

# The Newsletter

WEEKLY JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE  
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1962

Vol. 6, No. 265



## Gaitskell's Common Market sham

# AID FOR THE TORIES

## Right-wing plans a Labour 'Neddy'

By OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

**N**O one should be deceived when Gaitskell talks vaguely about possible opposition to Britain's entry into the Common Market. This has got nothing to do with a socialist fight against the plans of the American and European monopolies.

Various groups of employers quarrel amongst themselves over the question of where to try and solve the problems facing capitalism—Europe or the Commonwealth. But they are united in their determination to prepare big changes in industry which will involve wholesale attacks on workers' living standards. At such a time, all Gaitskell is concerned about are the 'terms' for British entry.

He is not worried about how the Labour movement can meet the threats of the monopolists, but whether the interests of Commonwealth capital will be properly looked after. Instead of preparing a campaign to throw out the Tories, the Labour leaders are only interested in making sure Macmillan drives a good enough bargain for British capital with its German and French rivals.

The speech of Ray Gunter last weekend shows how the Labour Party leadership is thinking. The 'shadow' Minister of Labour, who is also the president of the Transport Salaried Staffs Association, made it clear that a future Labour government would impose some form of wage restraint.

### DISCIPLINE

Welcoming the TUC decisions at Blackpool, he said: 'A Labour government in co-operation with the trade unions and the employers will desire to create the necessary instruments for ensuring an expanding economy and ensuring that the expansion is not ruined by taking too much out of the till at one time.'

The TUC resolutions on organisation and economic planning have been seen by every capitalist newspaper as part of the preparation for Common Market entry. The new problems which British capital will face will be met by attempts to discipline the workers. The TUC leaders have, in effect, declared their readiness to help to do this job for the employers.

Gaitskell's pretended opposition to Macmillan on the question of the European negotiations is a complete evasion of the real issues for the Labour movement. While he considers the acceptance or rejection of the terms for British entry, the unemployment figures are rising.

The argument about Commonwealth preference versus European trade is a sham fight. The Common Market will mean a strengthening of the power of big business on a continental scale. Such reactionary power, at the command of Wall Street, will be used in an effort to smash the Labour movement.



Gunter: don't empty bosses' till

This must be countered, not by the demand to keep out Italian fruit or German cars, but by uniting the forces of the working class in Britain, in Europe and in the Commonwealth countries against the monopolies and for socialism.

Our answer to the European Common Market must be a preparation by the trade union movement to beat back attacks on organisation, on jobs and on wages. This must be linked with a united campaign to get rid of the Tories and replace them with a Labour government pledged to a socialist programme

## Unemployment: Fight for the 40-hour week NOW!

**T**HE economic policies of the Tory government are responsible for a growing army of unemployed, particularly in the North-west of England and in Scotland. Young people are the worst affected; they have to live on very low unemployment relief with the only alternative of working in the dirtiest and lowest-paid occupations.

Some trades and labour councils are organising delegations to lobby members of parliament in October and sound out the possibility of attracting new industries to the affected areas. This policy is nothing more than an appeal to the employers to make use of cheap labour and in this way make more profit. This is not a socialist alternative to unemployment but a reaffirmation by the reformists and Stalinists that they believe in the ability of the Tories and capitalism to provide work.

### FIGHT AGAINST TORIES

The fight against unemployment is essentially a fight to bring down the Tory government and replace it with a Labour government which will operate socialist economic policies based upon the nationali-

sation of the basic means of production and the establishment of a system of workers' control. This would lay the groundwork for a planned economy which would cater for the needs of the people as a whole and in doing so remove the problem of unemployment.

The main question before the Labour movement today is to establish the widest unity in action between employed workers and their unfortunate unemployed brothers. This cannot be done when unlimited overtime is being worked in areas where there is growing unemployment.

The trade unions have gone on record for the 40-hour week. Now is the time to force the movement to fight to have this decision implemented without loss of pay. The reduction of working hours would make it possible to absorb a good proportion of those who are out of work.

### NO OVERTIME

All unions which have unemployed workers on the books should instruct their members not to work overtime until the unemployed are given jobs. The trades councils, in collaboration with the trade unions, should organise meetings outside factories to call for a ban on overtime until unemployment is ended.

In cases where there are workers, particularly youth, who are signing on at the Labour Exchange and are not able to join the trade union for their trade, the unions should campaign to get them to pledge that they will join a union as soon as they find a job. Those who sign such a pledge should be given the same opportunity of obtaining work as unemployed trade unionists.

### STRENGTHEN

These measures, apart from uniting the unemployed and the employed, will strengthen the working class and take it forward to force the Labour and trade union movement to fight for socialist policies as an alternative to Toryism.

Our slogan must be: employed and unemployed—unite to fight the Tories and the employers.

**The National Executive  
Committee of the Socialist  
Labour League**

19/9/62

## Cuba: hot air and wine

By Michael Banda

**A**NY resemblance between a real war danger and the present crisis in Cuban-American relations must be seen as pure coincidence. True enough, on one side the shoot-from-the-hip-and-ask-questions-later brigade in the US Senate were demanding intervention and invasion. True enough, the Soviet government, on the other, have made war-like noises and told the State Department what to do with the Monroe doctrine.

But, paradoxically, while dockers in Havana and Matanzas were unloading cargoes of food, munitions and missiles from the Soviet Union, dockers in New York were unloading a more congenial cargo of Russian wine for Mr. Kennedy from Mr. Khrushchev!

The US government, and Kennedy in particular, are still smarting from the Bay of Pigs fiasco last year. Moreover this is election year in the US and Ken-

nedy knows only too well that the only way to stay in the White House is by staying out of Cuba—and concentrating on Berlin.

That is why the administration in the US has not succumbed to the reaction of the extreme Right wing. But to deduce from this that the US government has lost interest in Cuba or resigned itself to the continued existence of the Castro regime would be very dangerous nonsense. On the contrary, the State Department has a long-term plan whose sinister implications are becoming clearer day by day. It hopes to starve Cuba into submission by intensifying the blockade and threatening sanctions against West European nations who continue to trade with and aid the Cuban nation.

The Soviet Union has every right to send extra food, arms and technicians to Cuba and any attempt to frustrate this operation must be resisted by all and every means.

But according to reports in the

● cont. p. 2, col. 4

### EDITORIAL

#### Other People's money

**W**HEN Cecil King bought the *Daily Herald* from Odham's Press, he left them the *People*. This third-rate Sunday scandal-sheet is now featuring a series of articles by one Armour Milne, who alleges he was employed in Prague as a *Daily Worker* correspondent.

No doubt the *People* paid good money for these stories, but, so far, they do not seem to have got very good value.

Many people have broken with the Communist Party, including some who were in important positions. Sometimes they have had principled disagreements and were trying to find their way to true communist policies.

But Milne does not appear to have ever been a communist at all. He claims to have joined the party just before the war and to have gone to Czechoslovakia in 1950.

His article does not say when he left, and how long he waited before taking his report to the *People*. It shows no evidence that he has any idea of Marxism or of the working class movement.

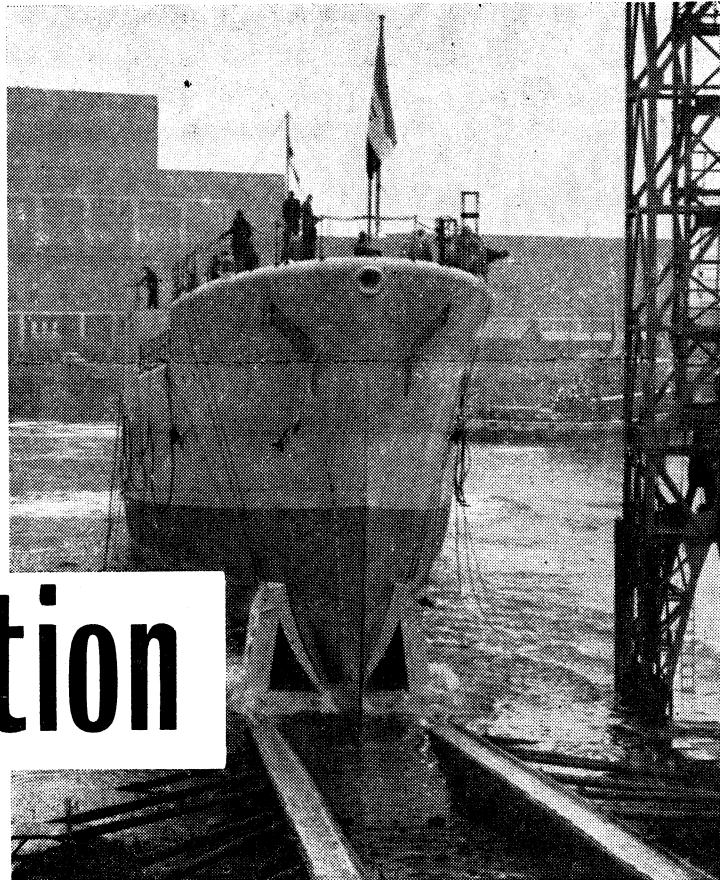
'Armour Milne's report is dynamite', says the *People*. This story is about as explosive as a blancmange. The 'revelations' about the payment of the East European correspondents of the *Worker* will not startle even the most nervous of readers. It is quite possible that the *Worker* gives equivalent facilities to East European journalists in Britain.

The *People* is presumably doing its ineffectual best to begin a communist scare. The danger is that it can be taken up by more expert witch-hunters. There are plenty of people with more money to spare than Odhams, who want to find ways of diverting the working class from its real enemies.

The Labour movement must be on its guard against all such efforts. THE NEWSLETTER's disagreements with the Communist Party are made plain in its pages; they are part of the fight for correct policies within the working class movement.

But all interference from outside must be treated with contempt. And that goes particularly for Mr. Milne and his sort.

# The fruits of Stagnation



Fewer new ships have gone down the slipways in Britain due to the decline of this industry in which the country formerly specialised.

THE term 'stagnation' is frequently used when speaking of the state of the British economy in recent years. It refers not to absence of growth or to depression but to sluggish rate of growth, the consequences of which become serious when comparison is made with the expansion achieved elsewhere.

Since 1953, for example, Germany, France and Italy have been able to double, or almost double, their industrial production. The growth in Britain has only been about 25 per cent; in some periods there has been little or none.

Of course, in terms of output per head, Britain started at a higher level and conserves an advantage. But that is not the point at issue. If present trends continue, it will not be long before Britain not merely loses ground, but falls behind. In that case there will be posed not only the industrial future of Britain but also the ability of sterling to keep its place as an international currency.

The slow rate of growth of the economy is a reflection of the slow rate of accumulation. While investment has been high compared to the abnormal standards of the '30s, it has fallen well below that achieved in comparable countries. The significance of this is that the proportion of modern equipment in British industry is smaller than in countries with a higher rate of investment. Efficiency tends to be lower, costs are higher and prices less competitive.

While the competitiveness of British industry is already weak in some important fields it is being undermined by failure to invest at a higher rate. Of course, capitalist industry is not run to improve efficiency, satisfy social needs or even to strengthen 'the nation'.

**Investment and innovation take place in response to expectations of profits. Capital will flow into those outlets which appear to be most profitable. If adequate profits are being made with existing equipment and methods, realised profits may be used elsewhere—in land or currency speculation, in overseas**

investment.

**If profits in a particular sphere are not satisfactory, less investment will take place there. The low rate of investment in industry, or rather some sectors of industry, appears to be due to one or another of these causes.**

High profitability depends upon the rate at which labour power can be exploited. But it may be more profitable to continue production with old, and perhaps obsolete, equipment rather than to invest in new equipment which will increase

more patchy.

Certain lines in which Britain had specialised in the past—such as shipbuilding, marine engineering, cotton and coal mining—have actually declined. In other fields, however, there has certainly been a powerful upward movement, notably in chemicals, engineering, vehicles and electrical industries.

It seems safe to assume that some industries are going to decline still further, but it is unlikely that the growth in the

## Fourth article in TOM KEMP's series on THE CRISIS OF BRITISH CAPITALISM

the ratio of capital to labour power and thereby raise production and productivity. Under conditions of British capitalism—and this is an old-standing problem—the maintenance of profitability seems to be a definite barrier to a more rapid increase in technical efficiency compared with what can be attained by other rival capitalist powers.

In short, while throughout the capitalist countries there has been an investment boom in the past decade, the rate of investment has been correspondingly less powerful. It has also been

expanding industries will bring about the overall increase of 4 per cent per annum put forward by NEDC. Past investment has hardly been adequate to ensure that in the coming years. Moreover, there can be no doubt that a number of the European capitalist countries, as well as Japan, will be doing their best to cut into British markets, and that includes the still privileged spheres of British trade and investment in the Sterling Area.

**Pressed on by their own balance of payments problems, the Americans will also be competing more strongly than ever in the markets for**

## The artist the Nazis couldn't silence

TOGETHER with Braque, Picasso and Siquieros, Oscar Kokoschka remains one of the few living great artists of our time. Unlike Braque and Picasso, however, Kokoschka was not attracted by cubism and surrealism, and unlike Siquieros he was never a political propagandist.

He is and has been an expressionist painter who prefers to talk to the public in allegories in the manner of Baroque and Renaissance painters.

The present exhibition in the Tate consisting of more than 300 paintings, drawings, lithographs, water colours and book illustrations is an impressive testimony of the cognition and craftsmanship of this artistic genius.

Kokoschka was a product of the pre-1914 Viennese intellectual milieu which included such famous figures as Paul Kraus, Schoenberg, Mahler, etc. It was

in his Viennese period that Kokoschka earned fame, or rather notoriety, by shocking the conservative Austrian bourgeois with his sensitive and psycho-analytical portraits.

The horror and reprobation of the 1914-18 war made a lasting impression on his art. He turned to landscape painting, but strangely, the enormous social upheaval caused by the war and the triumph of the October Revolution is not reflected even remotely in his paintings.

When Hitler came to power Kokoschka's art was banned, his paintings confiscated and he was designated a 'degenerate artist'.

This did not deter the artist, whose prolific work continued and has outlived the Third Reich. Harbours, harbour basins and towns seem to fascinate him even more than portraits. His paintings of Hamburg, Marseilles,

manufactures. They will be able to use their big investments in industry outside the US in this battle.

There is little doubt, whatever the precise nature of the economic struggles ahead in the world market, that British capitalism enters them under markedly disadvantageous conditions. Abroad, the determination to outstrip Britain in economic power is clear.

Germany must have markets for her expanded industrial production. She must find outlets for capitalising the surplus value extracted under favourable conditions from the German working class, including the millions of refugees. It is seldom realised how important Germany is as an exporter of capital at the present day. In the Middle East and in South America, German business is making a big effort. In some Latin American countries such as Brazil, Germany is second as an investor only to the USA.

The spokesmen of British capitalism—or some of them—are able to console themselves with the thought that the high rates of growth achieved in other countries may not be maintained. They point to growing labour shortages in France, Germany and even Italy as a factor tending to raise costs and thus to improve Britain's competitive position. Sometimes they fail to take note of the continuous pressure of this outside competition.

Driven to think of desperate ways out by the rapid growth of other West European countries, they have come to support entry into the Common Market. The reasons behind this include the belief that if British industry is geared to a rapidly expanding market, exports will expand and industrial growth at home will be assured because profitability will improve and the balance of payments become more manageable.

But the contest within the Common Market will be just as sharp. As tariffs are lowered against European products, many industries may find that they lose their grip even on the home market. As for sales in Europe, they may not come up to expectations—and certainly will not if the boom flags.

This is the economic background to the sharp struggles the British Labour movement faces in the next few years.

## Kapitza and the legacy of Stalinism

ACADEMICIAN P. Kapitza, in a recent article in a Russian journal, charges Soviet philosophers with impeding progress in scientific theory by dogmatically imposing what they pretended were Marxist ideas on science.

The world-famous Russian physicist, who worked with Rutherford at the Cavendish laboratory in the '20s, was writing on 'Theory, Experiment and Practice' in *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*. After discussing problems of relating the work of theoretical and experimental physicists, he comments on the philosophers concerned with natural science.

Kapitza quotes the entry on Cybernetics (the study of communication and control) from the Russian Philosophical Dictionary (1954) as follows: 'CYBERNETICS (from the Greek, denoting steering, controlling)—a reactionary pseudo-science, originated in the USA after the Second World War and also practiced widely in other capitalist countries: a kind of modern mechanism.'

'It is true that this was written in a book published eight years ago,' says Kapitza. 'This error has been righted. But surely, philosophers should foresee the development of natural science and not fix a past stage.'

'If indeed our scientists had, in 1954, listened to the philosophers and had accepted this decision as a guide to the further development of this science, it can be stated that the conquest of the cosmos, of which we are justly proud, and for which the whole world respects us, could not have been accomplished, because it is impossible to control a spacecraft without cybernetic machinery.'

Kapitza gives as other examples the opposition of Soviet philosophers to relativity theory, their incorrect understanding of the principle of indeterminacy in atomic physics and their criticism of the chemical theory of resonance. He explains these errors as being due to the isolation of philosophers from practical experiment.

What he does not say is that these views, presented as 'Marxism' were given an official status. In the field of biology, which Kapitza only mentions, Lysenko was able to impose his ideas on genetics without experimental verification, with the backing of the CPSU Central Committee. When he announced this support to Soviet biologists, all opposition faded away.

The attempt made in the '30s to stop any departure from the concepts of 19th century physics was against everything Marxism stood for.

In the early days of the Soviet Union, the freedom of natural science from political and ideological control was unquestioned. It was only at the end of the '20s that the bureaucracy, fearing unfettered discussion on any subject, began to make scientists toe the line laid down to serve the needs of the Stalinist faction.

The stranglehold of Stalinism on Soviet science held back the growth of technique in the USSR. Kapitza's guarded statement shows that this grip has been loosened in the past eight years, but still only partially.

## ● Cuba: from page one

US press, Russian diplomats are pressing Cuban politicians to recognise the fact that Cuba has no future unless it re-establishes 'normal relations' with the US government.

This is the politics of compromise and treachery. Any attempt to establish normal relations with the US government would undermine the Cuban liberation movement irretrievably in the eyes of the Latin American masses.

# Fascist violence in London

## Labour must organize to defeat it

By REG PERRY

**T**HOSE people who claim that Mosley and the fascist movements can be defeated by ignoring them should have been at Ridley Road in London's East End last Sunday when members of the Union Movement attacked a meeting organised by Hackney Young Socialists.

Mosley's supporters, who had just terminated a meeting protected by hundreds of police, marched into the Young Socialists' rally where there were no police to restrain them. Fighting broke out almost immediately. It spread through the crowd in Ridley market and spilled out into Stoke Newington High Street.

The Mosleyites had miscalculated. On the site where three weeks previously the Yellow Star movement had called on anti-fascists to ignore Mosley's meetings and demonstrate non-violent opposition, Young Socialists and workers now quickly routed the Union Movement. As they were being chased through the back streets, the police arrived to hold back the Young Socialists and make several arrests. Meanwhile in Ridley Road, the meeting was still in progress.

Here was the Union Movement without its mask. All the pleas made over the past few months by Mosley for 'freedom of speech', his impassioned denouncement of 'organised red violence threatening our democratic rights', his stressing of his peaceful intentions were shown to be false.

The Yellow Star movement and those who give them uncritical support (like the Communist Party) must think again about passive opposition to fascism.

### STREET OF MURDER

The Rev. Bill Sargeant, who declared last week in *Topic* 'let Mosley speak to the pigeons—don't attend his meetings', should have been at Southam Street in Notting Hill on Tuesday where Mosley spoke to a hundred potential fascists—in the very street where four years ago a young West Indian, walking quietly home, was murdered by racials. Fascists are continuing to spread hatred of coloured workers and to organise the 'poor white' youths.

### BEATEN SENSELESS

Two weeks ago in Dulwich a young Jamaican bus conductor was beaten senseless by five men for no other reason except that he was coloured. As a result he has lost the sight of one eye. Last week-end a Young Communist walking on Clapham Common wearing a Yellow Star badge was attacked by known fascists and savagely beaten.

To turn aside and ignore these many instances of fascist violence would be criminally stupid.

When the Socialist Labour League said after the Notting Hill race riots that protection from fascist violence could not be left to the police, we were hastily criticised by the *Man-*



Mosley: false pleas

*chester Guardian* and other papers. Events today have proved us correct. The Labour movement must be alerted to the growing spread of racialism.

The meetings of Young Socialists and all anti-fascists must be protected by trade unionists and Labour and CP members. This is the only way they can be defended.

### DEFENCE TEAMS

In districts where there is a large population of West Indians, Africans and Pakistanis, defence teams must be mobilised, composed of coloured and white trade unionists, to protect those threatened by fascist thugs.

**Nor can the Labour movement ignore those trade unionists who join with Mosley and Jordan and play on the fears of unemployment in the railways, in the bus garages, or any other industry. All those who openly support the ideas of the racials must be expelled from the trade unions.**

**Fascists seek to destroy the trade union movement as the organised defence of the working class. They must be expelled for anti-union, pro-employer activity.**

### NO ILLUSIONS

We must have no illusions about this problem. The fascist organisations in Britain are today numerically small. As yet they do not represent a threat of any magnitude. But anti-fascist committees of trade unionists, Young Socialists, communists and shop stewards' movements must be organised to rout them out. The Labour movement must answer the lies which these Tory agents spread with the socialist answer to the problems of housing and unemployment, insecurity and mass redundancy which face the working class.

## Once again — Hendy and the ETU

I AM sorry to learn that my communication was capable of mis-interpretation. Let me make it clear that I know of no one in the ETU, or in the CP, or in the SLL, who is or was a police spy. I intended only to demonstrate that if the SLL could be mistaken and if Lenin could be mistaken, then also the CP can be mistaken in its assessment of individuals.

Of one thing I am certain: that the CP does not and will not authorise its members to cheat in union elections. I recall that in the great ETU lawsuit the plaintiffs went to extreme lengths in an attempt to show that there was a Communist conspiracy to employ illegal methods. This claim failed miserably. As the judge had to point out: 'It is only due to Mr. Hendy, that it be emphasised that there was no evidence from which the Court could infer that his group or, indeed, any Communist group which discussed ETU matters ever decided that unlawful methods ought to be used.'

Of course this has not prevented the Right wing inside and outside the ETU from continuing their attacks upon the integrity of the CP. The CP believes with Lenin that 'the doctrines of Marx are invincible because they are true'. Confident in this, the CP can withstand the attacks, open or implied, of all its opponents.

J. HENDY,  
London, W.5

John Crawford writes:

Comrade Hendy does not seem to have understood what I wrote at all. While I was examining the role of political principles and their application, he keeps talking about individuals and 'integrity'.

Let me speak more plainly. The rigging of ballots in the ETU cannot be seen as the work of a few individuals. It must be explained in relation to the political line of the Communist Party leadership. King Street could not possibly have been ignorant of what was going on, any more than of the murder of communists

by Stalin's thugs. Just as Gollan tells us that a few mistakes were made in Russia, and one or two wrong things were done, so Comrade Hendy explains that some bad fellows were around in the ETU.

This is not a purely 'moral' question but a political one. The Communist Party rank and file militants in the ETU were misled by those whose politics caused them to see union positions as more important than the long-term needs of the working class.

As always, opportunist actions, sacrificing principles for manoeuvre, led to defeat for the Left. The witch-hunters with the aid of the court, were able to take control of the ETU.

The Left can defeat the employers and their stooges. To do this it must rely on the ability of the rank and file to fight, to make up its mind no matter how difficult the task in hand.

No one could possibly blame members of the CP if, because of a witch-hunt, they lost positions in the ETU. They could draw the lessons and redouble their efforts to defeat the Right wing.

That is the Marxist way of doing things. But what happened in the ETU was simply the application of Stalinist opportunism.

That is why it is vital to learn the political lessons of this experience, and not try to explain it all away by finding one or two scapegoats.

### ETU to 'discipline' six

The ETU's executive is to 'discipline' six members of the strike committee involved in the recent dispute at the power station site at Kincardine.

One of the six is due to face a court charge alleging that he assaulted union executive member Mr. Frank Chapple.

Former national officer Mr. George Scott, barred from office last July, is to be asked what he was doing at a mass meeting of the site workers in August.

THE August trade gap at £82 million is the highest recorded figure for two years. The adverse balance is not due to an increase in imports but to a decline in exports.

The new Chancellor, Reginald Maudling, will have had these figures very much in mind at the meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington.

Consider the problems that British capital is facing at the moment. On the one hand, all the economic indicators point to a fall in home demand. For instance, steel production, a key pointer to production, is at the rate of 21 million tons annually, some 12½ per cent lower than two years ago. Demand continues to fall and the steel producers are considering the scrapping of still more old plant.

There is a sharp decline in capital expenditure by the manufacturing, distributive and service industries, too, and the projected investment in this field is to be some 10 per cent lower in 1963 compared with 1961. This figure is based on employers' returns sent to the Board of Trade.

But if the Tories are to transform the economic situation, and create an artificial prosperity, in order to improve their electoral prospects, they must stimulate home demand.

The Bank of England's quarterly

## City Slants

by colin chance

*Bulletin* commenting on rising world costs, states that this factor 'suggests some approaching restraint upon the growth of world trade at a peculiarly inopportune time for the UK'. How right they are!

Reginald Maudling's job for the Tories at the International Monetary Fund will be to try to change the present fiscal mechanics

£ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £

### Artificial stimulant

£ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £

of the Fund to enable balance of payments difficulties to be overcome. Tom Kemp's article last week underlined the clash of interests between finance and industrial capital. Stimulating the economy at the expense of the pound is anathema to the City of London, but if arrangements can be made to finance pre-election Tory 'generosity' without jeopardising financial interests, this would be a satisfactory solution to their problems.

## Wilson and the old, old story

Newsletter Reporter

**LABOUR MP Harold Wilson** addressed a lunch-time meeting outside the English Electric factory on the East Lancashire Road last Friday. An audience of 300 workers listened to him as he spoke on behalf of the Merseyside development committee on the unemployment situation on Merseyside.

He said that the answer to the problem was to lobby the national ministries and get them to recognise and re-classify Merseyside as a development area.

Referring to the giant Imperial Chemicals Industries, he said that when Labour was in office he had given this monopoly orders as to when and where to build a new factory. If the Labour government had exercised more controls, he added, we would not be in such a serious position today, meaning presumably both unemployment and the strength of the monopolies.

The big question here, of course, is why Labour didn't nationalise all the basic industries and the powerful monopolies, which would have been the only effective answer to the problem of unemployment and the power of the capitalist class in this country.

As Mr. Wilson spoke, there was a continuous drift back through the gates until there were only some 20 workers left to hear him finish. No questions were asked, no comments made. The attitude was: we have heard these trite appeals to the Tories and the bosses before—and we know where they get us!

Maudling will try to achieve an increase in the availability of credit facilities, perhaps by the IMF assuming the role of normal banker, enabling it not only to receive deposits and lend money, but actually to create credit. His task is not going to be easy. France and Germany, for instance, are known to be against this change.

They do not have the same problems as British capital. On the contrary, they believe that easier credit will enable Britain to compete more effectively in world markets. Both countries, in any case, have balance of payments surpluses.

So far as the future of British capital is concerned, the meeting of IMF is far more important than the London gathering of assorted Prime Ministers representing the interests of their domestic capitalists. Macmillan has no choice but to take Britain into the Common Market. Maudling's proposals in Washington, however, are made in an attempt to ensure that British capital retains its ability to trade at all.



# Industrial Newsletter

Saturday September 22, 1962



***ETU: the 'heroes of democracy' at work***

## Byrne's bid for rule by committee

### Plans for five-year, full-time executive

By OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

**THE right-wing executive of the Electrical Trades Union have now submitted to delegates the final agenda for the Rules Revision Conference which is to meet in Margate on October 8. All the amendments to rule which appear on this agenda have been submitted by the executive council and not a single amendment appears from the branches. Byrne, Chapple and Cannon, who are applauded by Fleet Street as the saviours of democracy in the ETU, operate almost exclusively through their majority on the executive council.**

ETU members are now paying a heavy price for allowing themselves to be stampeded by the witch-hunt in the press during the executive council elections in September 1961.

An essential feature of democracy in any union is the degree to which the rank and file control the leading bodies of the union. In the old rules of the ETU, which were in many cases inadequate, the Annual Policy Conference was purely an advisory body. Rule 19, clause 12 says:

'(a) Any matter so determined by a Policy Conference (other than a special Policy Conference convened under Rule 39) shall be deemed to be a recommendation to the Executive Council and shall be considered at an Executive Council meeting within two months of the conclusion of the conference. A decision of the Executive Council to accept any such recommendation shall be binding on the whole of the Union.'

To offset this it was always argued that since the Executive Council consisted of lay members, it had the power to insist that the union maintained a policy in line with the requirements of the members. The December 1961 Rules Revision Conference, which was nullified in the courts as the result of a petition by Chapple, changed this rule by making the decisions of the policy conference binding on the executive.

#### FULL-TIME EC

For the first time in its history, the ETU was to be governed by its annual conference under conditions where the membership would exercise control over the executive. In other words the union was on the way to becoming a really democratic union, until Chapple stepped in.

The right-wing executive council allow Rule 19, clause 12 to remain unchanged, thereby revealing that they went into court not to democratise the union, but to rule out of order a decision which would have instituted an important measure of internal democracy.

On top of this, they now propose an amendment to Rule 21 which will, if carried, enable executive council members to

hold office for five years in a full-time capacity. In other words a full-time executive council will have practically self-perpetuating powers.

Thus we see how the heroes of democracy are busy removing all vestiges of democratic control over the ETU by the rank and file.

Conference delegates will have to fight this proposed amendment to rule tooth and nail and insist that the previous amendment of the 1961 Rules Revision Conference, making the decisions of the policy conference binding on the executive, be adopted.

The Right wing will obviously make great play of their proposed new Rule 39 in relation to the appeals machinery. Whilst there is much in this rule which is acceptable, further amendments are necessary especially in relation to clause 5 which says:

#### MEETING OF COMMITTEE

The Final Appeal Committee shall meet in October of each year, at a time and place decided by the Executive Council to hear all appeals notice of which shall have reached the General Office in accordance with Clause (7) by the 31st day of July in the year of the meeting. The Final Appeal Committee shall also, however, meet for the purpose of hearing an appeal or appeals under Clause (8) of Rule 21 at such time and place as the Executive Council shall decide, if the Executive Council deems it necessary in the interests of the Union or any person affected to convene a special meeting of the Final Appeal Committee for that purpose.'

According to this, the first meeting of the Appeal Committee cannot be until October 1963, 12 months after the special conference. In view of the urgent situation in the union regarding appeals which are now pending, this proposal should not be accepted. Furthermore, by setting July 31 of each year as the last date for the receipt of appeals to be heard in October of the same year, a person whose appeal comes in on August 1 will have

to wait 15 months before his appeal is heard.

**The election of a conference delegate from each branch disfranchises the majority of the rank and file. Behind this proposal is the obvious attempt to split the delegates from small branches from the delegates of the large ones. Delegates at the special conference will have to be careful to prevent this from taking place.**

A number of the proposed amendments improve the rule book and should not be opposed in a sectarian fashion. In some cases they follow in the footsteps of those adopted by the 1961 Rules Revision Conference.

But if the amendments to Rules 19 and 21 are carried, the Left will have suffered a considerable blow. The right-wing executive must be defeated on these proposals.

## Petrol strike hits airlines

Newsletter Reporter

WITH that good paper the *Daily Mirror* (industrial adviser George Brown) thundering at their side, petrol bosses have made a determined effort this week to break the strike of tanker workers, who are protesting at the decision of the Transport and General Workers' Union to take their pay claim for a £1 a week rise to arbitration. The employers have offered no more than 8s. 6d., and the tanker men feel, with justification, that all the cards are stacked against the TGWU officials when they meet the employers this Friday.

But despite the employers' efforts and the back-handed help of the TGWU, the strike has spread and has badly hit the London area. In particular, the airlines are beginning to feel the pinch and are making plans to get alternative supplies of fuel. But they are now faced by the possibility of strike action by 200 re-fuellers this Friday, followed by a series of two-hour stoppages, in sympathy with the tanker workers. Again the TGWU has stepped

## Witch hunt brews at T & T

From Our Midlands Correspondent

**THE Birmingham District Committee of the AEU held a meeting this week with shop stewards from Tractors and Transmissions, a BMC firm. Mr. Cockin, of the AEU Executive, acted as chief investigator into 'alleged irregularities' at the factory.**

The strange thing about this meeting is that the letter sent by the District Committee to each shop steward does not even say that an enquiry is being held and no one would have been aware of any so-called irregularities if they had not read the *Tory Birmingham Mail* and its morning paper the *Birmingham Mail and Post* last Thursday.

These papers told the T & T stewards just why they were being hauled in front of the committee and there followed a whole stream of charges.

The letter sent to the shop stewards by F. W. Crowder, Birmingham AEU District Secretary, stated:

The District Committee request you to attend a meeting to be held in the Conference Room at these offices, Tuesday, 18th September, 1962, at 7 p.m. The purpose of the meeting is to discuss matters concerning shop stewardship and AEU membership at your factory. It is most important that you make every effort to be in attendance at this meeting.'

The *Birmingham Mail* on September 13 headlined a story 'SHOP STEWARDS AT B'HAM CAR WORKS FACE UNION ENQUIRY'. The article stated that the Executive Council of the AEU ordered the enquiry 'following complaints

by branches and members claiming serious irregularities'. All these complaints start with the strike of 55 electricians in May this year at the factory.

The paper's industrial reporter says he understands that 'if irregularities are proved the union's National Executive may order fresh elections of shop stewards at the Washwood Heath factory.' He concludes the article and in fact sums up the whole purpose of this exercise, with a remark from an AEU member: 'We feel now the National Executive has instructed Mr. Cockin to attend the enquiry on Tuesday, that there is a chance that we can get rid of Communists and Left-Wingers who have exploited the union's democratic procedure.'

It is understood that a document on these lines did in fact go to the AEU executive, but the T & T stewards have never had a copy. At the time of the Tractors' strike in May there was a management-inspired canteen meeting when their stooges persuaded a few hundred workers to blackleg on the solidarity action taken by other T & T workers in support of an official strike by the 55 electricians.

#### STRIKE BREAKERS

Leading stewards were criticised for bowing to this dangerous element who would not remain satisfied with breaking the strike but would continue their stooge activities further. It is from a few of these known strike-breakers that the anti-Communist, right-wing smears are emanating.

All T & T workers must oppose a witch-hunt on the T & T stewards. So-called enquiries 'weaken the whole trade union movement and aid the BMC employers in preparing attacks on motor workers' living conditions.

The AEU members in Birmingham should demand that Carron discipline the blacklegs' leaders in the T & T strike—not the militants who were only carrying out standard trade union practice by refusing to blackleg.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper  
Published by The Newsletter,  
186A Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4  
Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), r.o.  
180 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4