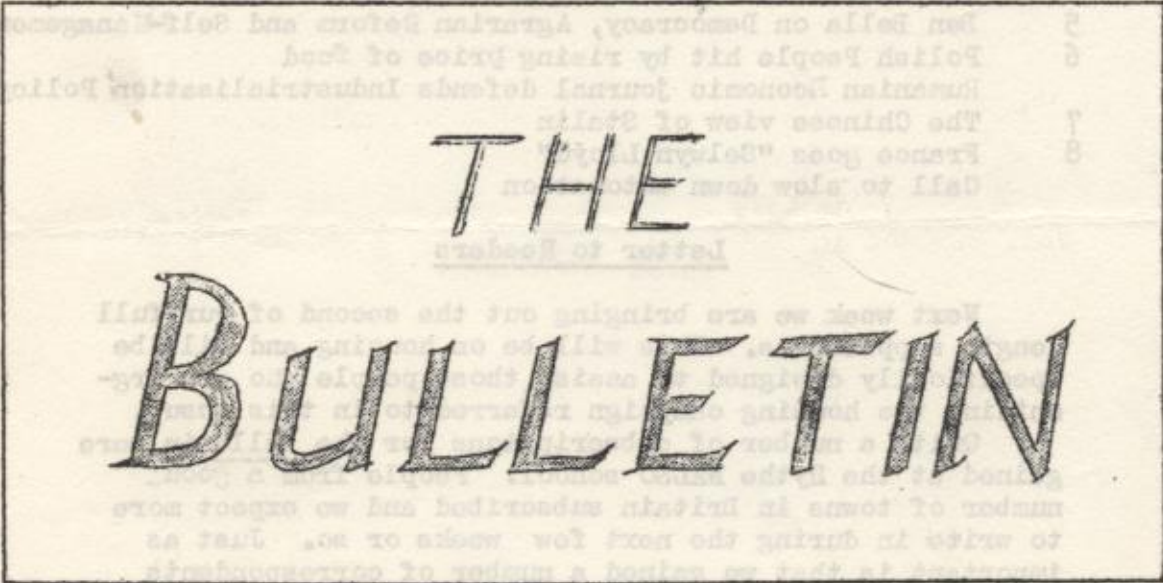


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Letter to Readers

Next week we are bringing out the second of our full length supplements. This will be on housing and will be specifically designed to assist those people who are organising the housing campaign referred to in this issue.

Quite a number of subscriptions for the Bulletin were gained at the Hythe NALSO school. People from a good number of towns in Britain subscribed and we expect more to write in during the next few weeks or so. Just as important is that we gained a number of correspondents for the Bulletin and articles from two or three of the new correspondents will appear in next week's issue.

We have been told that the figure we gave for the number of demonstrators who marched from Hyde Park to Wormwood Scrubs to protest against the vicious sentence on George Clark was an underestimation. We based our figure on that given by the police. However, participants and other journals put the number much higher. The police said 700, the other figures vary from 1,000 to 1,500.

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"I told Lord Home that the Labour Party would completely back the Government in measures it thought proper to take....." thus spoke Gordon Walker, Labour's "Shadow" Foreign Secretary, after discussing the anti-British demonstrations in Indonesia. According to press reports he also told Lord Home that "Labour backed Malaysia completely and regarded the new federation as a means of bringing stability into that part of the world..." (Guardian, September 19th). This is a bi-partisan foreign policy with a vengeance! One is forcibly reminded of Gaitskell's assurances (later withdrawn) of support for the Tory Government at the beginning of the Suez crisis.

What is this federation of Malaysia? According to this week's Economist: ".....The federation project was admittedly a device, by calculated risk, to control by merger the Chinese stronghold of Singapore and the large Chinese population of Malaya..." The Premier of Malaya, Tunku Abdul Rahman, has been more specific; on a number of occasions he has described the federation as "a bastion against Communism in South-East Asia." Opponents of the federation have put it another way, they say that the federation is intended to produce a regime which will keep safe the £400 millions of British investment in the Malayan and Borneo territories, and at the same time allow British imperialism to keep its huge military base in Singapore.

There is no need for us to go into a detailed analysis of the federation - this has been done in an excellent leaflet put out by the M.C.F., which we advise all readers to obtain and distribute (the address of M.C.F. is 374 Grays Inn Rd., London W.C.1.) It is enough to consider the repressive measures which have been taken to force the project through: the arrest of over 100 Barisan Socialist and trade union leaders in Singapore last February, who are still incarcerated; similar arrests in the Malayan Federation; the arrest and deportation of leaders of the United People's Party in Sarawak (the U.N. mission reported that nearly 100 political prisoners were in prison when it visited the country); the crushing of the armed revolt in Brunei which was led by the Party Ra'ayat which won every elected seat last year; etc. In face of guerilla warfare which has broken out in Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo, Thorneycroft has assured the new federation's government that Britain will help to crush internal 'subversion.' This is the federation which Gordon Walker has committed the Labour Party to completely back!

We must ask two questions. Firstly, why is it that Labour which has declared itself against other neo-colonialist schemes, for example, the Central African Federation, should now support what the whole world knows to be a Tory plot? Secondly, by what process has Labour been committed to support Malaysia? Has the N.E.C. considered the question? Has the Parliamentary Labour Party discussed the matter? If not, why not? Annual Conference will be with us in a few days - there is a call on the agenda (resolution 303) for conference to declare itself against Malaysia. Yet in advance, with no real discussion, our party has been pledged to support the federation and to <sup>back</sup> action against Indonesia. This is no small matter - quite apart from the merits of the case, it seems likely that the next Labour Government will be faced by the prospect of another colonial war unless it reverses its policy on this matter. What a start to Labour's term of office!

The left must ensure that Labour is committed to complete opposition to Malaysia. Labour must not use British troops to bolster up a regime which exists only to ensure the continued exploitation of the area by British big business interests. The 1945 Labour Government put down the Malayan peoples' liberation movement - is this folly and crime to be repeated? Has nothing been learned from nearly 20 years of uninterrupted colonial revolution? The most British imperialism can gain from the Malaysia venture is the postponement of the day the Malayan and Borneo workers and peasants take over the resources of their countries - it is up to British socialists to hasten that day.

RENTS ROW IN BIRMINGHAM LABOUR PARTY

by a Birmingham correspondent

A major row has flared up in the Birmingham Labour Party over the decision of the Labour group on the City Council to put into effect in December increases in the rents of Municipal houses, both pre-war and post-war. The increases will be as much as 11/7 per week.

The Borough Labour Party representative to the Labour group has resigned in protest because the party was not consulted on the issue. It should be pointed out that there is an annual conference in Birmingham to decide Labour's municipal policy. So there will be sharp reactions in the party because this move was taken behind its back.

Birmingham has been faced recently with soaring house building costs. In a little over twelve months the cost of the high blocks of flats has risen by as much as £500 per flat. This has led to increases in the housing subsidy paid out of the rates. Moreover, the Labour group has not led any fight on this. Instead it has merely issued pious statements about the Tory Government being to blame, but at the same time putting the burden on to the backs of the municipal tenants.

I.R.I.S. ADMITS A 'MISTAKE'

The September issue of I.R.I.S. News, that vicious anti-left journal which specialises in interfering in union elections and finding 'reds' under the bed, contains the following on its front-page:

"In our issue of June, 1962, we published in good faith an article about Mountain and Molohill, Public Relations Consultants, which stated that all of the directors (who were also the shareholders) were Communists and inferred that the company was Communist inspired. Proceedings for alleged libel were instituted by the Company and four of its directors, and we are now satisfied that at the time of publication only one director was in fact a member of the Communist Party and that the company was in no way Communist inspired.

"We apologise to Mountain and Molohill Limited and the directors concerned for any embarrassment caused by our misunderstanding. We have agreed to pay their legal costs."

Ed. Note: It is to be hoped that other people mentioned in I.R.I.S. News will learn from this and check the accuracy of allegations made.

LABOUR STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE INVOKES 3-YEAR RULE AGAIN

The following letter appeared in this week's Tribune signed by the Secretary and delegate to Conference of the Croydon Central Labour Party:

The Croydon Central Labour Party sent as its resolution to the Conference, a call for nationalisation of the basic industries. This arose from last winter's unemployment, and the present high figure, which, in our opinion, shows the deep nature of the crisis facing the present system, and the need for Labour to control and plan industry by taking over major sections of industry. Under the 3-year rule, the Standing Orders Committee has ruled out of order our resolution together with those of all other organisations who have raised the question of nationalisation.

In a year when union after union and even the TUC has called for more control and nationalisation, we must not allow the Labour Party Conference to debate unemployment and a planned economy without dealing with nationalisation. The Croydon Party will raise the matter with the Standing Orders Committee, and if necessary, we shall pursue the matter to Conference to fight for the resolutions dealing with Nationalisation to be put back on the agenda. Croydon Central L.P. asks all organisations which have had resolutions on this subject ruled out of order to contact our delegate at Westwood County Modern School, Valley Bridge, Scarborough, at 3.p.m. on Saturday, September 28th.

Herewith as promised the details of the Housing Campaign which is being launched. The organisers have issued the following:-

"The only body which can tackle the housing problem is the Labour Movement. We plan to launch a massive campaign to make sure that this problem is faced squarely. We should like prominent men from Labour Groups from all over the country and trade unionists to add their signatures to the statement below. Please let us know as soon as possible if you are willing to support our campaign.

The present Government's housing policy and programme entirely fails to face up to the realities of the housing problem in Britain. The building and letting of houses for profit will never provide homes adequate for the needs of the people; we believe housing should be provided as a social service. We deplore the Government's policy which forces up rents for tenants and mortgage rates for owner-occupiers, and welcome the Labour Party's commitment to cheap housing loans for local authorities and owner occupiers; the scrapping of the Rent Act; compulsion of landlords to install baths and inside w.c.s; the public buying of building land; and the resultant stabilising of council rents and the ending of evictions.

In addition we believe that the provision of adequate housing should be the first priority of a Labour Government and we therefore urge immediate adoption of the following crash programme:

- 1) A minimum house building target of 500,000 per annum.
- 2) Municipalisation of all housing other than owner occupiers'.
- 3) Greatly increased use of direct labour as a first step towards public ownership of the building industry.
- 4) Setting up of national facilities for the design and manufacture of building components in areas of unemployment, and using redundant factories, shipyards and railway workshops.

We call upon the Labour Party, both nationally through the N.E.C. and locally, Trades Unions, Trades Councils, Co-operative organisations, Tenants' Associations, Local Authorities and the whole population of Britain to join a massive campaign.

These demands must be pressed upon the Conservative Government by means of demonstrations, a mass petition organised throughout the country, deputations to all ministers involved, and culminating in a march through London and a mass lobby of Parliament."

Frank Allaun, M.P.

Bert Wynn, N.U.M.

Len Youle.

Eric Heffer.

Ben Parkin, M.P.

P.S. to Regional Organisers: Can you please get any prominent members of housing committees etc. in your areas (particularly in major cities) to endorse this statement. This is urgent.

Ed. note: All correspondence should go to "Housing Campaign",  
21, Drayton Gdns.,  
LONDON, S.W.10.

POSTSCRIPT: Since the above circular was drafted additional sponsors have sent their names in. Many more are expected as only a few days have elapsed since the original appeal went out. The new sponsors include: Syd. Bristow, Ken Coates, vice-chairman Nottingham City Labour Party; Bill Dow, <sup>Prospective</sup> Parliamentary candidate South Paddington; Judith Hart, M.P.; Ellis Hillman, L.C.C.; Lena Jeger, Hugh Jenkins, and Renee Short.

1748

The Economist of September 14th carried the following report:

"Doubtless the significant increase in the amount of private foreign capital invested in Ghana during the past year means a certain departure from the government's original socialist aims. A sum of £70 million has been promised for the construction of an aluminium smelter at Tema, and £8 million for a new oil refinery. Private investment of these dimensions will obviously have a considerable effect in what is still an agricultural economy; but the government maintains that, since its first priority is rapid economic growth, the limited public capital available should be supplemented from private sources. Apart from making a "departure from socialism" in Ghanaian policy, the rise in investment has a further significance: it shows that private investors have increasing confidence in Ghana's political stability and growth prospects.

Politically, this confidence would not have seemed justified even a year ago, when the atmosphere was troubled. The expulsion of Bishop Rose-vare suggested that the government was near to paranoia, while the attempt to assassinate President Nkrumah at Kulungugu, and the other bomb explosions that followed, were taken as evidence of a strong opposition movement. The arrest, trial and conviction of the bombthrowers, and the detention of Mr. Adamafio and Mr. Ako-Adjei, the two ex-ministers whose trial has begun in Accra, did little to diminish the feeling abroad that the government was in trouble.

Dr. Nkrumah's personal position, and that of his government, now actually appear to have been reinforced. The attempt on the president's life set off a great demonstration of opinion in his favour, and the feeling against the arrested men was high. The opposition's resort to a method of a assassination that involved the killing of a considerable number of people in the crowds waiting to see Dr. Nkrumah worked to its discredit. And the government's credit has been enriched by the fact that, instead of summary executions (there have been none since Dr. Nkrumah became president), a painstaking legal case was built up against the alleged conspirators before they were brought to trial in a special court in Accra. The cessation of the disturbances since they were arrested has also created a certain confidence in the efficiency of the security forces.

In order to understand the stability of the Nkrumah government, however, one must above all consider its economic policy. In 1961, when there was a serious balance of payments crisis and Ghana's reserves had dropped to a dangerous level, the policy of quick development with heavy public investment looked like grinding to a standstill. The ruthless "Kaldor" budget of that year reinforced the impression that the economic situation was grave; but it now looks as if this budget largely redressed the situation. The reserves have been stabilised around £70 million. With the further supplement of private capital the rapid development policy may even gain added impetus. The Akosombo hydroelectric scheme is now apparently ahead of schedule and is expected to be completed in 1965. It will supply power for the new Tema aluminium smelter, which, it is hoped, will become a pivot of the country's industrialisation and be a step to breaking the country's alarming dependence on the fluctuating world cocoa market."

THE SIZE OF BRITISH INVESTMENTS IN INDONESIA from Financial Times 19/9/63

"...The figure of £160m. quoted yesterday covers a wide range of investments - which include Shell refineries and oilfields, rubber, coffee, tea and palm plantations, several medium-sized factories and banking and insurance branches. The estimate of their value, impressionistic as it is, could be too low in view of the large Shell interest; crude output was about 5.5m. tons last year and the payroll is in the region of 20,000...."

Herewith extracts from two recent interviews given by Ben Bella: Firstly from Le Monde 17/9/63:

Question: Mr. President, you have recently launched an appeal to opponents to rally to your regime. If this appeal is not accepted do you believe, nevertheless, that an opposition has its place in Algeria?

Answer: No, there is no place in Algeria for an opposition. One need not share my point of view and all Algerians have the right to criticise me. But there is a fixed framework for that: there is the party. We can have tendencies inside the party. In the case where such a tendency becomes the majority it will orientate the F.L.N. But the plurality of parties is not possible. Certain people say that one cannot express oneself freely inside the party. Let us be serious. Militants who have fought through 7 years of war cannot cast themselves suddenly in the role of the sheep of Parungo following the grand chief, a sort of grand sorcerer. That is absurd..."  
Asked about his plans for the future, Ben Bella replied:

The first measures I am going to undertake will concern a fundamental question, the agrarian reform. A text will be put before the assembly. It will, this time, concern all lands, without exception. Properties will be limited to so many hectares, the figure has not yet been fixed. Naturally the reform will be staggered over several years. On the other hand we are going to put forward a text concerning the civil service, which will permit in the Autumn the mobilisation of Algerian youth for reforestation and against soil erosion. Lastly, our active measures against political speculators will be accentuated on the political plane. The first Congress of Management Committees - a sort of 'peasant congress' - will be held in October. It will permit us to assemble some cadres who will constitute dynamic elements for the party. As for the foundation of the party itself it will only be made in the course of 1964.....

From La Gauche 13th September.

In reply to a question on immediate aims, Ben Bella said:

There will be next the Congress of Self-Management and the Agrarian Reform, the two based on the lines of the March decrees. The Congress will perfect the functioning of the Socialist Sector and the Agrarian Reform will extend this sector. Let me say immediately that, contrary to certain prophecies, self-management has been a very great success. Never before have the enterprises, at present self-managed, gone forward so well. There has even been overproduction, if I can say it! What the next Congress will be called upon to rule on, are questions of a practical nature. It will be necessary to reexamine the role of S.A.P., the directors, the question of credit, of commercialisation, etc. As for the Agrarian Reform, it will considerably enlarge the socialist sector to the detriment of the private sector. We are firmly determined to attack equally all the big agricultural properties

Question: What do you reply, comrade president, to those who speak of lack of democracy or even of a repressive regime in Algeria?

Answer: The "democracy" which is lacking effectively is formal democracy. To the contrary, what is not lacking at all is real democracy. You see, we cannot permit ourselves the luxury of losing time and energy. We have gone far and we wish to go quickly. We are obliged, consequently, to work in a certain framework. A framework inside of which we will maintain side by side the greatest liberty of expression and the most enriching confrontation of ideas, that is the only way of uniting all valuable forces and for rapid construction.

Repression? But is it not rather the first time in the history of a victorious revolution that it has not had to have recourse to one execution during its first year of existence? Not one! And then, how many persons, here, have been deprived of their liberty for political reasons? Four! They are, moreover, royally treated....

1750

The hard-pressed Polish consumer has suffered a new blow with the Government's announcement of price increases, ranging from 8 to 100%, for milk, dairy products, matches, vinegar, and some alcoholic drink. The regime has also ordered a cut in the butterfat content of the milk and cream available for the public. The increases will cost the nation's consumers the equivalent of about \$30 m. (about £10.8 m. at the tourist rate) each year. The increases are the latest in a series that have pushed the cost of living up by some 20 to 30% during the past 2 years. Only last spring the Government doubled the price of coal, electricity, and gas for household use.

In spite of the rises, Polish housewives have been plagued by persistent shortages in the shops, particularly of meat, eggs, milk and dairy products. Warsaw newspapers reported that the latest price increases were aimed at preventing a worsening of some of these shortages after a comparatively poor crop year. It was the second consecutive below-average year for Poland's largely independent farmers.

The rise in consumer prices was accompanied by an 11% increase in the price the Government pay farmers for milk, and by regional increases in the state purchase prices for meat. In this way, one newspaper said, "the party and the Government want first of all to prevent a further drop in the cattle population" and a resulting additional decline in the milk and meat supply.

Even so, official sources indicate that the shortages of milk and dairy products will be considerably worse this year than last. It is estimated that, although the demand for milk is more than 26m. gallons up on last year, the supply has dropped by nearly 92 m. gallons. Last week Mr. Gomulka, First Secretary of the Polish Workers' (Communist) Party, declared that milk production had fallen 18% below the 1962 level, and that the livestock population had dropped by 14.4% largely as a result of last year's harvest difficulties.

As a result Poland has been forced to cut its profitable exports of butter to hard currency markets by more than half. This year only about 12,000 tons will be available for sale abroad, instead of the 28,000 tons sold last year. The latest price increases were ordered by the Council of Ministers, and according to press reports leaders of the Communist Party and the official trade union organisations participated in the decision.

Under the order, the butterfat content of the already thin Polish milk has been reduced from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 2%. Cream will be 10% thinner. The price of the new thinner milk has risen slightly, that for cream is up 10%, and prices for cheese, ice-cream and powdered milk are up by an average of 20%. The price of wine and vodka, the national alcoholic drink, is up by 15% and the price of matches has been doubled. Vinegar is to cost 40% more. Old Age pensions and children's allowances are to be raised slightly to help cover the latest increases, the newspapers report.

#### RUMANIAN ECONOMIC JOURNAL DEFENDS INDUSTRIALISATION POLICY

The Guardian of 6/9/63 had a report which included:

"...A new Rumanian periodical "Viata Economica" has replied to the East Germans, ostensibly taking issue with an article in Wirtschaftswissenschaft, the economic magazine of the East German Academy of Sciences, .....With a show of great indignation, the Rumanian periodical refutes the article's argument, which seeks to prove...that certain small "Socialist Countries" should give up active industrialisation in favour of more passive pursuits, that they should, in particular, abandon the priority development of the heavy industry and should pay more attention to agriculture. "In plain Rumanian" says the periodical, "the article in question boils down to the thesis that some Socialist countries should give up the idea of industrialisation."



"...Stalin's merits and mistakes are matters of historical objective reality. A comparison of the two shows that his merits outweighed his faults... Therefore, when Stalin's errors are being correctly appraised, criticized and overcome, it is necessary to safeguard Marxism-Leninism, which he defended and developed."

Among Stalin's errors was a confusion between "contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people... In the work led by Stalin of suppressing the counter-revolution, many counter-revolutionaries were duly punished, but at the same time there were many innocent people who were wrongly convicted; and in 1937 and 1938 there occurred the error of enlarging the scope of the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. In the matter of party and government organisation, he did not fully apply proletarian democratic centralism ... In handling relations with fraternal parties and countries he made some mistakes, and gave bad counsel..."

"...Long ago the Chinese communists had first-hand experience of some of his mistakes. 'Left' and right opportunist lines emerged in the Chinese C.P. under the influence of certain mistakes of Stalin. In the late twenties, the thirties and the early and middle forties, the Chinese Marxist-Leninists represented by comrades Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi resisted the influence of Stalin's mistakes; they gradually overcame the erroneous lines and finally led the Chinese revolution to victory.

"But since the wrong ideas were accepted and applied by certain Chinese comrades, we Chinese should bear the responsibility... Therefore our party criticised only its own erring comrades and never put the blame on Stalin. The purpose of our criticism was to distinguish between right and wrong, learn the appropriate lessons and advance the revolutionary cause. If erring comrades failed to correct mistakes, we waited until they were gradually awakened by their own practical experience, provided that they did not organise secret groups for clandestine and disruptive activities. Our method was the proper method of inner-party criticism and self-criticism... for dealing with contradictions among the people and not between the enemy and ourselves..."

"...Khrushchov should remember that he himself was particularly active in supporting and carrying out the then prevailing policy for suppressing counter-revolutionaries. On June 6, 1937... Khrushchov declared: Our party will mercilessly crush the band of traitors and betrayers, and wipe out all the Trotskyist-right dregs... we shall totally annihilate... enemies -- to the last man -- and scatter their ashes to the winds..."

"The frantic campaign against Stalin... enabled the Trotskyites, who had long been political corpses, to come to life again and clamour for the 'rehabilitation' of Trotsky. In November 1961, the International Secretariat of the so-called Fourth International stated in a 'letter to the 22nd Congress of the C.P.S.U...' that in 1937 Trotsky said a monument would be erected to the honour of the victims of Stalin. "To-day", it continued, "this prediction has come true. Before your congress the first secretary of your party has promised the erection of this monument." In this letter the demand was made that the name of Trotsky be "engraved in letters of gold on the monument erected in honour of the victims of Stalin." The Trotskyites made no secret of their joy, declaring that the anti-Stalin campaign had "opened the door for Trotskyism" and would "greatly help the advance of Trotskyism and its organisation -- the Fourth International"... "Khrushchov can never succeed in removing the great image of Stalin from the minds of the Soviet people and of the peoples throughout the world. He can utilise his privileged position to revise Marxism-Leninism... but try as he may he can never succeed in overthrowing Marxist-Leninism, which Stalin defended and which is defended by Marxist-Leninists throughout the world. Long live the great revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin and Stalin!"

**1752** Last week's Economist devoted its main article in its "business" section to France's new economic policy. We reproduce an extract giving the main points of this policy:-

"The plan consists of six main lines of action;

1. CREDIT RESTRAINT. The Government has reduced from 12% to 10% the limit set to the encours bancaire- i.e. the proportion by which total credits advanced to industry are allowed to rise during the year from February 1963 to February 1964. By the end of August these advances were already 5% over the February level; during the current six months, therefore their rise will be limited from another seven to another 5%. Hire purchase terms have been stiffened. For cars, the minimum deposit goes up from 25 to 35%, and the maximum period of loans is reduced from 24 to 21 months. The deposit on television sets goes up from 20 to 25%, but kitchen equipment such as refrigerators, which have been doing badly, escapes the new restrictions.....

2. FISCAL MEASURES. A reduction of the budget impasse from its ceiling of Fr 7,000M to Fr 4,750M -bringing the budget into surplus above the line, is planned. This is to be achieved by restraints on public spending- but also by new taxation, of which one new measure is unorthodox and important. A tax on capital gains from sale of real estate is being imposed, for sales of property from the beginning of 1963. The amount by which selling prices during 1963 have exceeded 1950 values, over and above an average increase in value calculated by the tax authorities, plus an allowance of 25%, is to be taxable as income at the ordinary progressive tax rates. Presuming that this tax proves administratively workable, it should be a heavy one; real estate values in France have rocketed in the last few years. In other direct taxation, the highest rate of taxation on personal incomes is to go up from 65 to 70%.

3. CUTS IN PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.....

. PRICE CONTROL. All prices are to be frozen at their August 1963 levels- unless trade associations can persuade the Government that increases will be justified. This is a general extension to all items of the so called "controlled freedom" system, arranged by agreement with trade organisations. For its own part the government will refrain from increasing the charges for certain public services (for example postal and telephone charges, tube and bus fares).....

5. THE CURBING OF WAGE INCREASES. All the means that have hitherto been applied for this purpose have proved ineffectual in a period of labour shortage, and in his conference on Thursday M.Pompidou said no more than that he was relying, partly on the effects of credit restriction, and on the freezing of prices, to cut out the employers power to pay more.

6. CUTTING TARIFFS. As a further contribution to moderation in internal prices even under "controlled freedom", the government is making significant cuts in import duties. On a range of consumer products, it is making reductions of 15 to 20% in duties on imports from within the E.E.C.- i.e. of 7½ to 10% in the level of tariffs existing when the Common Market came into existence. So far as imports of these goods from third countries is concerned, France will cut duties by half the difference between present levels and the duty levels set for them in the eventual common external tariff of the common market. These are tariff cuts that would not, by the normal processes of Community reduction, have to face for many years to come...

CALL TO SLOWDOWN AUTOMATION: The Financial Times of 19/9/63 reported "The rate of automation in the Western world should be slowed to avoid violent social upheaval, Sir Geoffrey Vickers, V.C., the British social scientist suggested yesterday. He told an Ontario Government Conference on Automation and Social Change in Toronto that the further growth of automation could have unusually violent repercussions. Unemployment caused by automation will be more disruptive and more of a social scandal that the mass unemployment of the 1930's, he predicted."