

The Week

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A news analysis for socialists

An Appeal for Easter

THINGS are going from bad to worse. This weekend the *Observer* reported that riots have been raging in Bahrain. "The angry young men of Muharraq have been on strike for nearly three weeks. Armed with stones and Pepsi-Cola bottles, they have braved riot guns and instant-vomit gas to stage the first major disturbance in the Persian Gulf since Suez."

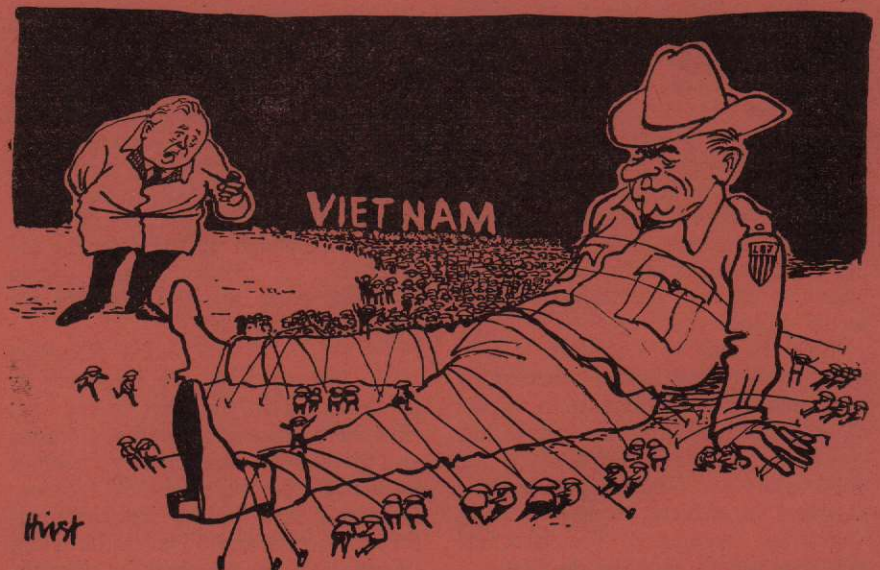
How can Labour permit these things? Who are we fighting, and what are we fighting for, when we wound, maim, and bully in this vile and senseless way?

While the young people of Bahrain are persecuted by British helicopters "looking for . . . the flying shapes of schoolboy demonstrators," who benefits? This question must be addressed to the oil companies, to the tin and rubber exploiters who operate in Malaysia, to the City, and to our American 'allies,' who are making the pace in disgraceful, conscienceless butchery in Vietnam. They are fighting a holy war against the poor, for the preservation of the rich.

To the British people, to the pensioners, to the young service men who are hired to kill and be killed, and to the working-class taxpayers who pay for it all, it is all loss. Loss of money, loss of self-respect, loss of conscience, loss of hope. In this context, overseas, of gruesome betrayal of every moral precept of socialism, no advance is possible at home. Britain is rotten ripe for socialism, but any socialist move here is forestalled and overburdened by the grotesque weight of evil and costly international commitments and pledges which are implied in our present foreign and imperial policy.

To hell with imperialism, British or American! Socialists must begin to raise their voices. One way of doing this would be to transform the coming Easter March into a huge rally against imperialism, for a break with the American Alliance, and for alignment with the hungry peoples of the world against their tormentors.

We appeal to all who read *The Week* to join us this Easter, in a new demonstration of independence, of human brotherhood. All the hopes of our working people depend on our ability to compel Mr. Wilson to retreat from imperialism. Our socialist future can only be won in this crucial battle. Everyone should be on the road, to say so, this coming Easter Saturday.



"I'm sure he's willing to talk if only you'd let him win a little".

INCOMES POLICY DEBATE

Post Office Engineers.

THE General Secretary of the Post Office Engineers, Mr. Charles Smith, puts forward the following suggestions about incomes in the latest issue of his union's journal. As he says:

"These are not put forward officially on behalf of the Union but I would hope that in fact they would commend themselves as reasonable to very many members of the P.O.E.U."

The article continues:

"(1) It is of great importance that prices should be kept in check. This is emphasised in the Statement of Intent and by the plan of the government to set up a body which shall have the job of reviewing not only wage movements but price movements as well. There are all sorts of arrangements in industry which help to drive up prices—among them are the monopoly controls which exist in a number of industries, the continuance on many articles of resale price maintenance despite the Resale Price Maintenance Act passed last year, and wasteful systems of distribution which mean that a housewife pays six to twelve times as much for vegetables and other farm produce as the farmer receives.

"(2) There must be general fairness in the distribution of incomes and rewards. Excessive dividend increases ought to be out and so ought some of the fashionable methods of tax evasion and tax avoidance. (It is worth remembering that Sweden, which is so often held up nowadays as a model of good industrial relations and which has certainly succeeded in establishing a very high standard of living, has had a Labour Government for thirty years. This has insisted on a good many measures to promote social justice through taxation and the social services).

"(3) Any principles laid down in respect of wages must be laid down in agreement with the trade union movement and in particular must not operate unfairly against the public sector of industry.

"(4) It will be a mistake if anybody tries to lay down, whether by agreement or not, principles in respect of wages which are too inflexible. One thing that industry needs is the opportunity to make productivity bargains in which improved basic wages are negotiated for practical measures which raise productivity.

"(5) The principle of independent arbitration must continue to be observed.

"Everybody, irrespective of party, recognises that the present government has got a very difficult economic situation to cope with and that this economic situation has developed to its present state of difficulty over a number of years. The proposals which it makes in the field of industry it has sought to discuss and agree with the trade unions and employers with a care that no previous government has ever shown. The document which has resulted merits at least our careful study and our constructive consideration."

The comments of his members on this matter are instructive. They can be found in the following resolutions which have been submitted to the Annual Conference of the P.O.E.U.:

28. Believing that a prerequisite to an "incomes policy" is stable prices of all commodities and services, instructs the incoming National Executive Council to refrain from committing the Union in any way to such a policy unless and until Annual Conference agrees that prices have indeed been stabilised.

Birmingham Power

94. Whilst admitting the desirability of a planned economy, does not consider that within the present system it is possible to formulate an incomes policy which will not militate against the interests of wage earners in general, and Government employees in particular; Conference, therefore, rejects any proposal embodying the policy of wage restraint.

London Factories

95. Recognising the urgent need for an overall plan for telecommunications development which is in the best interests of the community as a whole, calls on the Government to nationalise the telephone manufacturing industry. The implementation of this policy would result in the vast sums which at the moment are diverted to private profit being ploughed back into the industry for the nation's benefit.

London Factories

28. Recognising the impossibility of achieving an incomes policy that effectively restricts profits, interest and dividends, rejects any attempt to restrict the wage-earners' freedom to bargain, and declares its determination to protect and advance the living standards of our members by all available means.

Met. North West
P. Morris

NALGO

The editorial of *Public Service*, the monthly journal of NALGO, received the news of the second stage of Mr. Brown's Incomes Policy with the following statement:

The general secretary of the TUC has already told the trade unions that the General Council has impressed on the Government that the whole policy and the machinery for operating it will be subject to the approval of a conference of union executives, to be called together by the TUC. This, surely, will be an opportunity to prove the value of NALGO's recent affiliation.

Apt comment on this approach appeared in the letters column of the journal:

"We have been looking at the diagrams comparing local government and civil service salary points on page 15 of last month's *Public Service*, and we are absolutely astonished that NALGO should have the effrontery to publish such damning evidence of its inability to negotiate satisfactory salaries for its members during the last 20 years.

"Here are some of the figures given in the diagrams. To them, we have added percentages, and we feel that these add up to the biggest possible indictment of NALGO policy since 1956:

Grade	1946	1965	Per cent increase
LG gen. div.	£360	£700	94.44
CS equivalent I	£350	£800	128.57
LG. clerical I	£420	£810	92.85
CS equivalent	£413	£935	126.63

"Even at first glance, these figures look too bad to be true. They are even more appalling when seen against the report, on your back page, that the cost of living index has risen by 96.8 per cent. since January, 1947—which means that the purchasing power of the general division and clerical I grades is less now than it was in the days just after the war.

"So, in these days of so-called affluence, our negotiators have failed not only to improve the living standards of most of their members, but event to maintain them at the immediate post-war level.

"If the current downward trend is maintained, we shudder to think what the position will be in another 20 years' time.

THE MILITANT FEW
Montgomeryshire"

J. Smith

DEMOCRACY and the BOMB

by Raymond Williams

AT the deepest level, this is what ACND has been about. It has been an assertion of public politics, by direct participation, against an increasingly bureaucratic political system and an orchestrated communications system. CND has tried to articulate, in the few simple public ways that are open to it, an idea of society which will, in the future, become at once more complex and more effective. Simply, we have tried to say that we are all responsible for the decisions taken in our name, and that we accept this responsibility, in the most direct and open way. What we are saying is relevant to the whole range of social decisions, but it is not surprising that we are saying it, first, about nuclear politics. The most obvious reason is that all our lives are at stake, in this choice between peace and war. But there is a deeper and more significant reason. The existence of nuclear weapons, and the necessary character of nuclear strategy, are the public evidence of the real political nature of our kind of democratic society. What we are saying, ultimately, is that you can have nuclear weapons, or you can have democracy, but you cannot, in practice, have both.

The reasons for this are commonly and perhaps deliberately overlooked. The rhetoric of the bomb is that it imposes, by its very character, the most centralised and arbitrary kind of politics ever seen in the modern world. The decisions about war and peace, even in the two world wars of this century, have been made, in the democratic societies, by some kind of parliamentary process, and because of their time-scale have been subject to some kind of parliamentary and public challenge and discussion. The necessary timing of nuclear war allows no such process. At extreme points of crisis, decisions have to be made in a matter of hours and minutes, because delay could be the invitation to annihilation. The complicated and useful strategic arguments of the last few years represent an attempt to insert controls and delays into what, at a military level, is a process of incredibly rapid dec-

ision and development. All such devices are welcome, and need further extension. In this respect, we are prepared to go step by step. But while nuclear weapons, and above all their long-range missile-carriers continue to exist, the concentrated nature of political crisis, and the irrevocable character of certain kinds of decision, exist also. Only nuclear disarmament, in the end, can regain for us even our customary space for public decision.

But the political situation is even graver than this analysis indicates. The spread of nuclear weapons, to new nations, can only be stopped by measures of disarmament. In a world moving out of colonialism, a world of new responsible nations, the reservation of nuclear weapons to the existing great powers is not only politically indefensible but politically impossible. While a strategy backed by nuclear weapons intervenes, as it is now continually doing, in precisely this vast process of the struggle for national independence, it is stupid to expect a distribution of the most powerful weapons according to the old patterns of world power to be left unchallenged. Proliferation, we all know, increases, in one sense, the dangers of nuclear war. But the reservation of nuclear weapons to a few favoured nations is already politically intolerable. For what seems a good and honourable reason — stop the spread of these ultimate weapons — we can find ourselves arguing that the effective centres of decision in world politics should remain where they now are: in a few favoured capitals. The extension of freedom of political decision is thus again opposed by considerations springing directly from the terrible character of the weapons themselves. We have to remind ourselves, not only that these weapons are too dangerous to be in many hands, but they are at their most dangerous when they are in too few hands, and are used as factors of political pressure or domination.

The only rational policy, if we believe in the rights of men to make their own decisions about their own lives, is a policy of general nuclear

disarmament. Otherwise, terrified by our own creations, we try to fix on the world our own choices of stability and relationship, and thereby create the political situation in which there is actual danger of war. And then if we try, within these patterns of our own nostalgia or ideology, within this attempted rigidity, to rationalise matters of political and military control and decision, the area of actual democracy shrinks almost to vanishing point. The ultimate decision, it is said, must be made at the centre of alliance. The character of the weapons, their elements of retribution and suicide, argues powerfully for this reservation to the ultimate centre of power. But then this centre of power is beyond our political reach altogether: an office in another country, within a maze of offices and distant communications: the final expression, in its receding complexity, of the real political character of our society: already shaped in this way by the prolonged attempts to control and manage democracy, but given its final and brutal impress by the character of the weapons this precise society has created.

Is it then any wonder that, committed to democracy and seeking to extend it, we have come into the streets and identified the bomb as our enemy? In its role in great-power politics, it is the enemy of the developing democracy of our world society. In its centralisation and magnification of power, it is the enemy of the democracy we had thought assured by our political forms born in a different world. In its scale and expense, leading to rigid military alliances, it is the enemy of national independence and initiatives. When we say "Ban the Bomb" we are not simplifying, we are identifying. We are taking the most evident fact and mark, in our world, or all the forces that oppose man's aspirations to responsibility and participation, in what could be his own world.

So, though we shall go on studying, we shall also continue to march. We will take part, with anyone, in

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DEMOCRACY AND THE BOMB—contd.

any kind of discussion of the inevitably long process ahead of us: the building-in of delays and controls; the intricate means of the recovery of political decision; the complicating and developing measures of genuine disarmament, and the clearing of zones. But also we march, because for us these processes are governed by an aim and an idea that we bring into the streets, as a reminder to peoples and governments. Our study groups are not for political advantage in the struggle of alliances, nor for means of delay and advantage in an inevitably changing world. We come out, not to lobby, nor as a pressure-group, but to demonstrate, in the only way open to us as the only acceptable standard of politics: the responsibility and participation of men and women who have no status but a human status, in a world we are determined to recover as human, in public, in the open, where the realities can be seen. Every voice and form of the political alienation we oppose can be expected to be against us: the centralised press, the political bureaucracy, the huddling commentators, deferential to what they take to be power. We can understand their hostility, for it is against their anxious and limited settlements that we continue to march. But anyone can join us, or come out to argue against us, or come out and insist that we give details and particulars of what we are trying to do. Anyone can come, because that is what we are for.

APARTHEID'S LAST LOOPHOLE

The following report which appeared in the 'Port Elizabeth Evening Post' of 13th March is an astonishing comment on the lengths to which Apartheid has been taken:

"CAPE TOWN. — Forty-nine Cape Town multi-racial toilets, run by the City Council for the benefit of the public, have become the last places in South Africa which are still untouched by apartheid.

"But City Council officials said this week they expected the Government to clamp down soon and compel the council to segregate public conveniences at great cost to the taxpayer.

"One lawyer said: 'These are vir-

CUT ARMS

- say

Foundrymen

THE Government's decision to spend more on arms than ever before gives considerable concern. With this colossal expenditure we see alarming difficulties, or even, indeed, the possibility of the Government being unable to implement Labour's programme for social security.

In the reorganisation of the national insurance scheme now under consideration, heed should be taken that the attitude of the trade unions is still for the insurance principle and against any means-test principles.

If it is that the necessary finance for improvements in pensions and other services is to come from additional increases in workers' contributions to national insurance, along with further taxes which are anticipated in the April Budget, affecting the workers' wages, then the hope for voluntary wages restraint will be severely dented.

The expenditure of £2,120 million on arms and overseas military spending is a greater economic drain than Britain can afford. It must be reduced to provide the funds for the developing of our social services.

tually the last bastions of multi-racialism in the country and in that sense they will soon be rare items of Africana. Before the 'White only' notices are placed on them one of them should be transferred to some special section of the South African Museum.'

'Occupation'

"Lawyers say there are two Acts of Parliament under which the Government could act against the toilets. There is the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 and the Group Areas Act No. 77 of 1957.

"In the Group Areas Act 'occupation' is the operative word as far as the toilets are concerned.

EASTER '65

EASTER MARCH: CND is organising a three-day march this year, from High Wycombe (Bomber Command HQ), via Uxbridge (USAF base), to Trafalgar Square.

The march costs a lot to organise, and all marchers are being asked to pay a 5/- registration fee. Marchers living in the London area cannot be provided with accommodation; but if you can't find anywhere to stay yourself, there will be some rough accommodation provided on the nights of Good Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. **IF YOU CAN MARCH, EVEN FOR A SHORT PERIOD, PLEASE SEND YOUR NAME, HOME ADDRESS, AND 5/- to CND at 14 Grays Inn Road, London.**

MARCH PROGRAMME:

EASTER SATURDAY: Naphill, 9.30 a.m. High Wycombe, Loudwater (lunch), Gerrards Cross (tea), Uxbridge (Metropolitan Line Station).

EASTER SUNDAY: Uxbridge 10 a.m. Ruislip, Harrow (lunch) Hanger Lane, Ealing Common (tea), Acton Green (Turnham Green Station).

EASTER MONDAY: Acton Green, Hammersmith, Kensington, Hyde Park, (lunch), Victoria, Whitehall, Trafalgar Sq.

from a S. African correspondent

"So far, the provision which defines occupation has been directed at people of different races sitting down together in cinemas and restaurants.

In the clear

"They only break the law when they are seated, but when they stand up they are in the clear. Lawyers say that if the same criterion is applied to the multi-racial toilets, then standing in them would be legal, but sitting down in them would not.

"Another lawyer said: 'The Government could, of course, issue permits for the people to use the toilets but this is not likely.'"

THE IRISH GENERAL ELECTION

by D. R. O'Connor Lysaght

ON April 7th the people of the Republic of Ireland will go to the polls. Their decision will be made after an astonishingly short campaign in which few of the basic issues can be publicised. This is, however, no reason why they should not be considered here.

The decision for holding the General Election belongs to Sean Lemass, Ireland's Taoiseach (Prime Minister) since 1959, and its Minister for Industry and Commerce before that, spasmodically since 1932. His Government has been praised as marking the end of the problems of the old Ireland by its new economic policy. To a certain extent this is true; unemployment has declined and, with it, emigration; there is increased interest in education and, thus, the Catholic Church's position in this sphere is being weakened; in January, it was made clear that the new policy was making the Republic more popular in Northern Ireland than it had been since partition began.

What then, is the snag? In fact, the "Irish miracle" has been accomplished at the expense of the workers. Prices have risen steadily; in addition, P.A.Y.E. has been initiated, and the natural price rise has been augmented by an increasing reliance on indirect, as opposed to direct, taxation, culminating in the imposition of a turnover tax in the 1963 Budget; only 6% of public expenditure is devoted to social welfare.

In short, the Government's entire policy, covered by an inaccurate schema of economic programmes, is a purely economic one, accepting the institutions of Irish bourgeois society, and dedicated to growth on the terms dictated by the leaders of these institutions. The only problem in these circumstances concerns the relative power of the various groups composing the Irish power elite. Of these groups, it is fairly clear that the traditional manipulators, the Catholic Church and the state bureaucracy, are being replaced by a new state capitalist-managerial group, while the isolated Anglo-Irish business interests (most notable is, of course, Guinnesses) remain in a dominant position, albeit an increasingly threatened one, as the B. and I take-over would seem to show.

Outside the controlling groups are the groups controlled: the majority of the population. Of these, the medium (mainly dairy) farmers are in a strong position through their co-operative movement. The shopkeepers and small businessmen are, as elsewhere, both hurt by the Government policy and unwilling to attack the initiators of that policy to whom they feel sympathetic. Both more interesting and more important are the other two manipulated groups: the small farmers and the wage-earners of the countryside and of the towns.

The small farmers dominate the west and north-western constituencies of the Republic of Ireland (they represent about one-third of all the seats in Dail Sirann). In the long run, their problems can only be solved by their own transformation into equal partners in co-operative units. There is evidence that this is beginning to be recognised by various groups of them (primarily in Glencolumbkille in Donegal where there is a notable small farm co-operative scheme). But it is not accepted by their representative bodies — the National Farmers' Association, and the Irish Creamery Milk Suppliers' Association — nor by the leading opposition party, Fine Gael, which draws the bulk of its support from the small farmers. All these groups maintain that the small farmer can exist on ever-increasing state subsidies, as indeed he can, as long as the other groups in the state will allow him.

The proletariat is divided from the small farmowners; many skilled urban workers tend to enjoy a higher standard of living than the average small farmer, while the latter (as a landowner) distrusts also the wretchedly underpaid farm labourers, who align themselves with the urban employees. The workers' problems have been mentioned: high prices, bad social services financed (to add insult to injury) increasingly from their own pockets. But, though the Irish worker is more unionised than his British counterpart, he has problems arising from his very organisation.

A Supreme Court decision in 1961 cast doubt on the freedom to picket. At the same time, the administration has associated trade union leaders

in the advisory councils behind its programmes. Perhaps most debilitating is the Irish worker's reluctance to break with Fianna Fail, the governing party, in favour of the Labour Party, to which his own trade union may well be affiliated; the reasons for this lie in the splits created by the Civil War in the 1920s in both the bourgeois and the Labour movements, and maintained by various tactical errors on the part of the Labour Party's leaders.

Thus the Labour Party is isolated from the bulk of the urban workers and also (due to the failure of its rather turgid agricultural manifesto) the small farmers. Its main support comes from the agricultural workers (ignored by the two major parties) and the transport and building workers. Nonetheless it is the third party in the country, and there are causes for hope; its active support is growing at a steadier rate than that of its opponent and, more hopeful, it has gained the membership of the independent Socialist Deputy, Noel Browne, who had for years opposed its former clericalist leadership. But it needs money and considerable re-organisation at constituency level.

The only other Left-wing party is the once mighty Clann na Poblachta, which is now little more than a front for the whims of its isolated, ego-centric leader, Sean MacBride.

Both the major parties have Left wings; that of Fine Gael (the party in opposition) is, naturally, the more active; for nearly a year it has been pressing upon the leadership a new economic programme, including a planned economy, control of banking and private enterprise, and of prices, and more social benefits. The latest rumour (as yet it is no more) implies that the bulk of this programme has been accepted. This is uncertain cause for rejoicing; the determination of the left of Fine Gael is only equalled by the power of the party's right (the leader thereof, Sweetman, was indisposed at the crucial policy meeting). Furthermore, the whole of the proposed policy is limited in scope; its draughtsman, Costello, seems to consider that all social problems can be cured with a few more shillings on the Old Age Pensions.

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The Irish General Election - contd.

The General Election is likely to be inclusive. Few people are satisfied with Fianna Fail's record, but few are likely to be ready to believe in a new "socialistic" Fine Gael policy under the present leadership; Labour will probably not put up enough candidates to get a majority of the seats.

One can only hope that the Labour Party will avoid the temptation to enter a Coalition with one of the bourgeois parties as it did in 1948-51 and 1954-7 (both times to its disadvantage). Whether it does so, or not, depending as it does on the verdict of the polls, is likely to be the most important matter decided on April 7th.

JAMAICAN YOUTH START MOVING

WHAT must certainly be a most progressive development in Jamaica is the formation of a Youth Force of National Liberation. This movement is a direct response to the most Jamaicans are forced to face, and the increasing rate of unemployment which now plagues the country.

The YFNL under the leadership of Keith Miles and Denis Chin, has proclaimed itself a part of the International Liberation Movement and the anti-Imperialist Front, and has declared its solidarity with the struggling peoples of the Caribbean, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In Jamaica it is dedicated to the destruction of the Manley Bustamante Hegemony in the country. Pledged the YFNL: "We fight to bring an end to the present unjust and oppressive colonial two-party system headed by Bustamante and Manley." Rapacious foreign exploitation which more than anything else is the millstone around the necks of the Jamaican people, will be brought to an end.

The YFNL reinforces the Young Socialist League which has been in the struggle for some time now and is part of this militant agitation against unemployment, injustice, and destitution.

The YFNL would welcome communications. Its address: 32 Tower Street, Kingston, Jamaica, W.I.

BRITAIN HELPS THE GAS MEN

READING the recent United States Information Service White Paper on South Vietnam, I was deeply disturbed to see Britain is helping in the war. The pamphlet claims that this country has given the South Vietnamese Government "long term assistance in village defence." It

is also providing money for road-building, which doubtless has military value in the fight against the National Liberation Front.

Surely it is high time the Labour Movement demanded all support be dropped.

R. Challinor

BAHRAIN RIOTS TEST LABOUR'S FAITH

THE riots by redundant Bahraini oil workers (see last issue stop press) which have assumed a political character have broken a long period of political inactivity. The last upsurge of any importance occurred in 1956 and this was crushed by the deportation of Arab nationalist leaders to St. Helena. But these strikes and demonstrations show that all is not well in this island.

Our Government is in fact helping Sheik Isa, who is an absolute monarch, to run the country. Just how primitive conditions are is shown by the fact that there is not even a daily newspaper, let alone any democratic political activity.

Economic development has reached a critical point, because Bahrain, although it struck oil as early as 1932, has the smallest reserves in the Middle East. The Bahrain Petroleum Company (a subsidiary of Caltex—formed by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texaco Incorporation) is expected to go on producing about 2¼ million tons of oil per year (now yielding £5 million per year) for the next 20 years or so. A new off-shore island field shared jointly with Saudi Arabia is expected to yield about £1½ million per year but this is insufficient to meet the increase in expenditure of the regime.

Bahrain has traditionally been an entrepot for trade in the Persian Gulf, but recently it has been losing some business to new ports. In addition the £5 million or so spent because of the presence of 2,400 British troops is an important source of income to the Bahraini government. Officially the troops are there not only to carry out 'obligations' to Sheik Isa under a treaty of protection, but also to 'protect' Kuwait and the shiekdoms of the Trucial Coast. The presence of a British Political Resident—responsible for the whole lower Gulf area—shows that Bahrain is the nerve-centre of the British 'presence' on the Eastern flank of Arabit.

Sheik Isa and his family find British protection tailor-made to their interests (one is reminded excessively of the Zanzibar set-up). They attribute the 1956 troubles to the misguided British attempts to introduce democracy, and it is apparently impossible to persuade them that political discontent might be mitigated by a cautious move towards representative institutions.

Sheik Isa has, so far, resisted even a suggestion that the Administrative Council should be broadened to include top officials and four representatives of the Bahrain people—not elected, but nominated by him.

The *Financial Times* recently commented: "British policy on Bahrain faces a familiar dilemma. Should we face the odium of the Arab nationalists for supporting a paternalistic and undemocratic regime, or should we brave the wrath of Sheik Isa by using our undoubted bargaining power to persuade him to reform? British students of recent history East of Suez must hope that, whatever happens, Bahrain does not go the way of that other island of paradise — Zanzibar."

This comment, completely cynical insofar as it sees 'reform' as a device to preserve the present set-up, shows the danger facing the Labour Government. Is it merely to carry out a neo-colonialist role in Bahrain or is it to act as one would expect a Labour Government to behave?

Bahrain is only a small island—not many people in Britain have even heard of it—but the issues are clear. Is our Government going to act in the interests of a completely undemocratic and absolute regime or is it going to side with the workers of that island? Would it be too much to expect Anthony Greenwood, Frank Cousins, Barbara Castle and other Left wing members of the Cabinet to stand out against another act of neo-colonialism?

Pat Jordan

U.S. Railmen say "Nationalise"

IT seems that at last the railway unions in the United States have seen the light. Recently the Railway Labour Executives Association called for public ownership and operation of America's railways.

The decision was taken after a week's discussion in Washington. RLEA chairman George Leighty pin-pointed the vital flaw in capitalist ownership when he said: "The present railroad management no longer has sufficient concern for the interests and needs of the general public to be entrusted with the stewardship of the most fundamental and most essential part of our nation's transportation system."

Three reasons for the change of view were:

1. The failure of the railways to give adequate service both in the elimination of passenger services and adequate equipment for freight handling.
2. Persistent refusal of the industry to co-operate with labour in safety precautions both for the public and workers.
3. Today's chaos in the railways' labour relations, which has produced deep and bitter resentment among railway workers.

Cost of nationalisation is estimated at between 20 and 27 billion dollars — about seven to seven and half million pounds.

The unions quote war experience. During the first world war the railways broke down in face of war needs. The Federal Government was then forced to take over and operate them.

The unions recall: "Under government management, wage and working conditions improved greatly."

As happened in Britain plans for nationalisation then were abortive. There was one difference. In the case of American railways the so called Plumb plan was for public ownership and profit sharing between the government and the workers.

Congress sat on the proposal and returned the railways to private enterprise.

Stan Mills

HAITI — Left Unites

N.B.—All the following reports are from *West Indian News Service*, which is available from 91 Station Road, London N.3.

LEFT IN HAITI UNITES

THIRTEEN young Haitians, all members of the Jeune Haiti, one of the anti-Duvalier groups in the country, were all killed in action or captured and shot recently.

The fate of these heroic young Haitians re-emphasises the urgent necessity for the various anti-Duvalier groups in the country to co-ordinate their efforts and unite themselves in struggle. However, there has been one heartening development: the formation of the Front Democratique Unifie de Liberation Nationale which is an amalgam of the Parti Progressiste de Liberation Nationale, the

Parti d'Entente Populaire and La Ligue. This is a major achievement of the Haitian people in their struggle.

In their Congress at Santiago de Chile, the different factions of the Left managed to reach the conclusion that on questions of tactics and strategy, there were no divergences between them which should prevent common political action within a single unified organisation. This is most necessary, because only co-ordinated action can topple Papa Doc and his regime, which enjoys the blessings of Washington and receives its arms. With Cuba only a few miles away, and Venezuela in revolutionary ferment, the American Government has placed its stakes on Duvalier, but for Papa Doc and his clique it is just a matter of time.

JAMAICA — What Next?

IN an article recently published on *Public Opinion*, a Jamaican weekly, its editor, John Maxwell, pointed out that:

"What is happening now is that since Independence the conviction has been growing in Jamaican minds that our job is to design a new world complete, to break out of the mental enslavement and to destroy the obsolete ideas and the stone walls of prejudice which impede us. But it is not reflected in the behaviour or words of those who claim the right to decide other people's lives. So we find the people a mass of revolutionaries, many of them not knowing what they want to revolutionise or how they want to do it or why, only knowing that they want a change. It was perhaps the same feeling in 1962, but what the people did then has produced no change, but rather a deterioration in the relations between the various sectors of the society. People are more afraid of each other now, than at any other

time than I can remember. No more murders were committed last year than the year before, but many people seem convinced that they are liable at any moment to be butchered in their beds. The atmosphere is hysterical and dangerous."

"It is dangerous because it is the sort of atmosphere which can be exploited by any clever demagogue who decided to set himself up as the latest prophet, all that is lacking is some spectacular event such as a hurricane, a march of the unemployed or some invented emergency. In such a situation, the emotional preparation would be perfect for some pocket putschist who would assume power in the interest of "national unity and order" in the usual South American manner."

A recent editorial in the *Jamaica Gleaner* pointing to the instability noticeable in the two parties, observed that the country was in the melting pot.

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BOOK REVIEW:

"THE AGE OF AUTOMATION"

By Sir Leon Bagrit.
Weidenfeld and Nicolson 15/-

SIR LEON'S Reith Lectures were commented on by *The Week* at the time they were broadcast, but now they have been published it is possible to give a more considered judgement on them.

Sir Leon sees the tremendous opportunities of the new technological revolution and is enthused by them. If the potentialities of automation are tapped production could soar, the food problem could be solved and a new leisured life evolved. He comments that "Mechanisation has sometimes given millions of people sub-human work to do. Automation does the exact opposite."

Some problems do lie between us and the Golden Age. Certain difficulties must be removed. "For instance an early warning system is being organised to indicate, in good time, those workers who might be threatened by displacement due to technology and advance. But this will only work if the employers show themselves willing to be able to indicate their plans far enough ahead. Publicising his intentions in this way is asking a great deal of a manufacturer. The result might be that he would lose some of his labour, alarm his shareholders, and encourage his competitors to take steps against him."

To properly and humanly use the potentialities of automation at least two age-old truths must be given the lie; that those who do not work shall not eat and that in a community the means of existence of that community shall be in private hands. The economist, Strumilin, in a statement to the Soviet Academy of Science, said that "if Capitalism can be characterised as a classical period of mechanisation of work, Communism will be seen to bring about a new era of total automation in production."

Sir Leon remains optimistic. "Today, if we know where we are going and if we use the slave services of automation intelligently and courageously, we have the chance of building a high civilisation. And, when I say 'for ourselves' I mean the whole community, not just for a small elite on the Greek pattern." And these are really big 'ifs.'

Julian Atkinson

Bristol Multi-Racial Club Flourishes

About 5.5 millions New Yorkers live in poverty. This is the conclusion drawn by the Community Council of Greater New York in its eighth annual review.

James Fogarty, General Director of the Council, said that to be free from this impoverished situation, the income of a half of the population in the city should be twice as big as now.

According to U.S. official statistics, he said, 50.5 per cent. of all the families in New York in 1959 had incomes below the minimum cost of living. The situation now was the same. Food prices, house rent and medical charges had been rising particularly quickly in recent years.

The *U.S. News and World Report* said in a February issue that "some 1.25 million residents of New York City live in sub-standard housing—dilapidated, uncomfortable, unhealthy . . . Slums keep spreading." It quoted a congressman as saying that New York City "seems to sink deeper into trouble every day."

Tom Nicholls

New York's Submerged Five Million

SUPPORT for the Bristol Multi-Racial Club continues to grow, and membership now attends at over 300. The club was set up last September, with the object of promoting better understanding between the coloured and white communities in Bristol. Meetings are held in the Toc H Centre, St. Andrews Road, with Monday evenings devoted to current affairs and Fridays to social events.

At a recent meeting Mr. Paul Stevenson, Secretary of the West Indian Development Association, gave a first hand account of the Negro Civil Rights struggle in the U.S.A. with special reference to developments in Selma. Mr. Stevenson has recently returned from a 6 months' sponsored visit to the United States.

Dave Windsor

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ULSTER TORY M.P.S' VOTE TO BE RESTRICTED?

from William Barrett

The latest development in the changing political climate in Northern Ireland is the rumour, emanating from London, that Harold Wilson might make a move to restrict the voting rights of the twelve Ulster Unionist M.P.s at Westminster to matters which specifically affect Northern Ireland. The effect of such a "clipping of wings" of these M.P.s would be to produce a direct clash between London and Stormont, the Parliament of Northern Ireland.

The secretary of the Northern Ireland Labour Party is understood to have made the following comment: "One can understand the attitude of the Labour Government if Unionist members propose carrying out similar tactics to which they carried out during the life of the Labour Government from 1945 to 1951, when they voted against legislation which did not apply to Northern Ireland, but which was for the benefit of the people of Great Britain alone."

A recent example of such legislation is the amendment to the Rent Act, with regard to protection from eviction, passed as an emergency measure by our present Labour Government before Christmas, 1964. The secretary for the group of 12 Ulster Unionist M.P.s is reported as saying that it would not be practical politics for Mr. Wilson to restrict their voting rights at Westminster. He regarded it as purely a case of kite-flying by Mr. Wilson in order to provoke reaction.

There is no doubt that it would be ludicrous if these twelve Ulster Unionists contributed to the defeat of a Labour Government in Britain. The factors that determine the choice of the electorate for these M.P.s are religious as much as political and therefore do not constitute an unbiased political judgment.

Editorial note: Should the Government decide to move along these lines, it could count upon the full support of the left in face of the inevitable hysterical press campaign. The left would however expect such a move to be only the beginning of a process which ^{would} end the completely undemocratic set-up in Ulster and would press accordingly.

TELEGRAM YOUR M.P. TODAY

by Pat Jordan

This copy of The Week will arrive on Thursday the First of April. In the afternoon of that day there is a vital debate in the House of Commons on foreign policy. Mr. Wilson will have the chance to change his line on the Vietnam question. Readers of The Week will be lacking if they do not do all they can to make sure that a change in British Government policy is made at the earliest possible date. As this item is being written we know that the Americans are considering widening their attacks on the North. Even Thursday may be too late! As emergency action all should send telegrams (or if in London telephone or visit) to their M.P.s, to Wilson and/or the Foreign Secretary, demanding British repudiation of American attacks on the North.

At a recent meeting of the "Ford" Chassis, K.D. and Hot Metal Shop Stewards Committee, a resolution condemning U.S. policy in Vietnam was passed unanimously. The resolution said that Ford Shop Stewards who had condemned the "Suez" Campaign and U.S. interference in Cuba, now strongly condemns the Vietnam policy of the American Government; it could well lead to a third world war; they added.

The Ford Shop Stewards said they joined with Labour's back-bench M.P.s in calling for opposition to any extension of military action. They noted the recent statements of Maxwell Taylor which give cause for alarm. They concluded by calling on the British Government to put the utmost pressure on to President Johnson to stop the fighting in Vietnam.

The resolution was sent to the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary, the M.P.s for Dagenham and Barking - J. Parker and T. Driberg, and the U.S. Ambassador.

* Secretary of the Ford Shop Stewards Committees.

NALSO CHAIRMAN WRITES TO MR WILSON ON VIETNAM

from a special correspondent

On the eve of the N.A.L.S.O. annual conference, Chris Arthur, the chairman of Labour's student organisation, wrote to Mr. Wilson about Vietnam. The letter began with an appeal for Mr. Wilson to "adopt an independent line, and a socialist one, in foreign policy and join in the protests against the methods of U.S. reaction." The Government is widely understood to have abandoned its principles and capitulated to the U.S. on this issue, the letter continues. This is having a disastrous effect on Labour Party morale, it is pointed out.

The letter is very critical of "The purely metaphysical distinction" Mr. Wilson tries "to draw between a state of civil war before the extension of U.S. aggression, and a qualitative increase in Hanoi assistance". This makes Mr. Wilson look ridiculous and strengthens the impression that he is appeasing U.S. imperialism in South East Asia, the letter goes on. The letter ends: "The whole movement would welcome a return to a fighting socialist line and an end to this bootlicking."

A copy of the letter was also sent to William Warbey.

OXFORD LABOUR PARTY WANTS CHANGE IN VIETNAM POLICY

from Chris Arthur

At its March meeting the Oxford City Labour Party passed a resolution calling upon the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary to "dissociate this country from the American attempts to impose a settlement in Vietnam by force." Mr. Richard Hyman, speaking in support, described U.S. policy as "worse than what Goldwater was proposing, but the Labour Government is offering no opposition." Councillor Roger Dudman moved the resolution, he said its passing would strengthen those in Parliament who wanted Britain to take an independent line. The resolution was overwhelmingly carried.

KEMP TOWN LABOUR PARTY WANTS OPPOSITION TO U.S.

from a Sussex correspondent

A formal resolution, asking the Government to express open opposition to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, was passed by the Kemp Town Labour Party last week. It was sent to ^{the} Parliamentary Labour Party and National Executive. The same meeting also expressed support for the local busmen in their fight for higher wages. The M.P. for Kemp Town, Mr. Dennis Hobden, a well-known left-winger, was asked to press for students to be credited full national insurance contributions whilst studying.