# The Newsletter MARCH

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Vol. 9, No. 403

July 10, 1965

BIOSL FILE

Price 6d.

WITH THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR

From MARBLE ARCH

Get out of Vietnam! Victory to the Vietcong!

**US** imperialism

SUNDAY, JULY 18 1.30 p.m. Coaches from all areas in London 

Expose Wilson!

Demonstrate on July 18! 'Tribune' and Vietnam

DEFEAT IMPERIALISM IN

VIETNAM!

### CALL BY SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

VERY socialist must welcome the successes of the national-liberation fighters in South Vietnam. A victory for these heroic workers and peasants over U.S. imperialism and its puppets will be a major blow against the enemies of the labour movement throughout the world.

The Labour leaders conspire with these enemies to try to help extricate them from their difficulties. Wilson's 'peace mission' had this as its object.

His pretended concern about 'peace' is exposed for what it is by his continued support for every brutal atrocity perpetrated by the imperialists against the Vietnamese people.

Those pretended 'lefts' who talk of the need for a 'negotiated settlement' and the re-call of the 1954

Geneva Conference, are only covering up Wilson's treachery.

Brockway and his associates try to prevent a real struggle against the government's pro-imperialist line by calling for 'mediation' between the Vietcong and the Americans.

In this they are abetted by the socalled Communist Party.

After a fortnight's junketing in Hanoi, John Gollan, secretary of the British Communist Party, welcomes the campaign of Brockway and Silverman, which refuses to take the side of the Vietnamese revolution.

Despite all their suffering and hardship, the workers and peasants of Vietnam press on towards victory. Their struggle is ours also.

Socialists must fight for the defeat of the Labour government on the question of the Vietnam war. It is a pro-imperialist government.

We must fight to weaken the ability of the British capitalists and their servants in the Labour government and call on our American comrades to do the same, so that the Vietcong will have more victories, so that the American, British and Com-

> monwealth forces in Vietnam and South-East Asia will be defeated. We welcome every victory by the Vietcong against these forces because that will weaken the capitalist enemy here at home as well as in Asia.

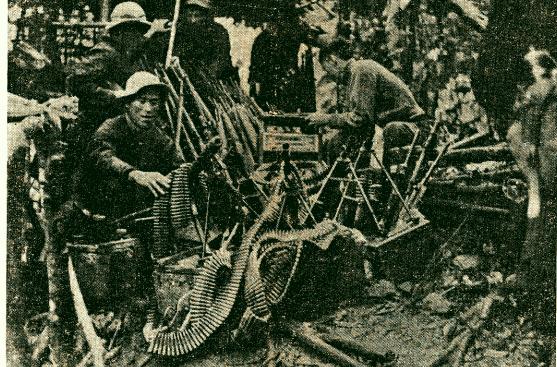
> In these struggles, inspired by the fight of the Vietnamese people, we shall build a Marxist party in Britain, as part of the Fourth International, which will break the stranglehold of the Wilsons, Brockways and Gollans on the working-class movement, and smash imperialism once and for all.

> The Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League calls on all sections of the movement to support

the demonstration called by the Young Socialists on July 18. The compromisers who would rob the Vietnam liberation forces of victory must not be allowed to mislead the growing opposition to imperialist action in Asia, and to the imperialist puppet, Wilson.

Statement by the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League

July 3/4, 1965



Vietcong examine an arsenal of captured American weapons.

# Young Foyle's strikers close victory

VICTORY is in sight for the 70 strikers at l'oyle's bookshop, London, who are now approaching the second month of their strike.

union, at the Ministry of Labour, Christina Foyle came forward with proposals which, though unacceptable, are a big comedown on her part. For two months she has struck rigidly to a 'no discussion' attitude.

The strikers are demanding a proper wage-for-age scale plus higher commission rates and a higher basic rate for office staff who cannot earn commission.

Fovle's are now offering £11 at the age of 21 for men and £9 10s. for women, a £l and £l 10s. increase respectively. Christina Foyle said she would come forward with a scale for office staff at a further meeting at the Ministry on Thursday.

The strikers are still demanding increased pay, equal pay for men and women, a raise in commission, reinstatement and no victimisation.

Through their tenacity and unity the young strikers-many overseas - have almost broken through to an important victory, not only for themselves, but for the many thousands of unorganised shop workers throughout Britain, who must

At a meeting on Tuesday now become organised in the between the management and the trades unions and Young Socialists.

> It is believed that Foyle's have made a heavy financial loss during the strike—estimated by some to a drop of over one-third -and the Foyle's book clubs have been paralysed by the support for the strike from postmen.

> Christina Foyle has hung on grimly but has failed to crush this strike.

> The likely victory has come about despite union officials, who have been pushed along by the strength of the strikers to make the wage demands, and flaunt the 'paper' decision of the Union of Shop. Distributive and Allied Workers conference to back

cluding Marius Webb, the 22year-old strike leader. She offered a further 10s. to the top two age wage rates. She wil not grant any extra commission or pay scheme for office staff. demonstration planned by the strikers for Thursday evening was called off by union organiser Callinan, because 'it might embarrass negotiations'. The strikers were to meet on Friday morning to decide whether to accept Foyle's conditions.

### **Ealing Young** Socialist expelled

TWENTY - FIVE - YEAR - OLD Ray Musgrove, a London Transport bus driver and active member of the Young Socialists, was expelled from the Ealing

Musgrove was told that he had been expelled-by 14 votes to six — for distributing leaflets opposing the Wilson government. In fact, Musgrove has fought consistently for the policies of the Young Socialists, and while being questioned at the General Management Committee inquiry, found several Labour Party members agreeing with his position on

Vietnam. Among the six who voted against his expulsion were trade

Musgrove had been a member of the Labour Party for seven years and stood for the council in

# Government of officers in Algeria

By CLIFF SLAUGHTER

ON Monday, July 5, third anniversary of Algerian independence, Colonel Boumedienne broke his silence on the composition of the new government. Since the removal of Ben Bella in the coup of June 19, Boumedienne has repeatedly said that he had no political ambitions, and that some nonmilitary figure would become head of state.

In fact Boumedienne has now been pronounced Prime Minister. This military man leads a government composed almost in its entirety of other military men.

As last week's Newsletter pointed out, political control has been taken over by an army trained outside the liberation which expelled the struggle A small group of French. officers, with only one or two individuals from the Ben Bella government, now rules the country.

None of the exiled or predeposed right-wing viously leaders have been persuaded, apparently, to act as front men for the Boumedienne clique, whose strength at the moment is probably entirely dependent upon the support they receive from world imperialism.

No doubt the political 'personalities' are extremely unsure of the stability of the new regime, and are afraid of direct army rule which will provoke popular revolt, especially in the present conditions of large-scale unemployment and land-hunger.

#### NO CLARITY

Boumedienne's political declaration on the occasion of the independence celebrations did a little to clarify still further the nature of the new regime. Apart from the now standard description of Ben Bella as a personal dictator, Boumedienne's speech stressed the need for work and discipline.

This is ominous, especially when read in conjunction with his reported address to an audience of policemen some days earlier in which he called for action against 'revolutionists' and adventurers.

These, he said, were largely foreigners who had gathered in Algeria to try out their theories by influencing Ben Bella and other FLN leaders.

At the same time as preparing this attack against the left and the working class, Boumedienne insisted on the preservation of good relations with the French imperialists, and made it clear that he is making agreements with the most reactionary forces in North Africa.

The talk about the Maghreb proletarian internationalism.

(North African Arab unity) is specifically designed to bring Algeria closer to the reactionary

regimes in Tunisia and Morocco. Politically speaking, Boumedienne hopes to consolidate army control as against control through the leading circles of the National Liberation Front (FLN) government single party, which Ben Bella represented. And so Boumedienne talks about a new assembly in which the party will 'control' government rather than substituting for government.

#### ARMY RULE

Whatever this seems to mean, it really means the army high command and Boumedienne will govern, using the party as an instrument of control where necessary.

Among the many lessons of the Algerian events for the international working-class movement is the clear light it sheds on the real political role of the Stalinist bureaucracy which leads the Communist Party of China.

In the interests of their immediate diplomatic moves towards the Afro-Asian conference in Algiers, they hastened to give uncritical recognition to the Boumedienne regime.

Their international manoeuvres take place completely abstracted from the building of an International of revolutionary parties, and as in this case, they end up by supporting the counter-revolution.

#### **DEMAGOGY**

Demagogic references to Lenin by the leaders of an established workers' state, as in China, are no substitute for the rebuilding of the Fourth International. Without this there is, in fact, no 'return to Lenin'.

The Algerian events should help the militant workers who have welcomed the Chinese criticisms of the Kremlin Stalinists to see that they must go far beyond those criticisms.

The meaning of the Chinese adulation of Stalin now becomes clear also. Their politics, like his, are perfectly capable of sharp swings to the left, but only within the framework of a bureaucratic abandonment

## Hysterical hypocrisy trom fake

By John Crawford lefts

THE editorial in last week's 'Tribune' shows very clearly the real meaning of the kind of politics peddled in that journal.

With an emphasis almost amounting to hysteria it says: . . . the Vietcong, the Chinese, and perhaps even the bombbattered North Vietnamese, draw the wrong conclusion—the conclusion that given time and resolution on their part, the

Americans can be driven into the sea and a total victory gained. . . . It won't happen.' This principle dominates the

thinking of these gentlemen: imperialism is invincible.

The bosses will always be bosses. Talk socialism now and again if you like, but never imagine that anything will come

That is why, to the applause of the Stalinists, Foot, Silverman and Brockway, and their like, talk about 'peace' in Vietnam. That is why the possibility of a victory of the Vietcong terrifies

That is why they will still attempt to cover over Wilson's betrayal of the labour movement. For years they acted as a

valve for rank-and-file discontent with the Labour leaders. Instead of a real analysis of the class position of the right wing, they offered piece-meal criticism, and that only when there was no danger of having to take responsibility

They blunted the edge of every attack on imperialism, substituting bucketfuls of sentiment about the sufferings of the colonial peoples for the slightest support for a real fight to end

Anyone who still reads 'Tribune' each week can discern several stages in the evolution

of its attitudes to Wilson. From the 1963 Labour Party Conference until after the underwent the period of prolonged applause. Each piece of feeble dema-

gogy from the leader was greeted as a major contribution to socialist thought. Then, as the election promises

fell thick and fast, 'Tribune' was silent on a growing list of topics

DELEGATES to the Transport and General Workers' Union conference at Portsmouth this week, passed by an overwhelming majority, a resolution calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam and for the Labour government to dissociate itself. from U.S. policy over Vietnam.

The resolution said: 'That this conference, recognising the need for the government to do all in its power to promote peace in Vietnam, urges the government in its capacity as co-chairman of the peace conference of 1954 to call for the removal of all foreign troops and to dissociate itself from American policy over Vietnam and to continue to press for immediate peace talks.

In this issue of The Newsletter we state clearly our position on the role of the Labour government and 'peace talks'. But we are sure that the tremendous feeling over the lietnam issue expressed by the TGWU delegates is indicative of the opposition throughout the labour movement in Britain, and the rest of the world to imperialist aggression in South-East Asia.

from pensions to South Africa. Next came some months of pleas and sighs. If only Harold Wilson would see the error of his ways. . . .

Now, when the role of the government is too obvious to hide, they have to try to head off the opposition by making a few critical noises.

But while Foot may occasionally condemn Johnson's policies (referring as little as possible to those of his friend Wilson), the essential function of each criticism is to cloak an apology.

In fact, the campaign for a peaceful settlement' in Vietnam is an essential part of Wilson's efforts on behalf of imperialism. It follows a regular pattern:

(Cont. page 4, col. 6)

#### Who cares?

John Gollan

Fenner Brockway

ALMOST daily, we hear of expulsions from the Labour Party of rank-and-file members, who, it is alleged, have done something or other to discredit the Party. But George Brown, Minister for Economic Affairs, is an honourable exception.

He just says and does what he likes. After attacking the Tories, he rushes and apologises to them. These Honourable Gentlemen in the House of Commons know Brown for what he is, a political ally of theirs within the Labour Party.

We are not so much concerned about this, as about the fact that his antics and behaviour are continuously being utilised by the Tory Party to discredit tens of thousands of ordinary sincere men and women who comprise the membership of the Labour Party and the trade unions

Why should they be laughed at because Brown goes around acting the goat. Of course, it would be too much to hope that he will be discrediting the

#### The Newsletter

Saturday, July 10, 1965 wingers have been severely dealt

On top of all this, the party chiefs continuously claim that their difference with the Socialist Labour League is that they are a 'democratic party'. We know

that this is a downright lie and George Brown goes on proving it. The National Executive Committee will remain silent because in fact they are more sympathetic towards him and the Tory Party than towards the rank and file who fight for socialism.

#### Speak up Prince!

NE of the misleading legends which is carefully spread around by Tory and Labour Party politicians is that Royalty stands aloof from political opinions.

Prince Philip has now blown that fairy tale sky high. By poking his nose into Rhodesian Labour Party. After all, in the affairs and coming down, as he history of this party not a single must do, on the side of the most right-winger has ever been ex- reactionary wing of colonial pelled, whereas hundreds of left- oppressors, he has revealed for all

to see that Royalty does have political opinions.

The Newsletter says: 'Well spoken, sir.' We hope that you will bawl out your real opinions more frequently in the future. For our part we think it is a shameful disgrace that hirelings of the establishment should seek to gag you. After all, you have never hidden your sympathies with reaction, why should the idea be developed that you have in some way been progressive in your outlook.

As a member of a most outlived feudal institution, the British monarchy, which should have long ago been swept away, you cannot but think in the way that you do. The next step you should take, of course, is to join the Tory Party and declare that you stand, like all of these representatives of big business, four-square against the interests of the working class.

Better still, might it not be a good idea for you to persuade Elizabeth herself to declare her politics more openly. It would certainly purify the air and every worker would know, as a result, what to do in the coming struggles that lie ahead You, like Lord Home and his tribe, will then be dealt with similarly.

#### George Brown's wage freeze. Late on Thursday, Christina Foyle agreed in negotiations to take back all the strikers, in-

Labour Party this week.

union delegates.

Ealing in 1961.

# BEGIM: Nationalism

declarations and abandoning N Europe today, new revolutionary parties of the working class are urgent necessity. The traditional parties social - democracy (including the British Labour Party) and of Stalinism are being revealed to the mass of workers as incapable of

The Socialist Labour League and its international co-thinkers in the Fourth International have insisted that this construction of parties based on Marxist theory is the primary and central task of Trotskyists. Opposing us have been those grouped around the 'Pabloite' United Secretariat in Paris.

alone fighting for social-

ism.

Their spokesmen, and particularly Ernest Germain, have insisted that the most important thing is to work within the left-wing or 'centrist' trends which will inevitably emerge in opposition to the right-wing leaders within the old parties.

One of their prize examples has been Belgium. There, a group of socialists around the paper 'La Gauche', edited by Ernest Mandel, worked for many years within the Belgian Socialist Party (PSB), anticipating such a 'centrist' break from the Party.

The break came rather differently from the way they expected. The right-wing leaders of the party simply told them last December that they must cease publishing an opposition paper or they would be thrown out.

Instead of conducting an all-out fight against the witchhunt, building up their forces

organe do combat socialiste

in struggle against the right

wing, they simply walked out

Along with them went a

sizeable group of Walloon

nationalists (advocates of sepa-

rate federal rights for the

French-speaking section of the

population). Out of this

action came a new party in

Wallonia, the Walloon Wor-

kers' Party, alongside the new

This break was hailed

by the Pabloites as a great

step forward. They tried

to obscure the fact that

a number of the most

prominent Walloon leaders

in the new party, and

particularly Perin, were

opposed to the perspec-

tive of a revolutionary

They ignored the criticisms

of The Newsletter to the effect

that these leaders were simply

using the separatist movement

in order to lead the workers to

non-socialist politics and even

to the extreme right. Instead,

they allowed the workers

under their influence to take

at face value the cynical agree-

ment of Perin to the 'socialist'

Now 'La Gauche' (July 3)

carries as its front-page lead

article a denunciation of Perin,

and the Walloon leaders close

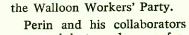
to him, for going back on these

slogans of the new party.

workers' party.

'Union of the Socialist Left'.

of the PSB.



convened last week a conference at Namur together with the Walloon Front and two smaller Walloon movements. These united at the conference into a new 'Walloon Party', into which Perin has led the whole Liège section of the Walloon Workers' Party. (He became an MP, standing for the latter in the recent elec-

'La Gauche' says of this new winning reforms, let

> 6 The congress refused to place socialism and the class struggle in the party programme. It refused to add the word "workers" to the name of the party. It rejected the word "anticapitalist" to describe the proposed "structural reforms". All this speaks for itself.

Like the leaders of the right wing of the PSB, Perin, Moreau and their friends believe that the "class struggle" is out of date, they consider that "modern socialism" has nothing more to do with Marxism and the Quaregnon Charter, that ideologies should be buried



### Centrist bankruptcy again

and "all Walloons united" whatever their status. 9

Mandel and 'La Gauche' try to make the best of a bad job by criticising Perin at this late stage, and they go in for the most frantic whistling in the dark when they conclude:

6 Don't let anybody smile too soon; he who laughs last laughs longest. The confusion born of the effort by the Perin tendency to prevent a class orientation, a left socialist orientation, to the new groups which came from the split in the PSB, is now dissolved by Perin himself. The way

exposed

### by Cliff Slaughter

is now clear for a federal congress of the Walloon Workers' Party, which will decide to group together with other left socialist forces, beginning with the Union of the Socialist Left. The new left socialist formation, awaited with mounting impatience by many militants, will finally be born, without any doubt by September. 9

This is great stuff. First you amalgamate with the demagogue Perin, allowing him to use socialist colouring to ensure his parliamentary seat, giving him a platform to influence all the Walloon workers who are breaking from the opportunists, eventually to lead a substantial part of them into open class collaboration. Then you condemn his statements against socialism, and comfort yourself with the ingenious theory that his very betrayal exposes him and his group.

Those who are really exposed by these events and by all the casuistry of 'La Gauche' are the so-called revolutionary socialists around Mandel and the 'Trotskyis's' of the Pabloite 'United Secretariat'.

neo-fascist Poujade in France.

Leadership has been abdicated by these people and so they play their own very definite part in the betrayal of the working class, just as they did in Ceylon, Algeria and the USA.

We drew attention months ago to precisely these dangers, and we are confident that this to create the forces in Belgium which will defeat this revisionist and centrist course, setting in motion the reconstruction of the Trotskyist

Their addiction to centrism, and their abandonment of the central perspective of building the revolutionary party, actually permitted the bureaucratic leaders of Belgian Social Democracy to consolidate their strength against the rank and file, and then handed over this rank and file to right-wing demagogues whom they now themselves denounce, even comparing them with the

Once again it becomes very clear that the fight against revisionism waged in the columns of The Newsletter and in the sections of the Fourth International is no abstract debate.

theoretical struggle has helped

NEWSLETTER REPORTER CIX Harlem Negro youths who have been on trial since May 3, having been held in custody for over a year, face the electric chair for a crime they did not commit.

Six Negro youths

in frame up

trial

The Harlem Six, Wallace Baker, aged 20, William Craig, Ronald Felder, Danny Hamm, Robert Rice, all aged 18, and Walter Thomas, aged 19, are charged with the first degree murder of Mrs. Margit Sugar, who was knifed to death in her New York clothes shop on April 19 last year.

Two days earlier, a group of elementary school children, accused of overturning a fruit barrow, were brutally attacked with clubs and guns by police who arrived in six patrol cars.

By-standers were also attacked-one Frank Stafford, lost an eye when clubbed with a police stick.

Baker and Hamm, two of the accused in the murder trial, were also beaten up when they asked a police officer why he was hitting the children.

The attack came at the time of the story, whipped up by the press, that a gang of 'Blood Brothers' were being trained by extremist Muslims to kill white people.

#### HELD FOR YEAR

Immediately after Mrs. Sugar was killed on April 19, Hamm, Baker and their four friends were arrested.

They have been held for a year, without being brought to trial, and there are claims that they have been ill-treated.

For some of the time, they have been kept in solitary confinement and it is claimed that at the beginning of May Hamm was beaten up by a guard while his hands were handcuffed behind his back. The youths have not been allowed to have the attorney

or their choice.

The prosecution's two main witnesses are Ollie Roe, a drug addict who says he was an eye witness to the killing, and Robert Barnes Jr., a petty thief and suspected addict.

It took several months for Roe to decide that he could recognise any of the accused, and when questioned about the number of youths who had run past the shop where he worked, he gave different numbers on different occasions.

#### 'CONSIDERATION'

Barnes, in a statement, said he nad been promised some consideration by the assistant District Attorney, Lenner, regarding three cases pending against him.

His story was that the youths had planned the attack while he was present, and he gave word for word conversations of a year ago.

He said that all the youths had gone to the attack together, but that his father had called him in on the way.

In earlier evidence, Barnes' father said he had seen his son with one youth at the

Barnes identified a knife in court which he said he had seen washed and put in Rice's bedroom, but police evidence said the knife was found on the floor of the clothes shop.

There was a complete contradiction between his evidence of what he was told happened in the shop and the evidence of Mr. Sugar.

#### 'RIGHT' ANSWERS As 'Challenge', weekly news-

paper of the Progressive Labour Party, commented:

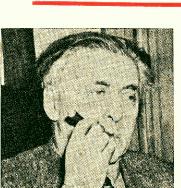
'Barnes has reasons other than the noble ones which some will ascribe to him. He and Ollie Roe have something in common; they both are in trouble and hope to buy their way out with the "right" answers at the right time.'

This outright and blatant frame-up is part of the wholesale attack by the police and courts on behalf of the capitalist class on youth all over the world. The capitalist class still fears and hates youth who will not accept the conditions in which they live and

work.

The whole struggle of youth internationally was adequately expressed by one of the six in a parting shot as he was led from the court:

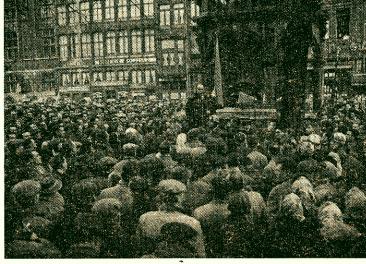
'There is a way to freedom and courts and judges don't know the way.'



ONE of Stalin's chief literary hacks, Ilya Ehrenburg attempts to cover up his subservience to the bureaucracy in the latest inprinted in the Soviet literary magazine, 'Novy Mir'.

the Moscow Trials, he says:

'In 1937, I was only aware middle of the Party....



A meeting of the Walloon Popular Movement in Liège last year.

# Franco-German discord threat to the Common Market

THE Common Market and systematic movement toits foundations by what surrender of control over amounts to a French threat to break it up.

Although the question of agricultural prices was the immediate occasion for the lie much deeper.

Not that the agricultural issue is of no importance. French agriculture desperately needs a wider market and it is still a lagging section of the economy. Moreover, peasants comprise a still sizeable section of the electorate.

De Gaulle's sharpness can only be understood in relation to the history of the Common Market.

In the fifties the political custodians of West European capitalism saw that if the system which they represented was to survive, something had to be done to break down the restrictions on the development of the productive forces represented by the old state frontiers.

#### U.S. investment

as a barrier against the threat of social change and as part of its strategic policy in Europe. Behind this was the need to establish a stable field for investment and trade.

by the reduction of tariffs between the member countries, moving on to the establishment of a single tariff for solidated his power in France the whole area.

being, envisaged also a general Market as a means.

wards economic and political has been shaken to wards economic and positive the certain aspects of policy by the participating states to a central authority.

Although European statesmen paid a great deal of lipservice to European cooperation, they continued to blow up in Brussels last week, see the principal question as the differences between France that of furthering the national and her five partners obviously interests of their own bourgeoisie.

> While in the age of technology the modern national state has become an anachronism, the attempt by the bourgeoisie to carry out what is an historic task of the working class-the abolition of national frontiers-is bound to be abor-

#### Inadequate area

To begin with, the territory of the Six member countries was not in itself an adequate basis for the development of the productive forces. Then the material interests of the national ruling classes still expressed themselves through the historical states.

From the moment of its inception, therefore, the Common Market became an area of struggle between the par-Washington was also inte-ticipating states as well as for rested in closer European unity opposing or bargaining with states outside it.

At first, for example, the British Conservative government, unconvinced about the success of the Common Market and not sure that its policy The Common Market began could be shaped to British needs, remained outside.

By the time it changed its mind, de Gaulle had conwith a worked-out policy for But the Rome Treaty of ensuring French hegemony in 1957, which brought it into Europe, using the Common

#### by Tom Kemp

success.

In January 1963 a military and political treaty was signed between France and Germany and in the same year Britain was brusquely refused admission to the Common Market.

#### Monopolies' alliance

This laid the basis for a close and profitable alliance between the big monopolies of France and Germany — an

De Gaulle: wooing Germany

alliance which continues to this day.

West Germany, in any case, remains by far the most powerful industrial component of the Market, but Bonn's interest remained very much bound-up with the preservation of the socalled Western Alliance.

When France came into open confrontation with the USA, Franco-German relations cooled. Bonn preferred to be

#### America's soundest ally on the carrying on an independent second fiddle to France.

Germany's alliance with France strengthens her posi-Meanwhile, de Gaulle had tion in Europe but cannot business co-operates with U.S. finance and industry on a large scale which gives German industry access to new productive techniques and scientic innovations.

The revamping of American defence strategy and the conflict with de Gaulle over the Multi-Lateral Force has given the German ruling class a new opportunity to press its claims for European hegemony and, incidentally, nuclear weapons without which it will remain a third-rate capitalist power.

#### No surrender

The question of the surrendering of national sovereignty to Common Market institutions fits into this pattern. De Gaulle is unwilling to surrender any shred of French sovereignty because this would make French policy dependent upon countries susceptible to American pressure. For de Gaulle, the Common Market is useful as a bloc which could stand up to the USA, and further French interests.

If it cannot be this, then it becomes a danger which has to be countered, or perhaps destroyed.

Whether it is possible for de Gaulle to proceed very far along this road is an open question into which enters all the contradictions of imperialism at the present

talism is not well placed for which they find expression.

continent rather than play policy in opposition to the USA. It is industrially weaker than Germany, as well as being much weaker than the USA.

American investments in been wooing the Bonn govern- satisfy her appetite for markets key sections of French industry ment with some apparent and for capital exports. In are of growing importance, any case Germany's trade with Many French enterprises are the Common Market countries now handicapped by a lack of is less than 40 per cent. At reserves for the expansion and the same time German big re-equipment demanded under present conditions of intensified competition.

#### Dollar octopus

American big business is not limited in this way and has been more active in France than in any other continental country in buying its way into the control of industry. This extending grip of the U.S. dollar octopus is disagreeable to de Gaulle and to sections of French business.

Although de Gaulle holds few cards, he clearly hopes to take advantage of the present entanglements of American imperialism and of its weak balance of payments position.

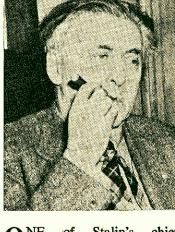
Leading organs of the French press comment astringently on the policy of John-

French foreign policy pursues a determined anti-American course.

De Gaulle threatens to use France's present monetary strength to halt the dollar invasion. Resistance to carrying forward the Rome Treaty seems to flow from the same general policy.

The situation thus remains extremely unstable.

Against a background of gathering economic problems, the contradictions between the different capitalist interests become sharper. The Common Market, instead of proving a solvent of conflicts, only be-In many ways French capi- comes an additional field in



stalment of his memoirs, being Speaking of the period of

### TRIALS PERIOD

of certain isolated crimes. Like so many others, I tried to whitewash Stalin in my own eyes. I attributed the mass executions to the struggles which were going on in the

HE capture of a number of provincial capitals by the Vietcong, despite increased military activity and aerial bombardment by U.S. imperialism, shows clearly that the struggle in South Vietnam is approaching a climax.

Capitalist commentators and sections of the U.S. ruling U.S. has lost the initiative in manifest failure of the Wilson 'peace' mission indicates the military-diplomatic imbroglio, from which there is no escape.

Everything that is happening in this tortured country vindicates the words of General Giap that 'no reactionary force in the world can prevent 30 million people of our country from carrying out their sacred aspiration.

A survey of recent and past events will show why this is

When the infamous Geneva Agreement was signed, the U.S. government refused to be a party to it and Eisenhower. the President at the time, declared:

'The United States has not itself been party to, or bound by, the decisions taken by the conference.'

#### U.S. move in

Even before the conference was convened U.S. imperialism began to move in in the wake of the French and replace the French puppets with U.S. ones. Prominent amongst them was Dinh Diem.

U.S. government began feverishly preparing to create the military and diplomatic framework for intervention in South-East Asia.

In September 1954 the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) was set up with the explicit purpose of 'defending' South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

At the same time, U.S. aid was sent directly to the Diem regime, rather than being channelled through the French.

In the early part of 1955 French political domination in South Vietnam was replaced by the U.S. in a bloody conflict with the Binh Xuyen group and the Cao Dai religious sect. The training of the South Vietnam Army was taken over by the U.S., and the Diem government was strengthened.

Diem, having consolidated his power with powerful U.S. financial and military backing, proceeded to unleash a wave of white terror against the areas evacuated by the Communist forces.

Police and para-military units equipped with portable guillotines and other instruments of torture toured the rural areas terrorising the peasants and forcibly handing back the land which had been

'It was not immediately that

'The methods of poisoning,

I could decipher the role of

the sage of sages (Stalin). . . .

denunciation and the ruthless

murders suggested by Machia-

velli and perpetrated by Medici and the Borgias are

inadmissable in a Communist

Having voiced his opposi-

'I have never considered

silence a virtue. Of course,

I was aware of many crimes,

but to stop their perpetration

was beyond my power. It is

only too obvious: people in-

finitely more influential could

SPOKE OUT

speak out - nearly 20 years

after the Stalin purges in

January 1953, just before

In fact, he claims, he did

not stop them either.'

Stalin's death.

tion to such methods, he then

EHRENBURG ADMITS

'WHITEWASHING'

**STALIN** 

By a SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

### VIETNAM

From years of experience in their struggle against imperialist aggression, the Vietnamese people have refined their methods of class are very nervous that the guerrilla warfare. Here MICHAEL South-East Asia, and the BANDA explains these developments against their historical background.



A section of the ever-growing South Vietnamese Liberation Army.

French Stalinist reporter, re-

cently returned from behind

the Vietcong lines, relates how

the peasants in the plains of

the Mekong delta successfully

resisted these puppet execu-

In the June-July 1965

'The peasants have created

their 'air force' by install-

ing around the villages

swarms of fighting bees, sort

of savage hornets the size of

a fist, a few stings of which

can kill a man. A simple

method is used which with

a piece of string and a stick

which hits the nest to excite

the bees without being

seen, the bees leave the

swarm in fury and then

return. The peasants repeat

the process to make them

ferocious and even sacrifice

hornets at the time of an

attack and hearing the stick

once again hitting their nest

fly at the soldiers or police

who they think are attack-

ing them. This unexpected

offensive causes panic

amongst the puppets and

they leave the paths, falling

into the traps [spiked man-

traps], no longer thinking of

defending themselves, they are

easy targets for the guerrillas

who, well camouflaged take

advantage of the position.

"When you have been made

to suffer a lot," a peasant

from one of the liberated

villages said to me, "when

you are determined to fight,

you can always find ways.

They can shoot people, but

they can't shoot the bees."

Burning hatred

sans began to return from

the North. Some had arms,

other brought with them a

sound knowledge of guerrilla

warfare, and all of them were

inspired by a burning hatred

of the Diem regime and an

unquenchable determination to

Thousands of former parti-

Trained in this way the

a pig to them.

'Vietnam Bulletin', issued by

the British Vietnam Com-

tioners and torturers.

mittee, she reports:

# 'They can shoot people, but they can't shoot

distributed to the peasants by the Communist Viet-

This brutal repression was cloaked under the euphemism of 'Agrarian Reform' and with such demagogic slogans as 'give property to the prole-

In early 1956, under the notorious ordinance No. 6, concentration camps were set up throughout the country into which were herded thousands of former resistance already constructed in northfighters and progressives. The east Thailand. press was gagged.

provisions of the Geneva Agreement, which stipulated elections to decide the unification of Vietnam, and organised his own rigged elections for a 'National Assembly', constitution.

#### Army increased

Russia and Britain, the cochairmen of the Geneva conference, who were supposedly responsible for the implementation of the Geneva treaty, did nothing to step Diem's activities, even when prominent leaders of the puppet army threatened 'to march to the North'.

That U.S. imperialism was determined to organise such an aggression was revealed by the continued increase of U.S. military personnel (from 200 to 2,000 in the first two years) and the massive build-up of the South Vietnam Army to an effective strength of 150,000, as well as the organisation of many other para-military

To facilitate its plans against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (the Northern government), the Diem regime began to build a network of strategic roads, linking the bases in the plains with the high plateaux of central Vietnam - this is

He claims he was asked to

denounce 'saboteur doctors',

arrested by Stalin, at a prize-

giving ceremony, at which he

would receive the Stalin prize.

says, he was 'inspired by

current events' to say: 'I want

to evoke those artisans of

peace who are persecuted, tor-

tured, hounded. I want to

evoke the obscurantism of

prisons, the inquisitions, the

**OPPORTUNISM** 

events' so 'inspired' him to

Ehrenburg has only demon-

strated more clearly the

opportunism of the writers and

intellectuals who attempt to

perpetuate Stalinist methods

within the Communist Parties

of the world, in order to safe-

guard their own positions.

make such a statement.

Whatever they

It is not clear what 'current

tribunals.'

But, at the ceremony, he

one of the main strategic bases of U.S. imperialism in South-East Asia.

The road system was meant to embrace Laos and connect up with the strategic highways

This road system was also Diem, with the tacit support seen as part of a more general After the conference the of the U.S., repudiated the plan to develop the natural resources and exploit the hydro-electric power of the the holding of nation-wide Mekong Valley — the biggest and most fertile rice-growing region in Asia.

To supplement the road system, a complex of military which endorsed a reactionary strong - points, misleadingly called 'agricultural strongpoints', running from the western plateaux through the Plain of Reeds and Ca Mau in the South, were erected.

> The idea behind this was the encirclement of the popular resistance forces. The fact that a similar strategy, followed by the French in Northern Vietnam, proved abortive did not impress Diem's U.S. advisers very much. Today most of these forts have fallen to the Vietcong, while the rest, such as Kontum and Pleiku, are threatened by massive assaults.

Today we hear much from centrist and pacifist circles of a return to the status quo ante-1954 and Geneva. 'Tribune', for example, prefers 'peace' to victory.

#### 'No alternative'

From their cosy sanctuary in the Strand these sanctimonious rascals say:

'There is . . . no safe, let alone humane, alternative to a negotiated peace.'

The facts speak otherwise. The present war is the direct and logical outcome of the 'negotiated peace' of 1954.

Not only were war preparations and systematic repression of the people made possible by the terms of the Agreement, but these measures were actually facilitated by the presence and activity of the International Commission for Control and Supervision set up from the Geneva confer-

In May 1958, for example, the Commission sanctioned, by a majority vote (the Poles alone opposing), a resolution permitting uncontrolled introduction of U.S. war materials into South Vietnam to replace the material taken by the French troops when they evacuated South Vietnam in April 1956.

And what did the Commission do when the Diem regime fatally poisoned more than 6,000 people at the Phu Loi concentration camp in December 1958? It said nothing and did even less!

In the same year more than half a million people demonstrated in Saigon-Cholon

sive land rents, and the continued division of the country. The Commission, however, remained quite impervious to all this.

against unemployment, exces-

the bees'

The most brazen act of collusion of this contemptible tool of the U.S. was its tacit acceptance of the Seventh Fleet in Vietnamese waters.

The Seventh Fleet is the largest naval armada in the world and there is nothing pacific in its function. It consists of five operational groups comprising 125 warships, including the largest nuclear aircraft carriers and 650 planes, all in all, over 64,000 men. In addition, there are attached to it large marine

### Fully equipped

This unconventional force is equipped with the latest supersonic strike aircraft armed with nuclear bombs.

It is capable of remaining at sea for three months without returning to its many bases in the Pacific ocean. It is this fleet that has enabled Chiang Kai-chek to hold on to Formosa.

The same fleet helped destroy hundreds of Korean coastal towns and villages during the Korean war. In 1962 it was used to intervene in Thailand during the Laos crisis, and after the overthrow of Diem in 1963 the menacing shadow of its guns was cast over the Saigon coast.

Now, secret negotiations and surveys are going on to enable this fleet to operate in the Indian Ocean as well.

In the face of this massive and calculated provocation, the Control Commission remained mute. Perhaps 'Tribune' could tell us why.

By 1959 South Vietnam was in the throes of a severe economic crisis.

Ten thousand out of 15,000 weaving looms were idle. Over 10,000 sugar mills stopped working. Unemployment soared, evictions multiplied and huge movements against increased taxation, conscription and illegal detention developed.

#### More repression

Diem's answer to popular resentment was increased repression and added military expenditure.

One hundred and four new airfields were built, even the new Saigon-Bien Hoa motorway is, in fact, a 32 kilometer long airstrip which can be used by heavy bombers! Nine new naval bases were

constructed and the armed forces were augmented considerably. Against this vast ordnance,

the peasants and workers, at first, counterposed the most rudimentary weapons immense courage.

Riffaud, Madeleine the liberate their country and unify it. In 1959 the long simmering

wrath of the peasants and workers exploded into open revolt. Peasant uprisings and sporadic, but severe, fighting broke out throughout South Vietnam. Many units of Diem's crossed over with their arms to the side of the people. Diem's grave was being dug.

In 1960 the movement to liberate the country spread to every province in South Viet-For the first time the back-

ward national minorities of the Western Plateaux of Central Annam openly rebelled against the government. Elsewhere spontaneous attacks by the peasants destroyed hundreds of so-called 'prosperity zones' (a synonym for military occupied areas).

In many towns huge demonstrations of Buddhists demanding freedom of worship took place. (The Diem regime, which was Catholic, tried to suppress and discriminate against the Buddhist majority.)

#### Blind eye

And, once again, the International Commission turned a blind eye to further intrusions by the U.S. In April 1960 it sanctioned the introduction of more U.S. military personnel at a time when Diem's regime wracked by crisis and abortive coups.

In December 1960 the civil war reached a new stage with the formation of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front (Vietcong), a coalition of anti-Diem parties and groups.

The main planks of the Liberation Front were: overthrow of the Saigon government, establishment of unified democratic government, preservation of minority rights, independence, unification of the country and 'neutralism'.

Guerrilla warfare was waged on an extensive scale by the Vietcong. In the initial phase, the Diem regime launched a series of offensives against the liberated areas. The orgy of terror commenced by his army drove thousands of peasants to support the Viet-

The Vietcong met terror with terror. Hundreds of district officials and local commanders were shot or assassinated. Rural administration crumbled, collapsed.

Even the British government began to get worried. in 1961 British authorities in Malaya despatened over 55,000 rines and small arms and over 700 armoured venicles to Vietnam. As a furtner gesture of solidarity a police mission headed by General G. K. Thompson was sent to Saigon to advise and instruct the Diem regime on how to repress the Vietcong.

New tactics were worked out, each one as hopeless as the previous. The 'strategic hamiets' and the spraying of crops with toxic chemicals were some of them.

In mid-1961 the U.S. government made an agonising reappraisal of the war tollowing the trip of Vice-President Jonnson to Saigon in May. Special attention was paid to 'anti-guerrilla' war, a form of war which is new to the United States.

#### 'Master plan'

Finding themselves hopelessly out-fought and outmanoeuvred by the Vietceng, tne U.S. sent a special mission, led by E. Staley, to Saigon.

His main recommendations were to pacify the South in 18 months by beening up the army and establish bases in North Vietnam for sabolage and terror.

In the latter part of the year Kennedy sent General Taylor (chairman of the joint Chiefs of Statt) to Saigon on a factfinding tour.

Result: enormous increase of U.S. arms and men in South Vietnam, and a deeper crisis of the Diem regime. From this trip there emerged the master plan-the Staley-Taylor plan-for the subjugation of Vietnam.

In order to strengthen its command over the resistance forces and counter pro-French and pettybourgeois forces and ideas in the Liberation Front, the Communists, in January 1962, set up the South Vietnam Revolutionary People's Party, which called itself the party of the 'working class and toiling people of South Vietnam. . . .

In its statement of policy it significantly omitted any mention of 'neutralism', but spoke instead of contributing 'to the defence of world After Taylor's visit a verit-

able war of extermination was launched against the people. In 1962 alone 28,000 moppingup operations, large and small, combined with intensive air raids (whose main ingredient was napalm) were carried out.

#### U.S. mistaken

A new form of warfare, helicopter-borne infantry, and amphibious armoured carriers, was introduced. At the same time the herding of the population into 'strategic hamlets' was stepped up.

This was the Staley-Taylor plan in action, but if the U.S. thought they had won the war they were sadly mistaken.

After a few months, the Vietcong recovered from its initial defeats and developed new techniques of fighting the helicopters-techniques which

Turn to page 4 ->



Vietnamese People's Army gunners prepare for U.S. air raids.

# TGWU Rebuff Brown's Incomes

## B'ham Trades council rejects incomes policy

RECORD number of delegates attended the Birmingham A RECURD number of delegates account they rejected Trades Council meeting last week when they rejected George Brown's incomes policy.

There was an air of tenseness in the meeting. Delegates knew that a decision against the wage-restraint policies of the right wing would be an important barometer as to the extent of opposition throughout

Resolution carried by Bir-

mingham Trades Council on

6 That this Trades Council

Union Congress' acceptance

of the incomes policy of the

government, considering the

cost of living increased by

2.1 per cent last month. Any

talk of limiting workers'

wage increases to 3½ per cent

is tantamount to cutting down

the standards of the working

class to pay for the capital-

This Trades Council is of

the opinion that the trades

unions' job must be to pro-

tect workers' standards and

work for a society free from

the domination of big busi-

National Union of General and

Municipal Workers, said:

'Throw this resolution out.

Be loyal to the government.

Spill the beans

of the Post Office Engineering

Union to really spill the beans

as to what this TUC-govern-

ment-employers incomes policy

old Victorian nonsense about

the unions versus the capital-

ists. Don't the delegates know

that this is finished? The

employers have got together

with the unions and govern-

ment and sued for peace.

We're now in a new era of

peaceful co-operation in in-

Delegate after delegate

got up and derided this.

One delegate asked if Sir

William Lyon, the Jaguar

boss, was 'co-operating' by

refusing to meet union

officials after workers in his

factory had been out on

The mover brought the

council back to the real issues

of the class struggle and the

vital need to smash through all

forms of wage-freezing and to

fight for the nationalization of

The resolution was carried

the basic industries.

by 58 votes to 44.

strike for three weeks.

dustry,' he commented.

'Let's get away from all this

But it was left to Chapman

ist system's crisis.

ness. 9

Be patrioticl'

really means.

is opposed to the Trades

Thursday, July 1, 1965.

factories in the Midlands.

The right wing, which dominates the Trades Council, had hoped that the Minister for Economic Affairs would be present to speak and help them out, but Brown pleaded other pressing engagaments.

In moving the resolution opposing wage freeze, Harry Finch, delegate from Birmingham No. 9 branch of the Engineering Amalgamated Union, exposed the role of the Wilson government which, he said, was acting against the working class and in defence of big business.

'The economy remains as it was under the Tories-a capitalist economy, controlled and owned by monopolists and millionaires. By asking the workers to accept a wage restriction of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, you are asking them to accept a cut in wages,' he said.

'The working class is not going to accept a decrease in its standard of living just because it voted Labour.'

He finished by stating that the working class must oust the capitalist class and not collaborate. This collaboration was the whole basis for the so-called incomes policy.

The right-wing defence of the Trades Union Congress and government policy turned out to be a damp squib.

#### 'Don't rock the boat'

Alderman S. Watts, a Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers official, pleaded the old 'don't rock the boat'

'This motion would be interpreted as a direct attack on the Labour government. The press is hostile. It will use the opportunity to embarrass the government in any way it can,' he said.

(Although there were no fewer than five national newspaper reporters present, as well as one from the Press Association, the press, far from using the resolution to 'embarrass' the government, carefully suppressed all mention of the motion, except in one or two papers.) Mr. C. N. Davis, of the

### DATA court findings published

THE findings of the court of enquiry into the dispute between the Draughtsmen's Allied Technicians' Association and the Federation of Shipbuilding Employers over a wage demand were published last week.

The findings of the court, which is only an 'advisory body', while affecting the usual spurious tone of objectivity, repeats precisely the employers' arguments.

Firstly, they agree on the relevance of the prices and incomes board to the claim. Secondly, they agree that a

national wage-to-age scale should be set up which would specifically exclude all local claims. Thirdly, they repeat the arguments of Mr. N. A. Sloan that negotiations could be opened

concerning those workers who

would not receive any increase

in the new national settlement. If union secretary Doughty and company accept this judgment then they will be accepting the same pressures on the workers' movement which led to the signing of the engineering package deal.

spoke, rather ominously, at

In Wednesday's 'Guardian'

he was quoted as saying: 'I

don't want the responsibility

for their failure to be placed

on the union. I would sooner

accept them and let them run

and if they did not pay, then

it would be a responsibility of

management. But if they do

pay and bring us more jobs,

then it is a step in the right

direction. We have to look

at this very seriously indeed.'

**DISPUTED ISSUE** 

kidding? The question of liner-

trains has been the most hotly

disputed issue over the past

Who does Greene think he is

We certainly do.

accepting the scheme.

**NUR** Conference

Policy

By NEWSLETTER REPORTER

EASONS for Labour government Minister Frank Cousins not attending this year's conference of the Transport and General Workers' Union became abundantly clear on Tuesday this

Out of the 800 delegates at the conference only 20 gave support to the government's Incomes Policy. In this, the country's largest union, with membership covering industries which include the docks and the buses, a firm 'no' was given to wage restraint.

No doubt to avoid the embarrassing situation where his own union votes against the policy of the Labour government, in which he is Minister of Technology, Frank Cousins pleaded 'pressure of duties' for his

absence. Anxious to make himself felt, if not seen and heard,

George Brown sent a telegram to the conference. Significantly, he was not even invited to address the delegates.

Right wing

preparing sell-out

on liner-trains?

NEWSLETTER INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

NOLLOWING the meeting between the National Union of

L' Railwaymen and the British Railways Board on July 3, on

the question of liner-trains, general secretary Sidney Greene

the union's conference of train depots being opened to

private hauliers.

give the Board?

Arrow,

To talk of the scheme's

success or failure is a blind for

its acceptance. The railmen's conference should demand that

Greene tell them about the last

meeting with the Railways Board.

What assurances did Greene

Only two days after this meet-

ing, and the day before the NUR

conference opened in Southport,

the 'Sunday Telegraph' carried

a front page story that Tartan

haulage firm, had signed an

agreement with British Rail to

run two express freight trains

north and south each night

between London and Glasgow,

carrying the equivalent of 80

heavy lorry loads and cutting

down the time by half.

the leading Scottish

Main spokesman for the resolution condemning the Incomes Policy was Harry Nicholas, acting general secre-

However, this action on the part of the union leadership can only be understood if the tremendous pressure exerted by the TGWU rank and file prior to the conference, is taken into consideration.

#### Strikes

Only a few months ago Midlands busmen staged strikes on the question of wage

negotiations. Issues on wages and working conditions are always simmering below the surface on the docks. The fact that Nicholas makes a speech arguing for public ownership and control is an indication of the opposition amongst workers in the TGWU to the betrayal of Wilson and his crew on the question of wages.

Nicholas and other union officials may be expressing opposition to the Labour government on some issues, but they cannot possibly provide a leadership for the TGWU workers by a few radical speeches at annual conference.

> That the question of leadership is vital was shown in the debate on immigration.

#### Confused

After a resolution condemning racial discrimination was passed, another, calling for a 'drastic' curtailment of immigration and 'strict medical examination on arrival in this country', was also passed.

Workers cannot allow themselves to be confused on the question of dividing the working class on the issue of colour.

The experiences of the young workers in the Young Socialists must be taken as an important lesson on the fight against attempts by the employers to weaken the strength of the working class, by seeking to divide white and coloured

workers. In a strike last year at the Wolff rubber factory in Middlesex the Young Socialists showed that if white and coloured workers are united around socialist policies, then issues can be won.

Coloured and white busmen have seen in strikes in recent months that they must unite to fight together.

#### Opened the door

The Labour government by taking this shameful role on the question of immigration control has opened the door to confusion and allowed a position where the racialists can step in.

Curbing immigration is not the issue. The Labour government has carried out a policy of betrayal of the working class in this country and abroad. It must be made to answer for this by the rank and file of the

labour movement. By his policies Wilson attacks all workers and if the TGWU rank and file are to wage a successful struggle they must not allow themselves to be confused and divided.

A call has to be made now for a Labour Party conference so that the working class in the labour movement can decide the socialist policies on which the party must fight the next election.

# Industrial Newsletter Leyland workers

Newsletter Correspondent

on overtime

to continue ban

ORKERS at Leyland and Chorley (Lancashire) factories of Leyland Motors, leading commercial vehicle manufacturers, are determined to continue their ban on Friday night working.

This is in spite of the decision of their shop stewards, taken last Monday, to urge an end to the ban so that further talks

held. The dispute has arisen from the implementation of the 40-hour week agreement contained in the notorious engineering "Package Deal". The men allege that although the day-shift workers

with the management may be

#### were consulted about the way The dispute is the biggest in which the agreement would

From page 1

Tribune

each new bout of calls for negotiation is accompanied by an intensification of U.S. attacks.

At the Central Hall meeting which followed the lobby of Parliament, organised by Brock-way and his Stalinist admirers, their attitude to the government was clearly exposed.

Felix Greene's attack on Wilson's policies had hardly ended when Silverman was on his feet defending the Labour government.

He then proceeded to introduce a Liberal MP, and protected him from hecklers who objected to his blatant anti-Communism.

As the Wilson government lurches further to the right, the hypocrisy of the 'Tribune'-ites becomes clearer.

Their refusal to support the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism is matched by their apologies for Wilson's subservience to the British bosses. You can fool some of the

working class all the time, you might even fool all the workers some of the time, but-as Wilson found out the previous weekthe centrists can never fool all the workers all the time.

And the Socialist Labour League will struggle unremittingly to expose and combat the rotten game of the centrists.

be implemented, the management insist that night-shift workers work four 9-hour shifts and one 4-hour shift.

In doing so, they claim the management is going back on its previous agreement to the men's demands for four 10hour shifts.

#### **BIGGEST**

for some time in a firm which prides itself on its good 'labour relations', but it reveals a longstanding dissatisfaction with the trades union and shop stewards organisations among Leyland workers.

They complain that there is no communication between stewards on different production lines in the five factories; that the shop stewards' committee does not function pro-

They cite cases where the management has been able to refuse to negotiate with those stewards whom it found troublesome.

#### COMPLAINT

Workers further complain that almost no stewards were present at a recent mass meeting to decide on action in the current dispute. But in spite of the apparent lack of leadership which this situation reveals, there is no lack of militancy amongst the men.

On the first Friday of the dispute half the day shift stopped work for the afternoon in support of the night workers, and with organisation this would have been far more.

The night-shift workers are confident that they will win their demands for a four-shift week because, they claim, there will be no Friday night work-

LETTER.

#### VIETNAM From page 3

have proved deadly efficient. with military Together attacks, a massive political campaign to instruct and educate the peasantry in the policies of the Front and the techniques of resistance was Thousands of undertaken. demonstrations, meetings, rallies and even requiems for

In the industrial towns, strikes and occupation of factories became a frequent occurrence. The schools, too, became centres of resistance.

the repose of victims of

Diem's tyranny were held.

If 1962 was a year of stalemate, 1963 saw the gradual change in the relationship of forces on the military field, a change which was determined largely because of the intense political activity of the Front in mobilising the people for struggle.

After a series of resounding tactical reverses, U.S. secretary of state, Dean Rusk, was forced to declare in February 1963 at a press conference that the war against the guerrillas in South Vietnam was a very discouraging affair. ('Tribune' please note!)

In fact, the Staley-Taylor plan was in ruins, and continued to be so, despite the frequent visits of top-ranking

Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), r.o. i80 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 Published by The Newsletter, 1864 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

generals, advisers, diplomats and even of McNamara himself.

Diem's and the Americans' problems were greatly increased during this year by the almost total alienation of the Buddhists of South Vietnam, because of repressive policies of Diem's police and army, officered mainly by Catholics

#### SUICIDE

Suicide-by-burning became a frequent occurrence in South Vietnam. (Did the International Commission have anything to say? We are still waiting.)

The overthrow of the Diem dynasty in November 1963, far from resolving American problems, only made it more malig-

Losses of arms and men to the Vietcong increased, the number of 'incidents' reached unprecedented heights. In Washington, Honolulu, Okinawa and Saigon there was gloom and despondency. Forty-odd missions of 'experts' had come and gone but the tumour remained!

The U.S. high command, which initially set out to encircle the enemy with its rural forts and 'prosperity zones', now (irony of ironies) found itself encircled by innumerable guerrilla units. In three years of intense

fighting, the U.S. had lost

more than 250,000 South Vietnamese soldiers and hundreds of planes and helicopters.

The words of General Giap, written 10 years before, had acquired a prophetic quality:

'Successes in many small fights added together gradually wear out the enemy manpower while fostering our forces. The main goal of the fighting must be destruction of enemy manpower, and ours should not be exhausted from trying to keep or occupy land, thus creating final conditions to wipe out the whole enemy force and liberate our coun-

('People's War People's Army', p. 104)

This is the basic strategy of the Vietcong, and no matter how many troops America and her allies pour in (and no matter how many unctuous editorials 'Tribune' publishes), this strategy will not be defeated.

On the contrary, as Da Nang, Dong Xoai and a hundred other battles demonstrate, the American and puppet forces will be worn down, harrassed. ambushed and finally submerged in a sea of armed people.

The question for British Labour is: why let them do it single-handed?

INTERESTING 18 months, precisely because the scheme would mean redundancies The most interesting thing and an open attack on a nationalized industry, with liner-

about this story is that 'the firm is investing £500,000 in depots and handling equipment to be built on sites in Glasgow and London taken on a 99-year lease from British Rail'.

Although the 'Sunday Telegraph' is careful to point out The company's project is in advance of and distinct from, the liner train proposal', it certainly resembles the scheme very closely.

The conference called for legislation to give the Minister of Transport, Fraser, power to revoke the closure decisions of Beeching; a halt to further closures and withdrawal of services; repeal of the 1962 Transport Act, and called for a new Act to enforce an integrated transport system based on socialist principles.

#### HAND OVER

But how can the Wilson government carry out such legislation, when it has shown through its policies that it is attempting to solve the economic crisis of capitalism by attacking the conditions of the working class, and is willing to use the nationalized industries, if not indirectly hand part of them over, to private enterprise?

Railmen must take their demands for an integrated transport system further than a call for legislation. Their fight, which is a highly political struggle, must be linked with that of the Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League to build an alternative to the Wilson government and right - wing leaders like Greene (who will still remains one of Britain's 'best dressed men' at £2,930 a year, despite the rejection by conference of a recommendation to increase his salary to £4,500 a

#### DUSMEN in Coventry have wage demands by busmen was

recently demanded, and been awarded, a pay increase of £3 a week. This award must now go before the National Joint Industrial Council for ratification or rejection.

If the award is rejected by the Joint Council, then the Coventry Bus Department will most likely leave the Council and make the award anyway. The Joint Council will prob-

ably refuse the award because of the pressure from bus companies in rural areas, who do not have to compete with a high average wage in other jobs.

Other bus companies, even in large municipal areas, will probably side up with this view. They will say that it is impossible to grant such a pay increase because of the incomes policy and because of the high expense involved in modernising and rationalising bus services.

A likely result is that busmen will begin to press for local agreements, after the

manner of Coventry. This would be an extremely dangerous development. The strength of the last series of

sapped because provincial, municipal and London busmen all fought for wage increases separately and at different times.

Last week, the Nottingham 5/92 branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union took a step along the right lines. They passed a resolution

demanding that the union fight for union policy passed at several conferences since 1950. This policy is equal wages for all busmen.

Busmen must not allow their strength to be split by their employers' tactics and by the treachery of their union leaders. When there is a wage demand it must be fought for nationally at the same time by all sections.

If provincial companies say they are unable to give pay increases, then the demand must be: nationalize them!

If municipal companies say they cannot afford it because of the amount involved in modernisation, then demand must be: nationalize Leylands, AEC and the rest!

These are the only demands for busmen today.

A Nottingham busman