

THE

Week

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS

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EDITORS' LETTER

We did not have to read press accounts to know that the postmen's strike was 100% successful, we have our own evidence in the havoc it played in the distribution of our journal. The point is, though, that we are anxious that all our readers have the opportunity to keep their files 100% correct. Therefore if any reader has not yet received the last issue (vol. 2 no. 2) we will be happy to send them a copy instead of waiting to see whether the originally despatched copy turns up. If for this reason anyone gets an extra copy we suggest that they send it as a sample to someone they think might subscribe.

The strike had another effect too, some of our copy either went astray or arrived too late for inclusion. Please understand this if any items you sent in have not appeared.

You will see, therefore, that we have a special reason, apart from general solidarity, for supporting the slogan of the postmen: "Bevans must go". We look forward, too, to a similarly efficient strike and/or work to rule by the staff of the Inland Revenue.

We can promise some interesting material in coming issues - including an article on the Maori question in New Zealand (which is hardly ever referred to in the socialist press), some extracts from the latest Chinese missive against Khrushchov which show they are shifting their ground on Stalin, etc.

The spontaneous fury of the postmen at the Government's derisory offer of a 4% wage rise, which resulted in the most dramatic actions and the most solid determination to resist that have yet been seen in that field of government employment, will have the instinctive and active support of every socialist. We are very glad to see Mr. Wilson supporting the postmen in his television broadcast, and to see the extent to which opinion is rallying behind them in even wider fields. Mr. Smith, the leader of the UPW, seems to have been in considerable difficulty in the last few days. However hard he has run, he has not been able to catch up with his members in their determination to fight for a decent living wage. Somewhat plaintively he told The Times that the actions of the PMG "were destroying the modern, moderate trade union leader, and he could not let himself be destroyed in relation to his membership." A serious lesson hangs on these words, which should be carefully analysed in relation to Mr. Smith's actions in the next days.

Meantime, with more than 28 million letters (and several hundred copies of The Week) hung up in unopened sacks in the London region alone, with less than 90 of London's 25,000 postmen at work, 4 attending in Nottingham, 2 in Edinburgh, and an infinitesimal number in even rural districts like Devonshire, the men are carving out patterns of union policy which will clearly not bend easily to conform with the wishes of Mr. Bevens. If, as is likely, and much to be hoped, the movement quickly escalates to strangle the telephones, the Government will have no option but to collapse with as much grace as it can summon. But there are other important lessons to learn from all this than that of the efficiency of militant action, which in any case will not be lost on anyone.

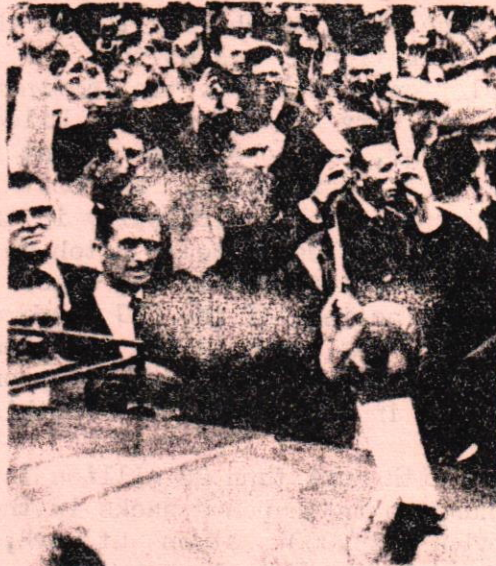
What the postmen are complaining of is essentially the principle of percentage increases as the standard for determining levels of wages. Four percent of not much is not much; and four percentage of a lot can be a big lot. Since they can count, the postmen can see that if they accept the Government's criteria for awards, they will remain in a permanent low-priority and low-paid enclave. Of course they are right to kick, and must kick hard against this principle.

The problem for socialists is that just such problems as this will be used by the right-wing to justify the need for accepting an incomes policy. Millions of low-paid workers will listen to such arguments unless they are countered with more persuasive slogans than the simple word "No." Saying no can be interpreted as supporting the continued poverty of the low-paid. It is for this reason that if the left is to win this vital battle against state-castration of the unions, it must pose the question of power against what is a question of power. The UPW is traditionally a stronghold of support for workers' control. Its present fight ought to lead us on to demand that protection for low-paid workers should be secured, not by allowing the state to carve up better-paid workers' pay-packets in the name of an incomes policy, but by allowing the workers to determine a real incomes policy which dips into the vast undeclared resources of capital.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE BLOOM EMPIRE

No matter how 'planned' or 'organised' modern capitalism is it remains intrinsically very unstable. The truth of this statement has been demonstrated very clearly by the Bloom affair. The more successful it is the more this success rests either on the danger of war or speculation. The workers affected by such affairs will lose their jobs through no fault of their own. Socialism remains not merely desirable but an urgent necessity.

Trade union platform



THE N.G.A. AND MAY DAY

by A. Rigby

The recent merger of the Typographical Association and the London Typographical Society has not infused any militancy into the new union, the National Graphical Association. The new union still remains, as the old T.A. did, politically to the right and little-known outside the trade. An excellent opportunity for rectifying at least a part of this was again missed (or rejected?) as a prominent member of the London Region, J.R. Foskett, pointed out in the July issue of the Graphical Journal under "Letters to the editor".

The letter drew attention to the fact that while the L.T.S., which still functions to a certain degree autonomously within the union, had placed May Day advertisements in the Daily Herald, Sunday Citizen, Tribune and Labour Monthly the N.G.A. had not. As well as missing an opportunity to emphasise the arrival of the N.G.A. and to show that the printing unions are forward looking, example the merger, the union once again remained in the background over the struggle for a socialist Britain.

Surely its time the 'active' socialist left within the union educated its fellow trade unionists that the union has moved from the old conception of craft guilds to a union with a fight on its hands, one which every true trade unionist within the union must take part in.

ED. NOTE: can other trade unionists, especially those in similar unions to the N.G.A., relate their experiences on such questions? Even in the most right wing of unions issues such as these can be taken up.

T.U.C. REFUSE TO INTERVENE IN 'TRULINE' CASE

by Ian Taylor

Speaking to the last meeting of the Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, Mr. Vernon Thornes, Secretary of the Council, said that the TUC had refused to intervene in the dispute over the dismissal of girls at the Truline Bra Ltd., Sheffield. (see previous issues of The Week for details of case). The TUC took the attitude that this was an internal affair for the union. The Council had had to accept this, and reluctantly agreed that there was nothing more they could do.

THE AMERICAN STAKE IN BRITAIN

The July issue of The Director summarised a report of the Management Information Ltd. concerning U.S. direct investment in the U.K. We reproduce the main part of the summary:

"Whether direct American investment in Britain is welcome or not - and a moment's reflection on the spur provided to British industry and commerce by U.S. know-how and finance suggests the answer - there can be no argument about its importance. Its size and direction can, for example, provide some kind of yardstick of local efficiency: for U.S. concerns invest abroad not only defensively - to leap over the tariff barriers - but also aggressively, to take advantage of lower production costs or, more significantly, to exploit profitable and expanding markets. By this token, if American companies stopped ^{exploring} investment possibilities in Britain or those already here stopped adding to their stake, this would be as sure a sign as any that the U.K. had dropped for good out of the growth race.

"...A timely study published by the Management Information Ltd concentrates on the course of direct U.S. investment in Britain over the last 12 years, and...reaches the following conclusions: Disregarding the effect of changing money values, the present value of U.S. direct investment is $4\frac{1}{2}$ times the figure for 1950 (for 1962, 3,805million dollars, against 847million dollars in 1950). The rate of growth in the value of this capital "has been considerably faster in the second half of this period than in the first." Over the period, manufacturing industry has "consistently accounted for about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total U.S. capital stake, with petroleum increasing its share."...Finally, "the profitability of U.S. direct investment in manufacturing here appears to have fallen fairly consistently over the period."

"Is the U.K. getting not too much American investment but too little? The report points out that Britain's share "has declined over the period 1950-62 from 48.9% to 43%, whereas the share of those countries which now form the EEC has risen from 36.7% to 41.5%. If the figures of U.S. direct investment in European manufacturing industry are analysed, the same situation is repeated, with the U.K.'s share falling from about 60% in 1950 to 52% in 1962, and the EEC's share rising from 34% to 43%."...it is worth pondering its comment that the rate of growth of U.S. direct investment in a country "is at least associated with the rate of growth of real gross national product, or of industrial production, and the past profitability of such investment...the U.K.'s declining share of U.S. direct investment in Western Europe is probably more closely associated with the slow growth of her economy, relative to other Western European countries, than to any other single factor."

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. DIRECT INVESTMENT IN WEST EUROPE (%)

	1950	1957	1962
Belgium & Luxemburg	4.0	4.6	3.2
France	12.5	11.2	11.4
Italy	3.6	6.1	6.1
Germany	11.8	14.0	16.6
Netherlands	<u>4.8</u>	<u>4.6</u>	<u>4.2</u>
Total EEC	<u>36.7</u>	<u>40.5</u>	<u>41.5</u>
U.K.	48.9	47.6	43.0
Rest of EFTA*	<u>9.7</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>11.9</u>
Total EFTA	<u>58.6</u>	<u>55.9</u>	<u>54.9</u>

* There has been a very sharp increase in investment in Switzerland in this period.

EMPLOYERS' ORGANISATIONS MERGER NEARER by Pat Jordan

The Financial Times has been giving extensive coverage to the process of merging the three main employers' organisations into one body. These are the Federation of British Industries, the National Association of British Manufacturers (formerly National Union of Manufacturers, but the name was changed because members objected to having the same initials as the Mineworkers' Union!) and the British Employers' Confederation. The main opposition to the merger has come from the NABM, whose treasurer, aided and abetted by Gerald Nabarro, M.P., has led an active campaign against it. The argument from this source is that the voice of the small manufacturers would be lost in the merged organisation. Another source of opposition has been from certain elements in the BEC. The latter is made up of employers' organisations in particular industries, one of the most important of which is the Engineering Employers' Federation. This organisation is concerned about how the problem of some large firms, not in the federation, would fit into the new set-up. Firms such as Ford Motor have quite separate agreements with the unions on wages and conditions. As these tend to be much more favourable to the unions than the agreements entered into by the federation (reflecting the more intensive exploitation of labour) there is bad feeling between the federated and non-federated firms.

So much for the opposition to the merger. The main tendency is for the differences to be overcome. The employers, too, realise the significance of the saying 'unity is strength', and their spokesman have contrasted their position with that of the unions. More important though is that these moves reflect a growing concentration of capital in Britain and an awareness that in the coming days of heightened competition decisive battles will be on the order of the day. In a highly competitive capitalist world the British employers will want to have their hands free to introduce all kinds of technical change and rationalisation without having to adjust its plans in response to union pressure. Hence the pressure for unity.

On July 15th, according to the Financial Times, important progress was made to this end: "...Mr. Peter Runge, president of the FBI, summed up their" (the three organisations') "attitude in these words: 'we are well pleased with the outcome...All three bodies are ⁱⁿ favour of creating a single organisation.'.....The NABM is to call a special meeting of its members on Oct. 21. At this meeting, its leaders will recommend acceptance of the merger report drawn up by independent commissioners last April. They will ask for authority to form a merger 'integration committee' and to do "all such acts and things' necessary to enable to fulfil its functions. But it will still be necessary for the executive to ballot members eventually, and 75% of them will have to say "yes"....Two votes were taken at yesterday's meeting. One resulted in six votes being cast against a proposal, and the other attracted opposition from three members. Over 40 council members attended.....

"The BEC is to refer consideration of details to a working party, which will have to report back to the Council before any decision is taken. The FBI's Grand Council reaffirmed its belief that the interests of industry and the nation will be served by the creation of a single organisation." The paper reported Mr. Runge as saying that the merger was a certainty, and the other two leaders saying it was nearly a certainty, and that the new body should be in being "within a year at the latest." We have been warned!

LEICESTER LABOUR PARTY MOVE ON SOUTH AFRICA from a Leicester reader

At its last meeting the South East Leicester Constituency Labour Party unanimously passed a resolution condemning the South African trial of Mandela and co-defendants. The resolution called for a 6-point programme:

- 1) The Government to oppose Apartheid and carry out UN policy and economic sanctions.
- 2) The NEC and the Parliamentary Labour Party to extend campaign against Apartheid policy of South Africa.
- 3) Trade unions to place an embargo on South African trade.
- 4) Coops locally and nationally to intensify boycott of South African goods.
- 5) City Party and workers joint committee to organise campaign and distribute lists of South African goods and brand names.
- 6) CLP to affiliate to Anti-Apartheid Movement.

A collection of over £1 was taken at a smallish meeting. The prospective candidate, Roy Philby, supported the resolution being sent to press.

NORTH EAST REGION Y.S. COMMITTEE CLOSED DOWN from a North East reader

The Young Socialist North East regional committee was closed down by Geoffrey Foster, the local youth officer, at its June meeting when a proposal was put to discuss the closing of Streatham Young Socialists. Coming close on a similar closing down of the National Committee this seemed more than a coincidence. Mr. Wal Hobson (South Shields Young Socialists), the North East national committee member was not told whether there would be any more regional meetings in the near future.

SHEFFIELD HEARS POST 'NUCLEAR ATTACK PLANS from a Sheffield reader

The Sheffield Telegraph reported recently a conference 500 Civil Defence officers. It was addressed by Lord Derwent, Minister of State for the Home Office. He outlined plans for delegating the powers of county and county boroughs to three-man committees. Other services would be handled by regional seats of government. The idea of putting local control in the hands of committees - which could, if necessary, be represented by one man only - he described as "an entirely novel development" and one which the Government saw as a practical solution to the problems that might occur (sic).

INTERESTING MATERIAL IN 'INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM'

Issue number 16 of International Socialism contains a very useful article by Colin Barker on the 'Wages Struggle'. Well-documented and in general shrewdly thought out, it provides a valuable picture of the balance in Britain at the moment, and illuminates this by a number of well-chosen examples from U.S. experience. Although Colin Barker is a little bit naive in his characterisation of the role of the trade union leadership in Britain, having an exaggerated picture of its cohesion and fortified separation from the rank-and-file, and underestimating the possibilities of differentiation within it, his article is a most serious attempt to come to grips with the need for an offensive strategy for the labour movement. His conclusion, that socialists must oppose all forms of wage-control, with the demand for workers' control, is one which should interest all readers of the Week.

International Socialism is available, price 2/6, from 47, Fitzroy Rd., London N.W. 1.

VIOLENCE AGAINST NEGROES AT REPUBLICAN CONVENTION from Julian Atkinson

The following extract from a New York Herald Tribune report on the Republican convention which chose Goldwater as presidential candidate is an indication of the violence which was used at that convention against Negroes. This violence included intimidation against Negro delegates to the convention itself:

"....George S. Fleming, a Negro alternate from New Jersey, walked out of the Republican convention for about 5 minutes, sobbing he was tired of being mistreated by "Goldwater people." "They call you 'Nigger', push you and step on your feet," he said. "I had to leave to keep my self-respect." But at the urging of several others from the New Jersey delegation he returned to his seat within 5 minutes. Inside the Cow Palace, 3 men tried to lie down in front of the speakers rostrum at the end of the demonstration for..Scranton. A 27-year-old college student who shouted "I'm against the racism of the Republican Party was hustled out of the hall and taken in for questioning.

"Five Negro delegates walked out of the auditorium after the nomination of ..Goldwater. Four other Negro delegates who remained marched down the aisle with banners saying "We will Remain and Fight." Negro alternate delegate William P. Young of Pennsylvania, a Scranton supporter, found his coat ablaze during the Goldwater floor demonstration. "This was no accident," he said later, pointing to four holes burned in his coat pocket."

MALCOLM X LAUNCHES NEW ORGANISATION

Malcolm X launched his long-awaited organisation at a rally at the Audubon Ballroom in New York on June 28. Its name is the Organisation of Afro-American Unity. Malcolm X, who is chairman of the OAAU, recalled to the audience the prediction he had made when he first began to work among the non-Muslim Afro-Americans. He then said that after the young people had a chance to consider the problem they would form either a black nationalist party or a black nationalist army. The OAAU, he said, is what those who have been working on the problem since then have come up with. It is patterned on the Organisation of African Unity, founded in Addis Ababa, to unite all Africans despite their differences in the fight to eliminate colonialism.

The OAAU's object is to win freedom, justice, equality and dignity for Americans of African descent "by any means necessary." The long range perspective is that once those of African descent in the Western hemisphere were united, they could unite with their brothers in Africa. "We assert that in those areas where the Government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of our people, that our people are within their rights to protect themselves by whatever means are necessary. A man with a rifle or club can only be stopped by a person who defends himself with a rifle or a club." Speaking of Mississippi, he said, "We could send brothers down there to form defence groups." He called on Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, to join in a common project against the enemies of their people in Mississippi instead of fighting each other. "Both parties are racist," declared Malcolm X, "and the Democratic Party is more racist than the Republican Party...Both parties have sold us out."

The OAAU statement on political action says: "...we propose to support and/or organise political clubs..and support any Afro-American already in office who answers to and is responsible to the Afro-American community. The statement also outlines a broad programme of education, economic and social self-help for the black community. Many specific proposals for action are included including voter-registration drives.

QUEBEC SEPARATIST MOVEMENT ADVANCING

by R. Brock

While the leaders of the embryonic Parti Socialiste du Quebec do their best to keep the party "on ice", in fear of its would-be militants adopting a clearly independentist position on the crucial national question, other tendencies of the already churning Quebec left are far from inactive. In face of the PSQ's inertia, it is becoming increasingly obvious that, unless the party activists establish themselves on a firm footing in the near future, the rising wave of labour unrest and farmers' agitation, as manifested in the current series of strikes, will channel itself into alternative formations, openly socialist or not. The most likely contender for hegemony of the left in Quebec at present would appear to be the mass separatist party, Le Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale. In what may well prove to mark a turning point in its less-than-four year history, the 400 delegates attending the RIN's annual congress in Quebec City at the end of May, elected to their presidency a 31-year-old socialist orientated journalist, Pierre Bourgault; in doing so, they decided in favour of running candidates in all 95 constituencies in the next Quebec election (expected in 1966), and firmly decided to convert their "movement" into a disciplined political party with its sole immediate aim that of taking power in Quebec.

Nor are such objectives to be taken lightly; with an official membership of over 7,000, and a periphery at least as large again, the RIN holds the field among the separatist groups, and indeed among the entire spectrum of the Quebec "left". Bourgault's election brought to a close a bitter internal struggle in which his supporters - the left wing of the Party - had fought for the institution of tighter discipline within the party ranks and the socialisation of the RIN's programme. The opposing tendency around the conservative outgoing president, Guy Pouliot, one-time Belgian consul in Quebec City, had grouped the RIN plans to hold one next February in preparation for the forthcoming elections. However, the present programme of the movement, as adopted in October, 1962, bears a remarkable similarity to that of the Federal New Democratic Party - with many of its faults as well as good points. For example, while there is the same eclecticism about "planning in the interest of the whole population", through a "council of economic orientation" which will include "representatives of commerce and industry" as well as farm, labour, and consumers' spokesmen, many standard NDP reformist planks such as opposition nuclear arms, encouragement of union organisation, support of the right to strike among civil servants (and a significant clause against company unions), medicare, equal rights for women, free university education, nationalisation of public services, and encouragement of consumers' cooperatives all figure prominently in the party's programme.

While its "raison d'etre" is, of course, the national struggle of French Canada, the RIN's leaders recognise their kinship with similar struggles throughout the world. The same issue of L'Indépendance (the RIN's official organ) which contains their political programme also features an article on the colonial struggle of the Puerto Ricans and solidarises the RIN with that country's Pro-Independence Movement. Pierre Bourgault has announced publicly that the party is inviting organisers from the American Negro Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to come to Quebec to teach their demonstration tactics to RIN militants.

ED. NOTE: we will publish further background material on this very important question in subsequent issues.

THIRD WORLD WEEK



CONGO'S NEW PRIME MINISTER

from Dave Windsor

The New China News Agency of July 11th gave a potted account of Moise Tshombe's career. In view of his sudden rise to power in the Congo readers may find the following extracts of use:

Moise Tshombe, who donned his costume and appeared on the stage as new Prime Minister of the Congolese puppet Government in Leopoldville on July 10th, is a notorious puppet of both old and neo-colonialism. His father was a wealthy merchant of the Lunda tribe in Katanga. He studied in an American missionary school when he was a child. Later, he inherited his father's business and married the daughter of the highest chieftain of his tribe. He became governor of upper Katanga and was made chairman of the Conakat Party, which mainly represents the Belgian colonial interests, soon after he had entered the political arena.

Tshombe received a large amount of money annually from the Katanga United Mining Company. In 1961 alone he was granted an allowance of 59 million U.S. dollars. The company is one of the world's biggest trusts and controls the main economic life-lines of the Congo. It is mainly in the hands of the Belgian and British monopolist capitalists. The American oil monopolist Rockefeller is also a big shareholder. On the eve of the Congo's independence in June, 1960, the Belgian colonialists instigated Tshombe to declare 'independence' in Katanga so as to maintain their important position in the Congo. When the independent Congo was hardly a month old Tshombe proclaimed the founding of 'the Katanga Republic' and appointed himself "president" to oppose the legally constituted Government headed by Patrice Lumumba, and undermine the country's unification.

To counter the Congolese patriotic forces led by Lumumba, the U.S. than made use of Tshombe and opened supported its secessionist activities. ...The U.S. prevented the troops of the Lumumba Government from taking punitive action against the Tshombe group. At the beginning of 1961 the Tshombe group murdered Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and some of his comrades-in-arms in accordance with the pre-arranged plot of the U.S. and Belgian imperialists and in collaboration with Kasavubu, Ileo and Mobutu. After subverting the lawfully constituted Government of Antoine Gizenga in August 1961 and propping up the Adoula puppet regime, the U.S. neo-colonialists began taking over the exploitation of the Congo from the Belgian, British and French interests. Tshombe was backed by the latter and thus became a thorn in the side of the U.S. From 1961 to 1963, there were three armed conflicts for the control of Katanga. Finally, the United Nations force defeated Tshombe's mercenaries, forcing him to flee. Tshombe went into exile in Western Europe, spending a long time in Spain and making frequent visits to Paris, London and Brussels. Finally, the article states that it has been the successes of the people's armed struggle in the Congo which has forced the U.S. to bring back its former enemy.

TROUBLE OVER KRONSTADT PLAYbased on Times report

Pravda on July 12th criticised a young playwright's new play for "major ideological shortcomings", and hinted that it would have to be rewritten before being put before Soviet audiences. The Communist Party newspaper made its criticism in a long review of Between Cloudbursts by Alexander Stein. The play, which had been published in a theatrical magazine but not yet performed, is about the Kronstadt mutiny of 1921, in which sailors of the Baltic Fleet mutinied against the Soviet Government.

The paper said that Stein failed to live up to his responsibility as an author writing on great subjects, because he failed to unmask the origins of the mutiny and did not show that foreign imperialists, anarchists and white guards were behind the uprising. The party organ also charged that Stein did not do justice to the personality of Lenin. It said the Bolshevik leader appeared twice in the play and both times he was shown alone in his Kremlin apartment, without his followers and removed from the toiling masses.

The paper also said that references to Trotsky were "inaccurate if not to say ambiguous" so that the reader did not get the "correct impression" of the role which this "sworn enemy of Lenin" has played in the period described by the play. This is believed to be the first time that Stein has been the object of such criticism. He is a Stalin Prize winner. The playwright, who specialises in naval themes, is also a film writer.

PRO-CHINESE MAKE GAINS IN FRANCE

from Stan Mills

The Sunday Telegraph of July 12th carried a report from a special correspondent about the activities of the pro-Chinese in the French C.P. It said that: "The pro-Chinese movement among French Communists is gaining momentum in the face of dogged opposition from the Russian-style Marxists, who condemned it at the recent party congress here. Contrary to reports from pro-Russians the monthly review Revolution, inspired from Peking, is gathering strength. The French language version...is about to increase its circulation from 22,000 copies to 30,000. About $\frac{3}{4}$ are distributed in France and the remainder in Africa. The next issue will include, for the first time in French, a long treatise by Liu Shaochi, the President of Communist China, and 10,000 copies will also be published in book form. Another article, entitled "Civil War in New York," will include an interview with a leader of the Black Muslims.

"M. Jacques Verges, the editor, claims that the circulation is higher than that of any other French Communist review....Last May he moved to Paris and began publication of the English language edition of Revolution which has a circulation of 10,000 copies, mostly in East Africa and South East Asia....in future the English and French editions will be the same..."

VENEZUELAN C.P. LEADER SAYS ARMED STRUGGLE "CHIEF MEANS OF STRUGGLE"

Hsinhua reports: "E. Gallegos, foreign relations secretary of the Venezuelan C.P., said in Havana, July 5th, that in Venezuela, the people were fighting their enemy in various forms, and mainly in the form of armed struggle. Addressing a meeting sponsored by the Cuban Association for Friendship with other peoples...he said: "Our guerillas are taking up arms in mountainous areas to fight for their victory, which will also be a victory for the peoples of the whole world."

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ON INCOMES POLICY

The third issue of International Socialist Journal, the magazine which links the new left forces of Europe in a joint discussion, is devoted in the main to an analysis of the effects of the pressures for incomes policies on the unions. The main article, by Vittorio Foa, the deputy-general secretary of the CGIL and an Italian M.P., discusses the strategy of capitalism in all the important European countries, and the problems involved in evolving a unified trade union response. "The keystone for a unitary response" he says, "is the creation of a unitary consciousness of the new problems of the relationship between capital and the state." In this connection it is necessary to attack the view that the state is neutral, which is widespread in the European unions. It is also important not to underestimate the internal capitalist dissensions within the state, and whilst avoiding the view that reforms within its structure can solve its problems, it must be realised that this structure will not be transformed by the workers unless they are mobilised not only on immediate demands, but on demands which raise the question of transition to a new structure. In this connection Foa is sceptical of the political potential of simply "saying no" to the incomes policy.

The same issue also includes a series of international comparisons on the situation in England, France, Italy and Germany. These draw attention to the degree of uniformity in the response of neo-capitalism to its problems. They provide hard experience of the nature of the difficulties the unions must face in the next months. Also featured are two important articles, by Gilles Martinet and Ralph Miliband, on the nature of Gaullism and the policies of the next Labour Government. A detailed analysis of the Algerian scene after the FLN Congress is provided in two pieces by Lentin and Braundi. And a stimulating commentary by Bianca Beccalli sums up and assesses the contribution of modern sociology to an understanding of social mobility.

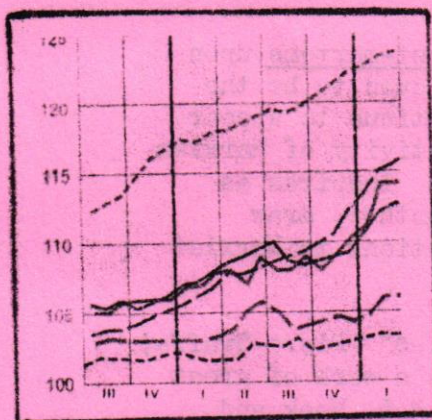
I.S.J. is obtainable, price 4/-, (or £1 for 6 issues) from 19, Greenfield St., Dunkirk, Nottingham.

'NEW LEFT REVIEW' ONCE MORE INDISPENSIBLE

Number 25 of New Left Review contains a number of articles which are needed by every active socialist. In particular, a very stimulating article by Tony Topham, "Shop Stewards and Workers' Control" shows in great detail how the whole range of issues confronting shop stewards in their work is insistently posing the question of encroachment of workers' control. In a most valuable analysis of the trend of strikes in recent years and months, he shows how issues of control are becoming increasingly central. This extremely valuable piece of work is a must for every participant in the workers control seminar which took place in Nottingham at the end of April. But it should also be read by every active militant who wishes to understand the context in which he is working, end, dare one say it?, by all the left-wing trade union leaders on whom so much will depend in the first months of the Labour Government.

Also included in this issue is a profound commentary on Michael Barratt-Brown's book, "After Imperialism" by Ernest Mandel. Mandel shows in a most convincing way just what are the weaknesses in Lenin's theory of a 'labour aristocracy' and what remains valid in it. In this he helps to clarify the already keenly important insights of Barratt Brown on this matter. C.L.R. James contributes an interesting discussion on the Rastafari at home and abroad, there are important articles on Brazil and the Japanese theorist, Mazuyama.

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ECONOMIC OUTLOOK — THE WEEK

WEALTH AND EMPLOYMENT IN MODERN CAPITALISM

by Jim Wilcox

In an address to the Labour Society of the London School of Economics Professor Titmus revealed some interesting information about wealth in Britain and employment in the United States. Among the points he made were the following:

- (1) In Britain today 42% of all private wealth is in the hands of 1% of the population. This is a greater concentration of wealth than existed in the United States even in the heyday of robber capitalism in the 1920s, when 1% owned 25% of private capital.
- (2) During the 1930s there was a considerable decline in the concentration of wealth. Since the second world war, however, the trend seems to have been reversed and in the United States today the rate of increase of capital concentration seems to be double the previous rate of decrease.
- (3) In Britain today 1% of the population owns 81% of equity shares.
- (4) With permanent unemployment at over four million the creation of new jobs in the United States is only tending to keep the situation as it is. Between 1958 and 1963 some 4,300,000 new jobs were created without seriously affecting the permanent unemployment position. Of these new jobs only 200,000 came from the private sector while the rest were created by the expenditure of public money.

TORY NATIONALISATION SCARE REBOUNDS

from Alec Acheson

During the July 6th debate in the House of Commons on Monopolies, Mergers and Restrictive Practices, Douglas Jay, in moving a critical amendment stated: "In 1959 the Conservative Central Office issued a list of 500 firms which they professed to fear would be taken into public ownership by a Labour Government. In the years since, 112 of the 500 firms had vanished in private takeover bids - and there had not been a single squeak of protest from ministerial backbenchers.....Conservatives would rather see British industry taken over by foreign private owners than by the British public." Barbara Castle instanced the monopoly use of advertising and how Unilever soaps sold at 1/9d and 1/4½d a tablet yet Which gave Boots' unwrap-ped tablets at 10d as the best buy, but the cost of production of these soaps was about 2d. Barbara Castle gave this tailpiece to my last week's titbit on Philip S. Walker - "She noticed that one of the members of the Monopolies Commission was Mr. P.S. Walker, the gentleman who had received a 'golden handshake' of £124,000 from the Reed Paper Group. Were these the people who were going to destroy the monopolies? The House would be gullible if it believed that."

NEW MARXIST LITERATURE

Bourgeois ideologues are continually carrying out post-mortems upon the supposedly lifeless corpse of "Marxism" - what is believed to be the first of these appeared in 1869 and they will no doubt continue to appear until capitalism itself is overthrown. The continued creativity of Marxism is demonstrated by the wide range of contemporary works it inspires as well as by the political movements which, in one way or another, draw vitality from it. Here is a list of just some of the additions to Marxist literature which have been published in Britain recently:

(a) "Production of Commodities by Means of Commodities" Piero Sraffa; Cambridge University Press. This book has been hailed as a work of great originality and brilliance by many economists (among them R.L. Meek and Joan Robinson). Using Marx's tools of economic analysis with great subtlety it constructs a model of a capitalist society which enables the critically important variables of aggregate profit and wages to be theoretically isolated and reveals the determination of the latter by the former. Sraffa himself was a one-time colleague of Antonio Gramsci, the founding secretary of the Italian Communist Party.

(b) "The Hidden God". Lucian Goldmann; Routledge. This is a study of French philosophy and literature in the age of Louis XIV. The author examines the beginnings of dialectical thought in this period as well as himself superbly exemplifying the principles of dialectical analysis. Goldmann is a Rumanian Marxist who has been much influenced by Georg Lukacs.

(c) "Search for a Method" J.P. Sartre; Matheun. In this essay Sartre defends Marxism against the blight of orthodoxy. In the process he provides a lucid exposition of methodology of Marxist analysis and he seeks to show that Marxism is the only real ideology of the present epoch - that is the body of theory and practice which defines the over-riding tasks of humanity at the present time.

(d) "One Dimensional Man" Herbert Marcuse; Routledge. Marcuse here presents a devastating (though at time too abstract) critique of modern society. The apologetic function of most modern sociology, philosophy and psychology is exposed and the terrifying power of the pseudo-rationality of organisation capitalism is examined. Marcuse is the author of "Reason and Revolution", an excellent account (certainly the best available in English) of Hegel's philosophy and of the transition from Hegel to Marx; the American paperback publishers, Viking Press, have recently re-issued it.

(3) Penguin books have significantly added to the availability of Marxist writing by publishing three useful selections: by Wright Mills, Freedman, and Bottomore and Rubel. They have also published Ernst Fischer's fascinating Necessity of Art as well as other works influenced by Marxism; books by Joan Robinson, E. H. Carr and Gordon Childe. A number of Marxist classics are beginning to appear as paperbacks including "The Accumulation of Capital" by Rosa Luxemburg, Routledge; "Stalin" by Isaac Deustscher, OUP; "The Essential Left" and "The Essential Trotsky", Allen and Unwin.

Ed. Note: from time to time we shall publish such surveys (including works available in foreign languages) and we welcome suggestions and help from our readers.