# ne Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Volume 9, No. 441

Saturday, April 23

Jack Dash

FROM

ROBERT

REPORTS

HERE, Mr. Jack Dash, chair-

man of the unofficial docks

liaison committee, has been holding a series of meetings

to explain the new recommen-

dations of the Modernisation

At Tilbury last Monday he

followed the pattern of pulling

the men out of work for a

meeting. Almost all the 2,000

Tilbury men heard him outline

the meaning of the recommen-

dations-mobility of labour,

change of manning scales, tied

to the employers, on top of all

the dangers inherent in the

job today. He said he had been pro-

mised at a lobby of parlia-ment that Labour would

nationalize the docks industry

by 1968. He called for 'tran-quility' on the docks until

then, when workers, and union and state officials could run the industry, make it pro-

duce more to become the best

He did not mention full workers' control, or the fact that state officials would still be capitalist state officials.

Many rank-and-file members

interviewed after this meeting gave similar comments to those of their brothers in the

northern ports, reported on

In particular they queried the role of the Labour govern-

ment and were dubious about

Dash's appeal by letter to Labour Minister Ray Gunter and Prime Minister Wilson

calling for an inquiry into the recommendations of the

At the headquarters of the

National Amalgamated Steve-dores and Dockers' Union an

official said it was too early to say what their reactions to

the recommendations were.

Modernisation Committee.

this page.

dock industry in Europe.

**JAMES** 

Committee.

Price 6d.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS SAY - ALL OUT ON

# MAY DAY, Sunday May I

MARCH (from Whitehall Place, near Charing Cross tube) to a MEETING IN HYDE PARK

This May Day sees the Labour Government returned with a decisive majority LABOUR HAS NO EXCUSE THIS TIME

Workers all over the world unite to end imperialism

Defeat all anti-trade union laws Make the bosses pay for the crisis-

Defeat US imperialism in Vietnam

Nationalize all the basic industries with-

out compensation Smash the Smith regime in Rhodesiaarm the African workers

S the trade gap widens to £22 million, the Labour government assembles Ain Parliament in an atmosphere of economic desperation. So far as the right wing is concerned there is no evading the demands of the international bankers. The attack on the trade unions and the working class must now be pressed forward with redoubled effort.

This is the meaning of the decision on the docks to enforce decasualisation. Wilson and his cronies hope that with the aid of the right-wing trade union leaders they can press home the findings of the Devlin Commission Report and confront the dockers with a 'fait accompli'.

The Newsletter has continuously insisted that there is no difference between the attack on the dockers through the Devlin Report and the anti-trade union legislation. Both of these measures are designed to help the employers in a period of capitalist economic crisis.

We have consistently called for the building up of a new national leadership on the docks which will challenge the government and employers on the Devlin Report.

Secondly, we have insisted that the nationalization of the dock industry under workers' control is essential if the working class is to consolidate any gains which they make.

We have never disguised our fundamental disagreements with Jack Dash, who works on the Royal group of docks. He is a member of the Communist Party and so far as we are concerned, there is absolutely no difference between the policy of that Party on the question of reforms and that of the Labour Party.

At the moment we are suspicious of a number of things which are happening on the docks.

#### BIG BUILD-UP FOR JACK DASH

Firstly, the Tory press is constantly providing Mr. Dash with a big build up.

The 'Daily Mail', which is an arch enemy of the labour movement, in its issue of April 20, gave great publicity to Mr. Dash as a supporter of painters in dockland.

Why the big build up for Jack Dash from the Tories?

In our opinion the reason could be explained as follows. Mr. Dash has previously called for support for the Transport and General Workers' Union leaders on the docks. Yet it is precisely these men who have now agreed to the Modernisation Committee proposals to end the Dock Labour Scheme.

When the Northern dockers held a meeting in London against the Devlin Committee Report, Mr. Dash issued a leaflet condemning this meeting.

Now he uses militant phrases to criticise the union leadership for not informing dockers of the Modernisation Committee recommendations. He hopes for 'tranquility' in the docks until 1968 when, he has been assured on lobbies, the Labour government will nationalize the industry.

Then, he says, workers—and union officials and state officials—can run the industry to make it the best in Europe!

So, just as he talks of 'tranquility' in left terms, he gets all the press publicity.

We think that Mr. Dash should support an all-out struggle of dockers against the Devlin Report, and, in so far as he fights this Report, he has the support of The Newsletter.

## BE CAREFUL WITH FLEET ST.

But that is not enough. We warn him to be very careful with the Fleet Street press.

They are not giving him publicity for confusing dockers as to the real aims of the Devlin Report. He should make his position

Is he, or is he not, going to fight the port

employers all the way? It should be understood that Dash took six weeks to make up his mind about the Devlin Report when it was published last August. Whilst at that time he declared his opposition, the issues became very blurred meanwhile.

We think that Dash will act as a member of the Communist Party,

and we do not politically trust that Party.
We shall therefore watch very carefully what he does. far as The Newsletter is concerned, we repeat that the policy

- for all dockworkers should be: All out opposition to the Devlin Report.
- For the nationalization of the dock industry under workers'

# **B-52's** will not stop Vietcong

BY MICHAEL BANDA

FOUR prospects now face The more desperate the situation U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

Firstly, that Marshal Ky will resolve the crisis with General Thi and the Buddhists; secondly, that a civilian regime will take over and prosecute the war; over and prosecute the war; thirdly, that a civilian regime under Buddhist pressure will negotiate with the National Liberation Front and call for withdrawal of US forces; and fourthly—and this seems the likeliest—that complete anarchy and chaos will overtake South Vietnam, leaving the US forces stranded.

Since the US stage-managed a bloody coup to eliminate their civilian puppets and install a military puppet regime, it seems highly unlikely that a reverse process will take place now.

The prospect of a saffronrobed monk representing South Vietnam is just too much for the good Christians in the Pentagon—and since the CIA has not trained any Buddhists for the job,

this solution is out. The U.S. has therefore decided to fight on with no holds barred. counter - measures against the North.

Johnson, who only a year ago cynically announced his much publicised Mekong-Valley project for power stations and dams in Vietnam and Laos, is now devastating similar projects around Hanoi and Haiphong with B-52 bombers.

Soon he will be devastating Hanoi itself—with second-hand bombs re-purchased from West

The reluctance of the Chinese bureaucrats to intervene has en-couraged the US to do this—and despite the international demon-

strations they will continue. All Johnson's B-52s though will not vanquish the unconquerable spirit and determination of the Vietnamese people to resist.

All those like the Labour 'lefts' who remain silent and inactive in this critical period will be branded by history as accom-plices of the imperialist criminals in the White House.

They will fall together with their imperialist masters.

# DOCKERS MUST FIGHT THE EVLIN REPORT

MASS meetings of dockers have been called for express their opinions on decasualisation. this week-end in the ports of Manchester, Hull In London the docks Liaison Comand Merseyside to decide on action to oppose the decasualisation scheme now agreed by the National Modernisation Committee. This was decided at a special conference in Manchester last week-end of delegates from the the ports as more and more dockers begin to realise National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union in these ports. These meetings will be the first opportunity

which rank-and-file portworkers will have had to

# FIAFIII OAF

REG REPORTS

IN INTERVIEWS I had this week with portworkers on Merseyside, dockers particularly expressed their anger at the conspiratorial silence with which the union leaders and employers have conto rush this scheme

through behind their backs. Mr. Bill Murphy, a member of the Birkenhead NAS&D ('Blue Union') told The Newsletter:

'For many months rumours have been rife in the press about the agreements being reached on the Modernisation Committee by our union leaders. We have asked on several occasions for mass meetings so that we could discuss these rumours with our re-presentative on that committee, but have been refused.

'Now we are presented with a "fait accompli". The Draft Order amending the Dock Workers' (Regulation of Employment) Acts of 1947 and 1961, has been printed and Ray Gunter is to present it to parliament within the next few weeks.

'Our union leaders have refused to consult us, and it has proved impossible to obtain copies of this order from the Stationery Office. From the reports I have seen of the scheme, I can understand why our union leaders have refused to meet us.

'As far as I'm concerned they can stuff it. We will never accept

The Birkenhead branch committee of the NAS&D were equally emphatic:

'The Devlin Report was hailed by all the powers that be as a great step forward for the dock-workers. To listen to the hymns of praise sung about it, anyone would think the docks were about to be turned into a super Butlin's holiday camp. 'Now we know the real inten-

tions. We are to be handed over to the employers not only bound



Larry Cavanagh

and trussed up, but gagged as well. We get nothing at all except the destruction of all the

safeguards against the employers we have won over the years. We will definitely be worse off. 'But they have not implemented this scheme yet and we shall fight it right through to the end. Nothing but the complete withdrawal of this scheme will satisfy

Mr. Larry Cavanagh, a Birken-head docker and branch delegate to the Area Committee supported

'It is now abundantly clear to all dockers that the modernisa-tion of the docks is to be carried out at the expense of the docker. 'These amendments to the

scheme have been worked out behind our backs by leaders of the T&GWU, NAS&D, employers and the Labour government.

'Devlin proposed that opposi-tion from dockworkers must not be allowed to stand in the way of implementing this decasuali-sation. It has always been custom and practice in the NAS&D for decisions of this nature to be ratified by mass meetings of members before our officials reach agree-ment. Devlin did not like this and our leaders have listened to him and acted against our in-

'There is not one good thing about this scheme. Jack Jones, acting assistant general secretary of the T&GWU calls it a step toward nationalization. It is nothing of the kind.

Peter Kerrigan

tions.

betray them.

from our reporters.

'Does this mean that the Modernisation Committee and the Labour government believe nationalization would be the best ay of modernising the docks? If they did, then why don't they nationalize now, before the employers have created more chaos?'

Mr. Tony Burke, a T&GWU member in the No. 10 control in Liverpool, was particularly angry about the role of the Labour government:

'Gunter and the Labour government must have known about this scheme during the elections. No wonder they kept silent about it. The whole think stinks. Dockers have been the subject of a rotten confidence trick. I hope we can now get unity of all the ports and smash the proposals.'

Mr. Bill Johnson, one of the dockers' leaders, who was arrested under Order 1305 (the war-time emergency powers act which made strikes on the docks illegal) told The Newsletter reporter:

It is very important that dockers see the connection between the introduction of this scheme for so-called decasualisation and the proposed legislation against the trade unions.

'It is no accident that these two measures are introduced at

'The anti-trade union legislation will be used against the docker if he should fight to

In London the docks Liaison Committee has

The mood for a fight to a finish is growing in

Below we print reports of reactions of dockers

been holding meetings at the main dockheads

where dockers have voted against the recommenda-

the extent to which the union leaders have gone to

oppose this scheme, which he 'It was the solidarity of dockers which smashed Order 1305 in 1951 and removed it from the

statute books. 'The employers know from bitter experience that dockers will resist this other attack on their

conditions. 'No doubt they fondly hope that with the legislation contained in the Prices and Incomes Bill they will be better able to

defeat the dockers and implement these Devlin proposals. 'But dockers have a good case

to win the unity of other workers which will be essential to their struggle. If they do this, I have no doubt that this scheme can be defeated.'

Mr. Peter Kerrigan, well-known militant from Merseyside, also emphasised this point:

'The dockers are to be taken on first. The Labour government intends to introduce this scheme sometime in July.
'In the meantime they are pre-

paring the legislation on the trade unions so that they can attack the wages and conditions of all trade unionists.
'I don't think there is any-

thing accidental in the fact that the port employers have stub-bornly resisted agreement on the wages which dockers are to be paid under this scheme.
'If dockers fight, and I know

they will, they must think ahead and outmanoeuvre the employers. 'The Devlin proposals, as now seen in the amendments to the Dock Labour Scheme and the issue of trade union legislation, are for one and the same purpose: to reduce the standards and rights of workers. We must fight them as one issue.

## FROM

IN HULL I found dockers eager to give their views on the recom-mendations. Here are a number of comments from leaders and rank-and-file workers.

THE Labour government has got five years. It's got a clear mandate from the working class who voted it in. There is no other solution but nationalization. Millions of pounds are being spent on the docks through the British Transport Commission— British Transport Commission—why let private employers make a profit out of it?

Decasualisation shouldn't be considered at all. These proposals stink. We want the sort of nationalization in which working

dockers control the industryactive dockers who know the industry, not people who have been in administrative jobs for 20 years but people who know the industry as it works.

> Walter Stephenson (Branch 1, Hull NAS&D).

JACK GALE

REPORTS

OUR area committee has not had opportunity yet to study these proposals thoroughly, but from what we know of them they will be opposed by every docker. We personally particularly oppose the section which forces a docker to go to a particular employer whether he likes him or not. If

this employer then turns this docker away, he has to re-apply to go on the pool.
What will happen to the old

dockers and the C-men under this scheme? (C-men are dis-abled or injured dockers, for instance men who have lost fingers in accidents on the dock.)

This obviously means redundancy on the docks. The answer nationalization, not the sort of nationalization that there is in the mines, but nationalization run by the workers in the industry.

It seems that the national leaders of the unions have failed to fight, but we are sure there proposals will be fought in Hull.

Len Ludders (Chairman, Humberside Area Committee NAS&D), H. Lowthorpe.

Continued page 3->

John Crawford assesses the reaction of the 'lefts' Labour's increased majority

FTER the recent General Election, political correspondents were speculating about the future of the leftwing Labour MPs. Now that Wilson's majority has so dramatically increased, would these sleeping lions suddenly into ferocious attacks on the betrayal of socialism?

Anybody who can bring himself to look at recent issues of 'Tribune' will soon realise how ludicrous were such queries.

'Tribune', one-time leader of the left, lies exactly in its former state—flat on its belly.

# Open road

'Socialism is right back on the agenda,' screamed its front-page headline on April 8. 'Under a new leadership and with a programme which made a clear challenge to the "You've never had it so good" society which had been created by the Tories, the Party won the election of 1964—but only by a parrow margin." but only by a narrow margin.'

Hoarse from cheering Wilson's victory, 'Tribune' assured its dwindling band of readers that, with a big Labour majority, the road to socialism was open.

For 17 months of betrayal, these heroes hid behind Labour's tiny majority. Support for the Vietnam war, postponement of the old-age pension rise, retreat Tribune's long and inglorious tradition

from steel nationalization, the despatch of fighters for South Africa—all were excused and accepted amid shouts for unity. Now Wilson's alibi has been swept aside by the massive Labour vote. But 'Tribune' goes on spreading the same illusions.

#### 'Difficulties'

'During the 17 months of the first Wilson government, we never underestimated the difficulties which faced it both economically and politically, says the editorial of April 15.

'The argument now is about the implementation of socialism in Britain. We believe that the leaders of the government know that well. They know that the whole labour movement will support them in their efforts to establish socialism. But should they instead decide to take the path of compromise, they can expect a sharp reaction from the whole labour movement.'

Collectors will cherish this gem of hypocrisy. Wilson, Brown and and Callaghan, you see, are not the lackeys of the ruling class as they appeared from their ac-tions. All this time they have just been waiting for a chance to 'establish socialism'.

Unfortunately, their prodigious efforts encountered some 'difficulties'. But what if these problems (merely the symptoms of British imperialism's mortal crisis) do not vanish?

Then, of course, 'Tribune' will find some new excuses, even if grumbling from time to time. That is, after all, its job.

But what of the threat contained in the final sentence of the quotation? What 'sharp reacto compromise can we expect from 222, The Strand?

It is now five and a half years 'Tribune' abandoned even since the pretence of more than verbal opposition to the right-wing Labour leaders. After the 1960 defeat of Gaitskell on the issue of the H-bomb, Foot, Silverman and the like revealed their terror of any action which might topple the cosy equilibrium right-wing actions and left-wing

Resolutions were in order now and then, but only if there was no danger of their implementa-

# Loyal servants

With the accession of Harold Wilson in 1961, these people collapsed on all fours in adoration of the Leader.

For 17 months they had the government at their in parliament. While Wyatt and Donnelly were quite willing to twist Wilson's arm still further to the right over the issue of steel, the 'lefts' remained the loyal servants of the leader-ship.

With new economic and financial crises on the way, the Labour leaders prepare fresh attacks on those who voted them into office. Their bigger majority will bring frem still closer to the monopo-

lies.

And the 'lefts' of the 'Tribune' school will go on plying their trade: setting up left screens for treachery. Their

'arguments' for socialism will continue while they try to head off opposition to Wilson.

'Why do they do it?' you may ask. Why should a man barter a reputation for militancy for some minor government post? Stupidity? Greed? The worship

# Safety valve

However true of individuals, these psychological explanations will not suffice. For 'Tribune' continues a long and inglorious historical tradition.

As long as the labour move-ment has been dominated by leaders who were more or less direct agents of the ruling class, a safety valve has been necessary to prevent rank-and-file pressure from bursting through the delicate apparatus of betrayal.

Political and trade union leaders who were able to make militant noises without actually doing any damage were an essential part of the set up.

Now, with the crisis of British imperialism, and its agencies in the labour movement, these political middlemen are also in trouble. But they will not go out of business finally until an alternative Marxist leadership can be constructed.

Until this task is accomplished we can expect to see every week the formulas of Clements, the empty phrases of Foot, and the pious bleatings of Soper.

Perhaps this is a minor additional incentive to carry out our

#### 'Jumbo Jets' THE decision of BOAC to buy six American could end 490-seater Boeing 747 'Jumbo Jets' costing £60 million must mean the end of the British airaircraft craft industry as a major contender for the construction of inter-conti-The BOAC order follows closely on the Pan American decision to buy 25 Boeing industry 747s, with an option on a fur-These two deals are certain to touch off a major round of 'Jumbo Jet'-buying by the other leading airlines such as Trans-World, Air France, and Lufthansa

BY OUR AIR CORRESPONDENT

powered 747s would be uneconomical because of the small quantity involved. Air France and Lufthansa 'Jumbo Jets' will now almost certainly be American

The decision to buy 'Jumbo Jets', which are considered to be the last generation of subsonic aircraft, is the conviction that the airlines will not be ready for supersonic aircraft until the late 1970s

Yet both the supersonic Concord and Boeing's subsonic 'Jumbo Jets' are scheduled to be operating in the early 1970s.

#### FATE SEALED

On this point BOAC's chairman Sir Giles Guthrie's statement to the 'Sunday Times' (April 17, 1966) seems to seal the fate of the Concord.
'BOAC recognises that super-

sonic passenger aircraft will be coming into existence, but it is obviously vital to all airlines that they shall not equip with supersonic aircraft unless it is certain that operators will not lose a packet of money in the process.'
In view of this statement it

seems unlikely that airlines would be prepared to introduce the Concord on the North Atlantic route at the same time as the 'Jumbo Jets', for Concord is expected to double present air fares when it goes into operation.

So far only 50 optional orders have been placed for Concord. BOAC must decide by 1968 whether to take up its options

Rolls Royce, Britain's leading aero engine manufacturers, has also been hit by the order. The firm had hoped that its new RB But having already laid out £60 million for the 747s, their decision seems obvious. On the other hand the world's airlines now seem to favour wait-

ing until the late 1970s for the larger American supersonic rival to Concord, the SST. By then the 'Jumbo Jets' will have raised enough revenue to foot the bill. If the Concord is cancelled then not only is the British Aircraft Corporation in deep water, but Bristol Siddeley Engines will also face trouble. Their hopes lie with the Olympus 593 series engines, specially developed for Concord.

The recommendation of the Plowden Report for the aircraft industry that there should only be one major airframe and engine manufacturer in Britain seems now to be the only way out for British manufacturers.

Their last hopes of a major aircraft project seems to be in the Anglo-French-West German 200-

250 seater airbus. At present two large groups have got together to bid for this contract, one headed in Britain by BAC-Rolls Royce and the other, Hawker Siddeley-Bristol Siddeley, with various European partners.

The result of this contract could seal the fate of the British

aircraft industry.

Plowden calls for state intervention to save the airframe in-

dustry.

BAC's two leading shareholders, Vickers and English
Electric, have been trying to sell
their shares of BAC for some
time, but there are no takers.

If this industry is not to go into complete decay, there must be immediate action. The labour force has already dropped from 375,000 in 1962 to 250,000 in 1965, and by 1970 Plowden calls for 150,000

Plowden calls for workers. But the 'Jumbo Jets' decision

must mean even less than that as present contracts run out. The demand of aircraft workers must be:

No further sackings.

Work sharing.

Agreed

clauses

Nationalize without compensation with workers' planning and controlling the future of the industry in line with a nationco-ordinated transport

# **Electrical Contracting Industry**

OT foot on the new agreement on travelling time, fares and lodging allowances in the electrical contracting industry the biggest betrayal in the history of the Electrical Trades Union is being prepared.

This will come in the shape of the new three-year agreement for the electrical contracting industry, due to be introduced by July this year. Negotiations between the ETU and the employers' organisation are in an advanced stage and agreement has been reached on the main questions of principle.

## Sugar coating

The bickering over coppers, which will continue between now and July, will be no more than a charade for the benefit of ETU members. The hourly rates will be hailed as great achievementsin fact they will be no more than the sugar coating (albeit thin) to sweeten the bitter pill of speedup, massive redundancy and a ceiling on wages.

The points on which agreement in principle have already been reached are as follows:

The aim of the agreement is to increase productivity in the industry and to institute new concept of industrial

Payment - by - results schemes cannot be extended to more than 10 per cent of those in the industry.

The existing labour force has to increase its annual pro-

• The labour force has to become more highly skilled and adaptable.

 Joint Industrial Boards have to be established to grade electricians into three categories with different rates of

The employers and the

union will jointly employ sanctions to prevent the mani-pulation of the agreement for personal gain by either party to the agreement. The proposal to increase pro-

ductivity, taken in line with the decision not to expand the existing labour force, means, of course, that every man in the industry will have to turn out more work each week.

The employers favour an overall reduction in the labour force, but this has not yet been directly agreed by the ETU executive.

The acceptance of the grading system can, however, lead only to this. It is proposed that the grading should begin in at least the second year of the agreement.

The suggested grades and rates of pay are as follows:

The ETU executive is negotiating for an additional 1s 2d per hour in London and 9d per hour in Merseyside. Agreement has been reached on a proposal for three week's paid holiday per

No doubt some comfortable compromise can be reached be-tween now and July on the few pence that separate the ETU and the employers. One thing is cer-tain, under this package-deal arrangement, a ceiling is being placed on earnings for a threeyear period.

## Wage cuts

No provision is being made for wage increases related to the cost of living. In present conditions, with rents, fares, accommodation and food prices sky-rocket-ing, the quoted rates can mean cuts over a three-year

The big question, of course, is how is the grading to take place and what will happen to the thousands of mates at present

employed in the industry. It appears that the proposed Joint Industrial Boards will conduct some form of examination for grading and those who do not reach the required standards will be thrown out of the industry. If this is the case, then it is an out and out fraud on the one hand to speak of maintaining the

	2nd year of agreement				3rd year of agreement			
	ETU proposal		NEFA offer		ETU proposal		NEFA offer	
Grade								
echnician lectrician	10s	6d	9s	6d	11s	6d	10s	0d
Approved lectrician	9s	6d	8s	9d	9s	6d	9s	0d
General	8s	0d	8s	4d	8s	4d	8s	6d

# Become a subscriber to THE NEWSLETTER

IN the fight for socialism, The Newsletter is playing a vital role. Do you get it regularly? Don't leave it to the chance encounter, fill in this form and send it to:

Subscription Department, The Newsletter, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. 9s. 0d. for 12 issues

Address ....

existing labour force and on the

other to agree to the grading

As to the future of the mates; the employers propose their re-tention, in fact they suggest an increase in the ratio of mates to electricians in the industry. This would presumably be achieved by downgrading electricians who failed to qualify for any of the three grades.

The employers propose the following working arrangements:

deal set for July The ETU negotiators favour weeks, not months or years as in the abolition of the grade of the past.

nental aircraft.

ther 10 aircraft.

in order not to be left out at a commercial disadvantage on the

highly profitable North American

The advantage of such large aircraft can be seen from the maker's claim that one 747

Jumbo Jet' is expected to replace two of the present-day big jets like the Boeing 707, Douglas DC-8, or BAC VC-10. The 747 will also make it possible to cut North Atlantic fares by up to 50

In gaining these two orders from Pan-Am and BOAC in under one week, Boeing has once again stolen the march on

once again stolen the march on its American rival, Douglas Aircraft, as they did in the 707—DC-8 race.

Douglas had been waiting to see what Boeing did before deciding whether to go ahead with its 563-passenger D592/30 aircraft, with an expected world market

with an expected world market of around 400 aircraft. Douglas

can afford to wait a little longer before making a final decision.

dustry, the story is a totally different one.

**DEATH BLOW** 

American also deals a death blow

to British Aircraft Corporation's hopes of stretching the VC-10

into a 'Jumbo Jet' to be known as the 'Superb'.

BOAC'S order must mean the

end of the 'Superb'—and Britain's last hopes of staying among the

major aviation builders with the Anglo-French Concord, whose future must also be threatened by

178 engine would be chosen for

Even after Pan-Am's order

using American Pratt and Whitney engines, Rolls had hoped their RB 178s would be used in any European-ordered 747s.

BOAC's decision to buy only six 747s means that Rolls Royce-

Three-year package

BOAC's decision to

For the British aircraft in-

route during the early 1970s.

mate. Whether they propose the up-grading of mates to electrician general, or their downgrading to labourer, or simply their sacking, is unclear. Whatever the finals details of

the agreement one thing is clear. The intention is to drastically reduce the total number of electrical workers in construction. Skilled men will work with more than one semi-skilled man in the future-whether he is categorised as a mate or as an electrician general.

Wages are to be fixed nationally for three years and 'sanctions' are to be imposed against those who seek loop holes in the agreement—i.e. those who at a local level use their organised strength to improve either their grading or their rate of pay. The reduced labour force will be expected to produce more than the existing labour force.

This type of agreement, so freely agreed to by the right wing, is entirely in line with the needs of British capitalism—so frantically trying to force down the standards of the working class in order to increase profits.

## Traditions destroyed

Wilson's 'scientific revolution'the introduction of advanced mechanisation and semi-automation within the existing capitalist set-up - is spreading from the factories to the building sites. If the rate of profit is to be main-tained, let alone increased, then traditional building methods, and the craft unionism which goes with them, have to be destroyed.

Already, industrialised construction methods are being applied to household flats all over Britain, Multi-storey buildings, up to 25 storeys high, can now be assembled from factory-built units in a matter of days or

GRADE **APPRENTICE** MATES TWO Technician ONE AND Electrician Approved ONE ONE Electrician General

Using John Laing's adaptation of the French Sectra system, a 15-storey block of flats (five flats per floor) can be completed in 30 working days. All services required are incorporated in the pre-fabricated assembly. All the components are handled mechanisystem is designed to bring factory speed and precision to the

building site. Even more advanced is the Bison Wall Frame system, owned by Concrete Ltd., specifically designed for high flats. The precast load-bearing wall-panels are not only complete with external and internal decoration, but are and ducts before leaving the fac-

## Labour-saving

The Building Research Station has carried out a theoretical study to assess the saving in labour likely to be achieved by the employment of such methods. The analysis was based on an assumed contract for 800 maisonettes and the estimated saving in labour time amounted to 200 man-hours per dwelling!

The basic aim of every system is to limit site work to a minimum and ensure that the majority of work is done in the factory. The future of the electrical

contracting industry is clear. In-creasingly much of the work will be carried out by semi-skilled operatives working in the most modern of factories; whether or not they will be even members of the ETU is debatable.

On site a small labour force will be employed consisting of a number of 'technicians' (charge hands?) working with 'electricians approved' and with a team of 'electricians general' or 'mates' (labourers?).

Payment-by-results will be out the simple reason that the speed of work will no longer be governed by the workers. Construction will be timed almost to the second—already Critical Path Analysis and other computer-

planned construction schedules are in use extensively in Australia introduced into Britain on major contracts.

Just as in a modern factory where work-speed depends upon the pace of the belt, so in the building industry pre-fabrication will mean that increased productivity will be by compulsion, not by consent. Hence the employers' readiness to pay an improved basic rate. Even if wages increase by, say

20 per cent, coupled with a productivity increase of say 30 per cent, then the wage bill is in relation to turnover. Bonus speeds and flat-rate payments this is what the future holds in The closure of ETU branches, the expulsions and suspensions

trade unionists, the attack on all those who raise a word of oppo-sition to the right-wing leaders of the union; all these things have been the preparation for this kind of agreement.

from holding office of militant

When officials call for militant members of the union to be 'given their marching orders', they do so in a vain attempt to prevent all opposition to the right-wing's policy of imposing agreements like the three-year deal.

## Stalinists pave way

But it was the Stalinists who, through pursuing an opportunist policy, created a situation where the present leaders of the ETU could be installed.

Members of the Communist

from holding office in the union; was only the Socialist Labour League that fought back. With the Communist Party's faction effectively smashed, ETU members now face the pay-off for years of the Stalinist leader-

Party were subsequently banned

ship's betrayals. The proposed agreement cannot be fought by traditional trade union methods, or even by militant syndicalism. There will be no question of seeking loop-

holes in the three-year agreement,

of achieving a breakthrough on

this site or that site.

examined by **Geoff Penn** 

Not only will 'sanctions' (could this mean expulsion from the union?) be applied to those who seek to challenge the agreement in this way, but the Labour government of Wilson, which works hand in glove with the employers and right-wing union leaderships, is to introduce legislation to make this illegal. In fighting this agreement, the

ETU rank-and-file will find that they face a political struggle; their resistance to the agreement will be met by the organised force of the state—the police and the law courts. To fight the agreement effec-

tively is to strive for the con-struction of a revolutionary leadership in the ETU as an alternative to that of the right wing. The Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists seek to provide the basis for this alternative. To defeat the right wing, a powerful movement must be built

which can take rapid strides along

the road to working-class power.

The Young Socialists' conference, held recently at Morecambe, has provided the policies around which such a movement can be built. In preparation for the coming struggle, ETU members must be out with the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League

of Parliament to demand and fight for: No laws against the unions!

on May Day and in the subse-

quent one-day stoppage and lobby

A sliding scale of wages and hours to meet increases in the cost of living and ensure an end to sackings!

 Nationalization rationalization—of the electrical industry, the building industry and the land!

# of the International Committee of the Fourth International

IN this issue we publish a summary of the main points from the Report to the Third Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International by its secretary, Cliff Slaughter. The Congress was reported in last week's issue and full documentation will appear in the Summer issue of the magazine 'Fourth International'.

# I. Introduction: The historical setting of the conference

THE DEEPENING crisis of imperialism linked inseparably with the crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy, particularly since 1956, is not only an economic crisis, but is marked above all by the resurgence of the working class all over the world. This threatens the rule of the bureaucracy, as well as that of the imperialists, and it constantly upsets their efforts to stabilise the international

Everywhere the struggle of the working class is exposing the treacherous character of the traditional, bureaucratic leaderships, and of the middleclass nationalist leaders in the colonial and semicolonial countries. Only the banner of the Fourth International, of Trotskyism, can provide the leadership necessary for the international working

The International Committee represents those forces who have successfully fought to defend and develop the founding programme of the Fourth International against all revisionists.

These revisionists, represented in the first place by Pablo, worked to liquidate the International and its sections. Having defeated this attempted liquidation in the struggle against revisionism, the International Committee and its sections must go forward from this conference to the building of revolutionary parties, which actively fight for the leadership of the working class in the struggle for working-class power.

In our epoch, the crisis of humanity can only be resolved by the smashing of capitalism. For this, it is necessary above all to resolve the crisis of leadership in the working class, the only force for this socialist revolution against capitalism.

The revisionist trend inside the Fourth International had to be bitterly combatted for many years, as the spearhead of the fight to resolve the crisis

Without this theoretical and political struggle, conducted by the forces of the International Committee, there could not have been any starting point today for our task of re-building the Fourth International.

We are therefore strongly opposed to any notion that the struggles within the Fourth International have had a negative character, that it would have been possible to respond to the present upsurge of class struggle without this 'overhead'.

In the end such a conception denies the central role of Marxist theory and revolutionary consciousness and coincides with the 'theories' of Pablo, Frank, Germain and Hansen that revolutionary parties will be produced 'in the course of revolution itself'. Trotsky anticipated this denial of Marxism in one of his last articles:

'To be sure, during a revolution, i.e., when events move swiftly, a weak party can quickly grow into a mighty one provided it lucidly understands the course of the revolution and posseses staunch cadres that do not become intoxicated with phrases and are not terrorised by persecution. But such a party must be available

## **OUT NOW**

# Fourth International

Vol. 3, No. 2

A Journal of International Marxism

Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International

EDITORS-TOM KEMP, CLIFF SLAUGHTER

CONTENTS

## **Editorial**

**Algeria** 

by David Francis

Kenya-Colonialism and the Lessons of Independence

by Peter Jay

The Struggle for Marxism in the **United States** 

(iv) American Trotskyism without

Trotsky by Tim Wohlforth

Cuban Revolution in Danger Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth Iternational

Available from:

186A Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

# THE LESSONS OF OUR HISTORY

prior to the revolution inasmuch as the process of educating the cadres requires a considerable period of time, and the revolution does not afford this time.

(L. Trotsky, 'The Class, the Party and the

# 2. Lessons of the History of the Fourth International

OUR MOVEMENT was founded in a period of defeats for the international proletariat, from 1926 to 1938. It was the very degeneration of the Soviet state, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Third International, which necessitated the founding of the Fourth International.

The physical liquidation of the Left Opposition in Russia and of large numbers of the leading cadres of the European sections during the Second World War, at the hands of Nazism and Stalinism alike, had severe consequences in a movement which had had insufficient time to train its sections in Leninist methods of party-building and in

The death of Trotsky himself was an enormous

blow to the international movement in this respect, and particularly to the Socialist Workers' Party of the USA, upon whose shoulders the burden of international leadership was placed by the circumstances of the War.

In these circumstances, it was extremely difficult for the young sections of the Fourth International to root themselves in the living experiences and struggle of the working class, and to develop Marxism through this struggle.

Revisionism gained ground more easily because of these difficulties.

Similarly today, the Fourth International and its programme must develop in the actual struggle of the workers in every country; in this way Marxist theory will be developed. It is because in a number of countries this building of parties in the class struggle has begun, the building of sections who accept responsibility for the political struggle of the working class as a whole, on all fronts, that this conference is possible and can set itself the task of building a leadership.

We are putting on record at this conference, as a basis for our work in the class struggle, not just the lessons of 15 years of struggle against revisionism, but the objective responsibilities of our sections in each country: to intervene and give leadership in all struggles of the working class, whether in exile from Eastern Europe, in the organised working class and trade unions of the advanced countries, or in the construction of proletarian parties to lead the struggles of the workers and peasants in the colonial countries.

This task has to be undertaken in face of the present vicious repressions of the Stalinists in Russia and Eastern Europe and the accompanying vicious onslaught of Castro against Trotskyism. These attacks result inevitably from the need of the bureaucracy in crisis to try and smash every sign of growth of independent working-class leadership.

The lessons learned in the fight against revisionism are thus the indispensable basis of our revolutionary strategy and of the building of the Fourth International:

(a) The need to fight always to defend and develop the method of dialectical materialism, the only scientific basis for the political independence of the working class. Against all theories of 'pressure' and reliance on petty-bourgeois tendencies.

(b) Against any retreat from the basic programme of resolving the crisis of working class leadership. In the fight against the abandonment of leadership, the abandonment of the construction of independent revolutionary parties, we have had to reaffirm the need to conduct the work of political parties for leadership in the struggle for power, and to leave behind the perspective and methods of small opportunist groups.

(c) Revolutionary parties will only be built through the conduct of constant struggle to expose and defeat the reformists and Stalinists. The continuation of our fight against the revisionists now takes place as one aspect of this construction of actual leaderships.

In the course of this work, the revisionists are disintegrating, and some of their forces will undoubtedly cme towards us, on the basis of our firmness on principles, and not from any idea that the reconstruction of the Fourth International can come from an amalgamation of all existing selfstyled 'Trotskyists'.

As against the fraudulent 'unification' of the Pabloite revisionists in 1963, followed as it was by the expulsion of Pablo himself, our conference proceeds to a real building of the International based on the open and principled discussion of all the past experience of the Marxist movement.

# Once again — the

# question of French syndicalism

FIRST of all I must state my the syndicalist rebellion against agreement with the general line of criticism of the section of my article that deals with French syndicalism. What I had attempted, and, as P.B. proves failed to do in a balanced way, was to bring out the limitations of revolutionary syndicalism as an international tendency in relation to the type of party the leaders of the Third International were attempting to build in the capitalist states in the years following the end of the first world war.

In appreciating this criticism, however, we must be on our guard against 'over-correction' even if this is employed for the sake of emphasis. When comrade P.B. quotes from Trotsky on the pre-war history of French syndicalism, it is clear that Trotsky saw this as a period of 'preparation for the foundation of the communist party', only from its potential in relation to the intervention of the Communist International in the struggles of the French working class and from an appreciation of the historical limitations of revolutionary syndicalism drawn from the historical experiences acquired by the Bolshevik party in the struggle for the leadership of the Russian working class. It was in fact this intervention, armed with this understanding, that made possible the fructifying of

the class collaborationist politics of French social democracy.

Therefore I think it is vital to make central the question raised by comrade P.B.—that of the Party. When he states that 'It is

in this, and only in this, that one could say that the role of revolutionary syndicalism has been, and remains reactionary', he goes to the very heart of the problem. Trotsky himself said in his short article 'The Mistakes of the Right Elements of the League on the Trade Union question' (January,

'If the theoretical structure of the political economy of Marxism rests entirely upon the conception of value as materialised labour, the revolutionary policy of Marxism rests upon the conception of the party as the van-guard of the proletariat.

Thus in saying 'only in this' there lurks the possible danger of minimising the qualitative nature of the leap from the most revolutionary of syndicalist tendencies to their conscious realisation through the building of a mass communist party. On this question, Lenin and Trotsky were able to unite with syndicalists such as Rosmer, and yet were forced to part company with many others.

Flowing from this crucial difference on the necessity of the party can be traced the development of all the social and poli-

(or rather stolen) from the arsenal of syndicalism and even

the working class grasps its own position in society and its unique role in history. It is the class become conscious of itself through the building of the organisation, enabling it to carry out its task.

Sorel, though not formally part of the working class movement, generalised the petty-bourgeois prejudices that still impinge on the working class in imperialist states, and formulated a whole theory of the class struggle and class action that ignored completely this self-conscious element in the revolutionary potential of the working class. His one-sided impression of the class struggle and his assimilation of only transient, superficial aspects of the working class itself enabled him to build a theoretical bridge to the most reactionary ideas when the working class failed to conform to his own subjectivist interpretation of class struggle and violence.

The going over of Sorel to monarchism and the Action Française was in this sense very much part of the process of degeneration at work in the Second International in the years prior

Marxism.

For Marxists, and today that means Trotskyists, the party is the process and means by which the working class grape its and today that means the process and means by which the working class grape its are all to the process and means by which the working class grape its are all to the process and means by which the working class grape its are all to the process and means by which the working class grape its are all to the process and means by which the working class grape its are all to the process and today that means the process and today that means the process and means by which the working class grape its are all to the process and today that means the process and means by which the working class grape its are all to the process and today that means the process and means by which the working class grape its are all to the process and today that means the process and means by which the working class grape its area. vincingly as it turned out) the process by which an incomplete and subjectivist approach to the workers' movement can evolve rapidly to the right in a period of war and revolution.

> P.B. correctly shows that these same conditions can serve as an impetus towards a break from incomplete conceptions, and clear the way for the building of Bolshevik-type parties. What was not grasped, and therefore not brought out in my article, was the dialectical and not mechanical nature of this split in inter-national as well as French syndicalism; that the split in the syndicalist leadership precipitated by the war and the Russian Revolution was a stage in the releasing of the revolutionary potential of the working class, which till then had found its highest possible ex-pression in the fight against opportunism through the development of revolutionary syndical-

> On the question of the corporate state, Italy would have served better as an example, for there many prominent syndicalists crossed over during and after the war to ultra-nationalism. Most

tical thinkers that have borrowed to and during the First World notable were Corridoni (killed during the war and claimed after it as a fascist martyr), De Ambris, Bianchini, Rossoni, Pasella and Rocca. Several of these syndicalist renegades in fact went into opposition after a taste of the corporate state in action, and were driven into exile by the regime they helped to create. Comrade P.B. has correctly

drawn the attention of myself as well as the readers of The Newsletter to the weaknesses in my analysis of French syndicalism and its underestimation of the class consciousness that this tendency reflected in the face of betrayals by social democracy. I also agree that this question

of syndicalism, both in its historical and current political context, is of paramount importance for those comrades engaged in the building of a genuine communist movement in France. It is in the spirit of that struggle for political clarity, in its essence an international process, that the criticisms were made, and they have been taken in a like manner.

Robert Black.

# Sweep away the 'progressives'

AT THE HIGHLY successful Morecambe Conference, the unification of the Young Socialists and class-conscious militant trade unionists created a nucleus around which the only alternative revolutionary leadership can be built which will sweep aside the so-called parliamentary and trade union progressives.

An outstanding example of this type is one of our local MPs who, when questioned on the proposed anti-trade union laws at a public meeting, said he would certainly vote in favour of such laws as this would disicpline the 'unruly element' in the trade unions. This same man held up the Labour Party manifesto and said: 'This is not a socialist manifesto. Socialism will not come in my lifetime.

What hypocrisy! Standing as a socialist MP but advocating anything but socialism in order to induce the Liberal element to vote Labour.

After further conflict and betrayals by Wilson, Brown, Callaghan and Gunter, the leadership started at Morecambe will win the support of the working

class. Brian Lavery, Wheldale Colliery, Yorkshire.

FROM

JACK GALE REPORTS

Continued from front page

THE ONLY answer to this is nationalization. We've had 13 years of capitalist rule. Now it's time for the Labour government to go the other way. One pro-posal in the amendments that causes dockers concern is that dockers who go sick have to return to the pool and be reallocated.

What will happen to the old dockers under this system? They are going to have real difficulties in being re-allocated, and some

dockers will be branded as trouble-makers' and won't get reallocated. This gives the employer the chance to get rid of the old docker and the militants. It will come to the point where you are frightened to go on sick.

Five million pounds have been spent on Joint Dock and £2 $\frac{1}{2}$ million on Albert Dock. Another £ $6\frac{3}{4}$  million is proposed for the Joint Dock. This is public money and the profit should go to the public, but instead it is going to the employers, who are putting nothing into it.

We want nationalization run by the men in the industry. When the last Labour government nationalized road transport the men who had previously owned it were put in charge of the in-dustry. We don't want that on

If Mr. Wilson is a true socialist he should nationalize the docks in this way-that is, with workers controlling the nationalized in-dustry. This is our private

Terry Geraghty, Tony Fee, Ted Butler, (members of the Unofficial Portworkers' Committee, Hull).

WE AGREE with 'The Newsletter'. There should be nationalization of the docks with workers' control over the industry. We don't want the sort of nationalization that was carried out in the mines and railways — thousands of workers have lost their jobs under that sort of nationalization.

Without workers' control, nationalization is a trap for the workers. The worst thing about these

proposals is that it places disci-pline in the hands of the employer. The employer will have the power to return a worker to the pool. In fact, after a time the pool will become non-existent. In effect, the employer will have the power to return the docker to the Labour Exchange.

Decasualisation must be opposed and dockers must cam-paign for nationalization under workers' control.

Arthur Atkinson (Sec., Branch 4 NAS&D, Hull), George Richmond (Branch 4 NAS&D), Victor Newdich (Branch 4 NAS&D), (Branch 4 NAS&D), Albert Heads.

WE WANT nationalization of the docks—but it's no good if it's nationalization which leaves the same employers in charge. Nationalization should be a partnership between the docker, who does the job, and the government. We need unity of dockers in Hull, London and Liverpool to resist these proposals. At the moment, the docker has no say in the industry. Under these proposals private

firms will refuse militant dockers, or perhaps take them on and get rid of them later. Militants will be offered unsuitable jobssuch as in the warehouse—and if they refuse, after a time they will be put off the dock.

If these proposals go through the employer can't lose, the National Dock Labour Board can't lose. The only loser will be the docker.

Walter Cunningham (Secretary, Unofficial Portworkers' Committee, Hull-in a personal

Brian Toomey (member of the Unofficial Portworkers' Committee-in a personal

Ron Fisher.

# After waiting four weeks for official backing



Harry Nicholas

# Welsh miners fight pit closures

**Newsletter Correspondent** 

INERS at Glamorgan collieries have declared their opposition to the shutdown of their pits.

Five hundred miners at Albion colliery at Cilfynydel, near Pontypridd, who are due to get four week's notice at the end of April, are demanding an investigation into the reasons for the National Coal Board closing the pit after spending nearly £1 million between 1963 and 1965.

They claim that the pit has plenty of coal reserves, but has been 'conditioned' for closure to provide labour for Cwm and Nantgarw collieries.

Glen Rhondda colliery's 350 miners, near Treherbert, have refused to transfer to Cwm colliery —18 miles from Treherbert.

A spokesman said that many of the Glen Rhondda miners own their own homes and have spent a lot of money on them. Therefore, they do not want to move. He claimed that Glen Rhondda could have a further ten to 15

# Agreement at Cardiff dry dock?

By Newsletter Reporter

N announcement in the A 'Western Mail' on Friday, April 15, that the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and the South Wales' dry dock owners were to sign an agreement came as a complete surprise to rankand-file trade unionists and

shop stewards. No information has been received, nor any decisions taken on this alleged agreement by any workers on the docks. Yet one Cardiff steward told The Newsletter that union officials had said the members would be consulted before a final decision is taken.

Are the hard-won rights of the dry dockers being signed away behind their backs?

Or is this part of a campaign to undermine the resistance to the employers?

In either case, union officials appear to be co-operating with the bosses in a deal for which the workers will have to pay.

As if to underline the union bureaucrats' policy of support for capitalism, a union spokesman said that the agreement was ahead of the Geddes Report. This demonstrates once again that the fight to defend past working-class gains is a political fight against the employers' state, represented by the so-called Labour govern-

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

# ESSO DRIVERS FORCED BACK TO WORK

By SYLVIA PICK

HE month-old strike of Esso tanker drivers in Birmingham collapsed on Tuesday in an atmosphere of intense anger and bitterness. Many workers declared that they had been led completely up the garden path.

For the previous fortnight they had been pressing the leadership of their union to make their dispute official, and had been expecting from day to day that this would happen.

Instead they heard on Monday, through a leak to the press, that there was no official support. This leak quoted an official from the union's headquarters as saying that 'nationally the union has already urged the drivers to return to work', and that they should have been instructed to do so locally.

The dispute was a straightforward case of workers striking to defend their union organisation against an attempt by the management to

undermine it. A driver was recruited to Bromford Bridge, the main Esso depot in the Midlands, from a source other than the union. Drivers maintained that this was in contravention of a wellestablished verbal agreement between the union and a former local

from any source. Had this struggle been made official from the outset and support gained from other Esso depots, there is little doubt that it could

manager. The management deny this and assert the right to recruit

have been swiftly and decisively won. Over a week after the strike began, a meeting of 150 tanker

drivers urged that this action should be taken. Ten days later a stormy meeting of the strikers was assured by a local official: 'your union is 100 per cent behind you' and that 'you will get your money from the start of the strike.

The reason advanced for the delay was that Mr. Harry Nicholas, acting general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, had been attempting to arrange a 'confrontation' between the former local manager and Mr. Alan Law, Midland regional commercial trade group secretary of the union, in an attempt to clear up the issue of the disputed verbal agreement.

Exasperated, the strikers at a meeting last Saturday gave Nicholas until Tuesday to say whether the strike was official or not. It was at this stormy Tuesday meeting that the men were

eventually informed there was no official backing for their struggle. The long delay, contradictory statements and lack of firm leadership have had the effect of splitting these workers just at a en the maximum unity and clear cut comprehension of the strike was vital for its victory.

Director of Public Prosecutions decides:

# No police action over 'noose trial'

HERE will be no criminal proceedings followthe so-called 'noose trial' at BMC's Cowley, Oxford, factory, it was announced on Tuesday.

Chief Constable of Oxford, Mr. Clement Burrows, who had sent a report on the 'trial' to the Director of Public Prosecutions, said the Director had found no evidence to warrant a court case.

A Newsletter reporter visited Oxford to find that the press, radio and television had completely distorted the happenings at a meeting held on March 4 when eight men who had worked during a one-day token stoppage against a new wage structure were asked to pay £3 each to charity.

The Newsletter also pointed out that such a scare by the employers' press was meant to prepare the way for the proposed anti-trade union legislation.

Such legislation is part of a necessary attack on workers' wages, conditions and rights to save the pound.

With each new announcement of a balance of payments deficit, this becomes more urgent.

Ray Gunter, Minister of Labour, may still set up an inquiry into the 'noose trial'.

But the report from the Director of Public Prosecutions surely shows all those who joined in the attack on the BMC workers that the noose scare is certainly wear-

'Run quick Ted, the noose is wearing thinner'



DAMP RUINS HOMES AND HEALTH ON *NEW ESTATE* 

-Sheffield tenants claim

**Newsletter Correspondent** 

REEN fungus has grown in homes occupied for only nine months on a Sheffield estate, it is claimed by tenants who, at a meeting last Thursday (April 14), formed a tenants' association.

houses.

The association was formed by 25 tenants from the Stannington Estate, one of Sheffield's most recent housing estates, to force the council and the contractors to repair, or, in some cases, rebuild

Tenants claim that in most houses the walls are damp and a green fungus has grown. The damp makes it impossible to use some of the bedrooms and has brought on bronchitis and continual colds among many of the children. Clothes have been ruined and some storage cupboards are unusable.

The tenants at the meeting also raised the question of essential facilities on the estate, which, at the moment, has no adequate shops, children's playgrounds or entertainment facilities. The Association pledged itself to campaign for the immediate completion of a proposed tenants' hall and shopping centre.

One of the tenants who, with the assistance of the Sheffield oung Socialists, started the cam paign for the association, explained how she had written to the contractors, the local council and the local MP, Mr. George Darling, about the condition of the houses. None of them, she claimed, would take responsibility for repairs.

The tenants clearly understood from this that individual action was useless and that only through organisation could they win their demands.

## HIGH RENTS

They also pointed out that their dwellings are luxury flats and maisonettes and that they are paying high rents for them.

Norman Harding from the Crossgates Tenants' Association in Leeds explained he had been invited to speak through the Young Socialists who were helping tenants in their struggles all over the country.

He stressed the need for organisation among tenants and suggested that the association, when properly formed, should organise lobbies of the local MPs and of the council to show that they mean to fight for their conditions and not be fobbed off with excuses and evasions.

A provisional committee was set up and it was decided that a full campaign would be carried out for a mass meeting.

# Shop workers oppose longer hours

A BOUT 1,200 Midland shop workers went on record at a mass rally in Birmingham Town Hall on Monday against working longer hours. They are prepared to back this with strike action if necessary.

A resolution to this effect was passed unanimously against the government's White Paper of last December which permits trading hours between 6 a.m. and 7 p.m. It was pointed out that since

longer hours would involve either extra staff or overtime working, the consequence would be a rise in the price of commodities.

Shop workers were also urged at the rally to join the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied

# **National Union of Students' Council**

# Stalinists and 'lefts' pave way for link with ISC

HIS year's Easter Council of the Union of Students began by refusing prominent student Communist Party member Frank Fuchs, reporter for the student paper 'Felix', access to the press box. It was claimed that he was not interested in reporting the conference, but would try to influence its proceed-

The reporter for 'Keep Left', the Young Socialists' paper, was also excluded on the grounds that it was neither a student newspaper, nor a national or weekly newspaper.

It was clear that the executive was closing the doors in preparation for an attack on the 'left', consisting of Communist Party members in the leadership and the various shades of 'left' from within the Labour Party.

## Biggest retreat

Many individual 'lefts' wanted to fight the executive, but the Communist Party leadership led the biggest retreat the student movement has ever seen in Britain and paved the way for a Transport House victory.

The main issues at the conference included a draft resolution on 'The Rights and Responsibilities of Students'. This paid lip service to the idea of students managing their own affairs but set down no concrete proposals for the setting up of independent student organisations.

In fact the NUS should demand fully independent student unions which decide all questions of discipline on the basis of the workers' court at Cowley. The

**NEWSLETTER CORRESPONDENT** administration, development and expansion of universities and colleges should be run by Senates composed of students, lecturers and workers independent of any

on behalf of big business. The fundamental principle underlying the draft resolution was that of the International Student Conference charter-'a free university in a free society'.

government or local councils,

which today merely administrate

The right-wing, after a determined and sustained campaign, won a complete victory at the NUS elections sweeping the board for the executive positions.

The left was routed and effectively discredited by the executive as a 'Communist faction trying to take over the Council'.

This rout was possible simply because of the way the Communist Party chose to fight. They followed the line being hawked around the universities by the state capitalists of 'positive

## In or out?

While the executive, through president - elect Martin, was allowed to characterise the finances of the International Student Committee and its political affiliations as 'pheripheral issues', saying the NUS should be fully committed to joining ISC, Alan Hunt, the leading light of the Communist Party on the floor, appealed to the union to remain outside. He maintained that that most discredited thing,

'the third world', was the means through which international student co-operation might be fostered.

The class war and the relentless struggle against world imperialism, least of all in Vietnam, went unmentioned in the fourhour debate.

Nor was the membership of the Stalinist International Union of Students discussed except by one confused delegate who wanted the NUS to join both IUS

# Not exposed

The energies of the 'left' were dissipated in a procedural wrangle challenging the chair instead of being directed, as they should have been, in exposing the reactionary role of ISC as a front and cover for American and British foreign policy—ISC has condemned the Vietcong for blowing up an ambulance and backs Johnson's 'unconditional negotiations'.

Thus the main body of the Student Council, rightly suspicious of 'positive neutralism', were neatly hooked on the idealistic bait offered by the executive.

The right wing was able to present the view-outside the context of world imperialism and the misery and suppression it fosters -of students advancing the cause of their less fortunate brothers in colonial territories.

The fact that ISC is clearly under American dominance can be easily discovered by looking

at its sources of finance. Big monopolies like Corning Glass supply money indirectly through the San Jacinto Fund and the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs.

The commitment of the NUS to ISC can be measured by the fact that the 'ambitious new social centre' planned for Central London, one function of which will be to provide accommodation for overseas undergraduates, was delayed pending the NUS decision to rejoin the ISC.

Internationally, the ISC holds many seminars, courses, exchange visits and sends graduates on a voluntary basis and so on. In short it is a defence weapon of world imperialism against the advancing tide of world revolution.

It is interesting to note that the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs also contributes to the National Association of Labour Student Organisations. Will it continue to do so if the right wing fails to regain control?

## Limited discussion

Later in the debate a motion amending clause 3 of the Constitution was put by the Executive. This would allow limited political discussion at Council, 'on matters essentially concerned with educa-

'This would allow student demands to be considered in the light of the National Plan and the Incomes Policy, but by no means would allow full-blooded discussion of political issues outside

by Council could be included in a Transitional Programme-they are definitely beyond the means of capitalism to provide. But the Executive, remaining faithful to right wing policies, might well put forward motions relating grants to the incomes policy or the introduction of loans, or even support the binary system, at the

the sphere of education,' the Ex-

Unforunately for Transport

House, their concern to isolate

the Communist Party by keeping

politics out of Council was taken

up eagerly by the majority of

delegates who threw out this

While Council reaffirmed its

opposition to the binary system of

loans and demanded no cutback

in the building programme, the

right-wing still sits in the chair.

Beyond provision

Many of the demands passed

ecutive alleged.

motion.

They will almost certainly back the Labour government's policy of support for American murder in Vietnam by effectively ruling out of order all motions raised in opposition to American foreign policy, thereby muffling student opposition to world imperialism.

The Labour bureaucracy, having lost the youth movement, the Young Socialists, will now try to use the universities to forge a new youth leadership. The Young Socialists must now intervene in the universities and win over the students.

All students must demonstrate their opposition to capitalism and its right wing prop, the Wilson government, by joining the Young Socialists and trade unionists who will demonstrate against the incomes policy and the early-warning legislation on May Day in