

TRADE UNIONISTS - OPPOSE ANTI-UNION LEGISLATION! ALL OUT FOR WEDNESDAY'S LOBBY OF PARLIAMENT

The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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AND THE
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GOVERNMENT

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NEW YORK
STRIKE
SELL-OUT

Statement by the Lambeth Trades Council

HANDS OFF THE TRADE UNIONS

LIFT THE SUSPENSION OF LAMBETH
TRADES COUNCIL

JOIN THE LOBBY ON JANUARY 26

The response to the call for the demonstration and lobby of Parliament on January 26 has been tremendous. Workers throughout the country have pledged enthusiastic support.

Each day the reasons why the legislation due to be signed this Spring must be vigorously resisted by every worker becomes more plain.

Within the last few days, Callaghan, Gunter and Wilson have told the labour movement that failure to restrain wages will mean mass unemployment, in an attempt to coerce trade unionists into accepting wage freeze without complaint and to surrender the gains won in over a hundred years of struggle.

Make JANUARY 26 a massive demonstration of the determination of the rank and file to defeat this legislation.

If you have not yet elected your delegation to the demonstration, do so now. Make sure that every section of the trade union movement is represented. BRING YOUR BRANCH AND WORKS COMMITTEE BANNERS.

The programme for the demonstration is:

LIGHT REFRESHMENTS

will be available from 6 a.m. onwards for coaches travelling overnight. Sandwiches, hot dogs and tea at modest prices. ST. AGNES' CHURCH HALL, ST. AGNES PLACE, KENNINGTON, S.E.11.

COACHES

will set down by the side of St. Agnes' Church Hall in KENNINGTON PARK GARDENS, and then proceed to park at KENNINGTON CROSS.

ASSEMBLE

at KENNINGTON OVAL and in KENNINGTON PARK at 11 a.m.

MARCH

from Kennington Oval, via Elephant and Castle, St. George's Circus, Blackfriars and Waterloo to the Festival Gardens (Belvedere Road).

LOBBY

House of Commons, starting at 2 p.m.

REPORT BACK MEETING

Central Hall, Westminster, S.W.1, from 5 p.m. onwards.

We would ask that leaders of delegations and stewards should be sure to report to St. Agnes' Church Hall, to discuss the order of the march.

PETER HENDRIE, Secretary.

BANKERS INSIST WILSON ATTACKS

The Newsletter Investment in unemployment

THE cash hand-outs which the Wilson government proposes to make to employers carrying out investment projects, which were announced last week, are designed to 'revitalise' British capitalism by creating more unemployment.

Generous cash allowances—up to 40 per cent of the cost of investment projects in some areas of the country—are to be made to induce employers to 'modernise' at all possible speed.

Thus, if a businessman spends £1 million on a new factory in an area of high unemployment such as Merseyside or the north-east, he will receive back from the state £400,000.

Under the old system, which is now to be scrapped, capitalists were allowed tax rebates on investment projects.

It is hoped that this new scheme—with its more immediate cash offer—will speed up the rate of technological change.

Employers welcomed the new proposals, as they have done all the measures taken by this government.

ICT (manufacturers of computers), finds the new arrangement 'extremely attractive' and British Petroleum hopes for a 'genuine gain' under the proposed system.

The extra cash grants which are to be given to firms going to the 'development areas' (that is, areas of high unemployment) is a direct attempt to provide cheap labour for the employers while, at the same time, easing the pressure in the Midlands and the South where labour is still very scarce and wage rates have continued to soar way beyond productivity, despite George Brown's 'comes policy'.

The cost of the new arrangement will certainly be over £250 million a year.

The Labour government is in fact subsidising private capitalism by this amount, even though it was unable to grant the pensioners their paltry rise when it came into office, and has resisted every demand for higher wages from the working class.

Gunter has said that full employment cannot be guaranteed. These measures, though small in themselves, are the response of the Labour Cabinet to demands from prominent bankers and industrialists for a sharp rise in unemployment so that labour can be 'put in its place'.

This cash hand-out to the millionaires again illustrates which side the Labour 'leaders' have chosen to take in the struggle between the employing and working classes.

UNIONS

Conspiracy exposed

By JOHN CRAWFORD

WILSON and company have organised their proposal to legislate against the trade unions in collaboration with the international bankers. The massive loans to prop up sterling have been granted only on the understanding that the attack on trade unionism would be pressed home. This is the opinion of the industrial correspondent of the 'Sunday Telegraph'.

Paterson also refers to a Transport House Research Department document of 1963 which prophetically referred to the 'Declaration of Intent' of December, 1964, and several other of the Labour government's gimmicks.

The past three years' discussion in the Labour Party and the unions about the so-called 'incomes policy' have been a hoax perpetrated on the working class.

All that time, the right wing was plotting with the bosses to get anti-union laws on the Statute Book.

It also makes it quite plain that 'voluntary' action would not be adequate to enforce an 'incomes policy'.

Legislation to control wages was the intention of the Labour leaders three years ago.

DOUBTFUL POINT

Union chiefs are reported by Paterson to have been annoyed about this document, which, he says, they have only recently obtained. This last point seems doubtful however.

Is it likely that such a report could come from a Labour Party department without the TUC leaders getting to know about it?

Members of the Party Executive, including the 'lefts', must also have learned of its contents. The silence of the 'left' critics of Wilson on the question of anti-union laws makes them part of the employers' conspiracy.

The whole preparation for anti-union laws has, therefore, been one gigantic conspiracy against the workers. All the discussions at the 1965 TUC about a 'voluntary early warning system' on wages was a fraud—a trick to soften up the rank and file for the main blow against them.

At next Wednesday's lobby

MIKARDO CALLS POLICE TO LOBBYISTS



RAILMEN SET STRIKE DATE

IN response to the Prices and Incomes Board rebuff of their pay claim, the National Union of Railwaymen's executive committee has called a national strike to begin on February 14.

The NUR is to meet the other rail unions to co-ordinate policy. Union Secretary, Sidney Greene, says the pay claim was fully justified under the title of 'exceptional' cases.

The strike call illustrates the feeling of the rank and file against the Labour government and its wage-freezing tactics. This feeling must also be mobilised into action against the proposed anti-union legislation.

SUPPORT FOR LOBBY

BIRKENHEAD Communist Party voted on Wednesday to support next Wednesday's lobby of parliament and to send a delegate. For news of more support see page 4.

'Defend stewards' meeting backs lobby

see page 4



Vietnam peace fraud

WHEN the US President sent his envoys scurrying around the world on an avowed search for a peaceful settlement in Vietnam, The Newsletter warned that this was only the prelude to a renewed offensive by the imperialists.

This contention is confirmed by the joint communiqué issued after the visit of Dean Rusk and Avril Harriman to Saigon last week.

The South Vietnam puppet regime of General Ky, self-styled disciple of Hitler, tried to make a show of independence of Washington by laying down conditions for negotiations.

These included the withdrawal of all North Vietnamese forces from the South, and a refusal to negotiate with the National Liberation Front. Obviously the North Vietnam government, not the Vietcong, would accept such terms.

Ky's words would not themselves be taken seriously, but the joint communiqué issued after Rusk had left for Manila gave them more significance.

It said that the US Secretary of State 'had expressed his appre-

ciation of the South Vietnamese position'.

So all the pious talk of Johnson, and his junior partner Wilson, not to mention the Pope, about seeking peace, is exposed as lies.

The imperialists intend to continue their brutal attack on the Vietnamese workers and peasants, whatever the cost and whatever the opposition within the USA itself.

Y.S. stand by workers in defence of unions

By Newsletter Reporter

other hand to increase the profits of the employers.

'Such a bill is being introduced by a government which was elected by trade unionists to defend their interests. But Wilson, Callaghan and Brown have made it plain that the Labour government was to be a government of betrayal.'

The Young Socialists, she said, who had fought before the election for socialist policies for the working class were now standing steadfastly by the interests of workers

BARKA CASE ROCKS FRANCE

NOT since the Stavisky scandal which rocked the Daladier regime has France seen anything like the brazen abduction and murder of Mehdi Ben Barka, leader of the Moroccan opposition.

Ben Barka's disappearance—he was bundled into a car in broad daylight in Paris—occurred on the eve of the Presidential elections. It was disclosed at the time that the French underworld, in collaboration with the Moroccan Ministry of the Interior, had planned the operation.

De Gaulle, intent on winning

the Presidential elections, said nothing to implicate the French police or the Secret Service. If the real facts of Ben Barka's case had been revealed, then the elections would have taken a quite different turn.

Figon's tales

Dead men may tell no tales—but unluckily for the French President—live ones do, and George Figon, a notorious gangster, spoke openly and freely about his role and the collusion of French police and Ministry officials in the gruesome business.

The alleged suicide of Figon, a few weeks later in a house surrounded by armed cops—so reminiscent of the suicide of Stavisky—has led to public disgust and criticism of the notoriously venal French police and secret service.

The head of France's counter-espionage service, General Jacquier, has been sacked and it seems probable that more heads will roll.

Sweeping measures to reorganise and centralise the police and secret services are being prepared. What more the present inquiry into the Barka case will reveal is anyone's guess. But it has made it gruesomely plain to the French working class that the state today is riddled with pro-Fascist and anti-labour elements.

Today it is a Moroccan nationalist—tomorrow it could be the turn of a French trade union leader.

JOIN THE SLL —ORDER THE NEWSLETTER

● The Socialist Labour League is the only organisation within the labour movement which fully supports the national lobby of parliament, organised by the Lambeth Trades Council.

● Our paper, The Newsletter, has, since last October, campaigned each week for the success of the lobby.

● The Newsletter was the only paper to protest over the suspension of the Lambeth Trades Council by the TUC.

● Both the Socialist Labour League and The Newsletter pledge themselves to continue with the struggle until the right-wing Labour and trade union leaders are forced to abandon their proposals for anti-trade union legislation.

● We ask all our readers, old and new, to pledge themselves to support us in this fight. If you want to receive The Newsletter regularly, why not become a regular subscriber: 9s for 12 issues (including postage). If you want to know more about the Socialist Labour League, fill in the form below.

I want to become a subscriber to The Newsletter/know more about the Socialist Labour League.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Send to: 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

Socialists and the Labour government

The second article by CLIFF SLAUGHTER answering those 'lefts' who quote Lenin's 'Left-Wing Communism' to justify their support of Wilson's government.



Lenin (left) said that Henderson and Snowden (right) [the Browns and Wilsons of 1920] must be helped to power, in order to expose them to the working class.



Congress of the Communist International. On August 20, 1920, the Congress carried Theses on 'Communist Parties and Parliaments,' which included the following:

'One such auxiliary centre is the rostrum of the bourgeois parliament. It is no argument against participation in the parliamentary struggle that parliament is a bourgeois state institution. The Communist Party does not enter this institution to function there as an organic part of parliament, but in order, by action inside parliament, to help the masses to shatter the State machine and parliament itself. . . .

Aiding Labour

With these general revolutionary considerations, how did Lenin present the question of helping the Labour leaders to win governmental majorities?

The fact is, he never advocated support for a Labour government in office. His purpose in advocating their election was to break the workers from their leadership, as the following quotations clearly show (he refers to Henderson and Snowden, the Browns and Wilsons of 1920):

'If we—not a revolutionary group but the Party of a revolutionary class—if we want the masses to follow us (and unless they do, we stand the risk of remaining mere talkers) we must, first, help Henderson or Snowden to beat Lloyd George and Churchill (or to be more correct, compel the former to beat the latter, because the former are afraid to win); secondly, help the majority of the working class to become convinced by their own experience that we are right, i.e., that the Hendersons and Snowdens are utterly worthless, that they are petty-bourgeois and treacherous and that their bankruptcy is inevitable;

thirdly, bring nearer the moment when, on the basis of the disappointment of the majority of workers in the Hendersons, it will be possible with good chances of success to overthrow the government of Henderson at once. . . .

So much for those who tell us not to 'rock the boat' for fear the Tories get back, and quote Lenin in their support! Lenin expresses himself even more clearly in a famous sentence:

'I will also be able to explain that I want to support Henderson with my vote in the same way as a rope supports one who is hanged—that the establishment of a Henderson government will prove that I am right, will bring the masses over to my side, and will accelerate the political death of the Hendersons and Snowdens. . . .

Just for good measure for those who use Lenin to bolster their failure to oppose Wilson, we read in Lenin's 'Conclusions' to 'Left-Wing Communism':

' . . . in order to accelerate the coming into power of the Hendersons . . . and then their loss of power.' (Our emphasis.)

Lenin spoke out very clearly, just as The Newsletter speaks out clearly, for revolutionary principle.

He never adapted himself, and nor do we, to the petty-bourgeois and reformist establishment, but proceeded always from the revolutionary interests of the masses of the workers.

Those who abuse his writings today are, in effect, dangerous enemies of the working class.

Far from their suffering from any 'infantile disorder' of the movement, they are incurable victims of the senile decay of the Labour bureaucracy, rapidly approaching its death along with its source of life, British imperialism.

(To be continued)

Where is Michael Foot going?

The second part of a reply to Foot's articles in 'Tribune' 'Strategy for the Left'



As promised, Michael Foot followed up his attack on Richard Gott ('Radical Alliance' candidate in the North Hull by-election) with an article in this week's 'Tribune' on his 'Strategy for the Left'.

It is the most complete statement yet made of the bankruptcy of the 'left' around 'Tribune' and the Bevanite group (which fathered Wilson as well as Foot).

That outspoken Tory magazine, 'The Spectator', has come to expect nothing different from Foot and company. Alan Watkins, their reviewer of the press, echoes the argument that if Wyatt and Donnelly can force Wilson's hand, why cannot the left?

Watkins writes: 'Mr. Foot and Mr. Silverman, being members of the old left, would not let such a question pass their modest lips. But some of the new MPs do not view matters in quite this "loyalist light". Not quite, we might emphasise.

Some of these MPs have threatened to vote against the 'early warning' legislation, but of course, the Tories will not oppose Wilson, and it will be a token vote only.

The Spectator's recognition of the hollowness of the 'old left' is a confirmation, from the class enemy, of the correctness of Marxist analyses of these 'middle-of-the-road' trends in the Labour Party.

Foot's own words complete the picture: he attempts to paralyse the 'left' with the 'lesser evil' theory:

' . . . there is a widespread determination throughout the rank and file of the party to do everything to win a fresh electoral victory, to do nothing to put it in jeopardy.'

WHAT RIGHT?

Who is this rank and file Mr. Foot? What do you know about them? Who gave you the right to speak on their behalf?

A fresh electoral victory? Mr. MacNamara, the Labour candidate in Hull, last week called Hull dockers 'enemies of the community' when they struck for a wage increase. Whose side are you on, Mr. Foot?

Should the dockers accept the present level of wages, perhaps until new laws are introduced to prevent their acting against the employers?

Or should not MacNamara be told straight?

But Foot says 'nothing' should be done to prevent a fresh electoral victory for MacNamara.

Foot cares nothing for the fighting capacity of the working class, the only basis for any advance towards socialism. Instead, he considers that without a parliamentary majority, 'socialists' are in the wilderness.

' . . . the prevailing mood of the Party is prompted by a much more creditable purpose. It is partly the healthy instinct of a rank and file which recognises that if the Labour Party turns away from power at this critical moment or (what amounts to the same thing in practice) if it tears itself to pieces for the convenience of the Tory enemy which is still present on the British political battlefield in force, we will be condemned for generations to ridicule and ineffectiveness.'

For generations?! Foot has such resounding confidence in the

ability of capitalism to keep going that he advocates holding back criticism of Wilson because this will give capitalism scores of years of extra life.

This is at a time when the employers and Aubrey Jones, working with the Labour government, sort out the railwaymen for the first major attack on wages.

Are railwaymen not the 'rank and file'? Will it be 'unhealthy' if they strike, or ban overtime, for their demands? Should they 'do nothing to put in jeopardy' a fresh electoral victory?

As for the Tory 'enemy', where is it to be found?

That ultra right-winger, Peregrine Worsthorne, wrote in this week's 'Sunday Telegraph' under the title 'H. Wilson: Tory':

' . . . the Conservatives are in disarray, because the man in No. 10 is showing the essential quality of their kind of government.

Every Tory paper and magazine is full of the divisions and recriminations in the Tory Party.

DISCIPLINE LEFT

Wilson calls for the Tories to sink their differences and function as an effective opposition. Wilson's motive is not any love for democracy, but his understanding that unity in the Tory ranks would give him an argument to discipline the left in his own Party, while he puts through the anti-trade union legislation.

Under these circumstances, Foot retreats: ' . . . the Left will only get a hearing in the Labour Party—and in my opinion will only deserve to—if it shows by word and deed that it passionately shares the desire for the Party's success. It will not show that by wrecking candidatures, by branding all leaders as traitors and, most fatuous of all, by denouncing as lost souls or spirits all those on the left who take Cabinet posts, National Executive seats or other offices and thereby undertake the work of directing the Labour or governmental machine from the inside.'

So much in this passage is disgusting that it is difficult to know where to start. Are there 'left wingers' in the Cabinet, directing the policies of the government on Vietnam and the trade union legislation?

It is not permissible to call these people traitors, yet at the

end of his article Foot says that for the left not to assist in a Labour electoral victory 'would be a betrayal of millions of people who have given their lives to serving the Labour movement here and tens of millions in other lands. And yet Foot cannot bring to his "modest lips" the word "traitor" for those in the Cabinet who perpetrate anti-union legislation and support the imperialist war in Vietnam.

When Foot says that the Labour government only stayed in power in 1950 'with considerable cunning and deviousness', he ought to add that the 'cunning and deviousness' were on the part of the Tories, whose concern has been to keep Wilson in, while appearing to oppose in the Commons.

RHODESIA

One more question should be mentioned, and in a way it points more clearly than anything else to the class position of Foot's type of politics.

On Rhodesia, he says: 'And let me not suppose that full victory can come in a few months. It will require a long period of direct British rule in Rhodesia, and, for that as for so much else, a long period of Labour rule in Britain is needed. (Our emphasis.)

In an imperialist country like Britain, the touchstone of 'left' politics is the colonial question.

The socialist Labour League and the Newsletter have called for the arming of the Africans, for the overthrow of British imperialism, and the Smith regime in Rhodesia.

Foot accepts all the imperialist claptrap about the Africans not being 'ready' for self-government. He is for the liberalisation of imperialism, not its abolition. He goes further: he advances as a justification of Labour rule the necessary continuation of imperialism in Rhodesia.

Foot no longer represents a 'left' tendency in the British Labour movement. The needs of the capitalist class have become so urgent, and they have become so dependent on the Labour leaders, that 'loyalty to Labour' has become a mechanism for turning the 'old left' into apologists for imperialism.

This is why Foot now comes out as defender of the Wilson government, just at the point of its greatest clash with the interests of the working class, in Britain and internationally.

THE 'SPLIT' IN THE TORY

(A discussion article)

by PETER JEFFRIES

IN the past few weeks, the split in the Conservative Party—for long apparent—has widened. In his latest speech, Enoch Powell, from the right of the Party, last week launched a bitter and thinly disguised attack upon Mr. Mauding, deputy leader of the Party.

Speaking to the Manchester Statistical Society, Powell attacked the attitude of Mauding to an incomes policy. He attacked those 'non-socialists' who advocate control over wages through state planning machinery.

Powell advocates that 'supply and demand' should be allowed to settle the level of wages. That is, he is in favour of a sharp

rise in unemployment which would depress wage levels and make exports 'more competitive'. The government, he argued, should determine the level of demand and not allow the unions to force up wages by taking advantage of full employment.

There are two schools of thought in the Tory Party.

One wants to solve the deepening crisis of British capital by severe deflation ('credit squeeze', increased taxes, higher interest rates, etc.).

The other proposes to tackle the same problems by involving the trade union bureaucracy in planning capitalism through incomes policy, while at the same time attempting the rapid modernisation of a largely archaic structure.

The divisions in the Tory ranks have now reached the point of public slanging matches. The dispute is really a reflection of different interests inside the capitalist class.

One section, with most of its stake in industry, want to see expansion and modernisation with tax incentives for exporters and investing in industry. The other is more interested in the City of London and the position of the pound.

To preserve the pound, they are prepared to see deflation and slow rate of growth at home.

The intensification of the crisis of British capitalism—reflected in the yawning balance of payments deficit and slow rate of growth—widens the divisions in the ruling class, especially at a time when the working class begins to move into action.

The current issue of the 'Spectator' carried an article by Angus Maude, another right-winger Tory.

In a piece 'Winter of Tory Discontent', he openly attacks the inept leadership of Heath, even though Maude is a Front Bench spokesman in the Party.

He fears that the Party has 'completely lost effective political initiative'.

His first proposal to invigorate the Tories is that they should 'stop pussyfooting about the trade unions and say what everyone wants us to say', i.e. that they should openly declare war on the unions.

After the election, the Tory strategy was clear: to keep Labour in office while they forced through legislation against the unions and imposed an 'incomes policy' upon them.

Powell and Maude now grow restless because Labour is unable to carry out this job rapidly enough.

They are in favour of throwing them out and dealing with the working class directly. Brown's incomes policy and

Nationalized industries join bosses' organisation

NINE nationalized undertakings have joined the Confederation of British Industry, the body which represents the vast majority of private firms in Britain, and which is the arch-proponent of private enterprise.

The Boards which have joined are: The National Coal Board, The British Railways Board, The Electricity and Gas Councils, British Overseas Airways, British Overseas Airways Corporation, The United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, the North of Scotland Hydro-Electric Board and the South of Scotland Electricity Board. Others are expected to join soon.

This announcement coincided with a denunciation of the miners by the National Coal Board's chairman, Lord Robens, and the rejection of the railwaymen's wage claim by the National Board for Prices and Incomes.

This new 'get-together' is for the purpose of a joint attack on all workers, backed by the government's proposed anti-trade union legislation.

It reflects the Wilson government's abandonment of steel nationalization and its complete capitulation to capitalist requirements all along the line.

There is no doubt who will be the dominant partner in this marriage of convenience. The nationalized boards will have no voting rights but will nevertheless pay the same subscriptions as private firms.

Thus, the National Coal Board, which is the largest employer of labour in Britain, will pay nearly £14,000 a year to this employers' organisation.

As 'The Guardian' gleefully pointed out on January 13:

'The subscriptions of nationalized undertakings will therefore be supporting a CBI staff and services which in part forcibly put the case for private as opposed to public enterprise.'

The feeble excuse that the nationalized industries will be able to influence the CBI 'from within' will not bear examination.

The CBI intends to co-opt members from the nationalized undertakings on to its Grand Council for specific debates.

But it will exclude them, for instance, from its discussions on the manufacturing powers of nationalized industries.

Make fortune

The CBI wants to prevent the railway workshops from manufacturing for private industry.

It is not, of course, opposed to private firms manufacturing for the nationalized industries and making a fortune out of it, as in the case of mining machinery.

On the same day as this was announced, Lord Robens, chairman of the Coal Board, gave a press conference and a television interview in which he clearly suggested that absenteeism in the mines was related to high social service benefits. He claimed that every time



Robens: High Social Services cause of absenteeism.

National Insurance benefits were raised, there was a 2 per cent increase in absenteeism amongst miners.

Carefully saying that he himself 'didn't draw any conclusions' from this, he nevertheless suggested that the government should examine whether some corrective treatment was necessary.

Robens admits that 60,000 workers in the mining industry get less than £13 for a week's work. Instead of proposing that these low-paid workers get an increase, the Coal Board bureaucrats obviously think that social service benefits are too high.

The Coal Board's figures show that absenteeism in 1965 was 17.4 per cent compared with 16 per cent in the previous financial

year. This increase was due, not to more voluntary absenteeism, but to more sickness.

Coal Board officials are now implying that many medical certificates cover phoney illnesses.

Robens and his new friends in the CBI want the whip over the miners' heads. Robens wants to increase the productivity of new and newly-constructed pits by 40 per cent; he wants to extend three-shift working to increase profitability by 100 per cent; and he intends to extend the introduction of Remotely Operated Longwall Faces, which could also mean productivity increases of 100 per cent.

This would mean a production of 200 million tons a year by 1970 with 300 pits compared with the present 500.

Continued attacks

Since government planners want only 170-180 million tons a year (compared with 186.4 million tons in 1965, and 192.8 million tons in 1964), this clearly means continued attacks on the miners.

This emphasis on the so-called 'half time' miners is very closely bound up with the mechanisation of the industry. Robens claimed that voluntary absenteeism last year entailed a loss of output equivalent to closing the entire West Midlands coal field for nine months.

Under modern mechanised conditions the absence of a few key men can disrupt a whole pit.

Thus the situation facing the Coal Board bosses is not unlike

that revealed by an examination of the situation in the Fairfield's shipyard.

Extremely expensive modern techniques demand a return in terms of productivity and conflict with the conditions and practices built up by the working class.

Under conditions of full employment and increased prosperity, it has been possible for a man doing a hard, dangerous job to miss a shift when he doesn't feel too well without suffering any hardship.

Unemployment threat

New techniques of production now require the Coal Board and the government to put an end to this by a combination of reduced social services, the threat of unemployment, and increased discipline in the pits.

This is very closely connected with the government's proposal to introduce anti-trade union legislation.

The rejection of the railwaymen's pay claim by the National Board for Prices and Incomes shows clearly what workers can expect if the proposed legislation goes through. Wilson intends to make it compulsory for all wage claims to be submitted to this Board.

Everyone knows that the railwaymen are amongst the most miserably underpaid workers in the land.

Nevertheless, the Prices and Incomes Board—headed by the ex Tory MP, Aubrey Jones—has concluded that the 224,549 manual workers in the industry deserve no more than the 3½ per cent increase they received in October and the 40-hour week they get in April.

(Continued on page three)

Where is Michael

The second part of a reply to Foot's articles in 'Tribune' 'Strategy for the Left'



Foot going?

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Wilson calls for the Tories to sink their differences and function as an effective opposition. Wilson's motive is not any love for democracy, but his understanding that unity in the Tory ranks would give him an argument to discipline the left in his own Party, while he puts through the anti-trade union legislation.

Under these circumstances, Foot retreats:

... the Left will only get a hearing in the Labour Party—and in my opinion will only deserve to—if it shows by word and deed that it passionately shares the desire for the Party's success. It will not show that by wrecking candidatures, by branding all leaders as traitors and, most fatuous of all, by denouncing as lost souls or spirits all those on the left who take Cabinet posts, National Executive seats or other offices and thereby undertake the work of directing the Labour or governmental machine from the inside.'

So much in this passage is disgusting that it is difficult to know where to start. Are there 'left wingers' in the Cabinet, directing the policies of the government on Vietnam and the trade union legislation?

It is not permissible to call these people traitors, yet at the

end of his article Foot says that for the left not to assist in a Labour electoral victory 'would be a betrayal of millions of people who have given their lives to serving the Labour movement here and tens of millions in other lands'. And yet Foot cannot bring to his 'modest lips' the word 'traitor' for those in the Cabinet who perpetrate anti-union legislation and support the imperialist war in Vietnam.

When Foot says that the Labour government only stayed in power in 1963 'with considerable cunning and dexterity', he ought to add that the 'cunning and dexterity' were on the part of the Tories, whose concern has been to keep Wilson in, while appearing to oppose in the Commons.

RHODESIA

One more question should be mentioned, and in a way it points more clearly than anything else to the class position of Foot's type of politics.

On Rhodesia, he says: 'And let no one suppose that full victory can come in a few months. It will require a long period of direct British rule in Rhodesia, and, for that as far so much else, a long period of labour rule in Britain is needed. (Our emphasis.)

In an imperialist country like Britain, the townspeople of 'left' politics is the colonial question. The Socialist Labour League and the newsletter have called for the arming of the Africans, for the overthrow of British imperialism, and the Smith regime in Rhodesia.

Foot accepts all the imperialist claptrap about the Africans not being 'ready' for self-government. This is for the hoerisation of imperialism, not its abolition. He goes further: he advances as a justification of Labour rule the necessary continuation of imperialism in Rhodesia.

Foot no longer represents a 'left tendency in the British Labour movement. The needs of the capitalist class have become so urgent, and they have become so dependent on the Labour leaders, that 'loyalty to Labour' has become a mechanism for turning the 'old left' into apologists for imperialism.

This is why Foot now comes out as defender of the Wilson government, just at the point of its greatest clash with the interests of the working class, in Britain and internationally.

THE 'SPLIT' IN THE TORY PARTY

(A discussion article)

by PETER JEFFRIES

IN the past few weeks, the split in the Conservative Party—for long apparent—has widened. In his latest speech, Enoch Powell, from the right of the Party, last week launched a bitter and thinly disguised attack upon Mr. Maudling, deputy leader of the Party.

Speaking to the Manchester Statistical Society, Powell attacked the attitude of Maudling to an incomes policy. He attacked those 'non-socialists' who advocate control over wages through state planning machinery.

Powell advocates that 'supply and demand' should be allowed to settle the level of wages. That is, he is in favour of a sharp

rise in unemployment which would depress wage levels and make exports 'more competitive'. The government, he argued, should determine the level of demand and not allow the unions to force up wages by taking advantage of full employment.

There are two schools of thought in the Tory Party. One wants to solve the deepening crisis of British capitalism by severe deflation ('credit squeeze', increased taxes, higher interest rates, etc.).

The other proposes to tackle the same problems by involving the trade union bureaucracy in planning capitalism through incomes policy, while at the same time attempting the rapid modernisation of a largely archaic structure.

The divisions in the Tory ranks have now reached the point of public slanging matches. The dispute is really a reflection of different interests inside the capitalist class.

One section, with most of its stake in industry, want to see expansion and modernisation with tax incentives for exporters and investing in industry. The other is more interested in the City of London and the position of the pound.

To preserve the pound, they are prepared to see deflation and slow rate of growth at home. The intensification of the crisis of British capitalism—reflected in the yawning balance of payments deficit and slow rate of growth—widens the divisions in the ruling class, especially at a time when the working class begins to move into action.

The current issue of the 'Spectator' carried an article by Angus Maude, another right-wing Tory.

In a piece 'Winter of Tory Discontent', he openly attacks the leadership of Heath, even though Maude is a Front Bench spokesman in the Party.

He fears that the Party has 'completely lost effective political initiative'. His first proposal to invigorate the Tories is that they should 'stop pussyfooting about the trade unions and say what everyone wants us to say', i.e. that they should openly declare war on the unions.

After the election, the Tory strategy was clear: to keep Labour in office while they forced through legislation against the unions and imposed an 'incomes policy' upon them.

Powell and Maude now grow restless because Labour is unable to carry out this job rapidly enough.

They are in favour of throwing them out and dealing with the working class directly. Brown's incomes policy and

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'Package deal' sel

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JACK ARNOLD assesses the Union-Transit Authority Agreement

The terms of agreement, while not coming to the level of the widely advertised 15 per cent, do represent a substantial wage gain for the transport workers over the next two years, if little else.

As we pointed out in our previous article the Transit Authority and the city are bankrupt. Because of the general economic crisis of American imperialism, coupled with the costs of the war in Vietnam, the city cannot expect to get much if anything in the way of funds from the Federal Government.

Now that 'Paul' has been paid with funds that the Transit Authority and the city do not possess they must somehow or other 'rob Peter'.

Estimates

The Mayor says it will cost 52 million dollars. The Transit Authority's O'Grady says it will cost 60 million dollars. Last but not least the Transport Workers' Union International Vice-President, Douglas MacMahon, who headed the TWU bargaining team after the arrest of Quill and the first-line leadership, says it will cost 70 million dollars.

These figures of course reflect the needs of each of these fine gentlemen to present the settlement in the light best suited to their own particular position.

Truth of the matter is that reports are so confused that it's anybody's guess as to where matters really stand.

One thing is very certain and that is that the terms of the settlement are a long way from the loudly proclaimed 15 per cent wage gain.

If we base calculations on the terms of the contract which call for 4 per cent in the first year,

4 per cent in the first six months of the second year and 7 per cent in the contract's last six months, then we get a total gain over two years of only 8½ per cent.

It takes no effort at all to guess exactly how the Transit Authority, the City Government, and the banks, who take over 100 million dollars a year in bond (interest) payments out of a system they milked and almost destroyed before selling it to the city, are going to 'rob Peter'. Nor is it any trouble at all to guess who 'Peter' is.

The first act, using the contract with TWU as an excuse and a weapon to try and set the working class against TWU, will be to penalise New York's workers, who are absolutely dependent on the transit system, by raising the fares substantially.

Another method will be to take back with the other hand what they have given with the first, that is, to combine 'Peter' and 'Paul' and extract from the subway workers more labour than up to the present time.

This would continue a trend of several years standing, the result of some of those deals that TWU Secretary Quill has been making with his Democratic Party friends who have run City Hall for many years.

Rights given away

According to 'Challenge', the paper of New York's Progressive Labour Party, Quill in the past 12 years has given away the right to contest job schedules. This means that the Transit Authority does not have to fill a job when a worker retires, resigns, or is fired.

This give away has led, according to 'Challenge', directly to the loss of 15,000 jobs since 1951, the cutting down of services, closing change booths, eliminating platform men, closing entrances, and taking away one of every two conductors on a train. On working conditions the union leadership gave away, in 1953, the right to reject workloads. This creates a real overload on the workers especially in rush hours.

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The demands of the TWU coming up against the lack of funds was again underlined in the negotiations just prior to this settlement.

A union negotiator, it is reported in the 'New York Times' of January 11, says:

'For 13½ hours we discussed the merits of the cases but then we were told it was not the merits of the cases but the ability to pay that must be considered.'

In other words the union was being told that the cost of maintaining the capitalist system—the war in Vietnam—was to be loaded onto the backs of the workers.

'Call out guard'

And the manner in which this will be done has been made very clear by the boss class. In a telegram to Mayor Lindsay, a group of Fifth Avenue merchants said:

'Let's get the buses and subways rolling even if it means calling out the National Guard.'

The 'New York Times' International Edition in an editorial dated January 15-16 makes the following statement:

'Mayor Lindsay has moved speedily to revise the city's collective bargaining machinery as a means . . . of guarding against future civil service strikes. . . .'

'With many unions of public employees about to enter negotiations with the city, the need is obvious for procedures that will ensure some systematic arrangements for third party judgment when all attempts at direct agreement prove futile. The underlying objective, as we have repeatedly stated, ought to be to provide the most exhaustive machinery for adjusting all the valid grievances of government workers without recourse to illegal stoppages.'

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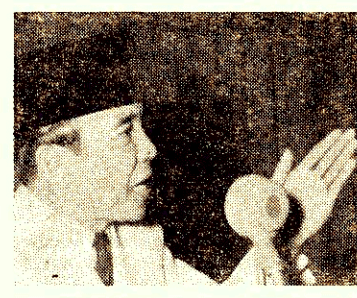
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Sukarno's of power

SECOND vice-chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, Mr. Njoto, is reported to have been executed in December.

In a letter from Jakarta, it is reported that his car was stopped by military police. He escaped them and drove to the house of Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, who was out.

'The military police dropped all protocol,' says the letter, 'and the Minister of State, Njoto, was hastily and unceremoniously bundled up and reduced to the status of occupant of the Jakarta military prison.'

'For two nights they interrogated him without much result; on the third night they took him out again and he was never returned to his cell.'

Njoto became yet another of the estimated 100,000 Communist Party members who have been slaughtered in Indonesia since the September 30 uprising.

While the bodies remain unburied and cluttering up streets and streams, the massacre goes unmentioned in the newspapers of Jakarta.

Neither Njoto's, nor Aidit's death have been noted.

The letter from Jakarta now reports that Aidit, secretary of the Indonesian Communist Party, who was executed after a summary trial in a Central Java village where he had been hiding, had written to President Sukarno asking for his help in stopping the arrest and killing of Communist Party members.

Sukarno, who, we have pointed out, was then (and still is) the puppet of the extreme right-wing generals who led the counter coup and gave the go-ahead to the massacre of Communists, promised Aidit in reply to 'follow your directives'.

'But,' he added, 'I need more time and first of all I must change the state of mind of the Army commanders.'

What a ludicrous statement, considering his position now. He wants to play the old game of balancing between the different forces and, while Aidit was still alive, played up to him.

The letter from Jakarta says that 'Sukarno

industries join organisation

that revealed by an examination of the situation in the Fairfield's shipyard.

Extremely expensive modern techniques demand a return in terms of productivity and conflict with the conditions and practices built up by the working class.

Under conditions of full employment and increased prosperity, it has been possible for a man doing a hard, dangerous job to miss a shift when he doesn't feel too well without suffering any hardship.

Unemployment threat

New techniques of production now require the Coal Board and the government to put an end to this by a combination of reduced social services, the threat of unemployment, and increased discipline in the pits.

This is very closely connected with the government's proposal to introduce anti-trade union legislation.

The rejection of the railwaymen's pay claim by the National Board for Prices and Incomes shows clearly what workers can expect if the proposed legislation goes through. Wilson intends to make it compulsory for all wage claims to be submitted to this Board.

Everyone knows that the railwaymen are amongst the most miserably underpaid workers in the land.

Nevertheless, the Prices and Incomes Board—headed by the ex Tory MP, Aubrey Jones—has concluded that the 224,549 manual workers in the industry deserve no more than the 3½ per cent increase they received in October and the 40-hour week they will get in April.

(Continued on page three)

year. This increase was due, not to more voluntary absenteeism, but to more sickness.

Coal Board officials are now implying that many medical certificates cover phoney illnesses. Robens and his new friends in the CBI want the whip over the miners' heads. Robens wants to increase the productivity of new and newly-constructed pits by 40 per cent; he wants to extend three-shift working to increase profitability by 100 per cent; and he intends to extend the introduction of Remotely Operated Longwall Faces, which could also mean productivity increases of 100 per cent.

This would mean a production of 200 million tons a year by 1970 with 300 pits compared with the present 500.

Continued attacks

Since government planners want only 170-180 million tons a year (compared with 186.4 million tons in 1965, and 192.8 million tons in 1964), this clearly means continued attacks on the miners.

This emphasis on the so-called 'half time' miners is very closely bound up with the mechanisation of the industry. Robens claimed that voluntary absenteeism last year created a loss of output equivalent to closing the entire West Midlands coal field for nine months.

Under modern mechanised conditions the absence of a few key men can disrupt a whole pit.

Thus the situation facing the Coal Board bosses is not unlike



Social Services absenteeism.

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Does this sound familiar British workers? Then read on.

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'which without improperly invading state and local authority, will effectively enable us to deal with strikes which threaten irreparable damage to the national interest.'

This says the 'New York Times' was, according to administration sources, included because of the New York transport strike.

The lessons to be drawn from this must be quite clear, especially to those in the British labour movement who think the struggle against the attempts of the bosses to roll back and hold down workers' conditions and wages can be fought on the shop floor alone.

It is not an accident that an assault is being launched against the American working class at precisely the same time that the Wilson government proposes legislation against British trade unions.

Rather, it is a reflection of the general crisis that confronts the world imperialist system.

No accident

Nor is it an accident that at the same time that the Johnson administration is contemplating fresh moves against the unions and working class (who, it says, must bear the burdens of its Vietnam adventures) harsh measures are being aimed at those who protest against that war in Vietnam.

It must be understood that in the light of the needs of the bosses to safeguard their imperialist investments and even to roll back the revolutions that have cut into those investments and interests, any actions on the part of the working class to resist these operations or to advance their own working class interests in a struggle for better wages and conditions, will be fought by the capitalist class through a general offensive against the trade unions.

It will not be just the militants who are attacked, but as the New York transport strike shows, the leadership as well, no matter how compromising it may be.

In this general world crisis it is the need of the capitalist class to wipe out all organisations of the working class.

Again it cannot be too often emphasised that the struggle of the working class in the United States can only go forward through the establishment of an independent labour party basing itself on such demands as 30 hours' work for forty hours' pay, expropriation of the slumlord's moratorium on payments to the bankers on subway bonds so that the working people of New York can have a free ride to work in clean safe trains, and the subway workers can have good wages and good conditions in the job of supplying that ride.

DRY PARTY

'National Plan' lie in ruins. Wage rates have raced ahead of productivity; growth at 2 per cent has been half of Brown's target of 4 per cent.

Even the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers was forced to come out in its strongest attack so far against the government.

This is only a reflection of strong pressure from the ranks as the miners prepare to take up the struggle against closures.

How is the ruling class to deal with a rapidly deteriorating situation?

Increased pressure is being placed upon the 'Labour' cabinet to carry through the following measures

● A sharp increase in unemployment through a severe April Budget which is now universally predicted in the financial press.

● Legal measures against the unions to curb rank-and-file militancy. This is Brown's 'early warning system'. The reaction of the centrists? Harrison and Barratt Brown in 'Tribune' last week urged all 'lefts' to propose amendments (1) to the legislation. These people stand by and refuse to offer any alternative leadership to the working class.

● To take on and defeat a strong section of the industrial working class. So far the Prices and Incomes Board has only really taken on sections of the middle class, such as the bank clerks. The report on the railway pay claim is a declaration of war on every railway worker. No increases are to be given to this low paid group and yet demands are being made to streamline and reorganise the railways at the expense of the railwaymen.

This growing crisis of leadership in the ruling class—unsolved by the sacking of Home and his replacement by Heath—is a source of confidence to all revolutionary socialists.

It is a sign of great weakening in the capitalist system that the ruling class cannot, at this stage, unite behind a single leadership or policy. The way is being prepared for a 'stronger man'—possibly Powell or MacLeod.

The burning question of the hour is the resolution of the crisis of leadership in the working class.

In a period of working-class militancy, the old leaderships lie prostrate and are unable to fight. The Communist Party and the 'Tribune' type 'left' move farther to the right as the crisis intensifies.

This is a period of great opportunities for the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists to build their forces in the working class. This is the real significance of the January 26 lobby of Parliament.

ANTI-VIETNAM WAR LEAFLET HANDED OUT AT FORD FACTORY

Newsletter Correspondent

LEAFLETS entitled 'Why are Americans Dying in Vietnam?' are being distributed in the gigantic Ford Rouge Plant in Detroit by members of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

After quoting several news reports giving important facts about the war in Vietnam, the leaflet calls for the American people to 'no longer fight against fellow human beings who are struggling only for a chance to organise themselves to obtain a few minimum needs of life'.

The leaflet, which has been well received in the factory, where it has been distributed further by workers, goes on to say:

'The union movement generally and the Ford workers particularly have in the past always had courage to struggle for the common people. Armed with the truth of what is really happening in Vietnam, the organised workers can be a decisive force for peace in our country.'

It continues: 'We can't go on allowing Americans, and it is working people who make up the majority of the armed forces, to die defending a military dictatorship from which the Vietnamese people are trying to free themselves.'

Among the quotations from different newspapers is one from the 'Free Press', December 9, 1965:

'Senator Stephen Young (Democrat, Ohio) said: "Most of the Vietcong are not infiltrators from North Vietnam. This is therefore a civil war waged in South Vietnam." Senator Young quoted General William Westmoreland, top U.S. Commander, and General Richard Stillwell, one of Westmoreland's subordinates, to the effect that 80 per cent of the Vietcong were born and brought up in South Vietnam.'

Nationalized

From page 2

The same applies to the 74,566 workshop engineers and the 16,274 supervisory grades.

This decision has been based, not on the abysmally low basic pay of railwaymen, but on their total earnings which are the result of working rest days and excessive hours of overtime.

(The 52,384 clerks are given a small rise of 1 1/2 per cent in an obvious attempt to split them off from the railway workers.)

The government is clearly concerned at the fact that since 1960 earnings in all industries (excluding agriculture) have gone up by 34 per cent.

As The Newsletter has consistently pointed out, all these attacks on different sections of the working class fall into a single pattern.

The rejection of the railwaymen's claim, the attack on 'half-time' miners, the government's policy of pit closures, the Geddes Report on the Shipbuilding Industry, the Devlin Report on the Docks, the appointment of 'trouble-shooter' Jack Scamp in the motor industry and now the coming together of the heads of the nationalized industries with the bosses of big capital—all these are interconnected.

Common factor

The common factor in all of them is the need of modern capitalist production to discipline the working class and break down its traditional practices and conditions.

Behind them all lies the threat of legislation against the unions and unofficial strikers.

The campaign of the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists against anti-trade union legislation and the lobby of Parliament called by the Lambeth Trades Council for January 26 is thus the only lead which can unite all sections of the working class and defeat the plans of the employers.

The Wilson government serves the interests of big business against the working class, while the 'left' of the 'Tribune' variety and the various revisionist breeds line up behind Wilson and provide him with a left cover.

The trade union bureaucracy demonstrates every day its complete inability to lead a successful struggle against the employers. There will be strong demands from railwaymen for a strike against the decision of the Prices and Incomes Board.

But NUR secretary Mr. Sidney Greene's suggestion that railwaymen stop working their rest days and excessive hours will only limit the struggle from the beginning.

The leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers on the other hand, have indulged in much noise and blunder against the government. They accuse the government, quite rightly, of betraying the miners and breaking their election promises. But this remains a sham fight.

These leaders have put up no real opposition to pit closures and no fight for a real improvement in wages.

'Communist' Will Paynter, who led the opposition to a real fight on day wages, continues to enjoy his peaceful co-existence with the right wing of the national executive of the NUM.

CP unfit

The opposition of leaders of the Communist Party to the January 26 lobby and their continued support for the trade union bureaucracy proves that they are totally unfit to provide any leadership for the working class.

In area after area the leaders of the Communist Party are deliberately attempting to sabotage the January 26 lobby in marked contrast to the enthusiastic support which is being accorded to it by militant Communist Party rank and file.

The Stalinist leaders have now welcomed the disaffiliation of the Lambeth Trades Council by the TUC and are using this against the supporters of the lobby, in some cases attempting to reverse decisions to support the lobby on the grounds of this disaffiliation.

Thus, in the name of 'unity', the Stalinists line up with the witch-hunters and the bureaucrats against those who are building a genuine unity of the working class in the struggle against the plans of big capital.

This brings them into conflict with the best elements in their own party who are attracted to the Marxist programme and campaign of the Socialist Labour League.

The inevitable struggles of the miners, railwaymen, dockers and all other workers can be successful only through the construction of a revolutionary leadership to replace the old leaders who now reveal their bankruptcy more and more each day.

The January 26 lobby will be a big step in the construction of such a leadership.

CEYLON

Perera and de Silva lead anti-Tamil riots

By Our Own Correspondent

Colombo, January 9

THE regulations for the use of the Tamil Language in the Northern and Eastern provinces were presented in Parliament yesterday. The Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Communist Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party called for a general strike for January 8.

The strike call was issued at a big rally of these three parties held on January 6 at the Town Hall grounds. The response to this call was very poor. The transport services, government departments and Mercantile firms worked as usual.

Workers responded to this call only in the Government workshops.

These three parties had also called for the people to gather opposite the statue of Vihara Maha Devi in the Victoria Park, opposite the Town Hall, to take a vow to fight against any concessions to the Tamil minorities.

About 2,000 gathered at this spot on January 8.

Bernard Soysa, N. M. Perera, Colvin R. de Silva figured with Mrs. Bandaranaike at this ceremony. Since the strike was a failure they tried to make use of this crowd that had gathered to create disturbances and they started on a march towards the House of Representatives shouting anti-Tamil slogans.

The procession headed by Buddhist priests was stopped by the police about a mile from the House of Representatives and there was a clash between the two sides.

Tear gas bombs were dropped from the air, and the police managed to disperse the processionists after some time.

A Buddhist monk, a student of the Vidyalkara University, died in this clash. This gave the government an excuse to declare an emergency throughout the island and impose a curfew from 9 p.m. to 4 a.m.

Since the declaration of the emergency and the mobilisation of the armed volunteers, there have been no more incidents.

Sukarno's illusions of power

By Newsletter Reporter



SECOND vice-chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, Mr. Njoto, is reported to have been executed in December.

In a letter from Jakarta, it is reported that his car was stopped by military police. He escaped them and drove to the house of Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, who was out.

'The military police dropped all protocol,' says the letter, 'and the Minister of State, Njoto, was hastily and unceremoniously bundled up and reduced to the status of occupant of the Jakarta military prison.'

'For two nights they interrogated him without much result; on the third night they took him out again and he was never returned to his cell.'

Njoto became yet another of the estimated 100,000 Communist Party members who have been slaughtered in Indonesia since the September 30 uprising.

While the bodies remain unburied and cluttering up streets and streams, the massacre goes unmentioned in the newspapers of Jakarta.

Neither Njoto's, nor Aidit's death have been noted.

The letter from Jakarta now reports that Aidit, secretary of the Indonesian Communist Party, who was executed after a summary trial in a Central Javan village where he had been hiding, had written to President Sukarno asking for his help in stopping the arrest and killing of Communist Party members.

Sukarno, who, we have pointed out, was then (and still is) the puppet of the extreme right-wing generals who led the counter coup and gave the go-ahead to the massacre of Communists, promised Aidit in reply to 'follow your directives'.

'But,' he added, 'I need more time and first of all I must change the state of mind of the Army commanders.'

What a ludicrous statement, considering his position now. He wants to play the old game of balancing between the different forces and, while Aidit was still alive, played up to him.

The letter from Jakarta says that 'Sukarno

came out more and more in defence of the Indonesian Communist Party, pointing out the many sacrifices that the Communists had given in the struggle for independence against the Dutch colonialism.'

And, it adds, Sukarno is reported to have said that Indonesia must stand by the idea of co-operation between the nationalist, religious and Communist parties—'our revolution is leftist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-capitalist, anti-feudalist'.

Rather optimistically the letter adds: 'Sukarno is trying to erode the co-operation between the Army and the Islamic parties against the Communists. Only if he can reasonably hope to regain his old power. Sukarno is tenacious and cunning, too. He is now on record as the indefatigable defender of the Indonesian Communist Party.'

'The fact that this happens less than three months after the September 30 movement is interpreted in some political circles as a bad omen. For only a few weeks, the non-Communists had had their field day, when they were harassing and hunting Indonesian Communist Party members.'

Now, the letter adds, Sukarno has tried to stop this 'providing a break for the Indonesian Communist Party to come out again' (!) Sukarno has illusions of returning to his old regime—with Communists like Njoto, and others, in his government—but world imperialism has no time for these gentlemen to help it solve its crisis even while they pose a mock anti-imperialist front.

To overcome the financial crisis of the country, the Indonesian generals will look only to imperialism (though they cannot be assured of direct monetary aid). Already a deal with the giant combine of Shell-Mex has been signed.

Torture, execution and imprisonment will push the working class back decades but they will never destroy it. However, it is not enough to survive and to endure—it is necessary to triumph over the forces of capitalist dictatorship. This will be done only when a Trotskyist leadership has been forged in Indonesia. Such a task is impossible without a serious study of the crimes of Stalinism and the gross errors and weaknesses of the Pabloite revisionists in Indonesia.

Support surges in last week before lobby of parliament

THE surge of support for the January 26 lobby of parliament has been tremendous in the last week. Union branches, trades councils, Labour Party constituency parties, university socialist and labour societies throughout Britain have given their support, and the support of thousands of others, to what has been labelled an 'unofficial' demonstration.

The fact that the TUC withdrew recognition from the Lambeth (London) Trades Council, which originally called the lobby last October, has been ignored by the labour and trade union movement.

This is a smack in the eye for the Wilson government (and its friends in the trade union movement), which intends to carry through anti-union law in the very near future to satisfy the demands of the international bankers.

We urge all those trade unionists in Britain who have not yet discussed the lobby to do so and to agree to support it with delegations and banners next Wednesday.

Here is a round up of recent additions to the magnificent list of support:

NORTH-WEST

ON MONDAY shop stewards covering 30 contractors and 3,000 men in the Vauxhall extension building site at Ellesmere Port decided unanimously to support the lobby and to recommend to a mass meeting on Thursday (January 20) that the site stop for the day on January 26 and send coachloads of delegates to London.

Already shop stewards of the Heating and Domestic Union, covering 700 workers on the site, have decided to support the lobby and are sending a delegation.

Electricians employed by Scotts on the site unanimously decided to support the lobby, as have the AEU shop stewards.

Shop stewards of 600 construction workers employed on the Petro-Chemicals site at Carrington, near Manchester, are to recommend a stoppage on January 26 to a site meeting on Friday. They are calling for a 10s-a-man levy and are sending a contingent.

150 boilermakers and construction workers employed by Tarmac at Eastham have already voted to stop for the day.

Liverpool Central branch of the Plumbing Trades Union has decided to send four delegates along with four from the Liverpool No. 1 branch.

Sixty building workers at the Walton hospital site are levying each man 5s to send delegates. Joiners working for the Unit Construction Co. on another site have been contributing 5s a week for three weeks to send a delegation.

Shop stewards at the Runcorn ICI site, where 1,500 workers supported the lobby recently (reported in The Newsletter, January 8), have booked four buses for their delegation.

Nine Newsletter readers in Speke contributed 30s to pay for a seat on one of the coaches going to the lobby from Liverpool.

Further support in the north-east has come from Merseyside Clarence Power Station (one-day token strike and four delegates); Fiddlers Ferry Power Station site (four CEU delegates); McGeough's site, Sazakerley (stopping for the day and sending delegates).

In Wigan the AUBTW voted support and will send a delegate. Members expressed particular support for the call to withdraw affiliation fees from the Labour Party if the government goes ahead with its legislation against the unions.

It was decided to collect money for the campaign around building sites in Wigan, so that as many building workers as possible could be involved in the movement against legislation.

The NUM (Plank Lane) branch, Leigh, Lancs, supported the lobby and instructed the secretary to write to three Lancashire MPs protesting against legislation. They are Michael McGuire (INCE), Allen Fitch (Wigan) and E. Ogden (West Derby).

YORKSHIRE

IN HULL the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' ('Blue Union') branches Nos. 2, 3 and 5 passed resolutions of support and are sending delegates. The No. 4 branch of the union has given support.

Bradford Foundry Workers' Union; Halifax Metal Mechanics; workers on Leeds University building site and power station workers from BICC section at Ferrybridge have all voted support and are sending delegates.

The annual general meeting of the Daniel Doncaster engineering works voted, on recommendation of the shop stewards' committee, to send a delegate.

NORTH-EAST

THE WEARSIDE branch of DATA, in supporting the lobby, also decided to submit a resolution to their union's annual conference opposing the anti-union legislation and calling for the withholding of the political levy from the Labour Party if legislation is passed.

NORTHERN IRELAND

THE FOLLOWING resolution was carried unanimously by the 11/30 branch of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union, which covers all engineering workers in the Belfast area, and is over 10,000 strong:

'That this 11/30 branch of AT&GWU will fully support by participation the call by Lambeth Trades Council for a lobby of Westminster on January 26, 1966, to protest against the proposed legislation against the trade union movement mentioned by the Labour government in the Queen's speech. All trade unionists must fight for as large a deputation from Northern Ireland as possible. We believe that this action will demonstrate that the union movement will not forfeit any of their gains, so bitterly fought for in the past.

Others who have gone on record for the lobby are the 11/101 branch of the AT&GWU, covering workers in Courtaulds factory, Carrickfergus; Belfast North DATA, covering 550 draughtsmen at Harland Wolff's; Belfast No. 22 AEU, and Cregagh (Belfast) AEU.

Victoria Divisional Labour Party also went on record in support, as did the Socialist Society at Queen's University, Belfast.

LONDON AREA

A MEETING of 300 building workers at the Bernard Sunley site in Horseferry Road, S.W.1 gave full support and plans are now in hand to bring a large contingent from the site to the march and lobby.

At the GEC factory in North Wembley a meeting called to discuss the closure (reported last week) decided to back the lobby.

Other branches giving support include: Brixton G/S AUBTW; Hendon No. 2 AEU (also opposed suspension of Lambeth Trades Council); Acton No. 4 AEU (two delegates); Paddington No. 1 ASLEF; Shepherd's Bush Painters' and Decorators' Society; Acton No. 2 AEU; Shepherd's Bush ASW; Barking ETU (two delegates); Executive Committee of the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee at BAC Weybridge; East Ham ETU (four delegates); Harrow Weald bus garage, T&GWU Branch 1/295.

Wandsworth Technical College Socialist Society are supporting the lobby.

MIDLANDS

OXFORD UNIVERSITY Labour Club unanimously supported the lobby. Support also from Oxford 555 T&GWU and Oxford No. 3 AEU.

Shop stewards at Morris Motors, Cowley, Oxford, are collecting to send two coaches.

Leeds' workers pledge to fight for lobby

By Newsletter Reporter

THIS meeting pledges its full support for the campaign against anti-trade union legislation and for the lobby of parliament called for January 26 by the Lambeth Trades Council. We undertake to campaign in factories, pits and on building sites, and in trade union and Young Socialist branches to get the maximum support for this lobby. We also agree to continue the campaign against this legislation on our return from the lobby.'

This resolution was passed unanimously at a meeting last Sunday in Leeds of over 60 people including miners, engineers, clothing and building workers.

ENTHUSIASTIC

There was an enthusiastic response when members of the Socialist Labour League, explaining the connection between the government's proposals and the coming attacks on large sections of the working class, declared that the leaders of the Labour Party, the trade unions and the Communist Party must be swept aside and replaced by a revolutionary leadership.

The meeting agreed to lobby local trade union MPs after the national lobby. Militant workers in this area are also faced with a growing alliance between the leaders of the Communist Party and the extreme right-wing unions, who are combining to sabotage any opposition to the government's anti-trade union plans.

These two reactionary forces are making a determined effort to get the Leeds Trades Council to reverse its decision (taken by 21 votes to 6) to support the lobby.

A collection of over £11 was taken at the meeting towards the cost of sending coaches from Leeds to the lobby.

YS AND IMMIGRANTS LOBBY SOUTHALL TRADES COUNCIL

ON Wednesday (January 12) 30 Young Socialists and workers from the Woolf rubber factory lobbied the Southall Trades Council asking for investigations into the running of the Woolf strike and into the union branch covering Woolf's.

They were also asking that one of the two suspended members of that branch, who was previously a delegate to the Trades Council, be accepted as a delegate at that meeting.

He was not accepted as a delegate.

The only person objecting to him remaining as a visitor was a member of the Communist Party. At a meeting after the lobby, plans were made for work for the January 26 lobby of parliament, and a lobby of the Executive Committee of the Transport and General Workers' Union, which is organised for January 20 at the union's Transport House headquarters.

STEEL ERECTORS SACKED

SOME of the first workers on the Naylor Bros' pit-head site at Grimsthorpe have been sacked.

The men, steel erectors, had been laying the basis for a union site and condition money, but struck on January 10 after a seven-week-old promise by the firm to discuss a bonus scheme, was allegedly broken. On January 13 they were given their notices.

'Defend stewards' meeting backs January 26 action

By A Newsletter Reporter

A 200-strong meeting of London trade unionists voted last Sunday—with only six against—to support the January 26 lobby called by the Lambeth Trades Council and to demand that the TUC lifts its suspension on the council.

The meeting had been called by the shop stewards of the ENV factory to discuss the proposed anti-trade union legislation, the incomes policy, and the defence of shop stewards.

It also went on record to form a London Industrial Shop Stewards' Defence Committee; to support all workers engaged in official or 'unofficial' action; to campaign against government interference in trade union affairs and threats of legislation; and to nominate trade unionists from the meeting to form the committee.

Geoff Mitchell, convener at ENV spoke of legislation already used against unionists in the Rookes v Barnard and Stratford v Lindley cases and in other court actions against stewards fighting for union rights—himself included.

He said that at the moment, there was no effective opposition to these actions, but the defence committee was for this purpose.

He also welcomed the initiative of the Lambeth Trades Council in calling the lobby.

ADDENDUM

V. Mendelson, from the executive of the Trades Council moving an addendum to the ENV resolution, explained that the Wilson government intended to take action against the unions on behalf of the international bankers. Therefore the campaign against this had to be a political campaign on a national basis of demonstrations, lobbies and industrial action.

If this meant bringing down the Labour government, then 'they must go'.

They had allies in the union movement. The TUC had acted hand in glove in attacks on the working class. They had suspended the Lambeth Trades Council in an attempt to frighten trade union branches into opposing the lobby.

The time had come when the trade union movement would also have to end its support of the Labour Party by stopping the payment of affiliation fees, she said.

Reg Birch, of the AEU, speaking in a personal capacity, said there was nothing new in the problems facing the trade union movement, but 'it is more dangerous and serious now because there are greater forces ranged against us'.

He explained how the working class would be made to work harder to prevent the country from becoming bankrupt, but this drive would 'make us bankrupt in power'.

The solution, he said, was a political one, not parliamentary. A conscious political army had to be formed. He welcomed the setting up of the defence committee.

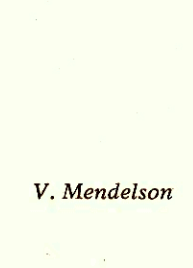
A. Hodgson, an ETU member agreed that it was a political struggle. 'The question of defend-



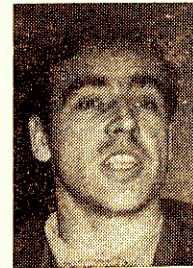
G. Mitchell



Reg Birch



V. Mendelson



A. Hodgson



C. Smith



M. Banda



K. Dickinson



Orme 'reserves position' on anti-union law

Newsletter Reporter

A MEETING of the Sheffield University Labour Society on Monday passed a resolution, proposed from the floor by Young Socialist members, pledging full support for next week's lobby of parliament and called for a delegation from the society. No one opposed the motion.

The leading speaker at this meeting was Mr. Stan Orme, Labour MP for Salford West, and member of the parliamentary 'left'.

In spite of his understanding of some of the issues involved in the anti-trade union legislation (likening it to a step toward the corporate state and the fascist state of Italy in the '30s), and despite the fact that he went so far as to say that, 'I think government policy on this issue is wrong', Orme could make no plan of action for the defeat of these laws.

His leading contribution was scattered with references to 'our economy'.

As we have learnt, such refer-

ences to the 'national interest', etc. are used by Gunter and his pals as cover for their advocacy of mass attacks on the living and working conditions of the working class.

At one point Orme referred to the 'Boilermakers' Union as being one of the most 'stubborn' unions.

TURN BACKS

Surely as a 'socialist' he means 'militant'?

But no, just when the working class is coming into action against the onslaught of the employers, the 'lefts' and the official Communist Party turn their backs on the workers and make vague appeals for unity.

When asked by two speakers from the floor whether or not he would vote against the legislation in parliament, Orme dodged the issue on each occasion. He was 'concerned' about the legislation, he said, but would reserve his own position.

'You will have to judge my action,' he said, 'by the result at the end of the day,' and pointed out that there was a likelihood of the Tories supporting the legislation, so making any action by individual MPs 'an act of futility'.

When asked by a student Young Socialist did he support the call by the Lambeth Trades Council, Orme again evaded the issue saying, 'I don't know anything about it'.

Several students expressed an interest in the lobby and said they were willing to form a delegation.

TENANTS' ACTION GROUP FORMED

A MEETING of Croydon, Surrey, tenants called by Waddon Ward Labour Party formed an Action Committee to fight rent increases of up to 25s. There is a 75 per cent (15s) increase for those living in old people's homes for cripples!

'STEER BOAT'

'We have to steer that boat as a direct challenge to the right wing leaders,' said Smith.

John Palmer, of Surrey Trades Council, spoke of better liaison between shop stewards, but insisted that leadership could not be 'imposed' on the workers.

Mike Banda, of the Printing Machine branch of the Paperworkers' union and editor of The Newsletter, referring to the Shop Stewards' Defence Committee, said that the example of the New York transport strike showed that action would be taken not only against shop stewards, but also against union leaders.

He added that the 1926 general strike, which had its 30th anniversary in a few months, had taught him of the necessity of a revolutionary leadership for the working class. This was what was needed now to prevent another defeat and to organise the working class to fight against big business and its servants in the labour movement.

Keith Dickinson, of the CAWU, who opposed the January 26 lobby in his union branch (reported last week), led the six opposing the Lambeth addendum at Sunday's meeting.

The Newsletter

FOR some years, there has been much loose and dangerous talk in Labour fake-left circles about what is termed 'planning'. Pale pink political gentlemen, whose salaries are well into the four-figure class, vie with each other debating such questions as 'incomes planning' while others hold lofty seminars around subjects like 'workers' control'.

The one thing which all this speculation has in common is that it is generally speaking carried on in an abstract way and excludes the need for class struggle and the role of the working class.

The idea is mooted that we can develop a form of 'creeping socialism' which in no way disturbs monopoly capitalism.

Every socialist knows that because of the system of private

Putting the cart before the horse

ownership, where production is carried on for profit, it is impossible to have real planning wherein the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population, the working class, can benefit.

Yet more and more, in the epoch of monopoly capital, attempts are continuously being made by these monopolies to work out an agreed planned offensive against the working class so that the parasitic crisis of their profit-making can be paid for.

These attacks take the form of state intervention. Incomes planning, yes, under conditions where anti-trade union legislation forces wages down and profits for reinvestment up.

Forms of 'workers' control', sure. Where the state intervenes at Fairfield's, calls upon the unions to invest their money and in return appoint a representative on the board of directors.

Under these conditions, the right-wing union leaders are persuaded to 'give up their rule book and join the monopoly capitalists in a campaign to make their members work harder and produce more profit.'

The only effective planning which is possible under capitalism is the type of planning which leads to a united drive by the monopolists, the state and the right-wing trade union and Labour leaders against the working class.

The task of Wilson, Callaghan and Brown is to organise the most effective way this can be carried out. It is at this point that the reactionary role of our fake-left 'planners' emerges. They talk of 'planning' in a way that tries to create the impression that it is possible to plan along socialist lines under capitalism, when they know very well that this is a lot of nonsense.

At a time when the real leaders of the working class should be going all out to build an alter-

native revolutionary leadership which will overthrow capitalism, these fakers are doing their best to disarm the working class.

They prattle on about 'incomes planning' whilst the state goes ahead making wage restraint legal.

They talk about 'workers' control' as if it were possible for workers to control under capitalism.

The tendency of our 'learned fakers' is to always put the cart before the horse when it comes to the need for real leadership and class struggle.

No socialist planning is possible under capitalism.

For this it will be necessary to expropriate the capitalists by revolutionary action, carried out by the working class under the leadership of the revolutionary party.

The main task of the Socialist Labour League is to build this party.