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THE week

Our Resolutions

FOR many readers this will be the first issue of THE WEEK they have seen. We are now entering our second year of life, but hitherto we have existed only as a duplicated news service. Thanks to the devotion of our readers, who have taxed themselves unstintingly in our behalf, we are now able to appear in a more readable format.

Our function is, as we say, to provide a news analysis for socialists. To do this, we try to provide a digest of news from many sources, with the intention of helping the Left to find a convenient focus on events which are often inadequately discussed in the majority of newspapers. We do not think it is our job to preach. But we do want to help socialists to keep abreast of one another, to extend valuable initiatives which may often be taken in one town, or one union, over the widest possible field, and to keep contact with and render assistance to the world-wide freedom movement of which we think British Labour must become a part. We would like to help to co-ordinate and unify the left, thus developing its powers to the greatest possible extent.

Since it is fashionable to begin the year with a number of pledges, we may be forgiven for revealing ours. We are committed to full support for the Labour Government in Britain, and pledged to work for the complete realisation of its programme of social reforms. In the fight for decent homes and schools, for a real blossoming of welfare and social services, and for the elimination of poverty wherever it exists, it is impossible to refrain from working for the deepest and most thorough-going structural reform of our broken-down economic system, in a socialist direction. We must do all in our power to help the workers to contain, beat back, and encroach upon the area of capitalist power. The only 'prerogative of management' we are happy about is its prerogative to retire. We shall document the constant battle in industry for human rights for the workpeople. Our vision of socialism does not rest on wise plans drawn up by an elite of schemers, but on the verve, wisdom and initiative of the people themselves. For this reason we support the movement for workers' control and workers' self-management, whether at the level of workers' administration of the about-to-be nationalised steel industry, or at the level of the day-to-day conflicts on the shop floor in privately owned factories. We shall provide a constant barrage of facts to support this struggle.

We shall, therefore, aim to provide a service which will be of use to trade unionists in their work. Our pages are theirs. We have no peculiar axe of our own to grind. But their quarrels are ours: their strength and unity, and their sense of direction, are our first concern.

Of course, we cannot hope to promote an effective socialist response to the deep crisis of present-day British capitalism, without in the process supporting all the struggles of our co-thinkers, in the Labour movements of the rest of the world. Our eyes will be on the struggles of the workers in the European countries and the USA. We shall seek out what can be learnt from them. Jointly with them, we shall do what we can to assist the struggle against colonialism, the nuclear alliance, apartheid, and all the other vile constraints of the evil, brutal world against which we are pitted. Home and abroad were abolished when the Labour Movement was born. Today, the fight for colonial freedom, for instance, begins and ends in our own court, for the oppressors of the Third World are the same people we find bracketed down upon our own necks. Similarly, we cannot ignore developments in the Communist countries. With the fall of the monolith, every sign of the growth of regenerative, democratic forces, every stand for equality, every assertion of genuine internationalist and humanist goals, is an event confirming again the universal necessity of our own socialist movement.

1965 will see huge gains by all these forces of human betterment. We shall, to the limits of our abilities, help to consolidate and extend them.

A news analysis
for socialists

9d.

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GREETINGS to the new WEEK

from Frank Allaun, M.P. for
Salford East

I am delighted to learn that THE WEEK is developing from a duplicated to a printed journal. I have read every issue since it was first published and can say that, without a single exception, each issue has contained at least one item of interest and importance which I had missed in my other reading. I am lost in admiration for the work that must obviously be put into such a publication. And I have a shrewd suspicion that it is all being done without pay. These are critical days for socialists and those striving to prevent a nuclear war. It is vital that we be fully armed with all the available information, and particularly information which is *not* always available in the national press. Good luck to THE WEEK in its new format. May it go from strength to strength. With best wishes.

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A MESSAGE FROM ELLIS HILLMAN, Greater London County Councillor and editor of *Municipal Enterprise*:

"THE WEEK is an invaluable guide to what is going on not only in Britain but internationally.

"As someone principally connected with municipal politics I find THE WEEK broadens one's horizons and makes one aware of the revolutionary changes taking place all over the world.

"THE WEEK should find a place in every library in the country and I wish the new printed edition every success."

from Raymond Williams:

I have read THE WEEK regularly and I am very glad it is to go into print. Its range of reports and analysis is already impressive and can be significantly extended by an increased circulation. There are so few independent journals of *THE LEFT*, and in the crisis of the Labour Government they have an indispensable and very difficult role against the orchestration and opinion by the established press. I wish THE WEEK every strength and success.

Ralph Miliband writes:

THE WEEK has already begun to provide the kind of factual socialist analysis which is so badly needed, and its service to the Labour Movement will be of quite exceptional value in the critical period ahead. Socialists in the Labour Movement will have a high stake in its success.

"The editors and staff of *VOICE NEWSPAPERS* greet the appearance of the printed WEEK with enthusiasm. The role of THE WEEK in keeping socialists informed of important events that never appear in the capitalist press is now more vital than ever. We're with you all the way"

from Trevor Griffiths:

I look forward with the keenest anticipation to the appearance of the printed WEEK. Since it burst upon the scene, THE WEEK has become steadily more indispensable. It deserves the fullest support of socialists everywhere.

Ray Gosling:

THE WEEK is a digest of news for busy socialists. Its value is not that it is exciting, amusing, highly significant or even fabulously alive—it is more like fertiliser: essential.

from Jim Mortimer

I have read THE WEEK from the first issue. I shall continue to read it. In Britain we need more, not fewer, organs of radical opinion. I do not always agree with the interpretation placed upon events by THE WEEK but I find its comments stimulating. I like also its selection of news. I hope it is successful as a printed publication.

from Alan Rooney:

Best wishes to the new, posh WEEK. May it inspire even more socialists to thought and action.

The Editors of *New Left Review*:

THE WEEK is excellent, essential reading for socialists unable to obtain this type of collated information from the capitalist press. We hope you will keep up the first-class standards already set.

Perry Anderson, Ronald Fraser

Michael Barratt Brown writes:

That THE WEEK should have survived for a year in a stencilled form should start its second year in print is a remarkable tribute to the devotion and effectiveness of those who have been responsible for its production and distribution. It is more than this, however; it implies a growing demand for trade union news and socialist analysis. The last four weeks have served to remind us all that the election of Labour to government requires more, not less, independent and critical socialist analysis. If THE WEEK can now extend its industrial coverage and develop a principled and constructive left-wing critique of Labour policies it can do an important service to the whole Labour Movement.

Tom Nairn writes:

THE WEEK is absolutely invaluable as a time and labour-saving source of reference about a whole range of matters of vital importance to socialists. It is especially useful for its coverage of developments in the third world, from which it has unique sources of information.

Dick Nettleton, North-West
Oragriner, CND, writes:

Congratulations on the new look WEEK. The British Labour Movement has always been ill-informed about foreign affairs. Anything that helps to rectify this is to be welcomed.

Henry Collins:

THE WEEK is needed. The Labour Government is under heavy fire from international finance and the City. This is hardly a surprise but the forces of reaction have shown themselves very quick on the draw. The greatest possible pressure from the grass roots and from the Left is necessary if history is not, dismally, to repeat itself.

Ray Challinor:

I find THE WEEK extremely valuable. In a concise, factual manner, it publishes items about which socialists should know. A good New Year's resolution would be to order THE WEEK.

from David Steele:

THE WEEK gives straight reporting of events, especially abroad, which receive very little coverage in other journals. It is comparatively free of flag-waving — the facts are allowed to "open their dumb mouths" and make their appeal through the picture that is conjured up. And the appeal is to the converted. It does not, rightly, aim at everybody, but attempts to feed the necessary ammunition to socialists to project the left-wing case. I am looking forward to the printed edition. THE WEEK follows in the long tradition of socialist pamphleteering of the "facts for socialists" kind. That is why I support it.

Stephen Swingler M.P.:

THE WEEK is essential reading for socialists nowadays and a fine example of concise and pungent journalism.

Workers' control! time off when it freezes

By Dave Windsor

THE recent cold spell demonstrated that workers in Britain are not prepared to put up with bad conditions at work; a few examples will suffice:

In Birmingham, December 28th, 45 workers in the service department of Rover Company walked out complaining of the cold. They returned next day. One hundred men employed in the Forge and Engineering Company of Sunderland went on strike on December 12th in protest against the cold working conditions. At Liverpool 1,000 women workers at the Meccano factory stopped work on December 29th in protest against the low temperature of the factory. They resumed work when the management succeeded in pushing up the temperature to 60 degrees Fahrenheit. 650 workers at the Midland Metal Spinning Company factory at Neath stopped work on December 28th because of the cold. They returned to work the following day.

Naturally the press condemned these actions, but this was nothing to the howls that went up when it was reported that workers on the docks, in motor car factories and elsewhere had taken New Year's Day off work. What the country needs, we were told from all sides, is hard work. However, apparently not everyone reckons to work on New Year's Day as witnessed by an article in the December 28th *Financial Times*. This was devoted to extolling the virtues of spending one's holidays in Madeira: Island of sunshine.

"Madeira's new airport could revolutionise travel to this popular" (with dockers and Midland car-workers?) "winter island resort. . . The new air link is also a wonderful asset to those who cannot spare the time to make the outward and return trips by sea" (these poor businessmen!) ". . . to the tired business executive . . . it could be 'just what the doctor ordered.' . . . Those who like to indulge in game fishing can hire a fully-equipped launch complete with crew. . ."

Apparently many people make use of the island's facilities because "most hotels increase their charges for the winter season which begins in December." In case any of the Manchester dockers or Birmingham car-workers are thinking of going there next time they take a day off, the "tourist return is £82/19/0 London to Funchal," but the 'tired businessman' would probably take advantage of the 30-day excursion return of £69.

If Madeira is full up the business executives who read the *Financial Times* have other possible holiday locations. On the same page of the paper hotels from Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Bermuda, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Malta, Morocco, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand and Trinidad and Tobago found it worth their while to advertise for winter clientele.

NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS FROM P.S.I.U.P.

PARTITO SOCIALISTA ITALIANO DI UNITA PROLETARIA*
DIREZIONE

Il 1965 sia un anno di progresso e di pace

PINO TAGLIAZUCCHI
(International Secretary)

ROMA - VIA DELLA VITE, 13

CAPADANNO 1965

*The Italian Socialist Party of Workers Unity: a left-wing breakaway from Nenni's Party. It was founded by members of the Italian Socialist Party who disagreed with Nenni's entry into the Centre-Left Government.

Incomes Policy—Two views

D.A.T.A. says:

The following is extracted from the latest issue of "The Draughtsman," the journal of DATA:

THE Labour, Conservative and Liberal parties have all committed themselves in general terms to support an incomes policy.

The main argument for an incomes policy is simple enough. But we should remember in the first place there are different kinds of income. Wages and salaries represent a reward for personal labour. Profits represent a return for the ownership of industry. Of Britain's total national output slightly more than 60% is appropriated for wages and salaries; slightly less than 40% is appropriated for rent, interest and profit.

The really big differences in income and wealth in British society are not due to differences in skill and training. The biggest incomes and the largest accumulations of wealth are derived not from labour—no matter how highly skilled—but from ownership.

A VITAL DISTINCTION

Incomes derived from personal labour and incomes derived from ownership cannot and ought not to be lumped together as though they were all of similar social justification. One of the aims of the trade union and labour movement should be to re-distribute both income and wealth in favour of those who make a personal contribution by their labour to industry and commerce. Another of its aims should be always to protect the sick, the unemployed, the pensioners and the widows. An improvement in *real* income for working people does not constitute a justification for higher profits.

Wages are the subject of negotiation and can, therefore, be controlled. If a wage or salary claim is foregone or if a claim is turned down an effective brake on wage and salary incomes is imposed. Profits, on the other hand, are not subject to negotiation.

PROFITS

The aim of the private owner of a business is to maximise profits. This he may achieve, first, by maintaining

prices at the highest market level and, secondly, by reducing production costs.

So far, no effective long-term method of controlling profits has been evolved. Indeed, there is no such method so long as the greater part of industry and commerce remains in private hands. It would be folly to foster the illusion that shareholders in general will do otherwise than judge their investments according to profit expectations.

Two things can, however, be done. The new Labour Government have undertaken to do both. The first is to exercise a restraining influence on prices. This the Government propose to do through a price review body. This body will, nevertheless, be able to examine only a few of the thousands of prices which operate in the economy. It will have some effect, but its influence will be limited.

The second method is to tax profits and capital gains. The Government have indicated that a new corporation tax, to replace the existing profits tax, and a new capital gains tax are to be introduced in the 1965 Budget. Much will depend on the nature of the two new taxes. It is not yet possible to say whether they will be satisfactory.

WAGES AND SALARIES

Wages and salaries cannot be controlled from a central national body without doing grave injustice to millions of workers. In wage and salary negotiations account must be taken of the very varied circumstances of those directly affected. There are at least six main general grounds on which wage and salary aims can be based:

- Increased productivity in an industry or a particular establishment.
- Increased profits.
- The need to attract new labour. This may be necessary in an industry or undertaking which is expanding. It may also be necessary in an occupation where existing wages or salaries fail to attract a sufficient number of new entrants.
- The need to provide adequate differentials for education, skill and training. This applies, particularly for example, to technicians and technologists.

- The need to ensure that the lowest paid workers do not fall below a reasonable subsistence standard.
- Increases in the cost of living.

HENRY COLLINS writes:

Extracted from an article in "Fire-fighter," by Henry Collins.

WHILE trade unionists are always striving, naturally enough, to push up real wages, there is little joy in pay increases that must soon be largely lost in rising prices. With a Tory Government busily raising rents, enriching land speculators and relieving the rich of their surtax, trade unionists were right to concentrate on securing pay increases for their members. If there is to be a free for all, as Frank Cousins pointed out, "we are part of the all." The converse, however, is equally true. A planned economy is inconceivable without some planning of incomes, and the Labour Government will stand or fall on its success in achieving this.

PRICES AND PROFIT

Planning incomes implies a policy which relates increased pay to rising productivity. Trade unionists will hardly accept this if nothing is done about profits, and the corporation and capital gains taxes announced for the forthcoming Budget are a step in the right direction. The same applies to the proposals to restore rent control and, by nationalising the freehold of building land, to put an end to the racket in land prices. A Price Review Body with power to prevent unjustified increases in key prices is equally essential.

WAGE DRIFT

Even with profits, rents and other non-wage incomes brought under a measure of control, however, the problem will be far from solved. There remains the complicated question of wage differentials. Workers whose pay is tied to productivity, by some form of incentive bonus, can increase their earnings by more than a nationally negotiated increase in wage rates. No such possibility is open, at present, to millions of workers such

as firemen, teachers and nurses whose "product" consists of services which cannot be expressed in terms of higher output. A rigid "guiding light" which ignored this and which ignored the fact that millions of workers are, on any showing, scandalously underpaid would not deserve to be followed. These and related problems are not likely to be solved immediately, or within the lifetime of a single government. An incomes policy in the full sense is therefore unattainable until we have advanced much further along the road to socialism.

An interim incomes policy, however, designed to secure a breathing space for our economy while it is being re-tooled and while the first steps towards economic planning and social justice are being taken, is possible and, moreover, indispensable. Considered as a holding operation the "Statement of Intent" on incomes, prices and productivity, which should be signed by representatives of trade unionists and employers before Xmas, should serve a modestly useful purpose. To a government which "shows willing," which gives full weight to trade union opinions and which has its priorities right, the workers are likely to display a loyalty and an understanding which the Tories could never command.

A 4% growth rate is not attainable without at least some degree of incomes planning. The rewards of a 4% growth rate, in terms of improvements in real wages, hours, working conditions and social services, would be enormous.

The alternative implies the failure of Labour, the return of the Tories and back to the rat-race. It does not really bear thinking about.

Two special editions of THE WEEK in pamphlet form are available:

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

This takes the form of the report of the Workers' Control conference held in Nottingham last year. But it is much more than that. Because of the scope of the articles it is a *handbook on workers' control*.

After an editorial presenting the case for workers' control in the 'sixties, Tony Topham reports on the conference itself, this is followed by a summary of the papers presented at the conference. These cover a general theoretical appreciation of workers' control and Marxism; two articles on the Anarchist approach to the sociology of workers' control; workers' control and the co-op movement; the Algerian experience; and a plan for the railways. Then the relationship of workers' control to the discussions on incomes policy is examined. A. Gorz's brilliant piece on "Why neo-capitalism's incomes policy should be met with a call to 'open the books' is re-produced. Following this a directory of the journals, trade unionists, academics, students and others participating in the conference is published. The pamphlet ends by listing further reading and some of the practical follow-ups to the conference.

Clearly no one who wants to discuss in an intelligent way the vital topic of workers' control can afford to be without this pamphlet.

EDUCATION

This is a detailed examination of the subject of comprehensive education, streaming, etc. It is basically concerned with what policies Labour should pursue, locally and nationally, in the field of education. It could hardly be more timely in view of the way comprehensive education has been made into a controversial political question by the snobbish old ladies of the Tory Party.

The pamphlet has two types of article. The first dealing with the particular problems facing socialists struggling for comprehensive education in towns where Labour is in control. Under this category articles appear on Hull, Liverpool (with a summarised history of the question) and Nottingham. The second type of article is represented by pieces on streaming in junior schools, the case against the 11-plus, class bias in education, selection and de-streaming, and a plan for education.

Thus the reader has at his finger-tips a complete catalogue of the issues concerned.

Available from: THE WEEK,
54 Park Road,
Lenton,
Nottingham.

Cost: 1/- each, post paid. There are special rates for Labour Party wards and C.L.P.s, trade union branches, Young Socialist branches, N.A.L.S.O. clubs, etc. These, together with bulk rates, are available on application.

TED HILL RAPS SHIP OWNERS

The following is a statement by Mr. Ted Hill (President), in the monthly report of the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, Shipwrights, Blacksmiths and Structural Workers: **D**URING the past month a controversy has arisen because of a letter I sent to the P. & O. Shipping Company criticising them for building three Oil Tankers in Japan, and it is inferred that had I known the facts, no criticism would have been made. This is not true, and further, knowing the facts does not justify the offence.

Over 50 years ago, I started my apprenticeship with the P. & O. Shipping Company, and in those days they traded more in the Eastern

World than they do today, but they still had their ships built in this country.

Had the P. & O. Company raised the money to build these ships in Japan, they may have justified their action, but these ships, like many others built abroad, will be paid for in British currency, and having regard to our immediate balance of payments difficulties and the need to balance our import-export programme, this action cannot be justified. It should be remembered that for every million pounds spent abroad on imports, a greater amount has to be earned from exports to maintain our balance of payments. It might be argued that British

ships are responsible for invisible earnings abroad, but this alone does not justify the building of British ships abroad.

The P. & O. Company tell us they are expanding their activities and entering a fast developing feature of world shipping, and let us hope other Shipping Companies do likewise, for they have been dragging their feet for the past 50 years, for whilst other maritime powers have increased their merchant fleets anything between 150% and 600%, the British merchant fleet has increased by a little over 15%. British ship-owners have allowed the British merchant fleet to run down, and this cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed.

Beyond the comprehensive school

THIS autumn and winter has seen giant strides made in English education towards the establishment of a system of comprehensive schools. Over one hundred local education authorities have announced plans for the rapid implementation of fully comprehensive secondary schools in the course of one or two years. With victory in this campaign near (though there are still some mopping-up operations to do) it is time to take stock of what has been achieved.

English education, more classically than in any other country in the world, is deeply divided by class barriers. The long history of educational reform shows the truth of this. The British ruling class always, yesterday as today, has been cautious about extending education to the working class. They are on the horns of this dilemma: if we educate working-class children to the highest levels, they will endanger the stability of our bourgeois rule: if we do not educate many children to high standards of proficiency especially in science and technology, the growth rate of British capitalist industry will fall behind the rest of the capitalist world. If ever a policy of Stop-Go found favour anywhere in Britain it has been in educational policy. Its rationale is the dual attitude to it set by the circumstances of the conflict between scientific development of modern industry and its restricted class ownership.

There are some who might be shocked to hear that class discrimination is an integral part of English education today. But look at this table which shows what happens to 100 randomly selected infant school children.

| | At Birth | A class in Junior School | Enter Grammar School or Grammar Stream in Comprehensive School | Sixth Form | University |
|--|----------|--------------------------|--|------------|------------|
| Upper, middle and "professional" classes | 30 | 15 | 10 | 8 | 5 |
| Working class | 70 | 20 | 10 | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 100 | 35 | 20 | 9 | 5 |

It will be seen, first of all, that the proportion of all children receiving "first class" education at each age level falls dramatically. But now compare the fall for each class separately and the class bias in higher education is clear. The Robbins report shows that the proportion of working class children now entering University has fallen since pre-Hitler war days.

At every stage of these "restrictive practices", the concept of "clever" children as opposed to "average" and

"dull" is brought in to justify this state of affairs. We are all so immersed in the type of bourgeois thinking, which is also deeply entrenched in all our institutions, that practically everyone here accepts the idea that "some children are clever" and "some are dull" — and secretly, for all they feel they can do about it, innately so.

Now we do know, from studies in educational psychology in many countries, as we could also deduce from the nature and source of human

abilities, that, apart from the unfortunate few (less than 1%) who are born with radical malformations of their central nervous systems, every child can not only be rated as equally "clever" but also that all children, given the correct training, can achieve high standards in educational attainment. At the risk of elevating a university degree above its market value, we can say that, given the right social and educational opportunities, practically every child has within him the intellectual potentiality to achieve a good university degree.

What has this to do with comprehensive secondary schools? The more things change, the more closely they try to stay where they are. The comprehensive schools which have come into existence have not broken with the old modes of thinking about human ability. They are activated by the same class-divisive notions. Instead of regarding all children as equally clever, in most "comprehensive" schools the same early separation into "clever" and "average" occurs — the grammar G.C.E. stream following a pre-university course and the "modern" stream, following a course of study fitted for the average — yes — for those whom the officials in the Ministry of Education in 1947 described as the "future hewers of wood and drawers of water".

The next stage, therefore, in the battle for equality in education is — first of all — a fairly rapid rise in the age of compulsory education to 18. Side by side with this should go the planning of organisation within the schools and of their curricula to prepare every child for university entrance. A dream? Certainly an American and a Russian dream already realised in several states. And without this, a four per cent. growth rate in industry is quite, quite unthinkable, whoever the technocrats are who man the State.

JOHN DANIELS

Notes from South Africa

APARTHEID IN THE CAR WORKS



THE South African motor assembly industry is the latest to be subjected to job reservation. This has come as a result of demands made by the all-White trade union, the S.A. Iron and Steel Trades' Association.

In 1960 the union was given official recognition in the motor assembly industry and an Eastern Cape Motor Assembly Workers' Branch of the union was formed in Port Elizabeth.

An intensive campaign was embarked upon to persuade the Government to reserve assembly jobs for Whites. At the 1963 conference of the union, Mr. L. J. van den Berg, the general secretary, reported that as soon as job reservation was applied to the industry, the union would gain 2,000 members.

RESERVED JOBS

Details of the job reservation order are contained in a notice published in the 'Government Gazette' dated October 16, 1964, under Determination No. 16 in terms of Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

The Determination lays down that with immediate effect no motor assembly employer may replace a White employee by an employee of any other race. Similarly, no employer may replace a Coloured worker by an African.

As from April 19, 1965, all supervisory and control work, welding or brazing other than in jigs, but excluding resistance welding, must be done by Whites only. This will apply to all motor assembly plants, except the British Motor Corporation plant at Blackheath, near Cape Town, where 1,800 Coloureds and 200 Whites are employed.

Employers, other than BMC, who have Whites in these jobs, will not be allowed to replace them with non-Whites after April 19, and no person who is not a White may be employed on these operations without exemption.

RACE QUOTAS

In addition, any job vacated by a White after April 19, may be filled only by another White. But if a Coloured man resigns he can be replaced by either a White or a Coloured.

Finally, the Determination requires employers to maintain a minimum quota of White employees.

At the end of June, there were about 19,000 workers in all South Africa's motor assembly plants. Nearly 11,000 of them are employed in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.

UGANDA STANDS BY TO REPEL TSHOMBE

UGANDA Prime Minister Milton Obote, announced recently that his government had taken full precautions against any possible invasion by Tshombe's troops.

In a message broadcast by Uganda

Radio, Obote said: "We have received reports that the Congolese troops, assisted by mercenaries and possibly some other persons, are carrying out military operations near the Uganda border which have caused heavy losses of life."

He noted that more of Tshombe's troops had been airlifted to the towns near the border.

BORDER FACTORIES

A curious position has now developed with the establishment of motor assembly plants in the areas bordering on the African reserves. The Government has been exerting considerable effort to persuade manufacturers to establish factories in these areas, for the employment of tribal Africans at much lower wages than normally paid in the main industrial areas of the country.

In response to the special facilities offered, two Japanese motor manufacturers have decided to build factories in border areas. Like all border factories, they will operate on the basis of Government policy, viz. "all-White" capital and "all-Black" labour. Only managerial and higher technical posts will be occupied by Whites.

The Toyoto-Toyopet factory is to be erected outside East London, where the English textile manufacturer Mr. Cyril Lord has opened a large mill. This company will have an initial capital outlay of R2,500,000 and will qualify for all the border industry facilities and benefits.

According to Dr. S. P. du Toit Viljoen, chairman of the Permanent Committee on Border Industries, the Renault and Mercedes Benz organisations has have also drawn up plans to set up assembly plants in the East London border area.

A second Japanese plant is to be built soon at Rosslyn, outside Pretoria — another border area. This is the Nissan-Datsun factory, the initial cost of which will be R3,000,000.

UNCONTROLLED

Although a 25 per cent. White quota has been laid down for East London, it is unlikely that the Government would enforce it in the proposed Toyopet, Renault and Mercedes plants, if the manufacturers opposed it.

In any case, to compel border factories to employ a quota of Whites would defeat the main purpose of border industry development, which is to provide the means for the ultimate total segregation of the races in their employment.

There can be no doubt that the Government is slowly but surely being caught up in the contradictions of its own policy in regard to job reservation and economic development.

N.B. ONE RAND EQUALS 10/-.

Reproduced from FORWARD a South African trade union party.

Since these military operations were very close to the border, there was the danger that either Tshombe's troops or the mercenaries or those helping them would cross the border and carry out military operations in Uganda, he said.

The Prime Minister declared that necessary steps were being taken to avert the danger.

Belgian Left defies Witch Hunt

At a conference in mid-December, the Right-wing of the Belgian Socialist Party, harassed by the crisis of conscience provoked in its ranks by the disgraceful intervention in the Congo, passed a series of witch-hunting resolutions against supporters of the Walloon separatist movement and La Gauche, the Belgian equivalent of Tribune. Against these attacks the left stood firm, and the following is a translation of the editorial which appeared in La Gauche immediately after they were made.

IT is exactly eight years since the inaugural manifesto of 'La Gauche' appeared. It contained these significant words:—

"This newspaper takes as its starting point the defence of the social and economic programme of the Belgian T.U. Federation, which it defined in the two declarations of the 1954 and 1956 Extra-ordinary Congresses. The two governing ideas of this programme were economic and financial planning and economic democracy—the necessary complement to political democracy. Economic democracy implies the dissolution of the financial groupings, and the transfer of their prerogatives to the Nation. It assumes also the establishment of workers' democracy in the heart of every enterprise."

This manifesto, signed by Andre Renard, sums up the campaign we have led for eight years, the path we have followed, even after the Belgian Socialist Parties decision of the 12th and 13th of December '64 to gag the left wing by presenting it with the choice of holding its tongue or being expelled. Many difficulties faced those who fought for the ideas of the Manifesto. In 1958-9 these ideas seemed on the point of winning inside the Belgian Socialist Party. We know now that most of the Party's leaders had only paid lip service to them, and were ready to bury them in some dusty corner as soon as a chance of ministerial collaboration presented itself.

The fight for structural reform of the State was started by the metal workers' strike in Summer 1957; it was re-inforced by the shock of the socialists' electoral set-backs in 1958; strengthened by the coal crisis and the Borinage strikes, stimulated by the fight against the 'Loi Unique'; it reached its climax in the strike of 1960-61. At that moment, had all the movement's energies been concentrated on this one goal—as they very largely were in Wallonia—a whole

rampart of the capitalist fortress would have crumbled before it.

From the fact that an entire wing of the workers' movement, paralysed by its ever increasing links with the capitalist regime, refused to join in the struggle, the left wing of the Walloon workers' movement concluded that henceforth it would have to add the aim 'federalism' to its other demands for reform of the State. This is how the Walloon Popular Movement was born. The way the right wing had messed up a number of these reforms by emasculating them and then applying them in a way perfectly acceptable to neo-capitalism, could only widen the gap.

The vote on the anti-strike laws and the obligation it imposed on the Walloon socialists to give up for the moment its struggle for federalism accomplished the rest.

Today it is not 'La Gauche' or its ideas which are 'incompatible' with the Belgian Socialist Party; it is the Party's socialist programme and the resolute, uncompromising pursuit of it, that has become 'incompatible' with the right wing leaders' own programme of permanent collaboration with the bourgeois ministers in the Government.

That is also why the open witch-hunt, which began on the 12th December, 1964, is merely a prelude to the official abandonment of the Party's socialist programme, including the Quaregnon Charter, which certain speakers at the December Congress did not hesitate to attack.

But 'La Gauche' goes on; the left wing of the workers' movement goes on, all the socialists who remain faithful to the Programme in the true spirit of the Great Strike, will continue, and nothing will stop them. Because what the Programme expresses in their hearts, in spite of all its imperfections of which they are quite aware; what urges them

forward is nothing but the unshakable will of the Working Nation to grasp its ultimate liberation, to become the master of society and the State. And against this will, no force, no obstacle, can prevail.

Editor's Note: Since this article was written we have learned that the supporters of 'La Gauche', Links, and the M.P.W. have formed the Socialist Workers' Party of Belgium. This party will have a number of M.P.s, very considerable trade union support (especially among the metalworkers and miners) and important positions in a large number of municipalities.

* Translated from December 19th issue of 'La Gauche'.

FRONT IN FRANCE

THE following resolution, adopted unanimously by the National Council of the French Socialist Party (SFIO) at its last meeting, shows that the party leadership now officially supports the idea of a bloc with the Communist Party to beat the Gaullists.

The National Council lays down the following tactics for the campaign for the municipal election to be held on March 14th (first ballot) and 21st (second ballot), with the object of maintaining those citadels of democracy which localities must represent:

(1) In constituencies of less than 30,000 inhabitants the voters preserve the possibility of clearly exercising their choice. Thus the Socialist Party adheres to its usual policy: the presentation of Socialist or predominantly Socialist lists, whenever this is possible. On the second ballot the order of the day is to defeat the U.N.R. (*de Gaulle's Party*) and its allies;

(2) In towns of over 30,000 inhabitants the Government has brought in a provocative law which the Socialist Party condemns. By this law the second ballot has become meaningless since no new list or coalition can be constituted between ballots. Consequently the Party approves the creation at the first ballot of coalitions with democrats of the Left.

Wherever it would be absolutely necessary, in order to defeat the U.N.R. which is the prime aim of the campaign, the Party recognises agreements with Communists or Republicans who, though they are distanced from Socialism, are unequivocally opposed to the present regime.

JAPAN: Capital leaps forward

A recent issue of *Analyses et Documents** devoted an article to the expansion of Japanese capitalism since the end of World War Two. A Paris correspondent has sent us a translation of the key passages:

"THE Japanese economy has just experienced a new leap forward," the article begins. "There are now only 330,000 unemployed. Individual consumption has risen sharply. For example, the consumption of meat in the past ten years has gone up from 3½ pounds annually to 12 pounds (in relation to the Western countries, however, this is still low)."

"In the Japanese steel industry," the article continues, "a genuine miracle has occurred. After passing France in 1959 and the United Kingdom in 1961 and then stagnating in 1962, it has just gained in 1963 third place in the world, ahead of Germany."

Analyses et Documents offers the following instructive table:

| STEEL PRODUCTION (in millions of tons) | | | | | |
|--|-------|------|-------|--------|--------|
| 1929 | 1938 | 1946 | 1955 | 1962 | 1963 |
| 2,294 | 6,472 | 564 | 9,408 | 27,546 | 31,500 |
| CAST IRON PRODUCTION (in millions of tons) | | | | | |
| 1,112 | 2,677 | 212 | 5,426 | 18,439 | 20,436 |

"This is all the more remarkable since Japan imports 81% of its iron ore (unquestionably under favourable conditions in view of the deterioration in terms of exchange between manufactured products and raw materials). Thus the United States furnishes coal at a low price (in face of the threat of Chinese competition), while Japan buys iron ore from the underdeveloped countries at a low price: 21,778,000 tons of ore, including 6,360,000 tons from Malaysia, 4,420,000 tons from India, 2,960,000 tons from Chile, 2,450,000 tons from Peru and 1,450,000 tons from Canada.

"Since 1956, Japan has led the world in shipbuilding. Launching 28% of the world's total tonnage in 1963 placed her far ahead of Western Germany and Great Britain. She already possesses, in number of units, the fourth largest fleet. She is second in the world in the production of trucks and is moving ahead ceaselessly in the production of automobiles. In the field of electronics and optics, Japan's present position is quite remarkable. In 1963 she was the world's top producer of television sets, the figure being 5,000,000. The production of 15,000,000 transistors was enough to build millions of transistor radio sets the same year, and she also stood in first place in still cameras (2,000,000) and movie cameras (700,000). Japan stands third in the world in production of cement and among the first five in fertilizer,

paper and petrochemicals. Her per capita production of synthetic fibres is 13.2 lbs., equal to Germany and ahead of the United States."

The following figures, offered by *Analyses et Documents*, indicate the rate of growth:

INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

| 1958 | 1962 | 1963 |
|------|------|------|
| 100 | 201 | 219 |

"In 1963 exports increased 10.8%; including machines, 19%, metals and metal products, 27.4%. Imports increased 19.5%; including food products, 46.9%, due primarily to sugar.

"The reasons for this growth: first of all, Japan, after the second world war, had to begin, like Germany, from zero; that is renew all the fixed capital. This permitted her to build a modern industry (installations, machines, equipment), focused likewise on the technical level and particularly capable of meeting the international market. At the same time Japanese capitalism had at its disposal an enormous mass of labour, permitting it to bear down on wages and to maintain the rate of profit. In addition, Japanese monopoly capitalism benefited from the destruction of noncapitalist sectors, bringing it considerable income and a surplus of labour. Individual and agricultural enterprises which accounted in 1949 for 49% of the national income, in 1961 accounted for only 27% (as in France).

"Next, it should not be forgotten that Japan, if it has nothing in common with her underdeveloped Asian neighbours, does not have an exceptional standard of living, far from it. The average standard of living in France or even the northern half of the Italian peninsula would justly appear luxurious to the Japanese worker. Capitalist expansion has profited from the rise in productivity (9.4% last year), without the labour movement being able to seriously contest capitalist profits. There has even been a tendency to lower the share of wages in the national income.

"Nevertheless the Japanese economic growth can be put in question by the permanent deficit in the balance of trade, by inflation, which is increasing in Japan, and by the dependence of the Japanese economy on American capitalism. In other words, a recession in the United States could have very grave repercussions for Japan.

"However, the Japanese balance of payments is completely positive, the influx of American capital, the association of Japan in the American imperialist sphere and in the exploitation of the under-developed countries — all this works powerfully in favour of Japanese expansion, and it must not be believed that as long as the American boom lasts the good health of Japanese capitalism will be seriously affected."

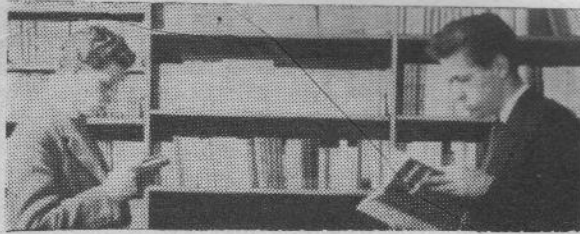
This extraordinary growth of the specific weight of Japan in the capitalist world is bound, sooner or later, to lead to big political repercussions.

* *Analyses et Documents*, 29 rue Descartes, Paris 5. Subscription for 20 issues to countries outside France, 36 Francs.

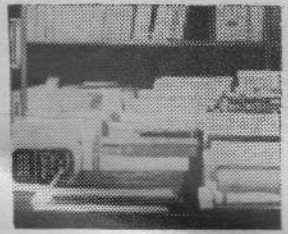
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BOOKS IN REVIEW



Capitalism, Property and The State - James Wilcox

THE recent book by Professor J. E. Meade, "Efficiency, Equality and the Ownership of Property", has information on points of interest to readers of 'The Week' in addition to those already noted.

(1) He provides new material on the concentration of wealth and income from wealth. He gives the two statistics as follows (Page 27):

| Percentage of Population | Percentage of Total Personal Wealth 1960 | Percentage of Personal Income from Property (before tax) 1959 |
|--------------------------|--|---|
| Top 1% | 42 | 60 |
| Top 5% | 75 | 92 |
| Top 10% | 83 | 99 |

It will be noted that the concentration of income from wealth is greater than the concentration of wealth itself. This is because the larger the concentration of wealth the more "efficiently" it can be used: in this way large capitalists tend to have a definite advantage over smaller ones.

(2) Professor Meade points out that, in terms of the ownership of real property, the public sector of the economy is actually a negative quantity. The value of property owned by the state or other public agencies is £21,000 million, while the extent of public sector indebtedness to the private sector is £28,000 million. Meade concludes that in real terms the size of the public sector is minus 14 per cent., and he comments that "as

far as the net ownership of property is concerned we live, not in a semi-Socialist state, but in an anti-Socialist state." (Page 69).

(3) Meade points out that "the figures of personal incomes derived from the Income Tax returns will seriously underestimate personal incomes from property. They exclude capital gains. But the increase in the value of companies' shares which is due to the accumulation of undistributed profits represents in effect a personal income of the shareholders which has been saved for them by the companies themselves." Thus he points out that at first sight the Inland Revenue figures give personal income from property as only 7.1 per cent. of all incomes, and Meade calls this a "gross underestimate". By Meade's own calculation a more reasonable estimate would be 19.1 per cent. of all incomes, after depreciation has been accounted for, but before the influence of the State is accounted for. As the value of taxation extracted from companies usually slightly exceeds the annual interest on the national debt the final figure would be a few per centiles lower. However, Meade is at all times using only the Inland Revenue and National Income statistics themselves in arriving at his figure of 19.1 per cent. In his recent book "Income Distribution and Social Change", Professor Titmuss has indicated that the systematic and large scale practice of tax-dodging makes it certain that all official statistics underestimate property incomes. If the calculations of both Meade and Titmuss are taken in account the final estimate for the share of property incomes would be somewhere in between 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of total national income.

Scripto pens are blacker than

BLACK!

HANDBILLS, saying "Don't buy Scripto products." are being distributed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in support of a nation-wide boycott of Scripto pens, pencils and lighters. The boycott has been called by members of Local 754 of the AFL-CIO International Chemical Workers Union who have been on strike since Nov. 27 at Scripto's Atlanta, Ga., plant.

The plant was organized 18 months ago, but the company has refused to sign the first union contract.

The strikers are demanding an eight-cent hourly wage increase, a seniority provision and they have refused a wage offer which discriminates against the Negro workers. Before the strike, some 700 of the 900 workers were Negroes classified as "unskilled" and paid about \$1.25 per hour. Only six of the 200 "skilled" jobs were held by Negroes.

The Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, whose headquarters is in Atlanta, has called upon its supporters throughout the country to spur boycott campaigns against Scripto products. The plant is located two blocks from Rev. King's Ebenezer Baptist Church

Early in the strike, King declared: "Now is the time to identify our movement very closely with labour." He said Scripto was only the beginning of supporting actions by the Southern civil-rights movement to labour organizing strikes. "There will be many more to follow," he said.

CHINA rallies for CONGO

The following article was written especially for *The Week* by Miss L. Pearce-Higgins, who is teaching in Shanghai.

SINCE the American and Belgian aggression in the Congo (aided as usual by Britain) China has been protesting against this latest and most hypocritical example of imperialism in Africa.

The wave of protest began in Peking on Sunday, November 30. Chairman Mao issued an official statement condemning the aggression. On Sunday afternoon Tian An Men Square was filled with half-a-million demonstrators, who listened to speeches by Peng Cheng, Mayor of Peking and a member of the Politburo, as well as to representatives from African countries — notably from Algeria, U.A.R. and Congo Brazzaville.

During the following week all major cities followed Peking's example. In Shanghai, China's most populous city, there were three days of mass demonstrations. Every type of organisation in the city and suburbs — schools, universities, factories and communes — took part. The biggest demonstration took place on Tuesday, December 2, when 300,000 people gathered in the People's Square to listen to two hours of speeches. There were speeches from the Vice-Mayor of Shanghai, by teachers from Algeria and the U.A.R. who are working in the city, and from the leader of the Congo Brazzaville song and dance ensemble which was performing in Shanghai at the time. The speeches were broadcast on loudspeakers at strategic points throughout the city and were followed by a mass march through the streets.

Two weeks later the atmosphere is still one of militant support for the Congolese nationalists. In every shop in the city there are posters depicting the inevitable collapse of American-Belgian intervention in the African continent, as well as the defeat of the Tshombe puppet regime. Revolutionary songs supporting the Congo have already been written and are being sung wherever people gather.

Chinese support for and interest in Africa is now everywhere evident. The extraordinarily militant reaction to the Congo affair is another example of this positive interest. But it is only one example. African cultural groups are now frequent visitors. African 'third world' heads of state arrive nearly every month (Alphonse Massamba-Dabat, President of Congo (B) and Modibo Keita, President of Mali were amongst the guests of honour at the 15th anniversary celebrations on October 1). Dahomey is the latest of a series of African states to open diplomatic relations with China.

All makes it evident that Chou En Lai's famous African trip was the beginning of a significant trend—the rapid development of friendship and co-operation between China and 'New Africa'.

L. Pearce-Higgins

Mozambique Gains

FREEDOM fighters in Mozambique have shot down two Portuguese planes, killed many enemy troops and freed several compatriots, declared a communique issued by the Dar-es-Salaam office of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), on December 27th.

The communique recalled that, on December 12th, a large number of Portuguese soldiers with forty cars and four planes encircled the Imbuho region from where the people had been transferred by freedom fighters to another place a week ago.

When the enemy arrived, there were only two fighters. They posted themselves at a strategic point. They downed one plane carrying Portuguese Major Santos Gomes.

The second plane was shot down by the freedom fighters on December 14th while it was on a routine flight over their zone, the communique said.

From November 21st to 30th the Frelimo fighters had freed the whole population of a village between Mueda and Diaca, and thirty-seven Mozambican women in Mocuba arrested by the Portuguese.

More than forty colonialist soldiers had been killed and many wounded and captured by freedom fighters in recent engagements.

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Moppers-up Mopped up in Venezuela

From Hsinhua, December 27th.

THE guerrilla forces of the Venezuelan National Liberation Armed Forces have smashed the recent "mopping-up" operations of government troops, according to a report from Caracas.

The guerrillas of Falcon State have defeated the government encirclement operation which lasted nearly two months killing or wounding about one hundred enemy troops and capturing a number of weapons. A helicopter and a Canberra of the government forces were shot down.

In the states of Trujillo and Portuguesa, the guerrillas have also smashed the government troops' encirclement movements with the enthusiastic support of local inhabitants, inflicting heavy casualties.

In a recent ambush alone, about thirty government soldiers were killed or wounded. Forty police and soldiers were sent to a hospital. More and more government soldiers, demoralised by repeated defeats had deserted.

In the states of Barinas and Apure, members of the "guerrillas of the plain" had successfully resisted an attack by 2,000 government troops and broke through their encirclement.

In Lara State, the guerrillas launched a counter-attack and occupied a number of towns including Guaito and Anzoategui.

Since the beginning of last November, government troops have wantonly dropped U.S.-made napalm bombs on and concentrated mortar fire at guerrilla bases, inflicting considerable loss in lives and properties on the peasants. Such atrocities have resulted in many peasants joining the guerrilla forces.

Rebel Democrats challenge elections

THE Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (M.F.D.P.) contends that primary elections held in Miss. June 2nd and the general election held November 3rd are void. It is also contesting the seating of three Mississippi Congressmen. They charge that the elections 'violate the Constitution and laws of the United States because Negroes throughout the state of Mississippi . . . were systematically and almost totally excluded from the electoral process.' The M.F.D.P. is also challenging the elections of June 2nd and November 3rd on the grounds that they violated the 1870 Compact between Mississippi and the Congress of the U.S.A. The Freedom Democrats contend that in this Compact, Mississippi was allowed to re-enter the Union on the condition that it would never change its constitution, which at that time provided for universal male suffrage with simple residence and age requirements; and that this condition has been arrogantly ignored since 1890. Referring to the election of the Congressmen, Lawrence Guyot, Chairman of the M.F.D.P. said: 'We are merely asking in our challenge that the House recognise the simple fact that the rigidly segregated and undemocratic political system in that state, which disenfranchises 428,600 Negroes, has disqualified itself from participation in the U.S. Congress.'

Since its founding convention last April, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party has grown to become the state's largest grassroots organisation. At that convention, over 200 people representing nearly every part of Mississippi agreed to establish the M.F.D.P. The state-wide 'Freedom Vote' in November, 1963, had laid the broad base the M.F.D.P. now operates from. In that 'Freedom Vote' over 80,000 people cast ballots for M.F.D.P. candidates. From that meeting last April came the decision to challenge the regular white Democratic delegation from Mississippi at the National Democratic Convention at Atlantic City. Four Negro candidates ran in the June 2nd Democratic Primary against white candidates and were defeated. One feature of the M.F.D.P.'s growth was 'Freedom Registration' and the formation of a duplicate structure to the regular all-white Democratic Group. Over 60,000 people were 'Freedom Registered'. The building of the duplicate structure involved attempts by M.F.D.P. members to join the regular party structure. Negroes tried to attend precinct and county meetings throughout the state, and after being refused, held their own meetings and elected delegates to a state convention which elected the M.F.D.P. Atlantic City delegation.

From Panama

THE Panamanian Federation of Students in a statement on December 22nd reaffirmed their determination to carry on the fight for the recovery of state sovereignty over the canal zone, according to a report from Panama City.

The Federation stressed that the United States had not backed down from its original position in Panama, and thus "The euphoria of

the Panamanian government really is not justified."

U.S. President Johnson declared on December 17th the United States was ready to negotiate a new treaty with the Panamanian Government on the canal zone. Nevertheless, he added, before the United States opened a new canal in Central America to replace the present one, it "Must retain the rights neces-

U.S. landlords hog Mexico's border

BIG U.S. landlords who occupied vast areas in the northern part of Coahuila state, Mexico, violated the Mexican constitution, said Deputy Luis G. Olloqui of the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution in the parliament on December 22.

The Mexican constitution stipulated that there should be no foreign farms within 100 kilometres of the frontier.

"We should exert all efforts to impede the present situation and we declare before the republic that we hope that the land will be given to the Mexican peasants in 1965."

It was reported that for more than fifty years the U.S. big landlords had occupied vast areas of land, in frontier province Coahuila.

Rusk on South Vietnam

DEAN RUSK, U.S. Secretary of State, told a press conference yesterday that the United States now faced "some extremely dangerous issues" in the world and "the most immediate two are in south-east Asia and in the Congo," according to a report from Washington.

Rusk was obviously uneasy about the deteriorating situation in South Vietnam brought about by the recent military coup in Saigon. He emphasised over and over again the "unity" among the Saigon puppets.

He said the United States considered that there were two aspects to the South Vietnam question, namely, "Unity within the country" and "Pressure and infiltration from the outside." He said, "We believe very strongly that both these elements need an answer, that both are important to the security and the independence of South Vietnam, and that unity is a primary requirement for a solution to that problem."

The United States hoped "very much that this overriding need for common effort and unified action will impress itself upon all elements there" and that they should "set aside their personal rivalries or lesser issues."

Rusk threatened to cut or stop U.S. aid in an attempt to break the opposition of the Nguyen Khanh group to the "civilian government." He said, "Obviously, if there are problems of unity, there are certain kinds of assistance that are simply not feasible."

sary for the effective operation and protection of the canal, and the administration of the areas necessary for these purposes."

The Panamanian youth are reported to be preparing for new anti-U.S. demonstrations next January to reaffirm the Panamanian people's demand for the recovery of their sovereignty over the canal zone.