

The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Vol. 9, No. 406

August 14, 1965

Price 6d.

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JOHNSON CHANGES WAR STRATEGY

Beginning of end for U.S. in Vietnam

By MICHAEL BANDA

NOTHING illustrates more vividly the hopeless dilemma and the desperate nature of imperialism's crisis than President Johnson's decision to increase U.S. troops in Vietnam by an additional 100,000, and to allocate another 1.5 billion dollars as special supplementary funds for the prosecuting of this barbaric venture.

This decision, far from demonstrating any logistical wisdom, only shows up the utter confusion and weakness of Pentagon strategy in Vietnam, which is rapidly being transformed into a graveyard for thousands of young Americans.

U.S. strategy, if it can be called that, has always rested on an obsolescent assumption that air superiority, plus mobility provided by helicopters, would automatically ensure victory on the ground.

This was true in the early period of the anti-guerrilla war when the Vietcong was on the defensive. But since 1961, the relationship of forces has changed rapidly.

The rapid and continuing depletion of South Vietnamese forces by casualties and desertions, and the virtual failure to increase spectacularly the size of the Southern Army, has forced the U.S. to recast its policy in the field.

FIRST PHASE

The first phase of this policy was the bombing of North Vietnam and the sending of an abortive peace mission, led by Harold Davies, to Hanoi.

Any doubt that Davies was sent to Hanoi to wrest concessions from Ho Chin Minh has been effectively dispelled in the July 26 'Newsweek':

'British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, and Foreign Secretary, Michael Stewart, told Humphrey that left-wing Labour MP, Harold Davies, "peace mission" to Hanoi had produced only "disillusionment". Davies reported, Wilson said, that the North Vietnamese leaders think they are winning, and that he came away convinced that the only way to get them to the conference table is to punish them militarily until they are ready to negotiate.' (our emphasis)

Even Tribune was forced to reveal recently that this 'punishment' includes everything from the bombing of bridges to the destruction of sanatoria and even leper hospitals.

The coming struggles in Britain can only be prepared by those who recognise that they spring from a fundamental crisis of world capitalism. The Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists, building a Marxist leadership to take the working class to power are alone ready for the period now opening up in Britain.

When this policy failed, Johnson and Macnamara began to supplement South Vietnamese troops with Americans.

The U.S. High Command consoled itself with the belief—now proved untenable—that its position was impregnable or at least invulnerable, because its main strength was located in the coastal towns protected and supplied by the most powerful fleet in the world.

HARSH LOGIC

Soon the harsh logic of the war—that the occupation of the interior was the key to the situation—made itself felt as convoy after convoy and one relief column after another of the South Vietnamese troops began to disappear in a series of battles and ambushes.

The main theatre of war remains the central highlands—and it is here that the decisive battles of the war will be fought.

Sooner or later the Americans will have to leave the comparative safety and security of the coastal garrisons to do battle with the Vietcong in the dense mountainous jungle of Annam—in the same way that the French were lured into Dien Bien Phu and with the same disastrous results.

This inexorable trend is best exemplified by the present three month old battle around Duc Co and for the control of Route 19 between Que Nhon on the coast and Cambodia.

President Johnson's dramatic reversal of previous policy in favour of an all-round war is pregnant with the same historic defeat that befell France—and yet paradoxically the entire world position of U.S. imperialism drives him to a greater and deeper involvement from which he cannot withdraw.



Exports up, BUT STERLING STILL FACES

Dockers' suspensions follow Devlin Report

A LUNCH HOUR mass meeting at London's Royal Dock on Thursday shouted down Jack Dash time after time, when he called for the 1,600 men suspended by the London Dock Labour Board after attending an unofficial union meeting to go ahead with their appeals backed by trade union officers.

Dockers shouted it was too late to appeal as these had to be lodged within three days of suspension notice.

Danny Lyons, member of the Portworkers' Liaison Committee, complained miserably that the suspensions 'could poison the atmosphere surrounding the docks on the implementation of this (the Devlin) report'.

The whole point is that the suspensions are the first step in the implementation of the Devlin report.

When Dash moved the recommendation of the Liaison com-

mittee it was defeated, and a cheer went up. 'All out' came the call. As some dockers began drifting back to work a number of the conflicting resolutions were taken

from the floor, including one for a strike, which had very strong support.

The dockers also decided to ban overtime, piece work and night working.



The Newsletter

Saturday, August 14, 1965

THE Devlin Report on the docks is just one more attempt to whitewash the port employers in their struggle against port workers. Over the past 20 years every improvement in working conditions has had to be bitterly fought for on the docks. The employers have continuously resisted every important demand for improvement of wages and working conditions. The Devlin Report goes out of its way to blame all the trouble in the docks on those who are described as 'wreckers'.

On page 41 it says: 'The policy of the Communist Party in the docks for the last decade or more has been to work for the creation of a single union. Accordingly, in 1954, it opposed the action of the Blue Union in infiltrating into the northern ports. The disruptive element which we have referred to (a) as operating within the Blue Union in 1954 did not consist of orthodox Communists. It called itself at that time the Revolutionary Communist Party. There is now a body called the Socialist Labour League. Comprehensively these ele-

ments are labelled as Trotskyite. The 'Newsletter' now attacks the Communist party and the Liaison Committee with as much vigour as and with considerably more venom than it uses against the employers, T. & G. leaders, yourself as Minister of Labour, and ourselves as the Committee you appointed. The chief ground of attack is the failure of the Communist Party and the Liaison Committee to support the Blue Union. The Communist Party, which is described as 'Stalinist', is accused of 'downright treachery'. Its policy of 'class collaboration' is compared with Mr. Khrushchev's policy of 'peaceful co-existence' to the advantage of neither. The Liaison Committee is described as a sham committee for controlling the rank and file on behalf of the T. & G. and Mr. Jack Dash as a self-styled unofficial leader, notorious for climbing back on the band wagon as soon as the T. & G. utters left phrases.'

The Revolutionary Communist Party was, of course, dissolved in 1949. Lord Devlin and his fellow Committeemen did not even bother to check the facts. It was not the Trotskyists who decided that the Blue Union should recruit in the northern ports in 1954. All decisions that were taken at the time

were made by mass meetings of the Blue Union members in London.

To say that these men were led astray by a handful of agitators is to repeat the old anti-Communist smear so beloved by the Fleet Street press and reactionary elements. To suggest that we attack the Communist Party with more vigour than the employers is nothing more than a lie. We reproduce the policy of the Socialist Labour League on the docks which the 'Newsletter' published on January 16 of this year before the Devlin Commission began. We stand by this policy entirely.

'All firms on the docks must be nationalized, with control over their working by the dockers' own representation at every level. - These representatives would be responsible for all working conditions and discipline, and would themselves be subject to the control of men at work, who would elect them and have the right to recall them.'

We believe that the only way to ensure proper working conditions on the docks is by the application of this policy which, as everyone can see, is directed mainly against the employers. We criticise the Communist Party only in so far as they retreat from the right wing of the Transport & General Workers' Union.

RUIN

By The Editor

WHILE Wilson basks in the Scilly Isles, the government drifts towards disaster. With Callaghan's 'Little Budget' wiping out what fragments remained of Labour's election promises, the Labour leaders give up all pretence of being anything more than servants of the banks.

Unemployment, already beginning to rise in July, has been given fresh impetus by the reduction in expenditure on education, housing and roads.

No wonder the 'Financial Times' Washington correspondent can say of U.S. reaction: 'The Administration has in fact been deeply impressed by the willingness of a Labour government to throw away or defer cherished social measures in defence of the pound'.

Wilson and company are totally committed to serving big business in its time of crisis. They have to convince international financial circles that they are ready to go into action against those workers and their families who elected them last October.

This is the significance of the Devlin Report.

Each time speculation on devaluation of the pound is renewed, Wilson steps up his protestations that he has no such intentions and Callaghan gives another twist to the deflationary screw.

But it is noteworthy that the pressure on sterling continued well after the latest Series of cuts were announced.

No choice

When Wilson told the world of his 'permanent decision' not to devalue, everybody laughed.

World financiers know that the choice is no longer in his hands. Even the July trade figures, with their carefully organised statistical accident of a jump in exports, hardly touched the foreign exchanges.

In any case, the falling off in world markets as a whole cannot but intensify the long-term problems of British capital.

The international monetary crisis poses special problems for the British ruling class. As the last ruins of their Empire East of Suez crumble, they will be unable to resist decisions being taken which will finish the City of London as a banking and trading centre.

Confidence in the pound cannot possibly be maintained

NUR sell-out on liner trains soon?

NEXT week the executive committee of the National Union of Railwaymen will meet to discuss the question of introduction of liner trains by early next year.

If such a proposal goes through it will most surely mean, in practice, the de-nationalization of British Rail. Private hauliers will be given access to the 'liner-train terminals'.

The Board is said to have given certain assurances, but there are widespread fears on the railways that liner-trains will mean the laying off of many men.

The executive committee of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen has empowered its leadership to negotiate for increased pay in exchange for more flexible manning arrangements.

Subservience

It will demand from the Labour leaders and their 'left' hangers-on an even lower standard of subservience to the bosses. A 'national' coalition government would be required, as in 1931.

The British workers will not accept these attacks without fighting back. But the question is: Who can organise the counter attack?

The Communist Party, whose theories of 'peaceful roads to socialism' lead them to look for alliance with Wilson?

'Tribune', which still regards Wilson as its leader?

The union leaders, entangled in a thousand package deals and procedural agreements?

The coming struggles in Britain can only be prepared by those who recognise that they spring from a fundamental crisis of world capitalism.

The Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists, building a Marxist leadership to take the working class to power are alone ready for the period now opening up in Britain.

Stalinists support immigration control

FOLLOWING in the footsteps of the Labour government, Communist Party members are supporting reactionary moves against immigrants.

Less than a week after more stringent methods of immigration control were announced by the Labour government, Stalinists in a London Electrical Trades Union branch voted against a resolution calling for 'complete freedom for people to come and go as they please'.

The resolution, moved in the East Ham Branch of the union last Wednesday, was carried by 10 votes to six, with six abstentions.

Members and sympathisers of the Communist Party voted against the motion which said immigration control 'opened the gates to the growth of racialism and fascism', and could 'only succeed in splitting workers, leaving them open to greater exploitation and attacks by big business'.

Singapore's secession heightens crisis

THE bottom has fallen out of the Malaysian Federation with the secession of Singapore from the Federation, announced on Tuesday this week.

With the first announcement that Singapore is to become independent of the Federation and a later statement that the use of Singapore as a British base would have to be reviewed, the Wilson government is faced with a worsening crisis.

Originally the Malaysian Federation was set up precisely to protect Singapore's

important harbour and docks, and also the vast area of investment for British capital.

Now, with its whole purpose gone, Wilson faces the complete collapse of the Federation. This eventuality, and the further announcement that Singapore can no longer be used as a South East Asia Treaty Organisation base, also stresses the international repercussions of the move.

The weakening of British capital and the Wilson government's policy East of Suez, and of the Imperialist organisation, SEATO, can only further aggravate the position of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam.

Similarly, the increasing number of defeats for U.S. and puppet troops in Vietnam will further weaken British capitalism in Malaysia.

The underlying conditions for these developments are the tensions and conflicts produced in South East Asia by the international crisis of capitalism.

The Economic Crisis

Cut in arms bill no answer

By PETER JEFFRIES

The recent deflationary economic measures announced by Mr. Callaghan underline once more the serious nature of the economic crisis now gripping Britain and world capitalism.

What is the answer of the 'Tribunites' and the British Communist Party? They call for a reduction of military expenditure and a curb on overseas investment as a means of solving this crisis.

To advance these demands is to sow confusion about the nature of imperialism — particularly today in the period of its gangrenous decline.

Both militarism and overseas investment are inseparable from imperialism and without them imperialism would not be imperialism.

Expenditure

The tremendous expenditure — over £20,000 million in the last 20 years — is necessary for British imperialism in order to defend not only capitalist property in Britain from expropriation by the British working class, but also to defend imperialist property abroad from expropriation by the colonial workers.

Callaghan's cut in military expenditure is only a token cut and will not in any way undermine the military defence of the British Empire.

By advancing these fake demands, these two groups show that they have neither the means nor the intention of fighting the sell-out policies of Wilson, Brown, Callaghan and company.

Without teeth

The readiness with which Wilson — now an unashamed defender of monopoly capitalism — agreed to examine the possibility of a reduction of arms expenditure, providing that all our commitments can be maintained (!), shows that this is a demand without teeth.

What these centrists fail to realise is that the present crisis is international in scope and depth. It cannot be solved within the confines of Britain. British capitalism, in fact, faces two impossible problems.

Backward industry

(a) A loss of export markets in conditions of intensified world competition; this is a sign — long apparent even to the ruling class — of the backwardness and outmodedness of British industry, which leads to a now almost permanent balance of payment crisis.

(b) The threat of the disappearance of sterling as a world currency from trade and finance. Again this is part of the world monetary crisis, which is now gripping the attention of the world's financiers.

The present crisis, in fact, stems not from Britain but from the United States. What is involved is not merely the 'decline of Britain', but a world social system in its death agony. The drive towards war — especially against China and Russia — is part of this world crisis.

What the 'lefts' in the labour movement want us to believe is that, given a little pressure and persuasion, we can achieve a 'peaceful' capitalism.

U.S. need

The war in Vietnam is not apart from this crisis. In America, this war represents her need to re-enter the territory of China, lost to imperialism after the last war.

A defeat for imperialism in Vietnam would be an enormous victory for all workers and peasants in Asia. It would bring grave dangers for the British employing class — the question of a similar revolutionary movement in Malaysia would be immediately raised.

By next summer, America plans to have 400,000 troops in Vietnam, but such numbers are quite beyond the command of Britain, even with conscription.

Patching up

The recent announcement that the Territorial Army is to be streamlined — reduced in size and made more mobile and efficient — represents a futile attempt to patch up the decline of British capital.

'Peace' or prosperity cannot be achieved on the basis of an appeal to Wilson.

Peace and security can only be achieved when capitalism is destroyed in Britain and the rest of the world. To achieve this requires the building of a working-class leadership which must fight against the Wilson government and all its supporters, such as Gollan and the 'Tribunites'.

Mr. Bob Haywood, of 119 Barclay Road, Bearwood, Smethwick, Birmingham 41, wishes us to state that he is not the writer of a letter which appeared in the Newsletter (July 24), under the heading 'Growing opposition within the British Communist Party', which was signed 'B. Haywood, Birmingham'.

Trade unions in the epoch of imperialist decay

By Leon Trotsky

A short, masterly and topical analysis of trends in monopoly capitalism and the prospects for the trade unions in the backward and advanced capitalist countries. Price 3d.

Some past rank-and-file movements

By Brian Pearce

A concise history of the growth of trade union bureaucracy and the struggles against it. The shop stewards' movement of 1915-21, the Minority Movement and the Third Period experiences are analysed thoroughly. Price 1/-

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Devlin Report

Dockers' hard-won rights under heaviest attack

By BILL HUNTER

The Devlin report is the latest, strongest and most calculated of the attempts to break up everything that the militancy of Britain's dockers has won.

In 15 years, productivity on the waterfront has doubled. But this is not enough for the port employers or for the big businesses which use the docks. The National Ports Council reported last week that new berths and new dock systems are to be built. The employers are determined to operate all the newly invested equipment to the full to obtain the last ounce out of the labour force.

But to do that, they have to break up traditional ways of working and smash defensive agreements. They have to crush the dockers' well-known solidarity which was forged in the struggle of the dock labourers to climb out of the abyss at the beginning of the century.

What is at stake is presented quite clearly at the beginning of the Devlin report.

Conditions

Present conditions on the docks, it declares, 'leads to a man treating his time as his own'. And, crime of crimes, the dockers 'has no sense that his working hours belong in any way to a particular employer'.

The employers and Devlin are saying—and Wilson and Gunter will agree—while you are on the dock, every minute of your time must belong unconditionally to the employer to work you as he wills'.

The propositions that the Devlin report puts forward could mean the end of the Dock Labour Scheme. The employers could have even in form almost complete control of labour and discipline. In fact, they would have complete control.

The dockers would be changed into a voiceless, industrial serf under contract to an employer. If he was sacked by the employer, he could be sacked from the Dock Labour Scheme. The continuity rule (attacked by Devlin) and present manning scales also would go.

Chained by economic necessity to the wish of his employer, if the dockers did complain, he would come up against compulsory arbitration. That is presented as one of the report's eventual aims, once the stage is set.

Gleeful comment

No wonder the 'Daily Express', on the day the report was published, gleefully commented in its editorial: 'Not a tear will be shed for the troublemakers among the men who will have to be dismissed'.

The Devlin committee criticises the way the employers went about their aims in the past. Their mistake, the report indicates, was that they tried to press ahead too fast.

They should have listened to the unions. Obviously in sympathy with the employers, the unions told them, according to the report, that 'what the employers want is just not attainable by the stroke of the

pen and they must be content to take it in stages.'

Now, the Devlin report says, let us start again. The attack, which could end with the employers rampant on the docks, is to be carefully planned. First, the forces are to be lined up.

To carry through the plan a National Negotiating Committee is to be set up by the National Joint Council.

On this will sit the trade union leaders, the employers and an 'independent element' which will report back to the government. Behind the Negotiating Committee will be the Government ready to impose a settlement if any plan is being 'wrecked by a minority'.

Reduced

The employers will prepare a scheme for the reduction of companies in the port and then offer 100 per cent permanency with the dockers entering into weekly contract with one employer.

The Devlin Committee tells the employers to be content at this stage with making it clear that they are expecting 'regular work in return for a regular wage' and with removing 'abuses of the continuity rule'. Once they get this type of 100 per cent permanency established, they can then proceed to screw the dockers down.

Of course, this permanency will mean a smaller labour force. The average age of men on the docks is 45. Forty-one per cent are over 50 and 15 per cent over 60. Does anyone believe this meets with the employers' plans?

Young force

They certainly want a younger labour force for the type of speed-up they envisage. The older dockers will be driven off the dock by a steady increase of medical standards. They will go off with their ten bob a week as the employers devour younger men.

While the employers prepare their scheme, the Transport and General Workers' Union is called upon to put its house in order.

What is the Devlin Committee after? A militant union to represent the demands of the dockers? Certainly not.

Their main criticism is that the T. & G. has failed to bring home to its members the need to collaborate with the employers.

Representation

The report says the 'Blue Union' (the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union) should be given a representative on the National Negotiating Committee.

It would be a dangerous illusion for any member of the 'Blue Union' to think that this is something of benefit. What are the conditions laid down?

● The union can only be represented if it is prepared to negotiate 'in conformity' with the offer by individual employers of 100 per cent permanency. It cannot negotiate on its own schemes.

● The 'confidence of the negotiating table' must be 'respected'.

● There must be 'no repetition of the methods which killed negotiations over the tally clerks' scheme'.

London tally clerks will



mark well the last condition. This is a reference to events when the rank-and-file Transport & General Workers' Union tally clerks in London would not accept a decasualisation scheme because their brothers in the 'Blue Union' were opposed to it.

The Devlin report proposes, incidentally, that the government should now force through this scheme at an appropriate time.

The second condition is a sharp warning to members of the 'Blue Union'. The Devlin report criticises the leader of the 'Blue Union' — Mr. R. Barrett — because he is only a 'voice' of the union. This is in line with a number of reports of inquiries into the docks, going back to the Ammon report of 1945.

All these reports have complained that 'Blue Union' officials had to report back to their members in the course of negotiations.

No report back

So the second condition means that if a 'Blue Union' leader enters this 'Negotiating Committee' he does not report back to his rank and file until he makes an agreement.

Thus, it is not representation for the 'Blue Union' that the Devlin inquiry is proposing. In reality, 'Blue Union' leaders are asked to become representatives among the dockers of a negotiating committee carrying out the decasualisation plan of the employers.

The dockers must resist the Devlin plans.

The immediate reaction of the employers' press to the Devlin report shows that the dockers are being taken on first among the whole of the British working class.

The Labour government, and particularly Frank Cousins, instead of fighting for the nationalization of the port industry, is now assisting in carving up the dockers among separate employers. If the Labour government had really wanted to find out about the docks, then it would have inquired among the dockers.

Clear position

No industry shows more clearly the superfluity of employers than the docks. No industry shows more clearly the possibilities of workers' control.

It would be simplicity itself to nationalize the docks. Today, from chief planners to control officers and superintendents, ex-trade union leaders and ex-'unofficial leaders' are in charge of administration for the employers.

Real workers' representatives could very easily take over. The nature of the industry is such that there are many traditions of dockers themselves organising the work, picking out and stowing cargo.

Nationalization now is not just a propaganda slogan for the dockers.

Either a smaller labour force of industrial serfs, tightly dis-

ciplined and at the beck and call of an employer, or the industry is nationalized. That is the simple and straightforward choice.

Defence against the employers' plans now means an offensive against them. It is not this or that individual issue which is posed.

Certainly not this or that amendment to the Devlin report.

There cannot be a real increase in wages, there cannot be a real betterment of conditions, there cannot even be a defence of the old dockers, let alone a better life for him; there cannot be anything but sweat and speed-up for the young dockers; there cannot be any real advance for dockers, except through taking ownership and control of the docks out of the hands of the employers.

Organise

The 'Newsletter' and the Socialist Labour League proudly state they stand for that fight. They stand for the emancipation of the dockers together with the whole of the working class.

The dockers must organise. They must set up representative committees to resist the plans of the Devlin report to hand the dockworkers over to the direct control of a few monopolists.

They must link with workers in other industries and the rank and file of the labour movement in a struggle for the nationalization of the port transport industry.

Youth to the fore in Greek struggles

BY NEWSLETTER CORRESPONDENT

THE month-old crisis in Greece blew up again on Monday when 10,000 people marched through Athens — this time chanting slogans against the 25-year-old monarch, King Constantine. He had just failed, for a second time, to have a Prime Minister of his choice accepted by Parliament.

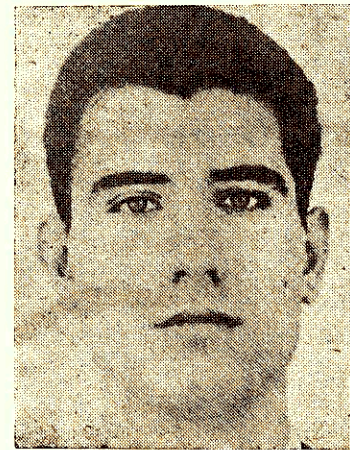
A month ago, 77-year-old popular Prime Minister, Papandreu, was ousted by the King, who opposed Army reform plans of the Papandreu government.

This 'coup' angered many in the middle class, but it is the working-class and student youth who have been demonstrating their anger in the streets of all the major cities.

Demands

This struggle, which is opposed by the Centre Union Party leaders and the E.D.A. (Stalinists), poses the question of uniting the Greek working class around the demands of the Workers' Vanguard (a Trotskyist organisation): For a plebiscite, a general strike, an end to monarchy and for Article 114 (article of the constitution concerning democratic liberties).

Both the Centre Union and Stalinists are being by-passed by the youth. Many cadres



Student Petroulas killed.

the District Attorney and the police chief to disperse were drowned in the militant slogans of the marchers.

Then, the Workers' Vanguard supporters at the head of the march, along with two groups which have split from the Pabloties, and some dissident Stalinists, began to fight off the first police assault.

Soon, the whole police force attacked with great brutality. Trotskyists, at the head of the march, carrying the only placard with the slogan 'Down with the Monarchy. Plebiscite', were shot at. Bullets broke the glass of all shop windows nearby.

Vicious attack

The police attack was the most vicious seen in Greece for a number of years. The street was filled with blood, and student Sotiris Petroulas lay dead.

After the first surprise attack by the police with tear gas bombs, special clubs, revolver butts and armoured cars, the crowd was momentarily dispersed. The streets were strewn with 200 wounded people, jackets, watches, broken glass and shoes. Police and armoured cars had attempted to run over some demonstrators, and there had been several motor accidents after the street filled with choking gas.

Among the wounded were Workers' Vanguard supporters

THE wholesale betrayals of the Wilson government are forcing thousands of Labour supporters to realise that it is necessary to fight for socialist policies and a new working-class leadership.

It is becoming clear to them that the Socialist Labour League, and its supporters in the Young Socialists over the past few years, were right to attack Wilson, Brown and the Labour leaders for preparing working-class defeat.

During the election year of 1964, the Socialist Labour League was attacked as 'sectarian' and 'ultra-left'. In calling on the workers to vote Labour, we committed the 'crime' of warning that Wilson would capitulate to the bosses, and that a fight for a new leadership must be organised.

Opponents

Among our bitterest opponents was the tiny group of British supporters of the body in Paris called the 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International'. Although still calling themselves 'Trotskyists', these gentlemen characterised the Wilson government as 'left social-democratic' or 'centrist'.

For the last few weeks even the mildest of 'progressives' in the Labour Party have begun to talk about 'betrayal of socialist principles', 'racism', etc., on the part of the Wilson government.

The supporters of the United Secretariat know that the Socialist Labour League was right about the character of the Labour government, but they shy away from the conclusions.

Our attitude to the General Election and the Wilson government flowed from the fundamental programme of Trotskyism, the 'Transitional Programme', adopted by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in 1938.

Primary task

In our epoch, the primary task is the construction of revolutionary leaderships in every country to defeat the counter-revolutionary Stalinists and social democrats. The 'reform' programmes of these parties have become pure deception. Any far-reaching or

CLIFF SLAUGHTER replies to an article by Joseph Hansen which has been reprinted from 'World Outlook', the duplicated paper of the so-called 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International', by its supporters in Britain.

The Transitional Programme and Algeria

lasting reforms are impossible without challenging the whole basis of capitalist state power.

Marxists must pose basic demands of the masses in such a way that, in the struggle for these demands, the strength, consciousness and leadership for taking working-class power are built up, and the reactionary leaderships defeated. That is the meaning of the 'Transitional Programme'.

Perhaps in an attempt to avoid the consequences of the remarkable confirmation of the Socialist Labour League's line in Britain, and the utter disarray of the followers of the revisionist 'United Secretariat', some of the latter are circulating in Britain a reprint of an article by Joseph Hansen from 'World Outlook', a duplicated paper of the 'United Secretariat', dated July 23.

Paper attacked

Hansen's article is called 'Is Trotsky's Transitional Programme Applicable to Algeria?' and is concerned exclusively with an attack on The Newsletter's treatment of the recent Boumedienne coup in Algeria. According to Hansen, we display on Algeria an infantile 'ultra-leftism', seeing everything too black-and-white, failing to understand the need for careful posing of demands and slogans which take into account the actual conditions, etc., etc.

What is interesting about the article is that Hansen gives us more clearly than ever before his own version of what the Transitional Programme is

about. In the programme itself, Trotsky was very explicit:

'It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist programme of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of transitional demands, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat'. (page 10)

And with particular reference to backward countries like Algeria:

'Each of the transitional demands should, therefore, lead to one and the same political conclusion: the workers need to break with all traditional parties of the bourgeoisie in order, jointly with the farmers, to establish their own power' (page 35).

Avoidance

For Hansen, a 'transitional demand' is something to avoid the principled questions, some vague 'in between' slogan to prevent being isolated from other 'left wingers'.

His view of transitional demands proceeds from these considerations of adaptation to

the bureaucracy and its petit-bourgeois supporters, and not from the struggle of the masses themselves for power, which requires the building of independent parties.

Ignores content

Thus Hansen refers to certain aspects of the Transitional Programme, but ignores its main content. For example, he excuses the liquidation of whole sections of the revisionist wing of the Fourth International into the Algerian National Liberation Front:

'They did this ('throwing their forces into the National Liberation Front'), in accordance with the criterion at the heart of the Transitional Programme — revolutionists must always go where the main forces in the struggle are to be found, whether they are organised in the unions, in a front battling for freedom, or in some other formation'.

Now, of course, it is true that Trotsky in the Programme condemns sectarian turning away from existing organisations, but to elevate this into the 'main criterion' is to turn it into its opposite! The purpose of work in the mass organisations is precisely to defeat the bureaucratic and petit-bourgeois leaderships and to win the support of the masses for the independent Marxist leadership.

Confusion

Similarly, Hansen starts his article by stating that the purpose of the Transitional Programme was to answer the problem of 'how to make the transition from a small circle of dedicated, highly political cadres to a mass revolutionary socialist party capable of winning power'. Certainly this process is the vital one, but it is a deliberate confusion to suggest that it is this 'transition' which is referred to in the name of our programme.

We mean by transitional demands those which lead in struggle from the everyday demands of the masses to the question of working-class power. The construction of the party is the essential component of this.

Recipe book

It is necessary to emphasise this point because Hansen, in fact, turns the programme into a sort of recipe book to be dipped into according to the circumstances. e.g. 'It is scarcely surprising that it (The Transitional Programme) should have become of central influence in the tactics and strategy of the Trotskyist movement, being particularly noticeable in the construction of political platforms, in the selection of slogans, in the choice of areas of work, in the method and manner of proceeding in revolutionary activities'.

In the true style of American pragmatism, Hansen takes the real content out of the programme, and reduces it to a sort of handbook of political gimmicks. He ignores the whole basis of the Transitional Programme, that we live in the epoch of the crisis of working-

The death agony of capitalism and the tasks of the 4th International

A SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PAMPHLET



ment of 'independent' Algeria. It is against this background that we placed responsibility upon the shoulders of Hansen's friends in the 'United Secretariat' for liquidating their forces into the National Liberation Front, the official party of the government, thus playing their own part in rendering the working masses helpless before the right-wing coup of Boumedienne.

Capitulation

Hansen, Frank and Germain interpreted the Transitional Programme in a different way, in order to render more

acceptable their subservience to the bourgeois-nationalists and the bureaucracies of the labour movement.

This capitulation is disguised as 'staying close to the mass movement', 'avoiding isolation', but it stands exposed as a betrayal of the founding programme of the Fourth International, just as it did in East Germany in 1955, in Ceylon in 1964, in Algeria, Britain and the U.S.A. today.

(Next week Cliff Slaughter takes up the attitude of Hansen, in the same article, to the government and ruling party in Algeria.)

Kenya deports an opponent of apartheid

By a Newsletter Correspondent
ON Monday, July 26, the Kenyan government ordered Mr. Hosea Jaffe, South African-born British teacher, and well-known anti-apartheid author, to leave Kenya within 24 hours.

A statement was repeatedly broadcast over the 'Voice of Kenya' and released to the Kenya News Agency that the deportation was in the interests of 'national security', and that Mr. Jaffe had been engaged in 'subversive activities inside Kenya and subversive writings abroad'.

A statement on July 28 by Minister of Defence, Dr. Mungai, tried to link Mr. Jaffe with 'elements who were trying to overthrow the Kenyan government'.

'ABSOLUTE ROT'

In a press statement, Mr. Jaffe stated that the allegations were 'absolutely rot'. He declared that he was being deported for having legitimately, as a teacher, drawn the attention of the authorities in Kenya to anti-African racism, to anti-Semitism and to colonial domination in the major high schools in Kenya.

APARTHEID IN KENYA

These schools had been built, under direct British rule, on the basis of strict segregation. The Kenya government had done little or nothing to change the real situation, notwithstanding the legal and constitutional position which forbade racial discrimination. The so-called ex-European schools were still 90 per cent 'white', there were no Europeans in so-called 'African' schools.

COLOUR BAR FEES

The high fees (up to £320, including a 50 per cent subsidy), was as effective a colour bar as any in a country where the average per capita income was about £20 a year for Africans and £5,000 a year for Europeans. About one-third of Kenya's

educational expenditure goes to one two-hundredth of the population, namely the wealthy, powerful settler-colonialist Europeans.

Consequently, ninety-five per cent of the population is illiterate. At certain ex-European schools, African workers are forced to live in segregated compounds, as in South Africa. They are forbidden to use the school chapels, clinics, or swimming pools (which are open to any European from the school or outside).

There is a pass law at certain schools, whereby the police (still largely 'white'-controlled and officered) arrest any African who visits his friends without a special permit.

European administrative staff, doing the same work as an African (e.g. works supervising, clerical) earn, on an average, from five to ten times what the African worker earns.

DISMISSALS

There are frequent dismissals of African workers, and at the school where Mr. Jaffe worked, Prince of Wales School, 27 African workers were dismissed, including the shop steward.

While millions of pounds pour out of Kenya into British and American banking accounts of the all-powerful European farmers and investors, a chronic financial crisis is overtaking the government.

British 'aid', in particular, is crippling the economy. For example, Kenya has received tens of millions of pounds from Britain to compensate the European farmers for the land they had stolen from the Kenyans long ago, now taken from them by the Kenyan government.

These farmers take the money back to Britain with them. So the 'aid' has returned intact to Britain. But now Kenya has to start repaying a 'loan' she never received, with interest on top of it.

This sort of semi-colonialism is worsened by the system of engaging British and other ex-

patriates on contracts for two years or more, at heavy cost to the Kenyan government, despite certain 'perks' from the British Ministry of Overseas Development.

In the midst of this orgy of waste, Africans themselves are being dismissed by the thousand in city councils, government ministries and in the regions. Thus, at the same time as Mr. Koinange, Minister of Education, was announcing a fresh importation of new teachers from Britain, and spending a small fortune on 'Peace Corps' neo-colonialists from America, his Ministry arbitrarily sacked 500 African teachers two weeks ago in a single district near Eldoret, the former Afrikaner paradise.

Further, increasing numbers of qualified Kenyans, trained abroad, especially in Soviet bloc countries, are finding themselves unemployed.

THE 'ADVISERS'

The organised chaos in education is controlled with the help of British 'advisers'. These gentlemen have been working British imperialism's direct rule for decades in Kenya and now are 'advising' Africans how to run a semi-colony for imperialism.

They were hardened in the war against the land movement known as Mau Mau and are trained enemies of the African working class.

They are, in education, closely linked socially with the headmasters (nearly all European colonialist types from the 'good old days') and with the mainly European boards of governors. The Kenya National Union of Teachers, which took up the case of Mr. Jaffe's victimisation throughout his stay in Kenya, has repeatedly demanded the dismissal of these colonialist 'advisers'. They play an important part in the 'neo-colonialist' (i.e. semi-colonialist) set-up in Kenya, and elsewhere too.

WHITEHALL CONTROL

Kenya's 15,000-strong National Turn to back page ->



(including the secretary), 18 critically wounded and Petroulas, who had many head wounds and signs of strangulation wounds on his throat.

After the first attack, many demonstrators re-grouped and the fight was continued in many streets of Athens until late after midnight.

The police, with fascist brutality, attacked the wounded in the first aid stations.

Some police cars were damaged, and one, which overturned, was burned out.

Groups of people were still fighting and shouting: 'We want arms. Down with the Crown'.

Afterwards the youth, exhausted and retching from the gas, returned to their homes. Others searched for their wounded friends, and some attempted to discover if their

friends were among the 280 people arrested.

The day after there was great tension. Everywhere groups of people were heatedly discussing the previous day's events. The body of Petroulas was held by the police, who refused at first to hand it over to his family from fear of a demonstration funeral.

Huge funeral

After a long quarrel in the cemetery, the police were not able to bury him at once, and he was given a public funeral.

Thousands went to his home, among them two Stalinist leaders, L. Kivky and M. Glezos. They left when the dead student's sister began shouting: 'Get out, traitors'.

The following day (July 23), there was a huge crowd behind Petroulas' coffin,

carried by friends. Although it was 10 o'clock in the morning, and many people were at work, 300,000 went to the funeral.

Stalinist bureaucrats spent lavishly to present Petroulas as their own.

In reality, he was under threat of expulsion from the Stalinist E.D.A. and, in fact, worked with a group which had split from the Pabloites some years ago, and practised its own brand of entrimism.

There were struggles after the funeral between Stalinists and youth. The young insisted on singing 'The Song of the Dead', not the national anthem, and they attacked E.D.A., M.P. M. Thodoraky when he called Petroulas a 'soldier of democracy'.

'No,' they shouted. 'He was a soldier of socialism.'

Fight rent increases now!

OVER the past few weeks, a number of Labour-controlled councils throughout the country have told their tenants they must pay more. The Greater London Council, with over 200,000 tenants, has announced increases over the next three years averaging 9s. a week. By 1967, the average rent will be about 45s. a week.

In Islington, council tenants are facing increases of almost £2, Lambeth, 21s. 9d., Southwark, 20s. 9d., and, as reported on this page, in Leicester tenants face 30 per cent increases.

Lambeth already has a rent rebate scheme. The Greater London Council, Islington and Southwark are to introduce similar schemes. But since all these councils expect to obtain very substantial increases in their housing revenue accounts, it is clear that these eulogised means test schemes are meant only to squeeze the highest possible rent from the tenants.

The increases led, in Southwark, to 10 councillors from the dockside area of Bermondsey walking out of the council chamber during a stormy meeting at which tenants protested from the gallery.

Subsequently, the leader of the council, whose resignation was demanded by the Bermondsey Labour Party Management Committee, resigned as Party chairman.

Angry Islington tenants marched to their town hall while life-long Labour Party members threatened to resign if the rent increases were not withdrawn.

Meanwhile, the Greater London Council and several other Labour councils have suspended their loan schemes for house purchase.

These latest measures, which result from the economic crisis and directly from Callaghan's 'Little Budget', seriously undermine the housing crisis. This has existed ever since the Industrial Revolution, but has now grown far more acute.

Two million houses built 100 years ago are still in existence, millions of houses are without bathrooms and without hot water facilities. Slum dwellings would take 30 to 50 years to clear even at the rate of replacement before the cuts.

The re-housing of families on the waiting lists is painfully slow.

National problem

One London borough, for example, has 13,000 families on the list and expects 28,000 by 1972. It is building only 600 new units each year.

These conditions exist to a lesser or greater extent in every town in Britain and are used as one of the main weapons of the racialists in their attacks on the working class.

If one thing should be clear, it is that capitalism and landlordism stand condemned for the housing problem. The 'Newsletter' believes that those responsible should bear the burden, not the tenants.

The dilemma facing Labour councils today is not new. In 1922, Labour-controlled Poplar Council, led by Lansbury, defied the government and Tory London County Council by refusing to slash out-door relief (today's National Assistance) to balance their meagre budget. Instead, they held back that portion of the rates due to the LCC.

Then and now

Imprisonment of the whole group, including the Mayor, failed to shake their determination.

Their action sparked off a movement which spread to other boroughs and into the trade union movement, and the government capitulated.

What could be done then, can be done now. Labour councils must refuse to increase rates or rents and refuse to cut back building programmes, finding the money by refusing to pay interest charges on loans. They must demand that the government nationalize the banks, the building and building supplies industries and the

MINI-SHIFT VICTORY AT LEYLANDS

THE dispute at Leyland Motors over the four hour 'mini-shift' on Friday nights has ended in a victory for the men. Since they returned from their fortnight's holiday, night workers at the firm's five Lancashire factories have been working four ten-hour shifts each week.

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Leicester tenants organizing against rent rise

From Our Leicester Correspondent

TENANTS on several council estates in Leicester have begun to organise against the 30 per cent rent increase imposed on them by the Labour City Council.

On four of the estates, public meetings have been called by the Leicestershire Federation of Young Socialists in support of the tenants' fight.

Members of the Young Socialists, who have been canvassing, have received an enthusiastic response to their support and many tenants explained the difficulties they were facing because of the rapid increase in the cost of living.

Old Age Pensioners are the hardest hit. When the rent increases come into effect pensioners will be much worse off than they were before the Labour government was elected, despite the 12s. 6d. pensions increase granted in March this year.

When the rent increase was

announced, the council said that there would not be another increase for three years. However, the latest proposals from Callaghan, which slash the amount of money available to local authorities, mean that a further increase within a very much shorter period of time is now on the cards.

Leicester Young Socialists have sent a circular to all trade union branches calling for support for a campaign against rent increases. Several branches have already passed resolutions of protest.

RESIGNATION

Jack Brooks, who contested a Council seat for Labour at the May elections this year, has resigned from the panel of Labour candidates in protest against the increases.

In a Press statement he said: 'On the question of the diabolical 30 per cent rent increases for council houses, all efforts to obtain adequate discussion on the anomalies which will exist if this increase is implemented have been fruitless. Old people on low fixed incomes will suffer as a result of a policy that has been bulldozed through ...'

The fight against the increased rents, however, must be seen as more than a question of individual protest. Tenants on all the Leicester estates have to be united through the labour movement to oppose the Tory policies of the right-wing of the Labour Party and the government.

MASS PROTEST

Plans are being made in Leicester for a mass protest demonstration which will link together the tenants' organisations on all the estates.

Council tenants who want further details or who wish to join in this demonstration should contact The Young Socialists, 58 Bradbourne Road, Leicester.

Rate-fixers' Bradford strike

ALL 14 rate-fixers at Croft's Engineering Company, Bradford, came out on strike on Monday in support of their claim for increased wages.

The strike is supported by the Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians to which all the men belong. They submitted their claim nine months ago and have been through the lengthy negotiations procedure, without any success. They claim to be the lowest paid members of the ASSET rate-fixing section in the area.

Up to a year ago, they were

paid a bonus based on factory sales output for the previous month. The employers then 'consolidated' their wage at the average weekly bonus over the past two years. This meant that their wage remained static, despite increases in production.

They are fully conscious that the rapid increase in the cost of living over the past year has resulted in an attack on their standard of living.

During the lunch break on Monday, West Yorkshire Region Young Socialists addressed a meeting of more than 100 engineers from Crofts.

BMC men hit by 'package deal' clause

By Sylvia Pick

THE full implications of a new clause written into the engineering 'package deal' were felt by over 20,000 Midlands car workers last weekend. The clause was written into the 'deal' in exchange for a concession by the employers of an increase in the period of the guaranteed week from 34 to 40 hours.

It provides that: 'In the event of dislocation of production in a federated establishment, the operation of the period of guarantee shall be automatically suspended.'

This has resulted in the men being laid off without any guaranteed pay during the strike at the Smethwick components plant of Birmingham Aluminium Castings.

On Tuesday, the 80 dye casters on unofficial strike returned to work pending negotiations of their claim for increased piecework rates. The employers have awarded a 2½ per cent increase for a week while negotiations are pending.

'Blacked' machine

The dispute began nine weeks ago when two workers in the heavy pressings shop 'blacked' a machine in protest against piece-work rates paid for the manufacture of aluminium clutch housings for the Austin 1800 Princess.

They were taking home between £18 and £19 a week, but considered the work they were doing was worth at least 25, or about 35s. per 100 castings.

The stand taken by the 80 dye casters led to workers

at the British Motor Corporation factories at Austin's, Longbridge, at Fisher and Ludlows, Nuffield Metal Products, Tractor and Transmissions, Morris Commercial Cars and at Morris Motors, Oxford, registering for unemployment pay at the week-end. Workers at Llanelly and the Swindon factory of Pressed Steel were also affected.

Clause criticised

Before these effects of the clause were experienced, it had already been strongly criticised at the annual conference of the Transport and General Workers' Union. It means that employers do not have to pay anything when laying off workers in these circumstances.

This clause is a flagrant attack on the hard-won rights of trade unionists, who must show complete solidarity in resisting it.

Industrial Newsletter

Dangerous bargaining in Clyde dispute

By BOB SHAW, Our Scottish Correspondent

MEMBERS of the Electrical Trades Union at John Brown's shipyard at Clydebank were called out on strike by their union at the end of the firm's two weeks' holiday in July.

Last week the Clyde Shipbuilders' Association locked out 1,500 men at the Clyde yards. The men were told that they would not be re-employed until the electricians returned at John Brown's.

The ETU claim is for an increase of wages to be made up of a minimum wage of 8s. 3d. an hour, plus a payments-by-results scheme. In return for this, the union leaders say that they are prepared to agree to the introduction of work study and a drive for increased productivity.

That the electricians should get increased wages is correct, but the form the increase takes introduces a new and dangerous principle into collective bargaining.

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

It is only two months since George Brown was given a full vote of confidence for his wage policy, at the union's conference at the Isle of Man.

When Brown spoke, he emphasised that the job of the unions must be to help the employers to make their profits more efficiently. They must, he said, 'push and prod' the employers to adopt new methods.

An official of the ETU said last week-end that the union's move should not be regarded as a sign of weakness.

PRODUCTIVITY DRIVE

The spokesman for the Clyde shipyard employers stated that once a return to work was organised then a speedy agreement could be quickly reached.

But by pressing for a small increase for their members, the ETU leaders are paving the way to a drive for productivity on the ships.

At the present time, when British shipbuilding is being pushed against the wall by foreign competition this could be invaluable to the employers.

GIVE LEAD

What is needed now by the ETU members is not some very temporary gain from piece work which will mean at the same time that a smaller number of electricians will turn out more work. A fight has to be waged against all such policies and a lead given to shipyard and other workers against the wage freeze and for policies of the nationalization of the shipyards.

This means that a determined struggle must once again be waged in the ETU for democratic control of the union, and the replacement of right-wing officials by those fighting for socialist policies.

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

KENYA

Continued from page 3

Union of Teachers has asked the government to do its own recruiting abroad, through its embassies, instead of through the Ministry of Overseas Development (ex-Department of Technical Co-operation, itself ex-Colonial Office, i.e., all still Colonial Office). By controlling recruitment, British imperialism controls the input of mind-shapers (and mind-poisoners?) to Kenya, and also to Nigeria, Tanzania, Ghana, Zambia, Uganda, etc., as well. Whitehall also controls educational finances devoted to the expatriates engaged.

Kenya is not at all unique in this respect. Nor does it apply only to Africa, or only to Britain's ex-colonies.

It is found also in Ceylon, India, etc., and in France's area of influence, e.g., Malagasy, Algeria, etc. The Quisling character and role of the middle-class regimes in the so-called independent states of Africa, South America and Asia varies from one state to another only in degree, but not in kind. They are all servants of imperialism.

In Kenya's case, this results in the harsh treatment — farmer-like, Boer-like, Verwoerd-like in its crudeness — of persons like Mr. Jaffe. And that is why, when Mr. Jaffe left, he turned back to the waving base and told Kenya: 'You are still a semi-colony. Down with colonialism! Down with apartheid!'

ANTI-APARTHEID CAMPAIGN IN KENYA

Shortly before his deportation, there was a mounting criticism in part of Kenya's press and also in the House of Parliament and Senate of apartheid and colonialism in Kenya's schools.

'Pan-Africa', founded by Jomo Kenyatta and Oginga Odinga, carried full articles of six to eight pages from May to July (i.e., immediately before the deportation) exposing anti-Africanism and colonialism in these schools.

It called for an end to racial discrimination, a changing of names (e.g., Prince of Wales, Duke of York, Duke of Gloucester are still colonialist school names in a Republican country) and de-colonisation.

It demanded immediate action from the government against racialism and apartheid. The only action that took place was to deport Mr. Jaffe from the country. There is, of course, no known method of deporting ideas.

BOYCOTT-BREAKER: KENYATTA

The same nationalist paper carried a lengthy article exposing the existence inside Kenya of powerful financial, shipping, farming and commercial interests linked with South Africa.

Despite the nominal trade boycott there is massive communication between Kenya and South Africa. The article implied that all investments linked with South Africa should be nationalized.

Since the investors concerned practically control the economy of Kenya it is not surprising that Kenyatta indirectly aided Verwoerd by deporting an anti-apartheid South African.

After all, both are managers of similar imperialist estates in the same continent. Communication is easy with South Africa: daily flights between Johannesburg and Nairobi, regular passages by sea between Durban and Mombasa; easy transfers of monies via South Africa insurance and banking branches in Nairobi and so on (including inter-police communication?)

QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN REFUGEES

The deportation of Mr. Jaffe is not the only known action by an African state against anti-apartheid people from South Africa. Malawi returns 'freedom fighters' to Verwoerd's police. Kaunda restricts their activities and numbers. Tanzania and Ghana have deported some in the past. Some have been jailed in African states.

Anti-apartheid people have not yet got real asylum in all African states: namely the right of entry, work and to organise against the Herrenvolk regime of South Africa. They know better than anyone else on whose side the Kenyattas really stand. They demand the right to live and work in Africa.

Second computer strike in Scotland

THE Rootes Company was plunged into further trouble at their Linwood factory, in Scotland, this week, when the computer, which they rent from International Computers and Tabulators Ltd., was alleged by the workers to have been repaired by 'black' labour.

As a result, the foremen at the factory, who are members of the Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians, were called out on strike. They joined other

members of ASSET who are already out on strike in dispute with the computer firm. The ASSET members are demanding from the I.C.T. Ltd. a 20 per cent increase in wages and have rejected the employers' offer of 13½ per cent increase this year with a promise of 4 per cent next year and a further 4 per cent the year after.

Rootes are not the only firm to get into difficulties because of their reliance on a computer for production and wage calculations. Another large firm in the Paisley district, Bab-

cocks and Wilcox, found that one worker was being credited last week with a wage packet of £200. All the wage calculations had to be done again.

In modern factory production the man who works the computer is just as much a part of the production belt as the workers who assemble the cars. The employers can no longer rely on creating artificial barriers between each section of workers and they can no longer get complete subservience from their technical staff. The laying off of 2,000 men

could create sufficient pressure to force the ASSET men to give in. Shop stewards in the factory have already called for government intervention to end the dispute, a move which would aid the firm not the workers.

The car workers should support the ASSET members and demand that a united struggle be waged for increase in pay. If workers are to be united in production, then they should unite in struggle against the common enemy, the employer and all his lackeys in the government.