

Was it a victory?

SEAMEN who have either returned or are returning to work will by now have had time to reflect on some of the lessons of their six-and-a-half-week strike. Was it a victory or a defeat?

According to the 'Morning Star', the organ of the Communist Party, and 'Tribune', the weekly mouthpiece of the fake 'lefts', it was a victory.

Both of these papers, of course, are glad the strike has ended and they are anxious, by means of 'left' talk, to maintain some relation with the rank and file.

They use the word 'victory' in order to cover up for their own treacherous role during the strike.

'The Guardian', however, organ of the liberal capitalists, states the case for the government and the shipowners. In its issue of June 30 it says:

'The underlying principle of the government's incomes policy has been upheld in the face of the most determined union pressure... the fact that in the final stage of negotiating with the shipowners the seamen's leaders in effect accepted the limit on total costs, and that only the precise terms of the productivity bargain were still in dispute, must be counted as a significant victory for the incomes policy.'

These are conclusions which are very different from those in the 'Morning Star' and 'Tribune'.

The strike, in the first place, was treated by the government as a strike against its prices and incomes policy. It was a test case.

Right from the start they supported the shipowners against the seamen, in order to support the proposed legislation against the unions, which had not yet become a law in parliament.

The final terms of settlement proposed by the shipowners had the full support of the government, because it was in accordance with its prices and incomes policy.

When these terms were accepted by the National Union of Seamen, their decision represented a victory for the shipowners and a defeat for the seamen.

Since neither the Communist Party nor the fake 'lefts' around 'Tribune' want to wage a serious struggle against the government's prices and incomes policy, they dress up the seamen's return to work as a 'victory' when in fact it was a defeat.

'Why,' the average seamen will ask, 'was the strike defeated? We were out for six-and-a-half-weeks and prepared to stay out another six-and-a-half-weeks if necessary, provided we won.'

The answer is provided by two vital experiences. Firstly, the right-wing leaders of the NUS did not want to defeat Wilson over his prices and incomes policy.

Secondly, the Communist Party was using the strike in order to get their own men, such as Gordon Norris, on the executive committee, when the new elections take place.

They wanted to avoid an all-out struggle against Wilson because this would upset their relations with the fake 'left' MPs around 'Tribune', and in particular the Transport and General Workers' Union. So they proceeded to try to hold the strike back from the beginning.

This strike could have been won despite the role of Wilson and Hogarth, if all foreign ships, as well as British, were blacked from the beginning.

The Newsletter advocated this policy right from the start, but the Communist Party was opposed.

In the London docks, Jack Dash acted as an agent of the T&GWU and refused to do anything unofficial.

Yet it could be only by unofficial action that the docks were brought out on strike.

Roger Woods, Dash's colleague, acting under instructions, did the same thing in Liverpool.

When the dockers came out on strike in favour of blacking all foreign and British ships, he told them to go back to work.

Thus the strike was weakened by the CP for its own political ends.

The lessons for seamen are obvious:

- No trust in Wilson or Hogarth;
No trust in Norris, Woods and the Communist Party, which serves the diplomacy of Moscow and not the interests of seamen;
Full support for the Socialist Labour League, which was the real friend of the seamen in the 1960 Reform Movement and remains so today.

Behind the resignation of Cousins from the Cabinet

A SERIOUS T & GWU CRISIS

by THE EDITOR

THE resignation of Frank Cousins from Wilson's Cabinet is directly related to the crisis which is now emerging inside Britain's largest union, the Transport and General Workers' Union.

From the dockers' section there is massive opposition to the Devlin Commission Report. It is reliably rumoured that over 800 amendments have been submitted by the branches, not one of which has been accepted by the Commission.

The more-pay struggle led by the northern busmen, also members of the T&GWU, is causing grave concern to the union chiefs as well as to the government.

With the example of what is now taking place inside the seamen's union fresh in their minds, there is real anxiety amongst the T&GWU top leaders. With two of their most militant sections moving into political conflict with the government this could have far-reaching consequences within the union, especially since the leadership has already agreed to the Devlin Report and is pulling its punches in relation to the northern busmen.

STOP PRESS!

THE National Committee of the Young Socialists announces that on the eve of the 1966 Labour Party Conference, they are holding a mass demonstration and rally at Brighton on:

Sunday, October 2, (time and assembly point to be announced later)

Organise your coach parties immediately. Bring thousands of Young Socialists and trade unionists to Brighton to force the Labour government to retreat.

Say NO to the Prices and Incomes Bill.

Say NO to the Devlin Commission on the docks.

For the military defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam. For the Victory of the National Liberation Front.

Sheila Torrance National Secretary Young Socialists, 186A Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

PEARLY DASH DOES IT AGAIN!

THE GARDEN PARTY, says the Tory 'Daily Mail' is 'a very English institution'. The sun was shining and the grass was green down Hampshire way—in Goose Green to be exact—last Saturday, when a handful of Communist Party supporters held their annual garden fete.

But this was no ordinary day for the comrades.

Into their midst strolled Jack Dash, well-known to television audiences, the darling of the press reporters and the idol of cameramen everywhere. He was there to open the fete.

Now, no one, least of all the Newsletter, will begrudge Mr. Dash such an honour. After all, during the summer months it is done regularly by parsons, country squires and old Tories of both sexes.

Orders go out

The remarkable thing about this get-together was that way up in the grim fastnesses of the Fleet Street editorial offices, the orders went out. 'Pearly Dash, our tame photogenic docker, is at it again. Take him boys'—and they did.

The 'Daily Mail' from the Northcliffe stable, and the 'Sun' from Cecil King's all-powerful IPC group, vied with each other and got their man.

There he was, enjoying the sunshine, playing roulette ('Daily Mail') and leaning by a tent drinking a glass of beer ('Sun').

John Gollan (call me Johnny), secretary of the Communist Party, can breathe again. No strikes, just good wholesome 'peaceful road to socialism' fun—the Party's public image is secure in Jack Dash. Pearly Dash does it again!

For 50 years, until 1960, the National Union of Seamen was a happy hunting ground for right-wing bureaucrats—then came the seamen's Reform Movement strike.

In four or five years the left-wing rebels had a decisive grip on the union machine, and their hold is growing every day.

The class struggle engaged in by the seamen eventually smashed the right-wing stranglehold, and the same thing can happen inside the T&GWU once the real role of its present leadership becomes exposed.

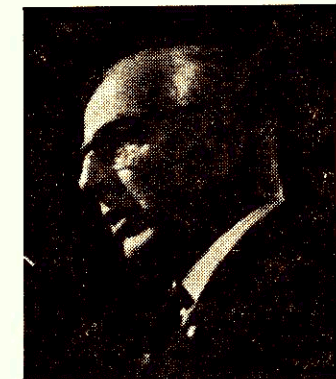
The union bureaucrats, therefore, needed Cousins out of the Cabinet so that they could head off the growing revolt. The fact that he chose opposition to the Prices and Incomes Bill provides him with a left face behind which he can manoeuvre to confuse his members who are becoming, like the seamen, more and more hostile to Wilson's government.

Make no mistake about it. Since October 1964, Cousins has gone along with the Labour government through thick and thin. He supported, as far as it is known, the principle of the Prices and Incomes Bill until recently.

A little late

Now that it is about to become law, it is a little late in the day to effectively oppose it. If Cousins had some reservations about the Bill, why did he not resign last October and lead the fight against it?

Tens of thousands of rank-and-file trade unionists were opposed then, and they are opposed now—but Cousins was silent during these past nine vital months.



Cousins: Why didn't he resign last October?

If, for example, he had resigned last October, it is conceivable that the Amalgamated Engineering Union may have swung against the Bill, like the National Union of Mineworkers did this week.

But no, Cousins is not guided by the need to wage a real struggle inside the trade union movement as a whole, but on the narrow requirements of the T&GWU bureaucracy.

And what is the record of Mr. Cousins in leading opposition to Labour's right wing in the past?

Just take a look at his role in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Having swung the

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PUBLIC MEETING

SAY NO: To anti-trade union legislation and Devlin Report VICTORY: To the Vietnamese National Liberation Front

Sunday, July 10, 7 p.m. Digbeth Institute, Digbeth BIRMINGHAM

Speakers:

G. HEALY, national secretary, SLL A. JENNINGS, Editor, Keep Left and prominent motor car workers

APOLOGY

The article in last week's Newsletter (July 2) on the National Union of Seamen's executive decision to return to work incorrectly stated that the resolution to return was seconded by G. Mallon of Liverpool. We wish to apologise to Mr. Mallon for any distress caused to him.

The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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A principled stand



Young Socialists echo the slogan of their banner 'Victory to the Vietcong as they move in to Grosvenor Square. In the background is the US Embassy.

New Bill - no change

By John Crawford

Unions still under heavy attack

LAST Monday, the day the Prices and Incomes Bill was re-published, the Bank of England announced a big drop in the gold reserves and the pound fell on the foreign exchanges.

The economic crisis is directly connected with Brown's Bill. This threat to the independence of the trade unions is being operated by the Labour leaders on the orders of the monopolies and the international bankers.

The way Wilson acted to break the seamen's strike gives us some idea how far the Labour government will go in attacking its own support—the unions.

This is the second version of the Prices and Incomes Bill—the first came out in March and was nullified by the calling of the election.

Some changes have been made since then in an attempt to beat down opposition to the measure. But its essential significance is only made clearer.

Standstill

By opening the way for direct state intervention in wages negotiations, the Bill prepares for more far-reaching measures in the future to destroy the unions as independent organisations.

The demand for the government to be told in advance about price increases and wage rises and the fixing of a three-month standstill period is still the central feature. Of course, the effect on

prices can be ignored. Prices and profits cannot be controlled by a capitalist government.

A new section demands that increases and dividends be notified as well. But in this case no stand-still can be enforced.

Anyway, as the experience of the wage freeze of 1948-1951 showed, dividend limitation is a farce.

A whole series of gimmicks, like bonus-share issues, can easily be worked out to distribute increased profits without changing the percentage dividend.

Besides, profits not distributed to shareholders directly are reflected in a rise in share values, so they can't lose.

The most important changes in the Bill since March refer to the penalties to be imposed for not notifying wage increases.

These clauses have been strengthened by referring directly to trade unions as corporate bodies. Paragraph 16 sub-section 4 says:

'(4) If any trade union or other person takes, or threatens to take any action, and in particular action by way of taking part, or persuading others to take part, in a strike, with a view to compel, induce or influence any employer to implement an award or settlement

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BY NEWSLETTER REPORTERS

IN contrast to the pacifist appeals of the Young Communist League, Young Liberals, Youth CND, and Christian youth, the Young Socialists claimed their solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their chants 'Victory to the Vietcong', and 'Arm the Vietcong', in an hour-long march through London last Sunday.

The demonstration, along with a Trafalgar Square meeting and a march on the US Embassy, had been organised by the youth organisations, and the London District Committee of the Communist Party following the bombing of North Vietnam cities.

Over 400 Young Socialists participated in both marches, much to the embarrassment of the CP, and walked with the Vietnam Solidarity Committee, whose president, Bertrand Russell has made a recent call for support to the National Liberation Front.

The Young Socialist contingent was the most colourful, vociferous and most disciplined in its ranks and slogan-shouting.

Half demonstration

Because of this, and because of the size of the section, no moves were made to remove the youth, or the banners of the Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League.

On the first march, from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square, the Young Socialists formed almost half the demonstration.

From the front section came weak and sporadic calls for 'Hands off Vietnam' and pleas for a Geneva conference, while the YS kept up a continuous chant of their slogans.

This march ended up in Trafalgar Square, halfway through the CP meeting, after YCLers had handed in a petition at No. 10 Downing Street.

Calling Wilson a hypocrite, Gollan welcomed the protests by 'left' MPs and Liberals and added:

'There is only one way to peace in Vietnam. America must be forced to withdraw and the Vietnamese people be left to settle their own affairs.'



Gollan: 'Pressurise government.'

All this, it appeared, could be achieved by pressure on the Labour government!

He then led a 4,000-strong march, with the YS still present, to the embassy. By that time, several sections of the YCL contingent were chanting 'Victory to the Vietcong', completely ignoring an appeal made from the plinth to shout 'Wilson, end support for USA'.

Deputation

At Grosvenor Square, hordes of police blocked any entrance to the US embassy and only allowed Gollan, with lighterman Harry Watson, printer John Mitchell, CP parliamentary candidate Gladys Easton, editor of YCL paper 'Challenge' John Hyatt, and John Mahon as a deputation to the Embassy.

There they presented a resolution, passed at the Square meeting, to the second secretary.

After a short report back meeting—and after Gollan and company had left—there were scuffles between the YCL and CND sections and police. Thirty-one people were arrested.

Young Socialists did not take part in this middle class, futile expression of 'pacifist' anger.

Neither the Trafalgar Square meeting, nor the following day's 'Morning Star' mentioned the YS in its list of demonstrators, even though a Liberal was welcomed on to the plinth to speak and John Hyatt welcomed unity with Christian youth!

But no one can ignore the fact that the Young Socialists maintain their principled stand of support for the Vietnamese and world working class, and do not curry favour with capitalist organisations to pose a united, pacifist front.

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE SAYS:

THROW OUT THE ANTI-TRADE UNION LEGISLATION LOBBY Parliament on July 20 from 6 p.m. onwards, then Rally to a PUBLIC MEETING

CAXTON HALL off Victoria Street, S.W.1, 7.45 p.m. (5 minutes from Houses of Parliament)

Speakers:

G. Healy, National Secretary, S.L.L.

Reg Perry, Merseyside

Chairman:

M. Banda, Editor, Newsletter



Brown: Has new Bill for fines.

# On both sides of the 17th parallel

**TWO** articles in the American progressive weekly 'National Guardian' illustrate the corrupting influence of US imperialist forces on South Vietnam, and the complete preparedness of the North Vietnamese people for the recent escalation of the war.

French journalist Robert Guillain is quoted by the 'National Guardian' from his eyewitness reports printed in 'Le Monde' as saying that the Vietcong really have no need to do any work in Saigon as there is another factor which 'corrodes much more surely from the inside—putrefaction'.

He says that when the not too quarrelsome, not too often drunk, side-dealing American 'boys' let loose their 'Niagara of dollars' on a people weakened by 20 years of war, the country cannot escape corruption.

## More everything

As a war centre, the city is more invaded, more occupied, more immoral, with more white masters, more marionette ministers, more beggars, more women selling themselves, than in any other place at any other time.

Vietnamese, says Guillain, want to work and live near the Americans for it is there that the black market thrives—hundreds of tons of goods bound for the forces PX stores disappear every week on the half-mile journey from the docks to Saigon.

'Everyone knows that this doesn't happen without a vast network which must reach into important offices of the US Army,' Guillain adds.

These goods—including US Army uniforms and other wares only accessible to officers—appear in the sidewalk shops of Saigon.

Officials take their cuts from this trade and one Vietnamese told Guillain:

'The mandarins used to line their nests similarly, but over a lifetime. A minister

of the Diem administration reckoned to do it in 10 years, but one of the present-day in a single year—many buy expensive cars, villas and so on.

This general sinking into what a Vietnamese described to Guillain as 'nothing more than a brothel, a sink of vice', has broken up almost the whole of the Vietnamese way of life.

The Vietnamese added:

'Confucian society had four classes of which the mandarin class was most respected. Today the four classes are thus listed in order of power and respect: the whores, the pedicab drivers, the Chinese, the generals. It changes very fast—six months ago the generals came first.'

Yet behind all this corruption, the Vietcong work consistently, infiltrating all sections of Saigon life, in order to continue their fight against the Americans and whatever puppet sits at the government's head.

Guillain comments:

'Frenchmen in Vietnam feel quite simply that the conquest of South Vietnam by the NLF has already been more than half accomplished—an invisible conquest of the areas held by the Americans themselves.'

## Supplied by enemy

One Frenchman who ventured into Vietcong territory was arrested and lectured by a uniformed NLF officer. Later he saw the same man in government uniform at an official ceremony in Hue!

This seems to be Vietcong policy—infiltrating into all sections of South Vietnam life, knowing that their arms, supplies, money, will all roll in from the US and

government forces and stockpiles.

For this reason the Saigon river is not blocked—it would only take one sunken ship to do it. It is as much a supply route for the Vietcong as it is for the Americans.

Another source of revenue for the NLF forces is obtained from checkpoints and customs stations near Saigon where the Vietcong taxes travellers and gives them a receipt—it is estimated that 20,000 dollars is earned from this activity every day.

Where the NLF do want to destroy installations, they have the aid of workers. Even when the armoured car on a convoy is changed at the last moment, the Vietcong know and are able to mine it.

Guillain says that many people are stupefied to see the way the Americans are being fooled and betrayed, and the Vietcong's only problem is in choosing their informers because there are so many.

The Vietcong was said, in February, to have 4,000, five-men cells in Saigon. In Hue all municipal decisions are said to be taken only with the Vietcong's consent.

William G. Burchett, 'National Guardian's' correspondent in North Vietnam, questioned defence minister Vo Nguyen Giap about US bombing of North Vietnam.

He said the Americans had not achieved their goals, and that the Pentagon had admitted that it was dealing with people who showed no signs of weakness. Railroads are still running, there are record harvests and the country's military and economic potential has increased, not decreased.

In preparation for the bombing of the cities, the authorities have already been taking machines from the cities and setting them up in the jungle villages.

Burchett says that the mobilisation of

manpower and willpower was effected with an enthusiasm difficult to conceive of if one had not visited the farms and factories, the new construction sites and the spots where the battle against enemy planes and bombs was fiercest.

In fact there has been an emphasis on transport and communications, and the North Vietnamese have a grand system for re-building bombed bridges and roads.

In the last year, the volume of traffic on many important roads like the one between Hanoi and Van Linh, just north of the 17th parallel, has been greater than ever before.

Where bridges have been bombed and where there were no bridges before, pontoon bridges are quickly erected on unsinkable bamboo rafts.

The notion of repairs has been changed by circumstances. Previously there has been inspection, paper work, estimates, involving several ministries and several months. Bridges are now constructed almost overnight.

## Transport network

Even before the smoke has settled on a bombed railway or road, scores of youth have re-laid rails minutes after their comrades have filled in gaping bomb holes with ballast.

As Burchett says:

'Not only had the bombs not been able to put the main north-south railway and highway out of action, but they had not been able to prevent the construction of a whole network of highways and roads.'

Burchett also found production in mills taken from Hanoi to the jungle villages was

higher than when operated in the city.

He interviewed Doan Trong Truyen of the state economic planning commission, who told him:

'The dispersal of industry and the industrial development in our mountain regions is important for our national defence, not only because it offers protection against the bombings and in case of invasion attempts, but for the future development of the country.'

'Together with the technical revolution—the application of new, advanced techniques—and the redistribution of our economic potential we can step up labour productivity and strengthen our economic and defence capacity.'

He quoted the figures for 1965: Overall agricultural production up by 3.3 per cent over 1964; overall industrial production up by 8.4 per cent over 1964; production of industries under state ministries, 12 per cent increase over 1964; machine building industry, up by 14 per cent; output of local industry, including that from the newly established plants, up by 40 per cent!

## Increased productivity

This despite the fact that large major plants have been dispersed into many smaller ones; the fact that time was taken doing this, and the fact that many women work in industry where men did previously.

On the land, workers have also shown their productivity possibilities; the biggest increases have come in the most heavily bombed areas.

This was 14 per cent against the 3.3 per cent average.

Truyen put these increases down to 'Higher moral due to bombings, more widespread irrigation with lots of new electric pumps installed, intensified use of fertilizers, better seed selection—the application, in fact, of some elements of the technical revolution.'

Burchett says, with all their plans the South Vietnamese are determined to prove to the Pentagon the bankruptcy of the thesis of "winning in the South by smashing the north".

# VIETNAM

**OUR CLEAR POLITICAL LINE:**

## A Victory to the Vietcong

## Johnson's deception

as seen by American columnist James Reston

**WITH** the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, the organisation of working-class action against the US imperialist attack on the Vietnamese people becomes still more vital.

This makes it extremely urgent to clarify the political objectives of such action.

The Newsletter of June 25 carried a letter from Bertrand Russell, arguing that it was not a question of demanding 'peace' in Vietnam. He called instead for 'solidarity with those struggling for their economic and political emancipation'.

Whatever disagreements we may have had with Russell, on this question Marxists must wholeheartedly support him. To call for 'peace in Vietnam' or a 'negotiated settlement' is to demand a holding back of the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants against imperialism.

Unlike Russell, however, we do not see this from an abstract 'moral standpoint', but as part of the class fight for a socialist world.

We seek to aid the military defeat of US forces and the victory of the National Liberation Front, because this would be a blow against the employing class all over the world.

## UNITE WORKERS

Our struggle against the Wilson government's pro-capitalist policies at home and abroad are intended to weaken international capitalism and unite workers everywhere against it.

Those Labour MPs who are busy tabling motions demanding that Wilson dissociate himself from the Vietnam war, only want to protest against imperialism.

Unless the labour movement is mobilised quite clearly on the side of the Vietnamese workers and for the defeat of the US forces, 'protesting' is just a safety valve for discontent.

The leaders of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are professional protesters. They can live quite happily with the worst brutalities of imperialism, so long as they can make an appropriate gesture of disapproval.

They place the main emphasis on the danger of a world war developing from the Vietnamese conflict. They are content to blame 'both sides', as they put it, for the situation.

Ignoring the political reality, they equate the Vietnamese struggle for liberation from imperialism with the murderous acts of the Americans and their puppets.

Of course, there is a danger of world war. But it

By John Crawford

arises from the nature of imperialism as a world system of exploitation and oppression.

Every blow against that system, every step towards the smashing of the power of the bosses, helps to stop the possibility of nuclear destruction.

The Communist Party, true to its Stalinist traditions, takes a basically similar line to the CND.

While making ritual statements about American aggression, the Stalinists refuse to call for the defeat of the Americans.

Since they also organise 'protests', and call for 'negotiations', they are as guilty of equating imperialism with its victims as their Liberal and parliamentary friends.

The Geneva agreement of 1954, whose implementation they put forward as a solution, was imposed on the Viet Minh leaders, against their wishes. It cut Vietnam in two and robbed the Viet Minh of victory over the French.

## RESUME FIGHT

Later, when the Americans had taken control of South Vietnam, the bitter struggle for liberation had to be resumed by the Vietcong guerrillas.

Instead of taking the side of the workers and peasants of Vietnam against the imperialists, the Stalinists, like CND, call for negotiations between the imperialist robbers and those they are robbing.

As the Geneva Agreement shows, this means a strengthening of imperialism and the preparation of new and still more violent wars.

The Stalinists used to be motivated by the desire to persuade the imperialists to compromise with the Soviet bureaucracy. This entailed collaboration with those politicians and capitalist groups whose interests led them in that direction.

Today, however, the process of degeneration has gone so far that collaboration with the established order is an end in itself for the CP leaders. Gollan and Company direct their main efforts to securing some influence among Labour MPs and through them to approach the government of Her Majesty's Prime Minister.

That is why the propaganda of the Communist Party takes the form of *advice* to the government as to its best interests.

If only Wilson would change his policy, his problems would be solved, they imply.

On the contrary, Marxists know that the crisis of the Wilson government is intensified by every victory of the Vietnamese liberation movement.

Although it was no doubt made after prior consultation with the State Department, Wilson's dissociation from the Hanoi and Haiphong bombings was a sign of weakness in the imperialist alliance.

As a result of the heroic determination of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to defeat the imperialist invaders, the entire world system of imperialism is shaken.

The power of the bosses in every country is challenged, especially in the United States, the imperialist power-house itself.

That is why the 'protesters' of the Parliamentary 'left', CND and the Communist Party all shrink from a direct call for a Vietcong victory.

The possible dispatch of British troops to back up US butchery in Vietnam would put the question still more sharply.

'Protest' movements by 'left' critics of the Labour leaders have long been a feature of the British political scene. They belong to an era of class compromise when the protesters can rest assured that no real harm will come to the social order as a result of their actions and speeches.

With the opening up of a period of political struggles, in which questions of class power can be more clearly posed, the issue of the Vietnam war has much deeper implications.

Our contribution to the defeat of the US forces and their reactionary puppets in Asia is to fight to overthrow their allies, the British ruling class, together with its agents in the labour movement.

**A**UTHORITATIVE and widely-read American columnist James Reston penned a searing attack on President Johnson and his Vietnam policy following the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong last week.

Writing in the 'New York Times' (July 2-3 International Edition), Reston says that with the latest bombing the Johnson administration 'has now done everything it said or indicated it would not do except bomb China', and confused both 'hawks' and 'doves' about what is coming next.

Not a single major nation supported Johnson's adventure, says Reston. (This was true at the time of writing, but not since.)

And he goes on to make a point conveniently left out of a long report of his article in 'The Guardian':

'Even Prime Minister Wilson of Britain, whose economic policy depends on Mr. Johnson's continued support of the pound sterling, felt obliged to make a public statement against the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, and when he was in trouble about keeping a British military force East of Suez in support of the United States, he produced an interesting defence.'

'He said, in effect, that he thought Britain should stay there rather than leaving the Americans alone to use their judgement in a confrontation with China.'

The oh-so liberal informer of the British public 'The Guardian' did not think it worth including this important



Last Sunday's demonstration against the bombings. CP Secretary John Gollan speaks to a Trafalgar Square rally attended by 400 Young Socialists. The YS National Committee and other YS banners are seen in the crowd.

point—probably not to take the wind out of the right-wing Prime Minister's 'protest'.

Reston goes on to list Johnson's deception:

The Johnson administration said it was not seeking a military solution to the war, and it is now obviously seeking precisely that. It said it was there merely to help a legitimate government defend itself, and it has ended up by supporting a military clique that is not a government, is not legitimate, and is not really defending itself.

'Even when allowances are made for the uncertainties and moral ambiguities of warfare, the guile of this Administration, exercised in the name of high and even noble principle, is hard to match. It was not going beyond the 17th Parallel in Vietnam but went beyond. It was merely going to respond to enemy attacks on its bases, but it went over to the offensive. It was not going to get involved in a major war on the Asian land mass but it did.'

The President was not even faithful to his bad resolves: He said he would not negotiate, but then offered to do so, and spoiled that by refusing to negotiate with the major elements of the enemy he faces. He has not merely misled his enemies but his friends. His old colleagues in the Congress have not forgiven him yet for tricking them into support of a blank cheque defence of all south-east Asia under circumstances they could not possibly oppose. And even in this last adventure in Hanoi and Haiphong, we are told officially that the bombing of targets, there is not an "escalation" of the war.'

Reston says the actual question of confidence in the Administration is important. He wonders if anyone can now trust Johnson's actions. Johnson had said pressure would be brought on the enemy at source, and Defence Secretary McNamara had said

the bombing would force the North Vietnamese to seek alternatives.

With those statements in mind, Reston poses the question:

'What if the enemy now brings in new supplies overland from China's ports to replace the bombed Haiphong stores of oil and places them just over the China border from North Vietnam?'

'Will we then carry the bombing to "the source" in China?'

And Reston's conclusion is: 'Nobody knows, because so many things have been said here and then repudiated that everybody is in doubt.'

## World reaction

World reaction to the bombing was reflected in demonstrations like that seen in London on Sunday.

In Tokyo on Monday, stonethrowing demonstrators clashed with police as US Secretary of State Dean Rusk arrived for a conference.

Japan earlier joined the Anzus defence pact powers—Australia, New Zealand and US—in fully supporting the bombing. Later 1,200 riot police were stationed around the US Embassy in Tokyo. Both the New Zealand and Australian Labour parties have condemned the raids.

There were demonstrations throughout India on Friday, July 1, and in Calcutta, demonstrators set fire to furniture in the American information centre.

Rumanian demonstrators threw stones at the American Embassy in Bucharest on Thursday, June 30, after holding a protest meeting in the centre of the city.

Earlier in the Rumanian National Assembly had condemned the raids, which Prime Minister Maurer called 'a flagrant violation of the elementary forms of international law' for which the United States bore a grave responsibility.

North Korea announced that it will send volunteers to fight in Vietnam and would give every assistance to the National Liberation Front.

After the bombing North Vietnam called for 'increased support' from socialist countries and for them to protest against the 'criminal war of American imperialists in Vietnam'.

China said in the 'Peoples' Daily' on Friday, July 1, that the US bombing in North Vietnam was a serious escalation of the war and would lead America one step nearer to the grave.

In another statement she said that the US raids had 'freed' China from any restrictions in helping North Vietnam.

'Since the United States imperialists have come from the sky and the sea, why can't others fight back on the ground?'

## Joint statement

Soviet criticism came from Mr. Kosygin, who said the bombings showed the US was not interested in the peaceful settlement.

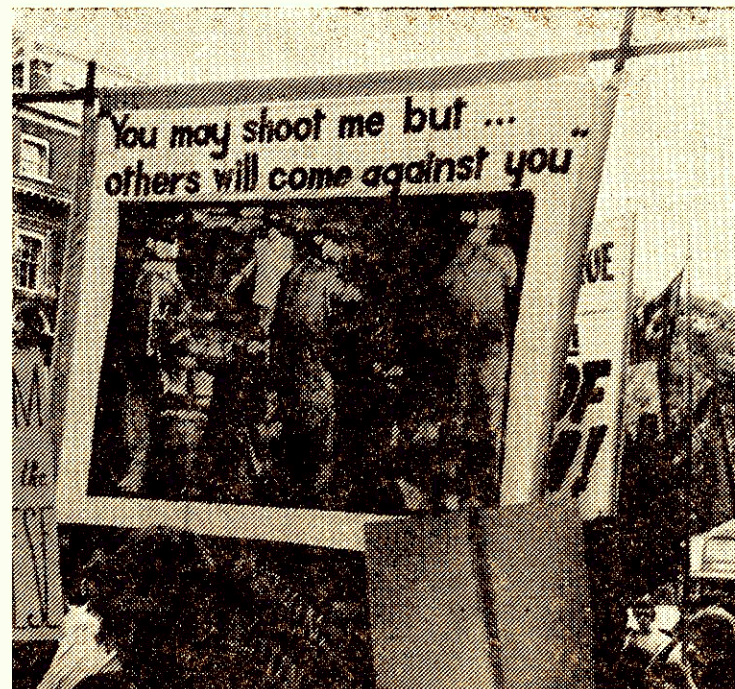
A joint Franco-Soviet declaration, made while de Gaulle was visiting the Soviet Union, said the only way out of the Vietnam crisis was through a settlement based on the 1954 Geneva agreement.

Washington dismissed the Soviet and Chinese statements as a 'routine response displaying no threat of retaliation'.

In a statement made soon after the bombings, Bertrand Russell said that the Hanoi-Haiphong bombing had been planned for a year.

Johnson is leading step by step to the obliteration of Vietnam and the bombing of China. He is as cynical as Hitler and as dangerous.

'Let everyone, the world over, solemnly determine to demonstrate, protest and sabotage the American blitzkrieg.'



The Young Socialist contingent marched behind this impressive banner last Sunday.

# International Congress

# The Fourth International and 'Spartacist'

## (Part Two)

**CAPITALISM** has long outlived its usefulness; since the beginning of its final stage — imperialism — it has faced humanity with an unprecedented succession of crises and wars, despite the greatest changes in the productive forces ever known.

Automation and atomic energy create a great explosive force which constantly breaks against the limits of the capitalist mode of production.

The working class, particularly the younger generation, constitute the fighting force which will break these class barriers to the liberation of mankind.

Until now, the capitalist class has avoided its historic fate only by enlisting in its service generations of treacherous leaders of the working class and the colonial masses.

### Resolve crisis

The Fourth International was founded, and has been fought for, in order to resolve this crisis of working-class leadership. In the class struggles brought by the joint crisis of imperialism and of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the working class, turning a revolutionary international leadership, must meet a response from the development of Marxism, in theory and practice, in the building of parties of the Fourth International.

The Fourth International itself has been able to survive and develop only because of the implacable struggle, beginning in the French, British and Greek sections, against the international petty-bourgeois revisionist group led by Michel Pablo since 1951.

The International Congress of the International Committee recorded a vital step in the defeat of this revisionism, a necessary step to reconstruction of the Fourth International.

James Robertson and the 'Spartacist' delegation to our Congress parted from the International Committee because they had a class and political outlook opposed to the one we have outlined. An examination of Robertson's contribution to the political discussion at the Congress reveals clearly that his departure over apparently formal questions was no mere misunderstanding.

## Gigantic dollar aid for Vietnam

**THE** United States treasury gave 675 million dollars worth of aid to South Vietnam during the fiscal year which ended on June 30 — the largest sum donated to support any single country's economy in one year.

The assistance was twice that given the previous year. The 675 million dollar figure amounts to nearly a quarter of the 2.46 billion dollars put by for the year for the Agency for International Development, which distributes U.S. foreign aid.

In the next three months the United States will provide 120 million dollars worth of commodity goods to be bought by Vietnamese importers with Vietnamese currency.

### NO PREDICTIONS

Experts are loath to predict how much aid the U.S. will provide in the next year to strengthen South Vietnam's economy, but one was quoted as saying:

'Vietnam is notoriously not the place to make predictions of what require-

On the contrary it was the consequence of his whole political position.

### What is Pabloism?

Before and during our Congress we insisted that Pablo's revisionism was a tendency alien to our movement, representing the pressure of imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy, the social-democracy and the bourgeois-nationalist mass movement in colonial countries.

No successful battle against revisionism is possible without starting from these class roots.

In our epoch, as Lenin many times insisted, the weakness of the capitalist class in crisis necessitates for it a force within the workers' movement; that force is, in the first place, revisionism.

### 'Answer'

Robertson says: 'We disagree that Pabloism is but the expression of organic currents of reformism and Stalinism, having no roots within our movement. . . . Pabloism is a revisionist answer to new problems posed by the post-1943 Stalinist expansion. . . .

And he goes on to explain that these 'mistakes' were made under the 'pressure' of the failure of history to confirm Trotsky's perspective of the revolutionary overturn of the Stalinist bureaucracy after World War II.

Robertson has abandoned the Marxist viewpoint, if he ever accepted it. For him social 'pressure' is the pressure of 'awkward' facts on the ideas of the middle-class observer. For Marxists it is a question of real class pressure upon the working class and its Marxist party.

Pabloism was not a mistaken set of ideas but a definite attack on Marxism from within by a revisionist current which had capitulated to the apparent strength of imperialism and its agents in the labour movement.

It was the International Committee which has its 'roots' in Trotskyism and Bolshevism, that was able to drive out and defeat the revisionists.

Our task is linked indissolubly with our fight to win the leadership of the working class in the struggle against capitalism and all those who serve it, including the revisionists.

It is because we see the struggle against revisionism as a clash of living forces, class forces, that we are taken to task by Robertson on another question.

He upbraids us for giving too much importance to the Trotskyist movement and its internal life.

First of all, he says: 'We take issue with the notion that the present crisis of capitalism is so sharp and deep that Trotskyist revisionism is needed to tame the workers, in a way comparable to the degeneration of the Second and Third Internationals. Such an erroneous estimation

### By a Newsletter Correspondent

ments will be.'

To increase the import drive, South Vietnam's leader, Air Vice-Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky intends to put the crowded port of Saigon under the control of army officers—it is presently run by civilian officials.

American experts will aid this change-over and hope to expand the port's capacity to take one million tons of incoming cargo a month, in comparison with the present 600,000 tons.

### GOODS SUPPLIED

Goods supplied by the Agency for international development during the last fiscal year included 400 million dollars worth of commodities, and 80 million dollar worth of foodstuffs, under the Food for Peace campaign.

A further 195 million dollars provided a wide variety of goods including power equipment, school books, etc.

A form of indirect aid came in the form of dollar spending by U.S. forces for,

Last week we outlined the relations between the International Committee (at its recent International Congress) with the American group 'Spartacist', whose middle-class refusal of Bolshevik discipline led to their being excluded from the Congress.

Since then 'Spartacist', the journal of this group, has attacked the International Committee and the Socialist Labour League.

The most recent issue contains a transcript of the remarks made by 'Spartacist' editor James Robertson at the International Congress. In this article we analyse those remarks.

would have as its point of departure an enormous over-estimation of our present significance and would accordingly be disorienting.

Evidently, more is involved than just a side-issue. Robertson in fact does not agree that the present depth of the crisis of capitalism is the objective basis for the building of the Fourth International.

As always, the talk about 'not over-estimating' our own strength is an expression of complete lack of confidence in the working class itself.

Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks broke from social-democracy over this very question: the 'actuality' of the revolution, the burning question of revolutionary preparation by a revolutionary party as the essence of history in our epoch.

But for Robertson we are still at a slower, gentle stage of development where we are not yet the important ones. Imperialism need pay no attention to us.

### Accepts Pablo

In this way Robertson accepts 100 per cent the whole outlook of the Pabloite revisionists, which he claims to reject. Their whole basic perspective is surely that the hour of the Fourth International has not yet struck, that 'others' will carry out the historic tasks of the struggle against imperialism, finding intermediate forms of rule before the proletarian dictatorship.

We have not fought against the attack on independent politics of the working class, in the shape of Pabloite revisionism, in order to abandon the Trotskyist force in the USA to the identical programme of Robertson and 'Spartacist'!

Because he does not share our basic perspective on imperialism, the working class and independent alternative leadership, Robertson reacts to current world developments such as Pablo did around 1945. Thus Robertson stresses that there are no impossible situations for the bourgeoisie:

'Just now in fact, their task is easier, after the terrible shattering of the Indonesian workers'

## BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

movement; add to this the other reversals which expose the revisionists' dependence on petty-bourgeois and bureaucratic strata, like the softening of the USSR, the isolation of China, India brought to heel, Africa neatly stabilised, and Castro a captive of Russia and the US.

'The central lesson of these episodes is the necessity to build revolutionary working-class parties, i.e., our ability to intervene in struggle.'

It would be difficult to find a better example of the anti-Marxist method so typical of the empiricist and pragmatist approach of groups like the Socialist Workers' Party in the USA.

No wonder Robertson in his speech does not refer to Trotsky's admonition to his American followers to develop dialectical materialism against the dominant American pragmatism as a life-and-death question!

For Robertson the unified process of development of capitalist crisis is a series of 'episodes' with 'lessons'. All very 'educational', but utterly remote from Marxism.

In the colonial and semi-colonial world, imperialism achieved a very relative stability until some two years ago through the agency of middle-class 'left nationalist' leaders like Sukarno, Nkrumah, Nasser, Ben Bella, Castro and others. Whatever the differences between these tendencies, they have the common role of restricting the mass national-liberation movements to national frontiers within the present international domination of imperialism, helped by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

### Given way

The fact that in a whole number of countries these 'left' leaders can no longer rule through promises to the masses, that 'left' Bonapartes have given way to 'right' Bonapartes, reflects the deepening of the imperialist crisis as it tries to unload this crisis on to the colonial masses, requiring more repressive regimes for this purpose.

Robertson observes these political developments, but sees them only as defeats for the workers and peasants.

Certainly the liquidation of hundreds of thousands of militants in Indonesia is a defeat for the Indonesian workers at the hands of the imperialists, but it must be seen also as an inevitable consequence of the crisis of Stalinism, Russian and Chinese, and as an indicator of the new stage reached in the international crisis of imperialism.

To observe these manifestations of the basic crisis and at the same time to underplay this basic crisis (i.e., to say it is not so sharp and deep to require Trotskyist revisionism) is to abandon the responsibility of building the alternative international leadership.

Instead one is condemned to the role of a middle-class observer, collecting 'facts' and drawing 'lessons'. Such is Robertson's position.

For precisely the same reason, Robertson does not take seriously the struggle of the International Committee against revisionism.

He reflects our method of building the International. Thus

he presented to the Congress a picture of 'four organised' international currents all claiming to be Trotskyists, and spoken of as 'Trotskyist' in some conventional sense.

Such 'description' is revealing, but only of Robertson's own method.

He omits to mention that besides the International Committee, the three self-professed Trotskyist tendencies are all products of the recent decomposition of the Pabloite forces: i.e., the Posadas-led group, Pablo's own faction, recently expelled, and the Frank-Germain-Hansen tendency.

Once again we have 'the facts' served up, without any investigation of their political content and their history.

After this, what can we make of Robertson's 'state of affairs' must be resolved through splits and fusions?

James P. Cannon had this view of building of the International and it had to be resolutely combatted by the International Committee.

The ill-fated 'unification' of the Pabloite forces of 1963 was the result of this method. We insisted that political clarification of perspectives, based on the actual construction of sections in the living class struggle, was the only basis for development.

### Principle

On this basis, splits would certainly proceed, but on questions of principle and always fought through to the end.

To defend this indefensible position, Robertson retails a story about a visit to Cuba by members of 'Spartacist'.

'Thus, when several "Spartacist" comrades visited Cuba, we found that the Trotskyist group there, part of the Posadas International, were in the main excellent comrades struggling with valour under difficult conditions.'

Most important here is what is left out.

Robertson does not tell us that the jailed followers of Posadas in Cuba were released last year, having given to the authorities a declaration that their opposition to the regime was wrong and would now cease.

Even Posadas himself denounced this declaration, but Robertson cannot mention it.

Behind the failure of the Posadas group in Cuba, and behind the utterly erroneous estimation and falsification by Robertson, is a fundamental political error: their common characterisation of Castro's Cuba as a 'deformed workers' state'.

Trotsky was correct to define the USSR as a degenerated workers' state. The organs of Soviet democracy had established the economic relations necessary for building socialism. But the backwardness of the productive forces inside Russian national frontiers prevented the development of socialism.

The bureaucracy, which flourished in these conditions enlisted the political services of Stalin's revisionist faction, destroyed the Bolshevik Party, and usurped political power in the USSR.

### Balancing regime

There was never anything else in the Cuban state, after Batista's defeat, except the rule of the July 26 movement, a petty-bourgeois political group which later enlisted the support of Blas Roca's discredited Stalinist Party.

Far from a proletarian dictatorship, which was 'deformed', there has existed, until now, a Bonapartist regime balancing between imperialism and the working class, and kept in position by the politics and economic support of the treacherous Kremlin bureaucracy.

What Robertson calls our 'wrong theoretical formulations' on this question are the results of an objective analysis carried out on the basis of our whole perspective; the essential and central character of the task of building alternative working-class

leadership.

Finally, in this brief reply to Robertson's criticisms, we find ourselves face-to-face with Robertson's perspectives for the USA itself. Here we find repeated, though now in more monstrous form, all the errors we have already pointed out.

If Robertson under-estimates the international crisis of capitalism, and with it the significance of our own revolutionary movement, it need hardly surprise us that he cannot see the sharpness of the social and political crisis inside the USA.

The corollary to his views about the 'neat stabilisation' of Africa as part of a come-back by imperialism, is a complete under-estimation of the American working class.

Robertson concentrated almost entirely on the Negro question: 'The principal aspect of our task, which may be obscure to foreign comrades, is the unique and critically and immediately important Negro question'.

Robertson and 'Spartacist' declare that 'the Negroes in the USA are an oppressed colour-caste concentrated in the main in the working class as a super-exploited layer'.

Further: 'In the US, the qualitatively heavier burden within the class is borne by the black workers. In quiescent times they tend to be divided from the white workers as in the lower levels of class struggle such as are now prevalent.'

'Therefore the black youth in America are the only counterparts today to the sort of militant white working-class youth found in the British Young Socialists'.

### 'Unique'

All this stress on the uniqueness of the exploitation and militancy of the Negro is here turned into something quite disorientating for Marxists.

It is used, in effect, to write off the labour movement and the American working class. While Robertson says he is well aware that 'at a certain point in the class struggle' trade unions, etc., become involved, he lays all the emphasis on the winning of 'black cadres'.

In our Congress, Robertson insisted that the white working-class youth could be regarded as inaccessible to the Marxists.

Now of course it is true that many of the best cadres of the Trotskyist movement in the USA will come from the Negroes in the working class.

But required from Trotskyists in the USA is a constant and bitter struggle against all those 'socialists' who characterise the US white working class as a reactionary mass, entirely sold on US capitalism.

These workers, black and white, are the revolutionary force at the very heart of the contradiction between capitalism and the new forces of production. The struggles of the American

workers prepare for the greatest revolutionary explosion of all.

Thus we see how Robertson's complete lack of a Marxist dialectical international perspective, makes it impossible for him to understand the contradictions at the heart of American politics, where all the international conflicts receive their sharpest focus—not in the appearances which strike the eye of the middle-class observer, but in the essential economic and social forces which underlie the struggle of the classes.

These then are the politics of the 'Spartacist' group. Expressed in their outlook by the relative dominance of US capital, they cannot rest upon the American working class because America is 'exceptional', its strength and its ability to control and win over its white working class seals it off from the explosive contradictions of world capitalism.

The revolutionary movement, developed against Stalinism and the struggle against revisionism, cannot be taken seriously, because, for Robertson and his followers, this struggle is quite separate from the great surface strength and 'stability'.

### Propaganda

And so the inevitable consequence asserts itself. Unable to comprehend the dialectic of development—the opposed material and class forces underlying capitalism—Robertson announces that for the present his group must confine itself to propaganda tasks only.

He accepts that for other sections in other countries an all-sided development of the party through agitation, propaganda and organisation is necessary, but in America it is 'different'.

In the Congress, Robertson argued that for his small forces to 'engage in agitation would expose them to attack. They must concentrate on a ten-fold increase in membership through propaganda activity.'

This mechanical separation into stages and types of activity is the necessary consequence of Robertson's pragmatic method and his utter failure to grasp the essence of the class struggle, a political struggle for power on the objective foundations of capitalism's historic crisis.

This unified conception of the struggle, with Marxist theory as the guide to action in the building of a Party through all the struggles of the working class, is what leads us to stress the essential continuity of the struggle carried out by Trotsky and later in the International Committee.

Robertson's cynicism on these questions, and his determination to extend a hand to the 'Voix Ouvrière' group, were all of a piece with his fundamental pessimism on international and American questions, a pessimism rooted in an inability to resist and overcome the pressure of American imperialism upon the working class.

### READ

## Fourth International

Vol. 3, No. 2

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A Journal of International Marxism

Published by the International Committee of the Fourth International

EDITORS—TOM KEMP, CLIFF SLAUGHTER

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#### Cuban Revolution in Danger

Statement of the International Committee of the Fourth International

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# Productivity Socialist and capitalist

**T**IME and motion men are now working on the Greater London Council. Stop watches in hand they are timing electricians as they carry a ladder, install fittings, or even take tools from a tool box.

The employers, both those of the GLC and those in the electrical contracting industry, desperately need to cut costs and increase profits by introducing modernisation methods. Method study lays the basis for this. They feel that with the support of the right-wing leaders of the Electrical Trades Union and the Labour government such measures can be carried through.

### Runs courses

The ETU leadership, of course, is entirely in favour of time and motion, running courses for management and workers at the union college

By Newsletter Reporter

control of industry with the means of production in the hands of the working class, when modern methods and machinery could be utilised to produce an abundance of goods and a shorter working week with all drudgery and speed done away with.

### Speed up

Capitalists simply want to chop the labour force and speed up those left on the job. To the employer this has only one meaning—more profit! This is why, in the past, trade unionists and socialists have fought against the stop-watch men, bonus schemes and 'productivity norms', because they knew they were fighting capitalist exploitation.

The real betrayal comes when the Labour and trade union leaders pretend that the capitalist form of increased productivity is a socialist measure.

Any doubts on this score can be dispelled by examining the situation in the coal industry, nationalized under the control of capitalist society. There, productivity per miner has increased over the last few years by 30 per cent, while the labour force decreased by 20 per cent and the accident rate rose by 24 per cent.

In the case of the seamen, productivity increased by 50 per cent since 1950!

One leading time and motion man says psychology is to be used to get workers to accept work study.

The Bedaux system (a type of bonus scheme) which the employers attempted to introduce in 1931, and which was resisted by strikes, was a 'good system' according to this expert. Only 'bad psychology' prevented its general acceptance and adoption.

### Friendly approach

Work study firms and the employers are determined not to make a similar mistake. That is why workers are approached on the friendliest basis and told the time and motion man is a 'nice bloke just doing a job like the rest of us'.

Using the same 'psychology', some of the stop-watch men are recruited from electricians and claimed as 'workers' representatives' by the management.

But many workers consider them scabs who have sold out to the bosses, and see as their main representatives the elected shop steward.

The Wilson government and the employers, on the other hand, do not have much faith that attention to points of language will break down the workers' resistance to time and motion.

For them compulsion by law is needed in the form of the anti-union legislation of the Prices and Incomes Bill.

Workers must organise now against work study and to oppose the Bill on the day of its second reading—July 20.

## GOLD RESERVES DROP

**F**OR the fourth successive month, Britain's gold reserves have dropped—June figures show a fall of £49 million.

These figures actually cover up the real position. For during the last month, the Bank of England made use of its borrowing powers from the US and Continental bankers, and the real drop is reported to be in the region of £100 million.

Since the end of February the loss in gold has been in the region of £200 million, and total reserves now stand at 1,170 million dollars.

In response to these depressing figures, the pound slumped again and on Tuesday stood at 2.78 dollars, almost its lowest point for 18 months.

Should it fall even marginally, the Bank of England will be forced to use its now puny resources to bolster it up—or face the prospect of devaluation.

At the end of last week, the International Monetary Fund discussed a staff report on the UK economy which was critical of the continuing high level of employment in the country and called for measures of deflation.

There are now definite signs of a tendency towards rising unemployment in the autumn and winter months.

### Less investment

There is a widespread drop reported in the investment plans of most of the major industries; there has been a significant drop in orders to the engineering industry, one of the major export industries, and there is now a definite slowing down in the expansion of hire purchase credit, as a result of Callaghan's measures earlier this year.

The trend is there even before the effect of the Employment Tax, which comes into force in September.

The latest gold figures confirm the general picture: of a deep, serious crisis for the British ruling class and Labour government which lays the basis for an enormous sharpening of the working-class struggle against the employers, and against the Labour government.

## NEW BILL— no change

From page 1

in respect of employment at a time when the implementation of that award or settlement is forbidden under the foregoing provisions of this Part of this Act, he shall be liable—(a) on summary conviction to a fine exceeding one hundred pounds and (b) on conviction on indictment to a fine which, if the offender is not a body corporate, shall not exceed five hundred pounds.'

This opens the way not only for action against individual strikers but also for the bankruptcy of unions which defy the Bill. There is no reference here to imprisonment as an alternative to fines.

### Fines from wages

George Brown has referred to another Bill being prepared, which will make it possible to take fines directly out of wages, so that imprisonment for non-payment of fines does not arise.

However, a later section of the Bill does make imprisonment a possibility, but for a different offence.

This refers to the disclosure of information received by the Prices and Incomes Board. Thus, business secrets must be protected at all costs, under this thoroughly capitalist measure.

Trade unionists must fight to stop this Bill becoming law. They must also study all moves towards state intervention in the unions and understand their political implications.

### Victory for Foundry Workers

The shop steward whose victimisation led to a two-and-a-half-day strike at West Yorkshire Foundries has been given back his job and in his old department.

## NORTH-EAST COAST

# Seamen seek new action for 40 hours

**A**T a special branch meeting of Sunderland seamen on Tuesday, the 42 members attending passed three resolutions.

The first expressed a vote of no confidence in the district secretary of the National Union of Seamen and demanded his immediate resignation.

The second demanded that the 12 top paid officials of the union should also resign.

The third demanded that the executive committee open negotiations immediately to press for the re-introduction of the Sundays-at-sea (lost under the agreement made on June 29) and the 40-hour week at sea (under the agreement this was reduced from 56 hours to 48 immediately, with a promise of a 40-hour week next year).

### Strike action

The resolution also demanded immediate strike action to implement these improved conditions.

It was noted by the meeting that the Shipping Federation was inviting re-entries to the trade to sign on whether they had had previous experience or not. This was a deplorable state of affairs, said the chairman, Joe Dodsworth.

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## ● Serious T & GWU crisis

From page 1

vote against Gaitskell and the H-bomb at Scarborough in 1960, he then retreated and retreated until Gaitskell regained the initiative and was firmly back in the H-bomb saddle after ignoring the decisions of the Labour Party Conference.

In our opinion Cousins is going to do the same thing again so far as the Prices and Incomes Bill is concerned. He will make left noises, lead the troops up the hill and then down again.

Naturally, the Communist Party

the executive's decision.

They were barracked, booed and slow-handcuffed and had to sit down. It was only through Jim Slater, another executive committee member, that the meeting came to order.

Resolutions similar to those passed in Sunderland were passed and were sent on the last Wednesday's meeting of the executive committee in London.

**YOUNG SOCIALISTS** and seamen marched through the crowded streets of South Shields last Saturday (July 2) in protest against the government's incomes policy and Wilson's strike-breaking role in the seamen's dispute.

praises the resignation of Cousins as a body blow against the Bill—they would, because like him they do not intend to lead the real struggle. They want to compromise with the Wilson government and the fake 'lefts'.

The Newsletter says, don't trust Cousins. Insofar as he really fights give him support, but watch out for the sell-out. Serious trade unionists must, together with the Socialist Labour League, select and train their own leadership in order to mobilise mass action to defeat the government's Prices and Incomes Bill.

# Alleged attempt to end stewards' committee TRADE UNIONISM UNDER ATTACK AT ENV

NEWSLETTER REPORTER

**A**N all-out attack on trade unionism has been launched by ENV Engineering in Willesden, north-west London.

For some time, the stewards in this highly-organised factory claim, they have been faced by a refusal to negotiate over local issues.

It is understood that a special meeting was suddenly called last Monday, involving national union officials, including Sir William Carron, president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and some directors of the firm.

One of the latter is said to have been specially flown from the United States for the occasion.

The management presented a document declaring that the rights of stewards were to be curtailed immediately. Tea breaks were being cut, payment for waiting time reduced, and many privileges won since the long strike of 1949, cancelled.

However these were only a prelude to the main changes, timed for the new year.

These would involve the virtual disappearance of the stewards' committee and its replacement with a joint committee of management and union representatives. In the meantime, some redundancy would take place.

It is believed that the real object of these moves is the abolition of piecework and its replacement by time rates.

Our reporter understands that these issues were so sharply posed that even Carron could not openly accept them.

A state of extreme tension remains in the factory, with minor disputes affecting clerical staff, as well as manual workers.

Mass meetings have been held at which unanimous votes to resist the moves have been recorded. A meeting on Tuesday declared for strike action if any measures were taken against the stewards' organisation, either by the management, or by the union leaders.

Although Carron is reported as saying he did not know why Monday's gathering had been called, some prior discussions with unions officials must have occurred. It is also rumoured that some Labour MPs had been approached on the matter.

The attack at ENV is an attempt to take engineering workers back to pre-war conditions. It is undoubtedly connected

## CP use police to split march

By Newsletter Reporter

**P**OLICE were called in by a Communist Party official last Saturday to prevent a large contingent under the banners of the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists taking part in a Vietnam demonstration, called publicly by the Communist Party.

Two decorated cars were turned away and two leading Socialist Labour League members had their names taken by the police.

The demonstration finally moved off after being split into two sections by the police.

This shows what CP secretary John Gollan means when calling for 'left unity'.

Previous to the demonstration, the Leeds CP had censored a Leeds Left Youth Forum leaflet calling for support for the National Liberation Front in its struggle.

The YS banners on Saturday's march which really upset the CP were 'Victory to the Vietcong' and 'Arm the Vietcong'. As one CP supporter said: 'We want a nice peaceful democratic demonstration'.

It seems the CP now considers Bertrand Russell a 'dangerous left' in calling for the defeat of the US in Vietnam.

### Strongest group

Rather than associate with the demand for the victory of the Vietcong, they were prepared to turn a 70-strong SLL-YS contingent off the march.

This contingent was the strongest single group on the march.

Perhaps the reason the 'Morning Star' reported a march of 130 not 170 is that they prefer to divide Trotskyists by two.

Little was seen of the 'huge' Young Communist League claimed by their paper 'Challenge'—it is no secret that their last demonstration, to be addressed by Pete Carter of 'Challenge', was called off because only half a dozen people turned up.

Whilst the YS and SLL members chanted slogans vigorously, the Stalinists, pacifists CND'ers and Labour 'lefts' moved along in complete silence.

However, the YS made recruits running into double figures during the march.

The small state capitalist group on the march split into three small groups. Some were conspicuous by their absence, some appropriately marched along behind the Stalinists, pacifists and Labour 'lefts', while a few honourable exceptions took a principled stand with the YS in defence of the Vietnamese revolution.



Carron: Said to be at meeting.

with the anti-union legislation being introduced by the Labour government.

It is noteworthy that ENV stewards have been prominent in acting against the government's incomes policy.

Old methods of organisation are quite inadequate to answer these attacks.

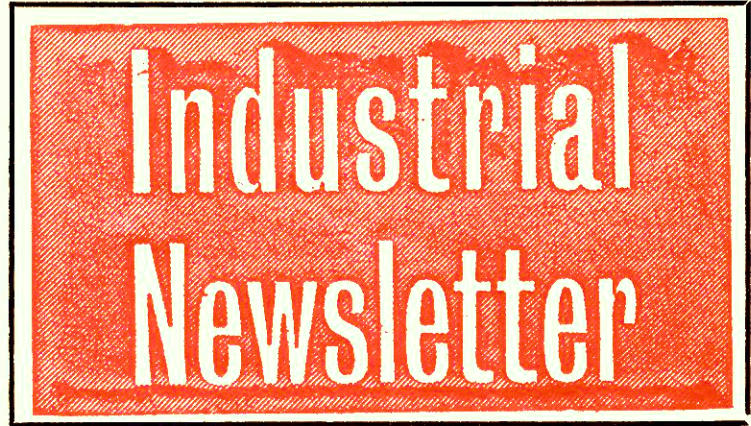
A big political struggle is now opening up in the important engineering belt of this area of north-west London.

### Overtime ban against bus schedules

After a breakdown in talks between men and management on Tuesday, 350 bus workers at the Gillingham, Kent, garage of the Maidstone and District Motor Services decided to ban overtime and rest-day working against new summer schedules. They also planned Saturday strikes from July 16.

### GAVE OUT LEAFLETS— ARRESTED

A 40-year-old worker, Arcadio Gonzalez Alonso, Leon, Northern Spain, recently for allegedly distributing Workers' Trade Union Alliance (ASO) leaflets calling on Asturian miners to demonstrate on May Day. He is in a Madrid jail awaiting trial. The authorities are asking 50,000 pesetas (about £345) bail before releasing him.



# Provincial men seek parity Big struggle by busmen soon?

By Newsletter Reporters

**A** BIG struggle is expected within the next few weeks by a provincial busmen to gain parity with their London brothers, who have just been awarded a 6.5 per cent increase.

The Prices and Incomes Board, which recommended the London increase, said that the 170,000 provincial men—in municipal and company services—should receive between 3 and 3½ per cent more pay. They added the 'bogey' proviso 'if productivity is stepped up'.

The busmen's union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, is to meet both sections of employers next Thursday and Friday (July 14). But the company bus employers warned on Tuesday of this week that they might not be able to afford an increase. Municipal service bosses have not stated their position yet.

### FURTHER ACTION?

When the union representatives met the private company employers the same day, the first date mentioned for any possible rise was next March.

Union officials may have to call a special meeting of the executive next month, if they get a similar response from next week's meeting, to decide on further action.

Then busmen will be able to see if their union secretary's stand against the prices and incomes policy of the government really means anything.

The company employers' attitude was further stressed in Tuesday's annual report of British Electric Traction, which has interests in 10 provincial bus companies, given by the company's chairman, Mr. John Spencer Wills.

He claimed that a wage increase last year and a sick-pay scheme and 40-hour week introduced in February and May this year amounted to a 14 per cent increase in operating costs.

But, at the same time, there are many busmen who have not received such 'benefits'—Midland Red workers have recently been operating an overtime ban in support of a demand for a 40-hour, five-day week.

### CONDITIONS ATTACKED

And busmen throughout the country know that for every gain they make, an attack is made on their conditions and livelihood through the implementation of one-man and standee buses, the speed-up drive and changing schedules.

The time is ripe for all rank-and-file busmen to unite, no matter what their different hours and conditions, in preparation for a wholesale attack in their industry and on other workers, and for similar actions by their officials to those of the seamen's leaders in the recent strike.

## Work to rule breaking down in Midlands

By Newsletter Reporter

**A**LONG WITH OTHER Midland 'Red' busmen, Leicester garages have been working to rule to win the five-day week. However, by Thursday (June 30), only Southgate Street garage was still fighting—one of the seven of 34 in the Midlands still doing so.

Despite a meeting called by a union official from Birmingham in which he called on the garage to remain working to rule, the men decided not to continue when they saw the union had made no attempt to spread or strengthen their action in other garages.

Sensing this, the company has been attempting to pair off unscheduled crews.

### Backed down

At first the union supported its members in refusing to pair up, but backed down when the company suspended several men.

Busmen in Leicester feel let down and frustrated now that the whole issue has been hived off into negotiations at national level. They have little confidence in their union's ability to win anything.

They must learn the lessons of the seamen's strike that an all-out fight must be waged not only against the employers, but against their union officials, and the government's Prices and Incomes Bill.

Certainly if their local officials are anything to go by, then they cannot expect much of a fight from their union leader against the Bill, despite his resignation from the government.

They must link up this struggle with their demands for a five-day week, no acceptance of the 3½ per cent wage increase limit and no unscheduled crew pairing and join the protest against the second reading of the Bill on July 20.

# 'Means test' protest by Yorkshire tenants

By Newsletter Reporters

**N**ORMANTON, Yorkshire, tenants were visiting their local council on Tuesday to protest against rent increases and a 'means test'.

The previous Tuesday they had marched on the town hall to protest at the council's actions, but the councillors had already left and could not see the many banners demanding fair rents. Rent increases range from 5s

to £1 and tenants are being asked to fill in a form divulging their earnings.

Last Sunday (July 3) 40 tenants met to discuss the next steps. They were addressed by Councillor Harris of the Rate-payers' Association, and Norman Harding of the Cross Gates (Leeds) Tenants' Association.

One tenant said that Harold Wilson had promised on television that there would be no more 'means tests'. Many speakers spoke of widespread opposition to this and the proposed increase.

It was agreed to protest to the council, then hold an open-air mass meeting on the centre of an estate. There are 2,000 tenants on the estate, and already 1,800 signatures have been collected to present to the council.