
THE WEEK

A news analysis
for socialists

9d.

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DANGER! This War can Kill us All!

On Monday, this week, the Vietcong shelled an American helicopter base. They used 30 shells. According to the U.S. authorities there were no casualties, no damage. In retaliation, again according to the Americans, 40 bombers strafed the small town of Dong Hoi in the North. Both the scale of the "retaliation" and the location of the Vietcong attack—in the Mekong Delta, hundreds of miles from the North—expose as a complete lie the U.S. argument that they merely need to deter North Vietnam.

These attacks are designed to bolster up the world's most unpopular and unstable regime. To save American prestige President Johnson is prepared to play with the risk of nuclear war, which could not fail to involve Britain, the Americans' main NATO ally.

The whole world can see through this disgusting sham; except, perhaps, our own Labour Government, which has, up to now, remained completely silent.

However, one man has spoken out and has again acted as Labour's conscience: Mr. William Warbey, M.P. He deserves, and must get, every bit of support that any reader of this journal can give him.

We must mobilise the maximum pressure behind his demand for an initiative by Britain's Labour Government to end the Vietnam war. Such initiative, defending the principle of self-determination for the Vietnamese people, would evoke a powerful response.

WARBEY SPEAKS ON VIETNAM

House of Commons, February 15th

7.30 p.m.

Sponsors

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Socialist Leader: still only 4d. for an 8-page paper. This is the lively political weekly of the Independent Labour Party, founded in 1894 as the Labour Leader. Single copies by post 3s. for six weeks or 25s. a year.

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M C F launches active Campaign

from John Eber

Your readers might be interested in the forthcoming activities of the Movement for Colonial Freedom:

LABOUR GOVERNMENT, COLONIAL PEOPLES AND EMERGING NATIONS

Conference on **February 21st, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. at NUR Assembly Hall, Euston Road, London, NW1, Admission 2/6.** Speakers will include William Warbey, M.P., David Ennals, M.P., J. Kozonguizi (SWANU), H.E. the Algerian Ambassador and Lord Brockway. Please ensure that your organisation is represented, and bring your friends. Admission is by ticket only, obtainable in advance. (See below)

SUMMER SCHOOL ON COLONIALISM

Our third summer school will take place at the **Moyle Tower Youth Guest House, Hythe, Kent, from**

June 25 to July 5, at an inclusive charge of £6. Speakers will include Fenner Brockway, William Warbey, M.P., John Eber, etc. and there will be ample time for enjoying the sea and the country as well as studying and discussion of all aspects of colonialism. Booking can now be accepted — a £1 deposit will secure a place.

FESTIVAL HALL CONCERT 1965

Sunday, June 13th, 2.30 p.m.

The MCF Annual fund-raising concert in honour of Africa Freedom Day will again be produced by Bari Jonson, and will contain more folk and jazz than ever before. Please book this date NOW, and make sure that your families and friends come too. Details of **block booking at reduced rates** will be available soon.

Enquiries should be sent to: MCF, 374 Grays Inn Road, London, WC1.

THE Movement for Colonial Freedom has announced details of its important conference: "A Labour Government, the Colonial Peoples and the New Nations". The Conference is based on the M.C.F. policy document covering the whole range of Britain's relationship with the colonial peoples and the new nations. During the discussions, resolutions may be proposed and voting will be by show of hands. Applications for credentials should be sent in writing before February 18th to M.C.F., 374 Grays Inn Road, London W.C.1. Both individuals and organisations can apply for credentials on payment of an attendance fee of 2/6.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 21st:—

AGENDA

- 10.00 **Fenner Brockway** (Chairman) opens Conference.
 10.15 **David Ennals, M.P.** (Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Overseas Development. Former Secretary of International Department of the Labour Party).
 (1) "THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES"
 10.40 Questions and Discussion.
 11.00 **J. Kozonguizi** (President, S.W. Africa National Union).
 (2) "NATIONAL FREEDOMS"
 11.25 Questions and Discussion.
 11.45 **H.E. the Algerian Ambassador.**
 (3) "HUMAN RIGHTS WITH PERSONAL LIBERTY"
 (4) "ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION WITHOUT EXPLOITATION"
 12.10 Questions and Discussion.
LUNCH BREAK
 12.30 **William Warbey, M.P.**
 2.30 (5) "A WORLD DISENGAGING ITSELF FROM NUCLEAR FEAR"
 (6) "THE NEW HOPE LABOUR CAN GIVE"
 2.55 Questions and Discussion.
 3.45 **John Eber** (General Secretary, M.C.F.).
 (7) "THE WORK OF THE MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM"
 4.15 Questions and Discussion.

Edinburgh Left Club Studies Union Structure

A DAY SCHOOL will take place Sunday, 7th March at the University Staff Club, Chambers Street, Edinburgh.

Mr. Frank Stephen, Divisional Organiser of the Draughtmen's and Allied Technicians' Association and former Chairman of the Scottish Trade Union Congress will talk on 'The Structure of the T.U.s — its Advantages and Disadvantages.

Ken Alexander, Head of the Dept. of Economics of the University of Strathclyde will talk on 'Trade Unions and Incomes Policy', drawing upon comparative studies from other countries.

All those wishing to attend, should inform Hugh Mackenzie, as soon as possible, at 44 Garscube Terrace, Edinburgh, enclosing P.O. of 12/6 for the complete day or 5s. for part of the day without lunch.

Mike Forman

AEU Clamps down on local statements

ALL branch secretaries of the Amalgamated Engineering Union have received a circular from Jim Conway, the new General Secretary, informing them that the Executive Council has decided that in future neither branches nor district committees can submit their views direct to Minister of the Crown or National Bodies (i.e. National Headquarters of the Labour Party or the TUC).

Branches may still communicate their views to their District Committee or to the Executive Council and "have the right to discuss any phase of the Union's work both industrially and politically".

This decision has been taken because "any expression of the views of the Union must emanate from the Executive Authority of the Union".

The "many and varied views emanating from our branches cannot all represent the Union's policy".

J. Westby

Hull launches M.C.F.

from Dave Godman

AS a response to the national protests recently voiced over the executed South African trade unionists, the South Vietnam situation, the savage sentence on V. L. Allen in Nigeria, the white dictatorship in Southern Rhodesia, the necessity of setting up a local Movement for Colonial Freedom has become urgent. The present organisation with aims similar to the aims of MCF is the University Anti-Apartheid Society. For obvious reasons, during vacation there is no organisation functioning in Hull relating to the evergrowing problems of Neo-Imperialism. American, Portuguese and South African and Belgian aggression do not grind to a halt during the twelve-week vacation.

At present there is no active participation of Trade Unionists and members of the labour movement outside the University in any such organisation as the Movement for Colonial Freedom. The first primary concern of a trade-unionist is to work for the betterment of his working conditions, the improvement of his wages, and we hope for a change in the class structure of Britain. But should a trade unionist forget the working class movements of other countries who are present being hounded, exploited and in general, suffering through the reactionary policies of Neo-imperialist governments? Surely not.

In demonstrations in Hull recently, although well attended by students, there has been a marked absence of trade unionists and members of the labour movement. We would therefore like to make an appeal to members of trade unions and the labour movement and ask for their advice, participation and support in starting this organisation. Correspondence from anyone will be welcome, with a view to a meeting in mid-February. A definite response is important NOW, as we must try to help people suffering under colonial oppression.

If you would be willing to help with the formation of a branch of MCF in Hull, or if you are in sympathy with its aims and objects, please contact: David Godman, 48 Gillett Street, Hessle Road, Hull.

* The preliminary meeting has now been fixed for Sunday, 14th of February, 2.30, Carron House, 78 Beverley Road.

Algeria threatens mines takeover

THE holders of 79 mining concessions which are at present idle have been warned by the Algerian Government that unless the mines are working again within the next two months, they will be seized. Some of the concessions were granted last century for an unlimited period of time and most have been unworked since Algeria's independence 2½ years ago.

The mines of special interest to the Algerian Government at the present time are the lead and zinc mines. At a time when lead and zinc prices are very favourable on the world markets the Government wants these particular mines exploited to the maximum. The holders of the concessions are understood to be mostly French.

Jean Holman

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The Aircraft Industry

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Woodford Hawker Siddeley Shop
Stewards' Statement

A FURTHER vacillation of armament strategy cast a shadow of apprehension over thousands of Aircraft Workers and their families, here at Woodford and throughout the country, when word leaked that the HS681 and the TSR2 military commitments are under review.

The employers clearly recognised the value of the influence of mass action by workers in the industry, to affect a change of heart on the Labour Government. The active encouragement proffered by managements to ensure that some form of demonstration coincided with our lobby, resulted in what was described as the most impressive ever staged by Aircraft Workers.

It is a matter of conjecture as to the nature of the representations made that day, at least those on our behalf. However, the sympathetic and full coverage afforded by the Press and TV to the activities on this occasion, ensured the vital amplification so sadly missed on previous crusades against redundancy. In short, so ardent was the response of all parties interested to some extent, that official delegates from the Tory Party could not have seemed more conspicuous had they taken the liberty of participating physically.

We must not allow ourselves to be marshalled into the vanguard of an undignified fracas to pick the bones of fellow taxpayers but come out strongly with an alternative policy which will put an end to the economic cannibalism which is exterminating the industry and crippling the nation as a whole.

Foreign Aircraft

Workers in this Industry must categorically reject any suggestion of the purchase of Foreign Aircraft, either on a Do It Yourself or Cash'n Carry basis. The outdated policies which suggest such unpalatable imports must be revised.

Alternative Work—No Redundancy—National Prosperity

The now familiar cycle of Compensated Employer and Redundant Worker must be terminated by the pending review. *The most commercially practical alternative is civilian aircraft.* A selection of the many attractive projects now under development or production must be sponsored by the Government, for export at terms which make purchase a certainty, rather than a miracle as under the present selling arrangements. Apart from providing work of a nature helpful to the national economy, these measures can be financed at no additional cost to the taxpayer, by the saving of hundreds of millions earmarked for the original projects.

£325,000,000 for last year alone, represented the taxpayers' contribution to the aircraft industry's turnover.

With the Concord we have established an undoubted lead, which can only be of value commercially, when reflected on the production lines.

Despite the fact that comparably scant attention is at present devoted to the trading aspect, *£135,000,000 was earned, by last year's exports from the Industry, what vast potential remains untapped?*

Common Ownership of an Integrated Industry

In an Industry with such expensive outlay and dependence upon public money, it is not in the best interests of the nation, for the available talent and resources to be engaged in competition for private gain. *Wasteful duplication of research, development and production techniques must be replaced by co-operation under central control.* The present short period of Labour Government has surely provided ample confirmation that big business of any description will not show even restraint, let alone co-operation, and must be recast to serving the National. *Only Common Ownership, lubricated by the fullest consultation facilities, will enable these essential measures to be implemented, these worthy ends to be achieved.*

Unrestricted Markets

It will be necessary to reject an outdated and politically sponsored economic prescription, insisted upon by a Nation, which significantly is virtually self-sufficient.

No further orders must be lost, because the customer is regarded with suspicion on a philosophical plane.

A basis for these changes has been created by the return of a Labour Government. Our influence, properly organised and united can be decisive and must be utilised to offer encouragement and promote a bold Socialist outlook, to solve immediate difficulties and provide for the future. The Tories have fallen, the time is ripe for change.

Steel veteran is fed up

THIS letter appeared in the January issue of *Man and Metal*, the journal of Iron and Steel Trades Confederation:

Dear Sir and Brother. — I have firmly made up my mind to cancel *Man and Metal*. The reasons for doing so are: That I am entirely dissatisfied with the tremendous rise in Government and M.P.'s salaries, at the same time attempting to stabilise the rest of the workers. This is, to my thinking, absolutely impossible. The Government hasn't a leg to stand on. I have just read that the Electrical Trades Union flatly rejected the three years' agreement on hours and wages offered. Can you wonder? It won't stand thinking about. Ye Gods, it doth amaze me, and all other old stalwarts.

I have been a trade unionist all my life and I think that the country should be governed for the benefit of the whole of the people and not for the rich few. "We are many, they are few," as Shelley says. So no more of that.

F. LANGFORD

The editor of the journal commented:— We hope that Bro. Langford — a greatly valued reader who joined the British Steel Smelters' Association in 1898 and became a superannuated member in 1938—has not made up his mind about cancelling *Man and Metal* so firmly that he is unable to change it. If it will help, we can categorically deny all responsibility for increasing M.P.'s salaries.

We trust, therefore, that Bro. Langford will continue reading *Man and Metal* and that, when he feels in the mood, he will write to us again.

Hawker Siddeley

THE FACTS

by Dave Winsor

IT has been alleged that the Hawker Siddeley Group has taken advantage of the Labour Government's changes in defence policy to threaten thousands of workers with sacking. We feel that the behaviour of this firm is a powerful argument for the nationalisation, under democratic control, of the aircraft industry. The following facts, which come from the January/February issue of *Aviation Voice*, back this argument up to the hilt.

The Hawker-Siddeley group is the biggest business in British aviation. The group's profits for 1963 increased to over £6 million. The eleven full-time directors receive £375 a week.

WHAT THE WORKERS GET

Hawker-Siddeley Aviation Skilled Wages

		p.w.
Woodford ...	8/6 p.h.	£17 7 0
Chester		£17 15 0
Langar		£14 10 0
Lostock		£16 9 10
Hamble		£15 10 0
Hatfield	9/3 p.h.	£19 18 6
Baginton ...	11/4 p.h.	£23 16 0
Kingston		£17 10 0
Chadderton		£17 0 0

Figures, Autumn 1964

(Some increases with recent package deal)

Avro at **Langar**, Nottinghamshire it was reported, are still negotiating to have a payments-by-results scheme introduced.

Staff inspectors at the Hawker factory at **Baginton** have been offered £3 10s. by the management if they will revert back to the shop-floor.

Hawker - Siddeley at **Kingston** have submitted a claim for a sick-pay scheme to their management. They ask for a scheme similar to that given to British Aircraft Corporation employees who receive, skilled men, £6 per week initially; increasing to £8 after 10 years' service for a contribution of 2/- per

week with the Corporation meeting the additional cost.

Negotiations are in progress at **Lostock**, Lancashire, for the flat-rate wage of £16 9s. 10d. to be increased by an immediate 10 per cent. Our reporter informs that the absence of piecework removed the yardstick by which increases could be claimed and recommend that where non-piecework wage levels were negotiated provision was made for an annual review.

Discontent is reported from the **Chadderton**, Lancashire, factory of Avro-Whitworth. Apparently new managerial staff from another Hawker factory are not doing their job as efficiently as the shop stewards thought possible and production organisation had been criticised by them. This had, it was stated, brought about some improvement but there was still some way to go.

WHO THE DIRECTORS ARE

SIR ROY DOBSON (Chairman). Joined A. V. Roe and Co. of Manchester in 1914, general manager in 1934, and a director in 1936 (A. V. Roe joined with four other firms in 1935 to form Hawker Aircraft Co.) and managing director 1941. Vice-Chairman and managing director 1941. Hawker-Siddeley group 1958-62 and chairman 1963. His biography in *Who's Who* states he is a "Conservative". Recreations: fishing, shooting, sailing, photography. Address: Meadstead Grange, Meadstead, Alton, Hants.

SIR ARNOLD HILL (Vice-chairman and managing director). Probably the key man on the board. A scientist (F.R.S.) who became director of the Royal Aircraft Establishment at Farnborough at the early age of 36 and made a great reputation when he directed the enquiry into failure of the Comet and established metal fatigue as the cause. Left this civil service post to join Hawker-Siddeley.

SIR SIDNEY CAMM. Joined Hawker Engineering Co. in 1923 and became chief designer in 1925 and chief engineer in 1959, was associated with many of the Hawker aeroplanes such as the Hurricane, Hunter, etc.

SIR JOSEPH LOCKWOOD. Made his reputation as an outstanding flour-milling engineer with the Stockport firm of Simon Engineering. In 1954 was appointed chairman of Electrical and Musical Industries at a low point in its fortunes, which have steadily improved since then. Nineteen hundred and fifty-four profits were £2.1m. and in 1962-63 they were £7.8m. but with the help of the Beatles they soared to £11.8m. in 1963-64. E.M.I.'s profits are derived from records and electronics and it is presumably the latter interests which led to his joining H.S. board.

SIR HALFORD REDDISH. Chairman of the Rugby Portland Cement Co., which has raised its profits from £1.9m. in 1959 up to £3.6m. in 1963, he is a very politically-active director. He is president of the Rugby Conservative Association (He was educated at Rugby School too, one of the top private boarding schools in the country). He lives at Walton House, near Daventry, and also at the Dorchester Hotel in London. His club is the Carlton. He is a director of the Economic League, the aggressive employers' organisation which spent £208,000 in anti-nationalisation propaganda in the period before the 1959 election.

SIR AUBREY BURKE (deputy managing director and in charge of Hawker-Siddeley Dynamics which controls all missiles, space and air equipment). Has been president of the Society of British Aircraft Constructors and was knighted in 1950. Recreations: shooting, fishing, sailing. Has three residences: at Bovingdon, Herts., at Chiddingfold, Surrey, and at Antilies, South of France.

SIR THOMAS SOPWITH. He was chairman of the group from its formation in 1935 until 1963. Now 76 years old. Founded the Sopwith Aviation Co. at Kingston-on-Thames in 1912.

WORKERS CONTROL

Steelmen make a flying start

by Pat Jordan

OVER 50 trade unionists and socialists turned up for the conference organised under the auspices of the *Voice of the Unions* in Sheffield on Sunday, February 7th, to discuss steel nationalisation. Unlike many conferences of a similar type this one was dominated by workers in the industry concerned. Being in Sheffield it was natural that trade unionists from that City should predominate but there were also people from Doncaster, Hull, Manchester, Nottingham, London, Scunthorpe and other towns. No credentials report was given but from opening statements of speakers it would appear that BISAKTA (British Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association), had most representation; in addition, there were Forgeworkers, Boilermakers, Bricklayers, Blacksmiths, and AEU and ETU activists. The people there were from all levels in the union: from rank and filers to E.C. members. Among the non-steelworkers were very active Labour Party members, including one M.P. and several people holding local government office. There was a sprinkling of academics who had made a special study of the problems of the steel industry.

There had been misleading press speculation about the conference in the local press and even *The Times* had managed to misunderstand and misreport things. The first speaker in discussion made reference to this press campaign and criticised members of the Labour Party who had made irresponsible statements in the press.

The first part of the discussion dealt with general questions and two major topics developed. Some speakers placed their emphasis on the political background to the fight for steel nationalisation. One speaker, a well-known left-winger of the Sheffield Trades and Labour Council, made the point that he was not so

convinced that steel nationalisation would take place unless a great deal of pressure was put on the Government. He added that as well as discussing details of the Steel Nationalisation Bill people should go into how this pressure could be mounted and how the whole idea of steel nationalisation could be popularised. He suggested a mass meeting in Sheffield on the topic. This contribution was echoed by many other speakers. Powerful backing for this line came from the M.P. who said that in the discussion in the Parliamentary Labour Party, at least one figure of considerable influence had been in favour of back-peddling after the Leyton by-election. The idea of back-peddling was being canvassed widely. However, the speaker was convinced that these arguments had little support in the Cabinet. The M.P. also touched on the other major topic of discussion: workers' participation in control, saying this was the most important part of the Bill.

Views on the question of workers' participation in control ranged from that put by an ex-executive member of BISAKTA, who whilst he used the term "workers' control", defined this in terms of full consultation, to many speakers who wanted a very strong element of workers' management.

The point in the draft about nationalisation being confined to companies with a manufacturing capacity of over half a million tons of steel per year got short shift. Very convincing arguments were brought forward for changing this formulation. This was no academic exercise: if this criterion were used hardly any of the firms in Sheffield would be touched. Speakers pointed out that whilst Sheffield only manufactured one million tons out of the twenty-four million tons produced in Britain, this steel accounted for

something like half the value of the steel produced. If this figure were adopted, it was added, the money-spinning parts of the industry would remain under private ownership.

Compensation, naturally, gave rise to much discussion. Various schemes were postulated by speakers, but the general feeling was that on no account must a millstone be put around the neck of the industry, and the mistakes of previous Labour nationalisation must not be repeated. It was agreed that it would be better if compensation were based on the stock exchange prices two weeks prior to the election rather than two years. What compensation was paid should depend upon the ability of the industry to pay it and the word "guaranteed" was removed from the draft. The idea of giving directors a 'golden hand-shake' as some speakers put it was thrown out altogether. Instead it was felt that nationally agreed redundancy payments would be made to all. Former directors should be treated like workers.

The meeting had to break up when the vital question of the composition of the Public Board was being discussed. Such was the interest in the whole matter that a further meeting was organised for the following Sunday. Until then, of course, no full amended draft will be available.

This was a stimulating and, especially for a non-steelworker, extremely informative meeting. It was an indication of the interest and self-confidence of the workers in the industry. May there be many more efforts like this!

Editorial Note: The draft referred to in this article was published in WEEK Vol. 3, No. 4. Information about the Steel Campaign can be obtained from Richard Fletcher, 71 New King's Road, London SW6. Next week's issue of our journal will contain a report of the second meeting.

How Business invades the Universities

by Paul Routledge

AT this time of the year, arts and science graduates are being steered into big business, without realising the implications of the work they are undertaking. They are pushed by the careers boards at the universities and by pressures brought to bear on them by industry. This is a subtle policy; the industrialist wants a certain type of managerial staff, and the best market these days is the graduate. Arts men and women trained in sociology or social administration find it difficult to do the kind of work they would like in the social services, because of the vast run-down in the last decade of Tory rule means they are overloaded with work, inadequately paid and generally used as comforters of the workers—deprived of any real power to effect reform. Put against this the soft seat promised by large companies in return for management in personnel, production or sales, and it is little wonder that they are increasingly opting for such posts.

To industry, social services offer no turnover, no percentage; at best they keep the workers happy, at worst they get in the way. And outside this field, the graduate has only the large corporations, I.C.I., Courtaulds, the City, and so on as a potential labour market. The implications of this are enormous. It means that the graduate must surrender the humanist teaching he has been given and identify his values with those of company; the deal is not so much in terms of cash, though that is there, as in a moral revolution he is expected to undergo.

Figures show that two out of three applied science graduates go straight into that part of industry they were trained for. They are assimilated into the technical and managerial elite which is rapidly becoming the real ruling class, the 'captains' of industry. One graduate in three in the pure science faculties follows suit; (a high percentage go on to do a further degree), but of arts graduates only one in seven actually uses the material he is taught. It might seem he has the best choice; superficially he has, but the openings for work where there is some degree of intellectual and social independence are very few indeed. The alternatives

are clear—teaching or industrial management, sales and advertising. Not many are suited for teaching, but take it as the only option offering freedom of choice. The others are swallowed into the ancillary industries of big business, such as advertising. Again, on the surface, this does not represent a sacrifice; but the advertising man is as much bound up in the success, in terms of selling, of capitalism. His interest is possibly most marked of all. He is the first to go when things get tight, so he has to try and make sure things never do get tight. This kind of economic short sightedness is typical in the advertising industry.

Comprehensive schools are gaining ground at last, and so one teacher's dilemma, that of propagating a class society is on the way out. The hierarchy of public, grammar and secondary schoolboys is aimed at separating the affiliations of the huge variety of children and re-grading them into potential key members of the society we have today. The teacher is supposed to elevate the working class boy to the stage when he can take his place in the industrial establishment. This process is continued at the university. The new universities, that new venture into education, are already cap in hand to industrialists. (Nottingham's new V.C. has said he sees his job as "bricks, mortar and money" — this exactly coincides with the American ideal of the President as basically a fund-raiser, and his worth is estimated by the amount of money he can wring out of industry. This is a vicious circle. The more education gets from industry, the more returns will be demanded in the shape of tailored graduates, and the less the U.G.C. is given to play with.)

Only an informed and active Left wing in the universities can bring general awareness of the subtle way they are being turned into graduate factories, turning out the future managerial class of Britain. The problem accentuates yearly, as British industrialists copy the ways of the U.S.A., and the policy of graduate "brainwashing" will become general practice. Obviously the Left has to work against this.

Happy Fabian Families

SOMERVILLE, HASTINGS and Peggy Jay, both members of the L.C.C. Children's Committee since its inception in 1948, in a new Fabian pamphlet, examine the role of the Social Services in "preserving and protecting the family unit." They see the Social Services "as preventive rather than curative, as a fence at the top of the precipice rather than an ambulance at the bottom."

Despite the many achievements of the Social Services over the past 20 years, "a tragic tale of failure is revealed" when they are assessed on the "standard of protecting the family and preserving the personal relationships on which it is based." "The number of children in care, in England and Wales, in 1964 was the highest recorded since November 1953," yet declare the authors "ninety per cent. of the children has living parents."

The 1963 Children's Act, which arose from the Ingleby Report imposes on Local Children's Authorities the duty of advising, guiding and assisting families in such a way that the need for them to be taken into care is diminished. Some Local Authorities are already using their new powers, by making cash grants to families in special need with great effect. The number of families coming into care is reduced, with a resulting net saving to Children's Authority.

The authors want to see a Family Service both at Central Government and at Local Authority level. The Family department would be created from the appropriate parts of the Home Office, Ministry of Health and Ministry of National Insurance. If this is not immediately possible the authors would like to see the existing Children's Department of the Home Office expanded to take on "domiciliary and environmental services for the under fives (other than medical care) the care of the unmarried mother and her child, and the immediate reception of homeless families now with the Ministry of Health." The pattern of responsibility would be repeated at Local Authority level.

THE FAMILY AND THE SOCIAL SERVICES by Somerville Hastings and Peggy Jay. Price 1/6 (1/9 post free), 12 pages, from the Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1.

Belgium - Left wing Socialists advance

from our Brussels Correspondent

IN the weeks following the decision of the December 12th-13th congress banning participation in the leadership of the Walloon Popular Movement or in the publication of the weekly *La Gauche* and *Links*, the crisis in the Belgian Socialist party went through several abrupt turns.

Some 600 Left-Socialist militants, meeting in Liege December 27th, decided to lay the basis of a new party, provisionally named the "Parti Socialiste de Travailleurs" (Socialist Workers' Party). This decision was made in reply to the motion railroaded through the congress by the Right wing, suppressing the right to form tendencies inside the Socialist party.

The Liege decision was met with a most favourable response in plants and factories throughout Belgium, a fact that was reflected in the play given to the development in the daily press.

Startled and rather frightened by this response, the Right-wing leadership of the Socialist Party suddenly shifted tactics. They drew back from implementing the decisions of the December 12th-13th congress and granted some minor concessions to the Left wing.

Glinne and Hurez, two Left-wing members of parliament, as well as a few figures connected with the Flemish weekly *Links*, buckled under the combination of pressure and blandishments and signed a declaration submitted to them by the Right-wing leadership. The declaration, while formally recognising the right of tendencies in the Socialist party, restricted the right so severely as to make the concession virtually meaningless.

Two other leaders of the Left wing, Yerna, secretary of the Liege trade unions, and Mandel, editor of the weekly *La Gauche*, stood firm. Yerna demonstratively resigned from the Socialist party; while Mandel rejected the demand that he add his signature to the declaration. Massart, a Left-wing member of parliament, joined in this firm position against the Right-wing witch-hunters.

For a few days the public display of differences among leaders of the Left wing inevitably caused some confusion. However, the situation was rapidly corrected when the leading

bodies of both *La Gauche* and *Links* publicly reaffirmed their stands, stating that they would continue to refuse to sign any declaration whatsoever limiting the right to defend the platforms on which they stood. The decision of *La Gauche* was taken unanimously; *Links* by a two-thirds majority.

A new turn then occurred. Glinne indicated that he was reconsidering the meaning of the declaration he had signed. This brought him under fresh heavy fire from the Socialist party leadership.

Without paying much attention to these inevitable waverings in the face of a basic decision of the greatest importance to the political future of the Belgian working class, the key Left-wing leaders moved rapidly ahead to launch the new party. On January 18th, in an even larger meeting than the previous one, the Liege local adopted a draft programme and proposed statutes.

In the Charleroi region an enthusiastic meeting of some 400 workers called for implementation of the Liege December 27th resolution.

In Brussels, 200 activists, meeting on invitation, laid plans for a membership drive in anticipation of a founding conference projected for February 7th.

An indication of the possibilities in Brussels as well as in the rest of Belgium was provided by the impressive success of a rally called to protest against the Belgian paratroop landings in the Congo at the end of November.

The meeting was sponsored by the Brussels Teachers' union and the Gas and Electric Workers' union on January 15th. The main speaker was Pierre Le Greve, chairman of the Teachers' union and one of the main initiators of the Parti Socialiste de Travailleurs in Brussels. Despite the chauvinistic atmosphere which the Spaak government has sought to whip up in the predominantly petty-bourgeois Belgian capital, despite the strong opposition of all the political parties (only the Communist party gave lukewarm support to the rally), and despite a complete conspiracy of silence about the meeting in the daily press, more than 1,000 people jammed into the hall.

The place was so crowded that not even standing room was left and many could not get inside.

A grouping of pro-Fascist students announced a "counter demonstration" in which they planned to hail the colonialist aggression in the Congo. This turned out to be a complete fiasco. The "counter demonstrators" could not get a single one of their adherents inside the packed hall. They gave up in disgust and went home while the demonstrators against the imperialist role of the Belgian government registered their anger against the intervention in the Congo and their solidarity with the Congolese people.

Gromyko Cypriot

THERE has been, in recent months, a rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Turkey. A Soviet delegation visited Turkey and laid great stress on the formerly good relations between the two countries which existed in the days of Kemal Ataturk. Turkey, whose economic position has deteriorated since the second world war, has shown signs of wanting to break away from the rigid cold-war NATO policy of the '40s and '50s. American 'aid' has done little but prop up the disproportionately large army and encouraged inflation. Turkey's present rulers would perhaps like to have a little more room for manoeuvre and get concessions from both sides in the cold war.

One of the by-products of this process seems to be a change in Soviet policy towards Cyprus. Previously the Soviet Union has backed Enosis (union between that island and Greece) and has denounced the leaders of the Turkish community on the island as 'agents of imperialism'. Now Andrej Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, has spoken in favourable terms of federation as a solution to the Cyprus crisis.

He did this in guarded terms in an interview with a correspondent of *Izvestia* by saying: "... The people

Portugal: Students Act Against Oppression

ON the twenty-first of January 20 university students were charged with "promoting subversion" and remanded in custody (bail is systematically refused in these cases). These students had, the political police claimed, been involved in subversive activities mainly in promoting political agitation and unrest on behalf of the Communist party and the FAP (Front for Popular Action), another Marxist organisation.

offends Left

by W. McLauchlan

of Cyprus will be able to choose independently, exercising their sovereign rights, any form for their state . . . They may also choose the federal form. It goes without saying that even this system presupposes the existence of a single centralised government, a single defence organisation, and also a centralised administrative and judicial system."

Despite his heavy qualifications, there was an immediate response from President Makarios, who lodged an official protest. He was followed by the Greek Government. Then the Greek opposition party E.D.A. (United Democratic Left) said it disagreed with the proposal. This protest was regarded as expressing the opinion of the banned Greek Communist Party which, nevertheless, also made its opposition known.

On January 26th, A.K.E.L. (the Cyprus Working People's Party), which is the main working class party on the island, issued a statement on the matter. The party said that a federal form would breed suspicion and division, and help "the divide-and-rule policies of the imperialist." It would result "in the transfer of populations, misery and hardship." A.K.E.L., which approximates to the Communist Party of Cyprus, counterposed the offer of tangible safeguards

from a Portuguese Student

for the Turkish minority.

The brutality of the treatment the prisoners had been suffering and the severity of the decision — to charge people in Portugal for political crimes usually means having them sentenced to very heavy sentences if not practically for life—brought an immediate reaction from the students in the University of Lisbon. This took the form of a demonstration the very next day, in Lisbon, in protest against the arrests of their colleagues. Several hundred took part. About 26 new arrests were then made. At the same time, journalist Manuel de Azevedo protested to the Minister of the Interior against the treatment suffered by his daughter, Gina de Azevedo, age 20, at the Political Police headquarters during interrogation when she was kept 12 days and nights without sleep and later due to a nervous breakdown had to enter a mental hospital.

During the evening of the 22nd the students went in large numbers to a special session held at the university and attended by all the professors. This solemn meeting had been called to commemorate the University Day: but the students protested so noisily that the session was prematurely ended. On Saturday, 23rd, a strike was started in protest against the arrests and Monday, 25th, new demonstrations took place when it was learned that one of the students in gaol had made an attempt to commit suicide. About 60 students were being held by this time. The information about the attempted suicide was confirmed and the name of the student is known. He was Mr. F. J. Baeta Neves, a law student well known as Vice-Chairman of the Students' Union in his Faculty, and one of the students expelled from Lisbon University because of his alleged part in organising the Students' Day celebrations last year. After his arrest he had been subjected to long interrogations, and on the morning of the 24th he attempted to commit suicide by breaking his glasses and swallowing the broken pieces. He had an emergency operation and is now out of the danger list, although under police guard. Only his parents and fiancée are allowed to visit him in hospital.

During the 26th armed police charged a crowd of more than five hundred students near the advanced technical institute. The students, protesting against the arrests of their colleagues, by now apparently totalling 70, fled with shouts of "murderers" through a loudspeaker.

Among the students arrested are boys and girls from the *Secondary Schools* (Miss Ana Potier, Miss Ligia Calapez, Miss Ana Margarida Massano de Amerim (15 years old), Miss Manuela Loure (15 years old), Jose Augusto (15 years old) and from the university (*Faculty of Law*: F. J. Baeta de Neves, Maria Antonieta Coelho, L. F. Salgado Mates, Jorge Neto Valente, Artur Alexandra Pinto, Fernando M. Rosas, Alfredo Caldeira. *Faculty of Medicine*: Aguinaldo Cabral, Pedro Lemes, Filipe Rosas, Maximino Vaz da Cunha, Pinho Monteiro, J. M. Palminha. *Faculty of Science*: Joao Teixeira, Rui Pereira, M. Paiva Teixeira, Sara Amancio. *Faculty of Engineering*: Adolfo Steiger, Marie Line. *Faculty of Economics*: Gabriel Morato, Francisco Chaves. *School of Fine Art*: Miss Teresa Pacheco, Miss Ana Maria Louro. *Faculty of Arts*: Miss Maria Joao Gerardo, Antonio Morais.)

The great crime of these students is that they keep on struggling for freedom, for rights that most people enjoy nowadays in the western world. They want to chose their own union officers, and they also want to express their political opinions freely. They would like all Portuguese to participate in the reconstruction of their desolate country. Because they are the only courageous, although desperate, voice crying for our help and support they deserve, I think, our warmest sympathy.

PROTEST TO THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, LISBON, AGAINST THE ARRESTS OF THE STUDENTS. DEMAND THEIR IMMEDIATE RELEASE. SUPPORT THEM.

Fidel Castro: Declaration of Santiago—1/-
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Some Truths about Congo

ABOUT Africa one hears it said a good deal these days well, doesn't one? — that "after all they're making a pretty fearful mess of their own affairs . . ." With the implication, consciously colonialist or not, that "they" don't really know how to manage those affairs. "I mean, look at the Congo . . ."

Let's look at the Congo.

No space to examine the past. Briefly, though, this can be reliably summarised in a few basic propositions and conclusions:

1. Until the tail end of 1958 the Congolese had no freedom to organise. Until 1960 such freedom as they gained was a very narrow one. **Results:** the Congolese had about six months to build national parties from nothing. On independence day, these were many and muddled. Even the best were unstructured movements rather than organised parties.

2. After independence, July 1960, the Belgians went on interfering. Soon they were joined by the Americans. This Belgo-American influence became paramount in September 1960. **Results:** Lumumba, more and more neutralist in reaction against foreign intrigue, was ousted (and later murdered in Katanga). Movements continued to fail to become parties, began failing even to be movements. A handful of careerists reached the top in Leopoldville.

3. From about Oct., 1960, until now the official politics of the Congo, still under powerful Belgo-American manipulation, consist of mere struggles for power between these opportunists. **Results:** no nationally-based government has emerged. On the contrary, under the fissiparous strains of a new constitution breaking down the Congo into 21 autonomous provinces, all effective administration has been grinding to a stop. Roads go back to bush. Schools stay empty. Hospitals have no staff. Ministries increasingly occupied by incompetents. Hunger spreads. Starvation threatens.

But the spirit of national emancipation does not die. Last year it

flared up once again — sometimes as to be expected in such a situation in very strange guise — when attempts are made to build a new grass-roots movement loyal to Lumumba-ism: to the idea, basically, that the Congolese should and can run their own country. Against the crowd at Leopoldville a rebel government is formed under Christophe Gbenye. This is smashed by Tshombe's fascist-minded white mercenaries. The final blow comes when Belgian paratroops land at Stanleyville from American planes using a British base.

Bloodshed. Murder. But whose and by whom?

By the Tshombe mercenaries, as we know. Also, though less so, by the Belgian paratroops; this we likewise know. But by the rebels? This, in fact, we do not know nearly so well. And it matters greatly, for the answer may show how far these rebel leaders and their followers are any different from the Leopoldville politicians and their mercenaries.

The other day Gbenye was called to Uganda and asked questions like these by three African leaders: Kenyatta of Kenya, Nyerere of Tanzania, Obote of Uganda.

Someone present at that meeting (though not one of those mentioned) has told me these things:

1. "Gbenye impressed us as a serious man. Not a careerist, we thought."

2. "Gbenye insisted that he was sure no European had been shot before the Belgian paratroops landed. Even Europeans shot afterwards, he told us, were not shot by people under his command or control."

3. "Gbenye and his men still have firm control of all but the towns of the Eastern Congo and Kasai. Gbenye even reached us in Uganda from his far-off HQ near by motor car *through the Congo*. The rebels are still very much a force to be reckoned with."

4. "Gbenye gave us solid evidence against the view that his government had been just a hopeless

muddle. He showed us proof that even the Belgians had begun to take him seriously."

Bringing all this evidence into account, what conclusions? I would suggest three:

1. Only a political nitwit will think that the Congolese have as yet had any genuine opportunity to run their own affairs.

2. Only such an opportunity can lead to peace and reconstruction.

3. Only a compromise between the various forces now in play (and this is not necessarily the same thing as the various **personalities** now on stage), presided over by the Organisation of African Unity and **not** by any non-African Power or combination of Powers, can provide this opportunity.

If so, what about British policy? Our new man at the UN, Lord Caradon, made a good start by declaring that Britain would support the OAU in trying to set the Congo on the road to peace.

But a good start is not enough. One has to continue. All the more because, as we now see, neither the Belgians nor the Americans seem ready to relinquish their absolutely firm though partially concealed grip on official Congolese affairs.

Britain should persevere. Two kinds of pressure are required. The first is a much stronger **demonstration** of support for the OAU than we have yet given. Secondly, a parallel effort to reassure the American (and the Belgians, though they're secondary) that withdrawal of their intervention will not lead to a hostile Congo.

Today, in fact, the choice is between an African Congo determined to make its own way in alliance with its neighbours, and a foreign-dominated Congo which will continue in mess and misery — out of which mess and misery there must surely come, soon or late, that **hostile Congo** which the Americans say they fear.

Jan. 28th, 1965

Basil Davidson

News from Algeria

Trade with Britain - by Richard Fletcher

WITH the construction of the "Third Pipeline" by British engineers in Algeria, in the face of strong French opposition, and the announcement of Anthony Greenwood's proposals for the independence of Aden, British credit stands higher than ever before. The Government and co-operative producers are determined that 1965 will see a big increase in trade with Britain — at least to the levels of 1959-60.

80% of Algerian agriculture is now under co-operative production (workers' self-management), and this is working well in spite of the departure of nearly all the French managers and technicians. Processing and packaging are carried out at centralised stations controlled by the producers, and a separate Government organisation, O.F.A.L.A.C., is responsible for control, inspection and the certification of all products for export. Buyers from Holland, Germany, Russia and Yugoslavia say that inspection, particularly of citrus fruits, is now even more rigorous than under the French.

It is hoped that substantial shipments of citrus fruits will be made to Britain this year for the first time, and that trade in new potatoes, carrots and other vegetables will be re-established. Initially, marketing of agricultural produce was carried out by Government departments, but this was not successful. Since 1963, the

establishment of independent co-operative marketing organisations for the major products has greatly increased the efficiency of distribution, and overseas buyers now have few complaints.

However, the international terms of trade are still moving against primary producers — prices of oranges, for example, are expected to fall 50% over the next few years — and the Algerians are anxious to establish their own integrated organisations for packaging and marketing of dates (at present carried out in Marseilles), canning of fruits and vegetables and for producing jams and other preserves. The British co-operative movement could do much to help in this field — by supplying specialists and technicians and, possibly, by building and operating canning factories in Algeria.

There is a very large demand for British industrial equipment in Algeria — agricultural machinery, steel pipe and equipment for the oil industry, complete refineries, petrochemical complexes, fertiliser plant and factories for the processing of plastics and other materials.

Britain and Algeria are ideally suited as trading partners, their needs are complementary, and there is no reason why mutual trade should not increase 4 or 5 times its peak of 1960 over the next five years.

Trade figures for the 6 years are as follows (£ million):—

	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
			£m.			(10 mths)
From Algeria	11	12	9.2	10.7	7.5	6.3
From Britain	2.4	3.3	3.0	1.8	2.7	3.7

Of this trade, fruit and vegetable imports have fallen from £1.7m. to £17,000, and iron ore (whose revenue still goes to France and not Algeria) from £9.6m. to £3.8m.

Counter-revolutionaries Give Up

from Hsinhua

THE Algerian Government announced in a communique recently that Hassani Moussa, former Minister of Postal Services and Telecommunications, who joined the counter-revolutionary forces last summer, had surrendered together with his followers. Hassani Moussa, after leaving the Government, went to North Constantine province to organise anti-Government guerillas. His crossing over to the Government is a severe blow to the remnants of reaction in Algeria.

Algeria stands by Congo

from Hsinhua

ALGERIAN Foreign Minister Abdelaziz Bouteflika reaffirmed his country's resolute support for the Congolese liberation movement when he spoke at a banquet given by the U.N. Correspondents' Association at the United Nations on January 29th.

"I solemnly declare that my country will aid the Congolese people morally and materially in their staunch struggle for independence so that they may step up their fight and contribute their efforts towards the emancipation of the African continent," he said.

"It is clear to us that the Congolese patriots in their struggle against the mercenaries and intervention by a big power are fighting for independence, unity, territorial integrity and national peace," he stressed.

"My country which has suffered much during the years of national struggle could not remain indifferent to the struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, the so-called Portuguese Guinea or South Africa," he said. "This action is inspired by the love of freedom of the Algerian people as well as by the love of freedom which men like Patrice Lumumba had tried to teach us, because all of us remain faithful to his memory. We are the victims of the plots of great western powers which, taking advantage of the weakness of our continent, wanted to intervene militarily in the internal affairs of our continent."

He said that while being faithful to the U.N. Charter and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, Algeria was equally faithful to the principle of self-determination of all African states.

U.S. payments tottering

from B. Gregory

MR. ROBERT ROOSA, who resigned last month as U.S. Treasury Under-Secretary for Monetary Affairs, warned that the Administration must take action within the next few months to curb the deteriorating external payments deficit.

In an interview in the current issue of *U.S. News and World Report* Mr. Roosa declared that there had been a "serious worsening" in the U.S. balance of payments position in the final quarter of 1964.

"We are nearing the end," he declared, "of any period of support that we can expect from the rest of the world through their holding the additional dollars—our I.O.U.s—to cover our foreign deficit."

Although official figures of the payments deficit for the whole of last year have not yet been published, there have already been various private forecasts that, after averaging \$500m. in each of the first three quarters, it deteriorated in the final three-month period to between \$1,100m. and \$1,500m.

The worsening position has caused alarm within the Administration, which is known to be contemplating a package of monetary and qualitative measures aimed at reducing the deficit. Announcement of the package, however, has so far been delayed by a serious controversy among various Government Departments and the Federal Reserve concerning the actions which would prove most appropriate.

Mr. Roosa, ruling out any possibility of a devaluation of the dollar, declared that a protection programme should include such steps as tying a greater amount of U.S. foreign aid to purchasers of American products. But the contemplated package would probably extend far beyond such a relatively mild project which, after being partially in operation for some years, has already tied the bulk of foreign aid outlays to purchasers in the U.S.

The Administration has become disturbed for two major reasons by the growth in the U.S. external deficit. First, it fears a possible loss of confidence in the dollar abroad which could persuade some Governments to exchange part of their large

dollar holdings for gold (as France has already done) and thereby cause further outflows from declining U.S. gold reserves. Gold purchases in London by private speculators in response to weakness of the dollar would have a similar, if more indirect, impact.

Secondly, there is concern about U.S. bargaining power in crucial international financial negotiations which have now been in progress for more than a year.

Among qualitative controls said to be under discussion, meanwhile, are the following:—

1—The introduction of an exit visa, costing \$50 or \$100, for tourists purchased each time an individual left the country. This tourist "tax" would be aimed both at reducing foreign travel — which results in foreign expenditures by Americans

averaging \$3,000m. annually—and at cutting expenditures abroad by individuals who still decide to make the trip;

2—Limitations on direct investments abroad by U.S. corporations;

3—Withdrawal of American troops from overseas bases;

4—Tax concessions aimed at encouraging American companies to remit profits from their overseas subsidiaries.

Each of these and other recommendations, however, have as many opponents as advocates. While some members of the Federal Reserve Board, for instance, favour tighter money President Johnson went out of his way to explain in his economic message last week that he did not wish to disturb domestic economic growth by such a move.

Negroes' conditions worsen

WHAT economic advances have been made by American Negroes after a decade of heroic struggle, how have they fared in relation to the white population? Both liberals of the *New York Times* variety and Negro moderates like the Urban League would have it that vast strides towards economic equality with white workers have been made as a result of a combination of mass struggle and enlightened legislation.

The facts, however, contradict these claims. An article, "The Decline in the Relative Incomes of Negro Men" by Alan B. Batchelder of Ohio State University in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* shows that during the 1950s the gap between the incomes of white and Negro workers, far from getting smaller, was increasing, that relatively they are worse off now than 15 years ago:

	Income		Income ratio,	
	Negro over white		Negro to white	
	1949	1959	1949	1959
U.S.	1334 2572	2254 4337	52.32	51.96
North-East	2061 2759	3326 4623	74.70	71.94
North Central	2210 2721	3468 4525	81.22	76.64
West	2049 2786	3395 4773	73.55	71.13
South	1033 2065	1643 3524	50.02	46.62

The above figures tend to underestimate this worsening relative situation, for between 1950 and 1960, 1½ million Negroes moved to the North and West regions, where the income differentials narrow, thus raising the ratio nationally: the fact that this national ratio has fallen is due to a greater decline in the relative income of Negro workers in all areas than that shown in the above figures.

by ANDREW MILLER