same NATO countries that opposed the MLF and seen by the Russians as a cover for proliferation. Disengagement is being given a lower priority than the maintenance of the disintegrating cold war alliances. And a Labour Government which believes it has come to terms with the colonial revolution and the new nuclear realities should realise that Britain has no military role "East of Suez". You rightly said at the post-election Labour Party Conference: "Rarely in world history has this country been given such an opportunity to give a lead towards peace, disarmament and world brotherhood".....

NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES "NOT RUN FOR EMPLOYEES" from Dave Windsor

An example of the arrogant and "state-capitalist" attitude prevalent among those circles appointed by various governments to run the nationalised industries was heard at the N.U.G.M.W. conference last week. But it came not from an official of a nationalised industry but from one of the union's own officers. Mr. Jack Eccles was replying to a suggestion that a reduction in the working week in the electricity industry should have been used to give the employees an earlier start, and consequently an earlier finish, to the working day. He said that the Electricity Board did not want meter readers knocking on people's doors at 7.30 a.m. in the morning, nor did the consumer (and, I am willing to bet, neither do the meter readers!)- talk about red herrings). But what he said after that was very revealing.

"The more we reduce the hours of work, the more the hours must be essential for the employer," he added, "and this is particularly true in the nationalised industries. It is part and parcel of our contribution to efficiency. I hope this theme can be put across effectively to our membership - the industry is not run for the benefits of the employees. The employee's security is dependent on its efficiency as an industry, and we are very alert to this situation."

It is to be hoped that propaganda for workers' control will be intensified and that officials like Mr. Jack Eccles will be put under pressure to change their attitude - or do the other thing.

F.B.U. LEADERSHIP DEFEATED ON INCOMES POLICY from a special correspondent

The Fire Brigades Union, meeting in Bournemouth last week, reversed its policy on the Government's income policy. By 14,128 votes to 13,338, the annual conference referred back a document which stated that the executive had "serious reservations" when voting in favour of the report by the T.U.C. General Council on productivity, prices and incomes.

Mr. Barry Stuart, of Devon, moved the reference back, saying that the policy meant wage restraint. It would be dishonest and hypocritical, he added, to pay lip service to a policy of  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  annual limit on wage increases and say at the same time it did not apply to them. Mr. H. Burgess, of Liverpool, said, "We believe that we, as local government workers, will be prone to easy control by the Government on the question of wage increases."

BRIGHTON TRADES COUNCIL WANT YOUNG PEOPLE INFORMED from Chris Arthur

At its May meeting the Brighton and District Trades Council went on record for better facilities being provided to make young people aware of the terms and conditions laid down by trade unions. A speaker from the local branch of N.U.F.T.O. said, "We want it established as a right, not a privilege, that youth employment officers should furnish details to school-leavers." He added that many young people went into the furniture trade with whom the union had no contact. "Many of them go to work in 'back alley' jobs where there are no trade unionists. It is necessary that youth employment officers should tell them exactly what they can expect, so that they know if they are being exploited. The trades council passed a resolution calling upon the T.U.C. to approach the appropriate Government department demanding machinery be set up to facilitate this.

At the Annual Council of the Association of Scientific Workers, held on the 22nd and 23rd of May, the following motions were passed:

"That Council views with concern the rapid rise in the cost of living over <sup>the</sup> last year and realises that the working population of this country have never known a situation where an incomes policy has not been applied to them. Since the basic reasons for the existence of the trade union movement are for the continuous defence and improvement of their members' living standards, Council instructs the Executive Committee to inform Her Majesty's Government that the Association will continue to oppose an incomes policy, no matter who advocates this policy. Further, Council re-affirms the Association's policy to wage restraint and long-term salary agreements as put forward in Resolution 41 of Council, 1964." and;

"That Council supports the Labour Government in speedily establishing a national system of comprehensive schools. Council therefore instructs the Executive Committee to inform Her Majesty's Government of the Association's support and its intention to campaign throughout the year for the achievement of this object."

The first motion was a compound of motions put forward by Imperial College (who proposed it) and Nottingham University (who seconded it), Bradford and Manchester University.

LOCOMEN REJECT SINGLE-MANNING OF LOCOMOTIVES by an industrial correspondent

At its conference at Clacton on May 28th, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, passed a resolution to the effect that the union's present claim for bonuses should be "without strings". This was a rebuff both to the union executive and the Railways Board. The executive had recommended the conference to authorise further negotiations on the basis of a revision of the existing 1957 manning agreement, in view of the Board's "full assurances" on redundancy. The delegates supported the line of the South East Region of the union that the productivity part of their cash demands has already been met by increased efficiency and that bonus claims should be pursued separate from talks on manning.

The Board's present offer to the union, conditional upon its acceptance of a revised manning agreement, has been reported at 8%, which is considerably higher than the "norm" envisaged in George Brown's incomes policy. It seems very unlikely that the Board will consent to the union's bonus demand - about £3 a week without such strings. There is almost certainly going to be a conflict between the union and the Board. If things follow the previous pattern the more militant sections of the union will call work-to-rule moves to put pressure on the Board and, perhaps, their own executive.

TWO-THIRDS VOTE FOR STRIKE IN THE ELECTRICITY OFFICES

The result of the N.A.L.G.O. strike ballot among its members in electricity supply showed an overwhelming majority for strike action. Over three-quarters of the members of the National and Local Government Officers' Association in the industry voted for selective stoppages, and nearly two-thirds said they would take part in a full-scale stoppage. 91% of the members in the industry voted. The union's electricity committee regards this as a mandate for strike action, and is recommending selective stoppages to an emergency committee and other unions concerned.

In August last year the Spencer\*family, mother and five children of school age, were living in two basement rooms in North London. Sewage leaked into the rooms, they used a sink in an outside area and shared a W.C. with the tenants from two other 'flats' in a six-roomed house. This hovel cost the outrageous rent of £5. 10. Od per week. The Spencers did not possess a rent book and the 'landlord' or one of his 'friends' collected the rent, either late in the evening, or in the middle of the night. It was a furnished 'flat' and the 'landlord' called from time to time to take some of the furniture away - and also to demand extra payment for its use.

When a letter was sent to the 'landlord' by a social worker helping the family, it was returned with a message saying he was shortly "leaving the country". Later when a Notice to Quit arrived at the house for a person unknown, it was discovered that the 'landlord' was not the owner of the property at all. The real owner was then located and whilst the social worker was trying to negotiate tenancy rights for the Spencers a bill for electricity arrived at the house. As this was also addressed to a person unknown, and the tenants' rents covered their share of electricity, the mains supply was eventually disconnected and the Spencers lived by candlelight.

In February of this year the the Spencers were allowed to move from their insanitary conditions in the basement to two gas-lit rooms at the top of the same house and their rent was reduced to £2. 10. Od. An improvement, but, still deplorable conditions in which to expect a family to live. The Electricity Board condemned the wiring in the house and the owner would not have any repairs done whilst the house was occupied!

Meanwhile the 'landlord' returned in April, removed some more furniture, demanded money from the tenant on the ground floor and when the tenant refused he was beaten up and his window was smashed.

Finally, the Public Health Department placed a 'Closing Order' on the house and the Spencers were received into a Reception Centre for homeless families. (It is estimated that there are about 1,500 homeless families in London at present.) The families in the Reception Centres are the casualties of our so-called Welfare State which has failed to provide an answer to the housing shortage. In the area where the spencers lived, slum property is bought for between £3,000 and £6,000, it is then modernised and sold for anything up to £16,400. Faced with facts like these and various pressures, subtle and otherwise, placed upon tenants to give up their slum houses, is it any wonder that working-class people are apathetic and social workers sceptical and angry?

Who are the homeless? They are very likely to be victims of the 1957 Rent Act which the Tories introduced and is still with us under the Labour Government. A London County Council survey showed that 60% of the families admitted to welfare accommodation were evicted from property not subject to rent control. In other words, they are the direct result of the 1957 Rent Act. The father of the family is likely to be a steady manual worker earning about £14 per week, he is about 30 years old and is married with two or three children.

\* This is genuine family but the name is fictitious. continued over/

## Homelessness continued/

The Milner Holland report has admirably documented the case for rent control and security of tenure, yet all the present Government has been able to produce is the Protection <sup>From</sup> Eviction Act, 1964. This Act does not give complete security of tenure, but only enables County Courts to delay evictions up to 12 months. Families are still being evicted.

The nationalisation of urban land and the building industries, are obviously fundamental issues to be faced by any socialist government wishing to plan a revolutionary housing programme. The nationalisation of urban land and the building industries need to be dovetailed into a comprehensive plan for housing, which will end the land and rent racket and for the first time enable a realistic plan to be launched.

As an immediate step to alleviate the housing problem and to ensure security of tenure to millions of households, the Government should pass an Act directing local authorities to municipalise all private rented dwellings (possession to be made possible by financial aid from the central government where necessary). Ministry grants with such a plan would also enable local authorities to greatly improve some of the slum property which they would take over. Then, for example, the Islington Borough Council, would be able to take possession of the rat-infested Beaconsfield Buildings, which has been likened to a Sicilian tenement block. The Council could then demolish the buildings or carry out the alterations and repairs that are so desperately needed.

This should be followed by the nationalisation of urban land and the building trades, including the firms who produce the vital materials which are so often in short supply and yet from which such enormous profits are made. To gain the confidence of the workers in the industries and to ensure maximum efficiency, workers' control is essential.

The municipalisation of private rented dwellings and the nationalisation of urban land and the building industries, would lay the foundation for a programme which would relieve a great deal of suffering. Overcrowding, inadequate housing and homelessness are often the cause, directly or indirectly, of a variety of mental, physical and social illnesses. Mental illness, marital discord and delinquency, for example, are sometimes produced or exacerbated by such conditions. Housing affects people's health, their development and, in turn, the general health of the community and, therefore, it should be a social service. The Government that accepts this premise will need to be bold and revolutionary.

### WANTED: A HOUSE IN BRITAIN FOR ONE IN SWEDEN THIS SUMMER

One member of the group standing behind Zenit was present at the Voice school on Workers' Control. The group hopes to consolidate its contacts with the British movement. A comrade of this group is coming to Britain this summer, together with his wife, between the 1st of July and August 17th. They have nowhere to live in Britain, and have suggested to us that if anyone is interested in going to Sweden over the same period an accomodation swap may be arranged. The comrades have a two-roomed flat in Lund (in southern Sweden almost opposite Copenhagen) which would suit two people. The comrades would much prefer London for this arrangement but would consider other places too. If anyone is interested please write in.

Speaking at a rally of Midland members of the Transport and General Workers Union in Birmingham on Saturday, May 30th, Mr. Frank Cousins, Minister of Technology, explained his attitude towards his union. He explained that he would not have joined the Government if it had meant retiring as the General Secretary of the T.G.W.U.: "If the choice had been put to me that way I would not have gone," he added.

Mr. Cousins' statement is all the more interesting because of the remarks he made about the T.G.W.U.'s vote against declaration of intent. He said he would have been ashamed of the union's executive if they had not taken the decision on an incomes and prices policy they did. They had argued it out in the direction in which it ought to be ordered - from prices, profits and wages policy.

THE KIND OF SUPPORT WOODROW WYATT IS GETTING from Alec Acheson

Mr. Woodrow Wyatt is not entirely without support in the Bosworth area: Councillor Michael McCarthy, of Hinckley, who resigned from the Labour Party earlier this year and joined the Liberal Party, told the Leicester Mercury, "One reason I resigned was that there were too many people in the party obsessed with power politics and trying to tell people to toe the line. I feel a man should do what he thinks is in the best interests of those who elected him and I am sure Woodrow Wyatt has done this." He added that he supports Mr. Wyatt's views on steel nationalisation. Mr. Jim Dick, the local secretary of the Boot and Shoe Union, told the paper that the views of his members could not emerge without a meeting. However, he added: "I personally support Mr. Wyatt, and am I am prepared to say so. But I do not support the way he has gone about things."

The struggle has now taken the form of a battle between the N.U.M. and the Sho<sup>e</sup> Workers' Union - N.U.B.S.O. - to make a nomination to replace Woodrow Wyatt (with party officials hovering in the background trying to prevent a decisive showdown because of the small Labour majority). From 1945 until Mr. Wyatt won a by-election in 1957, the N.U.B.S.O. official, Arthur Allen, was M.P. for Bosworth. Transport House got the miners to support Woodrow Wyatt (probably with some quid pro quo somewhere else) and now the N.U.M. have the chance to replace him with a member of their own union.

As the Hosiery Workers' Union has twice failed to get its members to agree to affiliate to the Labour Party, the most important and biggest section of local workers are not directly represented in this palace revolution. There is no real question of a left wing revolt except by a few militant miners who are not particularly political. This area is a prosperous one of full employment, plenty of clean work for women, and high wages for men hosiery workers. There has been little industrial strife since the war in any of the 3 major industries.

SOUTH NOTTINGHAM LABOUR PARTY SUPPORTS RAILMEN

After listening to Mr. Jim Hall give his union's case on the liner trains' dispute, the South Nottingham C.L.P. passed a resolution which opposed giving private hauliers facilities at the proposed liner train terminals. The resolution also pledged support for the N.U.R. in its campaign. Mr. Jim Hall, area organiser of the N.U.R., is willing to speak to other meetings. Write to: N.U.R., 30, Revesby Rd, Woodthorpe, Nottingham.

STUDENTS UP IN ARMS OVER PALTRY GRANT AWARDS by Martin Lonoy\*

Students throughout the country have condemned the recent increases in student grants as totally inadequate. In fact, the increases designed to cover the next three years do not even approach the  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  incomes policy "norm". Consultations with the National Union of Students - the students' 'trade union' were negligible and despite previous Labour promises the odious means test on grants remains.

The Yorkshire Post on May 26th quoted protests from practically every Northern Students' Union. Bill Savage, President of the National Union of Students, said that they had been "thrown a stale crust slightly smeared with dripping" - the increases did not even keep pace with increased costs over the last three years. The Government entirely ignored the Standing Advisory Committee on students' awards.

\* Vice-Chairman of N.A.L.S.O.

MANCHESTER DISTRICT BRANCH OF VIETNAM COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED from A. Rooney

A Manchester district branch of the British Council for Peace in Vietnam was set up on Saturday, May 29th. It has already begun a good campaign with three major activities:

- (1) Massive collection of signatures to the Council's petition (many shop stewards committees have pledged their assistance);
- (2) Organising coaches for the Lobby of Parliament on June 30th (several will be going from Manchester);
- (3) A Public meeting (Lesser Free Trade Hall, July 9, 7.45, Konni Zilliacus as main speaker).

BRISTOL ANTI-APARTHEID TO PICKET CRICKET MATCH by Tom Nicholls

Following a successful all-party meeting at the end of April, Bristol Anti-Apartheid Group are now planning a picket of the cricket match between Gloucester and the South Africans which opens on Saturday, 10th July in Bristol.

The picket, which is intended as a protest against the colour bar in South African sport, has the active support of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's headquarters and the national secretary will be coming to Bristol to address a briefing meeting.

MANCHESTER WORKERS' CONTROL SCHOOL GATHERING SUPPORT

The 3rd Conference on workers' control and industrial democracy - "Workers' Control in a changing situation", which is to be held in Manchester on Saturday, 19th June, and Sunday 20th June, looks like being the most successful so far. Good delegations are coming from the aircraft industry, several shop stewards committees are sending delegates, Stockport and Hull Trades Councils will be officially represented, etc.

The organisers have asked to remind intending participants that it is very important that they be notified should anyone require accommodation. Anyone in this position should write to: Alan Rooney, 241a, Dickenson Rd., Manchester 13. Should you need further information about the conference write to: Tony Topham, 1, Plantation Dr., Anlaby Park, Hull.

## NEW LEFT BOOK ATTRACTS WIDESPREAD ATTENTION

On Monday, 31st May, Fontana Books published, with New Left Review, a thick volume of socialist essays under the title: "Towards Socialism." This symposium, edited by Perry Anderson and Robin Blackburn, aims at laying the basis for a socialist analysis of British society, and for an aggressive socialist strategy relevant to the needs and prospects of today. Socialism emerges from its pages not as a distant and sentimental concept fit to trim the secular sermons of Labour leaders, but as a vital and immediate perspective, an affair of this world rather than the next.

Contributions to the symposium include, besides the editors, Thomas Balogh, Ken Coates, Richard Crossman, Andre Gorz, Tom Nairn, Richard Titmuss, John Westergaard and Raymond Williams. The Week's concern with the struggle for democracy is amply reflected in the contributions of many of the writers, especially those of Gorz and Coates. Anderson's piece will initiate a discussion which will involve the whole left movement not only in Britain, but probably much farther afield as well. This is a most serious volume, which demands extended treatment. A first review will appear in our next issue, to be followed by further comments.

Already the capitalist press have risen to the stimulus provided by this book. On Monday, both the Times and Daily Telegraph featured editorials on the book, and the challenge of the New Left. That evening Perry Anderson was invited to speak on the BBC news programme, Ten O'clock. Asked in what way he would behave differently from Mr. Wilson in domestic policy, he led off with an outline of the policy for a democratic steel bill which has been so extensively discussed among Week-Voice-N.L.R. readers in recent months.

## NEW LEFT REVIEW 31 ON SALE

Connor Cruise O'Brien has produced a devastating balance-sheet of four years of U.N. presence in the Congo, which is the lead article in the current N.L.R. No socialist can afford not to read it. Other important features include the beginning of a fascinating symposium on working and living, which leads off with an explosive article by a young tobacco worker from Nottingham. Joan Robinson, Alain Robbe-Grillet and Eric Hobsbawn are among other contributors. N.L.R. now costs 4/6 from 7, Carlisle St., London W.1. A subscription to N.L.R. for one year, together with a copy of "Towards Socialism" at half-price, is available for 32/- from the same address.

## BELGIAN ELECTIONS HEAVY DEFEAT. SAYS SOCIALIST

Analysing the results of the recent general election in Belgium, Ernest Mandel, editor of La Gauche, describes them as "the heaviest defeat in the history of Belgian Socialism." The Socialist Party lost 470,000 votes and 20 seats in parliament's lower house.  $\frac{2}{3}$  of these votes went to the right, the remainder swinging left to either the Communist Party, the new left socialist party, or followers of Jacques Grippa, the pro-Chinese Communist. The new socialist party scored two notable victories in securing the election of Pierre le Greve in Brussels, and Francois Perrin in Liege. Its vote was the one encouraging sign in an otherwise bleak picture. At Namur it failed by a mere thousand votes to win a seat. The vote of the hard left, including the C.P., doubled to reach 6%. The overall result is a sign of the penalties Spaak's regime has brought on itself by its right wing evolution.

In Portugal, the first few months of 1965 have proved to be amongst the most violent yet in the struggle against the Fascist regime of Salazar. January saw the arrest of more than one hundred university and secondary school students including several 14 and 15-year-olds. Two of the students broke down under police torture and had to be committed into mental hospitals. A third attempted suicide by swallowing the crushed lenses of his glasses.

In February, General Humberto Delgado, the opposition candidate in the 1958 Presidential "elections", and his Brazilian secretary were battered to death and buried near the Spanish-Portuguese border town of Badajoz. So far neither the Portuguese nor Spanish regimes have had any explanation to offer. On Tuesday May 24, the mounted National Republican Guard were called in at Pero Pinheiro, a mining town, to stop a strike of miners who have taken over the local branch of the Government-controlled trade union.

The miners are demanding an increase in their basic wage from an average daily wage of 12/- to one of 18/- per day. The Republican Guard opened fire, killing two miners, and injuring others. Up to 80 miners have been arrested, but the 3,000 miners show no sign of giving in.

Recently, the forces of repression have been joined by groups of civilian "ultras" of the regime who are not satisfied with the extent of official action. Two weeks ago the headquarters of the Portuguese Society of Writers was completely smashed up by "an unknown group of people", who left a number of swastika badges among the debris. The Society had, according to the Portuguese newspapers, "offended the feelings of the nation" in awarding its literary prize to a white Angolan, Jose Mateus Graca, writing under the pen-name of Luandino Vieira. Mateus Graca is at present serving a sentence of 14 years hard labour at a concentration camp in the Cape Verde Islands, for opposing the regime's colonialist policies. The Government forces, however, were not to be outdone. The Society was banned and 3 of the members of the jury which awarded the prize arrested.

The "unknown group of people" have, meanwhile, continued their work by breaking up a leading Lisbon bookshop, "Divulgacao", which had its window decorated to the theme of "The Book and War", with C.N.D. badges, Picasso's peace dove and books on war. Swastikas were painted on its walls. The police have, naturally, been unable to find the culprits, and the manager of the bookshop was called for interrogation by the political police, P.I.D.E.

This latest show of extremist brutality, far from discouraging the Portuguese people in their struggle will increase their determination to put an end to the Fascist regime.

Editorial note: This article should serve to remind British socialists of the great need to bully and harass the Government into keeping what is left of its pledges to the people of Portugal. In particular, can we not atone, in part, for the disgraceful treatment of General Delgado by honouring Labour's pledge to stop arms exports to Portugal, where they might be used for colonial oppression? Indeed, would it not be an elementary step to cut out all arms exports to Portugal, since no control exists over where they go, and since any arms left in Portugal will certainly be used against the Portuguese people. Until this happens, Mr. Wilson piles shame upon shame on the relations between British socialists and their Portuguese co-thinkers.

## WEST GERMAN STUDENTS PROTEST AGAINST "EMERGENCY LAWS"

We have been treated to a sickening performance from all the apparatus of "Royalist" mystification during the course of the Queen's visit to West Germany. As is well known, in these days the royalty is merely part of the political set up, used cynically by the Government of the day. When Lizzie spoke, she was expressing exactly what Mr. Wilson and the Labour Government wanted her to. Tracing out the complicated motives which led to the visit would require a full length analytical article, but in the meantime Labour Party members should ponder over a report we have had sent to us from West Germany on the question of the Bill for Emergency Laws which is before the Federal Parliament.

In a declaration signed by the following bodies: the German Socialist Students Union, the Social Democratic Students Union, the German Liberal Students Union, the Humanist Students Union, and the Federal League of German-Israeli Study Groups, it is pointed out that the emergency laws would:

- (1) allow the Federal Government to take-over almost completely the power of the state;
- (2) make it possible for the executive to usurp legislative powers;
- (3) make it possible for the Government majority to prolong the period of emergency indefinitely, which entails amongst other things the postponement of elections;
- (4) make possible the elimination of parliamentary opposition;
- (5) give preconditions for the elimination of the Lander (state) Governments;
- (6) make possible the suppression of freedom of information and public expression, the establishment of censorship and the banning of unapproved newspapers;
- (7) allow the elimination of trade unions and the setting up of a compulsory civilian service giving employers almost military powers;
- (8) give the Government power to order the domestic use of armed forces;
- (9) make it possible for the parliamentary majority to take away a citizen's right to appeal;

A declaration by the German Humanist Union on the Emergency Laws says: "The makers of the Constitution had learned from the dangerous use of emergency provisions of the Weimar Constitution and from the practices of the Nazi regime. They rejected emergency legislation, but at the same time made provision for crises....We appeal to the Bundestag not to allow a legal transition from democracy to dictatorship for the second time." This appeal was signed by 1,300 university professors, writers, lawyers and leading trade unionists.

A working committee for action against the Emergency Laws has been established. It unites students' organisations, trade union youth groups and other youth organisations. It is sponsoring a protest congress in Bonn as a beginning of its campaign. It is very anxious that the Emergency Laws and the committee's campaign against them should receive the widest international publicity. Messages of support should be sent to:

Working Committee Against Emergency Laws,  
6, Frankfurt/Main,  
Kurfurstenstr. 8,  
West Germany.

Let us show that there is another Britain than that represented by the mediagral nonsense the West Germans have been treated to recently.