

The Week

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS
Vol. 5, No. 17. 28th April, 1966

6^D

**Dockers
Demand
Government
Keeps
Election
Pledge**

UNIONS VERSUS THE GOVERNMENT

54 Park Road, Lenton, Nottingham

Subscription : £2 per annum and pro rata

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24 Park Road, London, E10 6JH

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UNIONS VERSUS THE GOVERNMENT

With scarcely a few weeks' office, the Labour Government has had a foretaste of the opposition it is going to get from the unions. The National Union of Seamen have made a official strike call (whether there will be some wriggling from certain sections after the union's conference remains to be seen) and has told Mr. Gunter that it will not agree to its claim being referred to the Prices and Incomes Board. The Scottish T.U.C. gave the incomes policy and early warning legislation a drubbing at its conference. And although U.S.D.A.W. went on record for the incomes policy it followed this by a call for a £15 a week minimum for shopworkers. U.S.D.A.W., which made 128,000 new members last year but lost even more, will surely have to reconsider, especially as the incomes policy hits, as it will, the lowest paid workers most. (in passing, it should be noted that ^{the} U.S.D.A.W. decision on Vietnam shows that it is possible to win wide support for an anti-Government line).

But there is more than this: the way the technical unions organised at Aberdeen indicates more than mere verbal gestures. These unions - headed by A.S.S.E.T., which recently won an 85% wage increase for some of its members - are fighting back. Because of this, and the continued and highly vocal opposition of the T.G.W.U., it is possible for trade unionists in unions which officially support the incomes policy to also fight. We understand that steps are being taken to set up an organisation which will advise and help workers, or organisations, which fall foul of the punitive sections of the early warning bill. This excellent initiative will help to draw the lines clearly: either the Government will have to abandon its punitive measures or it will have to intensify them. What is clear is that we are in for a big fight which will have repercussions throughout the movement. In this process the objective - but not necessarily subjective, that is up to the people like ourselves - conditions for the building a big left wing inside the Labour Party are likely to emerge.

THE QUEENS SPEECH: DOCKS AND STEEL

The absence of any mention of the nationalisation of the docks in the Queen's speech despite the pledge given in the Labour Party's programme (see page 12 for the quotation) is causing a ferment on the docks. Combined with the moves to alter the Dock Labour Scheme, it puts a national dock strike on the order of the day. We have reported elsewhere how we intend to intervene in this. We ask all readers to help us. Now that steel is to be nationalised, the campaign for a democratic steel bill must be re-energised. The Workers Control school in Nottingham in June would seem to us to provide an excellent start.

In preparation for war expansion, the U.S. has seized large tracts of farmland from the Okinawan peasants to enlarge the U.S. military bases on the island. This has met with strong opposition from the local people. "The People"- newspaper of the People's Party of Okinawa- revealed recently that the U.S. military authorities planned to forcefully occupy large areas of farmland in Yomitan and Gushikawa in Central Okinawa and Ie Island, off its north-west coast. They compelled the farmers to destroy their crops within a given period. Enraged by this measure, the farmers of a hamlet in Gushikawa Village set up a union in defence of their land and expressed their determination to refuse to yield. To protect their land, the farmers on Ie Island began building houses close to the firing ranges of the U.S. Army.

JAPAN AIDS INDONESIA

The Sato Government decided on April 21st to provide the Indonesian right-wing military regime with "emergency aid" of 900million yen.* This "emergency aid", announced so soon after the establishment of the military regime, consists of 10,000 tons of rice and 5,000 bales of cotton yarn. The Prime Minister, Eisaku Sato, has said the Japanese Government plan to supply Indonesia with both "emergency and long-term aid".

* 2.5 million dollars

INDUSTRIAL CASUALTIES INCREASE IN JAPAN

Industrial casualties in Japan have been on the increase as a result of the speeding up of labour intensity by the Japanese monopoly capital. According to the official statistics, a daily average of 18 workers have died and more than 3,200 have been in industrial accidents. In the first three months of the year, there were 74 cases of serious accidents in the shipbuilding and chemical industries alone, with 145 workers killed and 274 seriously injured. These labour casualties result from increased labour intensity. For instance, in a big shipbuilding company in Tokyo, labour intensity is now 11 times that of five years ago. The same amount of work which needed eight months then, has to be completed in less than three months now under the same conditions.

JAPAN-U.S. "SECURITY TREATY". From "Nippon Keizai Shimbun"

Japanese Prime Minister Sato HAS said that according to a joint statement signed by Lyndon Johnson and himself in January last year, the U.S. may use both conventional and nuclear weapons to defend Japan's security. The Japanese Foreign Ministry is mapping out a programme under which Japan will toe the U.S. line to work-out a "non-proliferation treaty" aimed against China. Japan will also take an active part in the U.S. nuclear strategic plan. This programme holds that the consultation between Japan and the U.S. on the formulation of a nuclear armament plan, selection of targets (for nuclear strike) and the use of nuclear weapons is legal.

MINERS IN JAPAN

"Rationalisation" in Japanese coal mines, mine closures, dismissals and intensified labour have aggravated the sufferings of miners. Labour accidents have been mounting. Last year saw 641 killed and 45,000 wounded. In other words, one out of every 250 coal miners were killed and one out of every three suffered major or minor injuries.

Industrial democracy has often been involved in the recent speeches of leading members of the Government, from the Prime Minister downwards. A number of the key pledges upon which Labour gained the election involved the issue: steel nationalisation, dock reorganisation, even the incomes policy itself, all will be simply technocratic measures if they do not greatly enlarge the freedom of the workpeople to determine policy and to develop major encroachments into the sector of "management prerogatives". The whole left press, from 'Tribune' to 'Anarchy' has concerned itself increasingly with this issue since Labour came into office. 'The Week' and 'Voice of the Unions' were instrumental in convening three important seminars during the past two years, in which hard policies for workers' control were hammered out, both in the area of nationalised industry and in the general context of the argument about incomes policy. Steelworkers helped to elaborate a plan for a democratic steel Bill, busmen in Hull have worked out a project for democratic administration, dockworkers have been energetically discussing the future of the docks in the threatened reorganisation, and put forward a comprehensive "Anti-Devlin Report" based on principles of industrial democracy.

But the re-election of Mr. Wilson's administration does not mean that these projects will easily pass into being. On the contrary. A substantial wing of the Government's advisers are confirmed elitists and technocrats. As Michael Shanks has put it-"in industrial democracy a permanent administration confronts a permanent opposition- and as everybody knows in parliamentary terms this is a most healthy situation ." Those of Mr. Wilson's advisers and colleagues who think his job is to rationalise capitalism and to make Britain's ramshackle capitalists efficient will endorse Mr. Shank's every word. But socialists will not: we cannot be content to act as a "permanent industrial opposition". All those who talk about increasing productivity and industrial efficiency today are making completely cynical propaganda for use against the unions, unless they reject this view and propagate a real enlargement of workers' powers, in which the citizenry of industry become themselves controllers and policy-makers. Increased productivity on any other basis is simply intensified exploitation.. For this reason it is necessary for the advocates of workers' control to come together again, to work on detailed plans for their activity, and to co-ordinate the results of the work they have already done. The Centre for Socialist Education has convened such a meeting, in Nottingham, on Sat. & Sun. June 25-6th. Seminars will be organised on various industries, including docks, mines and steel, and also on the general question of how to defend and extend trade union freedom. Walter Kendall, of the 'Voice', will preside over the preliminary session, and papers will be delivered and circulated by Michael Barratt Brown, Tony Topham, Ken Coates, Dick Clements, Ernie Roberts, Jack Jones and a number of other trade union leaders and socialist writers. A detailed timetable is being prepared, and papers will be circulated in advance to those who apply to come. Many organisations and individuals are expected to attend, and applications should be made, early, to the Conference convenor, Geoff Coggan, 47, Brindley Rd., Bilborough, Nottm. Fee for the seminar will be 5/-. A limited amount of accomodation can be provided for people who register quickly enough.

HAS ANYBODY SEEN THIS IN THE PRESS ? from "Caravan Workshop" no.2.

Without quoting any source, the "Caravan Workshop" carried an interesting report on the Ghanaian coup. We have been unable to verify this report, which stated that 1,000 Ghanians were killed during the three-day coup, contrary to news-reels and press-reports received in this country. Is this true ?

MANPOWER CRISIS IN THE MINES JEOPARDISES THE NATIONAL PLAN

Writing in this week's 'Sunday Times', Ian Coulter, the paper's industrial correspondent, forecasts that massive manpower losses in the coalfields will present the country with an energy gap of at least 13 per cent by 1970, and will involve the payment of an extra £200 million a year for increased oil imports. The loss of men, he says, "is running at the rate of 3,190 a month, and a symptom of the decline is the fact that in coalfields as far apart as Llanelli in Wales, Welbeck in Nottinghamshire and Moston, near Manchester, some 250 new Coal Board houses are empty beside profitable pits."

Ian Coulter discusses the implications of the accelerated run-down of the mining force for the success of George Brown's National Plan, due for completion in 1970. "No such crisis in the energy field was foreseen when the Plan was published last September. To be sure, manpower had been running down for years, and between 1960 and 1965 averaged 27,000 men net each year. But the Plan confidently asserted that in the next few years the fall would slacken off. Instead the decline has accelerated. Since the Plan was published the net loss each month has been running at over 38,000 a year, or 11,000 a year more than the planners bargained for."

"In terms of coal production this will mean a short fall of 25 per cent by 1970. In spite of the promised increase in mechanical coal-cutting from 80 per cent to 100 per cent, the industry will be 45 million tons short of the 175 million ton target set by Mr. Brown. Manpower will be about 264,000 instead of the hoped-for 333,000. This grim prospect will be put before the Government together with a warning that by 1970 the country's balance of payments will have to carry an extra £200 million for oil North Sea Gas will be on stream in considerable volume by 1970, and many new nuclear electric power stations will be operating; but these are likely to produce only about 18 million tons of coal equivalent energy."

The article concludes that this embarrassment to the National Plan is, in part, a result of the Plan itself: "The National Plan's estimate that the ... 1970 requirements would be only 175 million tons undoubtedly affected morale in the pits. Most of the men leaving the industry are in the 25 to 40 age group, and their outlook is bound to be affected by how they see the industry's long term prospects."

BRIBERY OF COLOURED WORKERS DENOUNCED BY T&CWU OFFICIAL

from a London Correspondent

Len Squire, engineering officer of the T&CWU, spoke of "shocking cases of corruption" when he addressed a meeting of the Council of Citizens of East London, at Toynbee Hall last week. "Amongst the lower levels of administration, there are men who demand bribes from coloured workers, and it is as well that this is said and said publicly, as there are laws by which this sort of thing can be overcome."

Mr. Squire's area covers the Southall district where there is a large Indian community whose tradition for bartering is being callously exploited by labour managers who have found that jobs for Indian workers have a market value of several pounds. £10 is quite a usual figure. There have also been regrettable instances of money being accepted by foremen in exchange for week-end working, despite constant vigilance from shop stewards and the firm line taken by the Union's Executive on this issue.

"Oil: the New Commanding Height" by Peter Odell (Fabian Research 251, 2/6d)
The policy advocated in this new Fabian pamphlet belongs firmly in the Crosland-Bray-George Brown (Fairfield) tradition. It seeks a programme for rationalising one of the major areas of international capitalism, as it operates inside the British economy. Rejecting social ownership, Mr. Odell ends up with a scheme which "would ensure, for the companies, an opportunity to sell oil in a market which is not only expanding rapidly, but which, by virtue of state direction, would be reasonably profitable and entirely riskless." (My emphasis). What this has to do with socialism is rather beyond me.

Mr. Odell's "socialist" policy section begins by rejecting nationalisation; (a) because it is impractical: the big companies are international, and we could not pick out the purely British capital; (b) because oil companies have shown, in such countries as Japan and France (splendidly socialist examples?) that they are willing to work under state direction; and (c) because it would be too expensive, with compensation costing £1,000 million. In rejecting that, any socialist can agree with Mr. Odell. His policy for state direction includes: 1) Government control over imports of crude oil, with maximum prices and designation of the sources of supply; 2) a national refining and distribution system, operated .. by companies which accepted the state directives and which would receive, in return, a guaranteed share of markets; 3) the small cut-throat competitive companies would be "gently squeezed out", and logically "bought up by one of the designated companies; 4) price control by the state over consumer prices, such as to guarantee a 6 to 7 per cent profit margin on investment. "Success in doing the job more efficiently with a lesser use of capital and labour would lead to a higher return and thus give an incentive to the achievement of higher productivity." In other words, an exemplification of the rationale of wage-restraint, speed-up, and the weakening of shop floor control, in a context of state protected profit making.

If the state and the companies do, in fact, move in the direction of such a programme, socialists must work clearly and rapidly for a positive socialist alternative to be injected into the whole debate. As a start, we might suggest: a) that a survey of the corporate incomes, inter-related oligarchic management and directive systems, and the penetration of the state itself, of and by the large oil companies, be undertaken by the Centre for Socialist Education. b) that a similar piece of work be carried out on the international imperialist role of the oil companies. c) that the demand be raised by miners, electricity and gas workers, for a workers' commission, to combine with shop stewards and trade union representatives from the oil industry, to draw up a socialist counter-plan to the Government's White Paper on Fuel policy. d) that all proposals for "Fawley-type" productivity deals which may be presented to workers in the oil industry, be met with the demand for the opening of the books of the companies, and with firm refusals to hand over shop steward controls in exchange for cash. e) that steps should be taken to contact workers in the oil industries in Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and America, North and South, so that the internationalism of the companies' strategy may be met with workers' international co-operation.

Elsewhere, the pamphlet correctly draws attention to the glaring weakness of present Government policy and concludes that the section on Oil in the recent White Paper on Fuel Policy could equally well have been presented by a Conservative Minister of Power. However, Mr. Odell is clearly pro-Oil. He favours a ruthless paring of the British coal industry (Wales and Scotland would close down), but suggests a levy on oil sales to finance new industries in the coalfields.

Chris Otley writes that the motives for American aggression cannot be deduced from the "internal politics" of the U.S.A. Ralph Schoenman, in his speech over Hanoi radio to the US army in Vietnam, says however, and we agree with him: "They (the US capitalist class) own 60% of the world's resources. That's the real and only reason we pour out 60 billion dollars on arms. That's why we occupy countries everywhere and keep 3,000 bases on other people's soil." "Internal politics" and worldwide military strategy alike are based on a definable system of property relations. We should have thought that this was, for socialists, a "rather unexceptionable assertion." How else does Chris explain the emergence and strength of the US's "ideological commitment to a crusade against communism" ? Did it spring out of a vacuum to consume men, women and children, only on behalf of some monstrous aberration ? Is Chris asserting that ideology is so far removed from its economic and social basis that it is merely the product of men's minds ? If so, we don't accept such a proposition.

Rejecting a socialist explanation of the role of imperialist military aggression, Chris next contends that "we have to confront the arguments for these foreign commitments in the terms they occur." Raymond Williams has given a very clear account of what happens when we accept the liberalistic and legalistic arguments of our opponents. "... suddenly the Johnson line became the the Wilson line ! We were left looking silly - getting down to saying what kind of negotiations I now see the call for negotiations as a trick, while we didn't put forward the position as a trick, but out of the best instincts we must go back to the argument about revolution and democracy."

Chris's points ... are based on the assumption of a dichotomy between the struggle for reforms, and the achievement of socialism, or "state power". He then wishes this position on us. However, he is a little confused himself. One does not have to assume the neutrality of the state to concede that reforms can be won, but they have to be won. The real issue ... is to recognise that reforms are not a substitute for socialism, but a bridge to socialist consciousness. The danger of single issue campaigns is that we do not do this unless they are part of an overall strategy. Unless one sees that the fight ... against specific evils is a part of the struggle to assume state power, then one either gets lost in a morass of sentimentality or becomes hopelessly confused. But, to accuse people who work in the Labour Party, on workers' control campaigns, on socialist education, in the *Week* or the *Voice* papers, etc., of a "barricades mentality", withdrawn from the immediate issues, is simply inaccurate.

Chris's final argument runs into a most tortuous cul-de-sac: that there is no socialist movement or programme to join; that one should therefore support non-party single issue pressure groups, even though second best; that the "independent working class" (those quotation marks again !) does not support the objectives of these pressure groups, and that, until it does, one must continue to work in them - the pressure groups. Is Chris saying that he should devote his energies to a second best until others have produced the broad programme ? Might it not be true that the reason for the gulf between the pressure groups and the working class occurs because the groups raise the issues in "the terms they occur" and thus help to perpetuate a feeling that they are remote. Is there not, hidden behind the defence of Radical Alliance, a tragic feeling of resentment that the working class "let down" the CND after 1961. We have never suggested that CND-type activities are futile. Their educational-agitational role has been vital. The futility arises if they now become an alternative to engagement with the mass movement.

GALBRAITH: "VIETNAM A GRAVEYARD FOR US FOREIGN POLICY"

Professor John Galbraith, a former US ambassador to India, and an adviser to President Kennedy, addressing the Annual Convention of the Americans for Democratic Action, scathingly attacked the American policy in Vietnam. He said it was assumed that the US faced, in Vietnam, "a unified conspiracy directed, according to changing preference, by Hanoi, Peking or international Communism in general". With no social issue being involved, it had long been felt that military measures would suffice for solution. "Americans could be counted on to believe what they were told, particularly about the power and integrity of the people on our side and the menace with which we deal."

Any solution demanded that the United States must first "escape the entrapment of our own propaganda." "Vietnam is not important to us, nor is it a bastion of freedom, nor is it a testing ground of democracy. Had it been lost in 1954, no one would now be thinking of it." The U.S., he said, was not going to push back the Viet Cong guerrillas from the large areas they had controlled for the past ten years. The most that could be expected would be a regional settlement, as in Laos.

Professor Galbraith forecast that the American involvement in Vietnam would prove to be the graveyard for the present US foreign policy of fighting Communism without relating the conflict closely to the interests of the United States. "It is worth hoping that the policy is all that gets buried" he added.

YOUTH CND DEMONSTRATION

On Saturday, 14th May, the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is holding a public demonstration to demand a British Lead for Peace in the fields of Vietnam, disarmament, the Alliances and the United Nations.

Writing from the organisation's new address, 5 Caledonian Road, London, N1., the secretary, Lesley Welfare urges "immediate British dissociation from American policy in Vietnam, and the use of British influence as Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference to bring about a peaceful solution to the Vietnam conflict." "In view of recent developments in the move for free elections in South Vietnam, accompanied by an intensification of the American war effort with Hanoi as the possible new target for American bombing, the need for an independent peace initiative coming from Britain is even more acute."

Youth CND calls for "drastic cuts in the British arms expenditure and the diversion of capital into peaceful channels"; for the British Government to "leave the crumbling alliance network of NATO/SEATO/CENTO which only serves to divide the peoples of the world;" and, by giving a lead in the United Nations, to "help UNO to fulfil itself as an agent for peace in a world divided by alliances and crippled by the arms race."

The demonstration will take the form of a March from Marble Arch, beginning at 2.30 pm., down Oxford Street, Bond Street, Piccadilly, The Haymarket to Trafalgar Square, behind a banner "Youth Demands a British Lead for Peace". The rally in Trafalgar Square is timed for 4.00 pm., after which the demonstrators will march to Downing Street for a two minute vigil. Leaflets and posters are available from the Secretary, YCND, on request.

VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN GATHERS SUPPORT

The secretary of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign is still receiving an abundance of letters arising out of the material distributed on the Easter March.

Requests for information are still coming in from every part of the country, together with enquiries about the cost of the various publications of the campaign. Organisations have also sent in, among them being the Manor Park A.E.U. and the West Ealing No. 2 N.U.R. as well as numerous peace organisations.

Requests for speakers has come from a number of organisations, especially youth groups. Among them being the Bromley and Tottenham C.N.D.s, the Croydon Y.C.N.D., Dulwich Young Socialists and Hendon C.A.T. Socialist Society. Sheffield University Labour Club has requested information about affiliating.

The requests for delegates credentials to the conference are beginning to come in now. Amongst those signing up are the chairman and secretary of London Malaysian and Singapore Students Society, the editor of Torch, a militant West Indian magazine, the secretary of the Ex-Servicemen's Movement for Peace and many activists in the Young Socialists, Y.C.L., Communist Party, Movement for Colonial Freedom and student movement.

In the next week or two invitations to send delegates are to be sent to every trade union, Constituency Labour Party and Trades Council in the Country. In certain localities, supporters are carrying out their own circularisation, e.g., all the branches affiliated to the Edinburgh Trades Council are to be covered by a local supporter. Whilst it is obvious that only a tiny percentage will send delegates the propaganda effect of this will be enormous - copies of the special Vietnam Voice are to be sent with the invitations. Could I take this opportunity to ask readers of The Week to (1) fill in the slip asking for credentials (see last week's issue); and send the names and addresses of anyone they think should be invited to Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, 8, Roland Gardens, London S.W. 7.

LONDON VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

Among the activities in the next few days are:

Friday, April 29th at 6.30 at 3 & 4, Shavers Place, Haymarket: a work party to do enveloping, collating of the Vietnam Solidarity Bulletin, card indexing, etc. Shavers Place is almost opposite the Haymarket exit from Piccadilly Tube Station, it is "L"-shaped and 3 & 4 entrance is round the corner.

Saturday, April 30th, starting at 7.45: at the Dolphin, 47, Tonbridge St.: a social evening so that supporters, who come from a variety of political bodies and various parts of the London area, can get to know each other. Tonbridge St. is near the St. Pancras Town Hall, which is just opposite St. Pancras station. (Kings X/ St. Pancras Tube Station). Bring your friends.

Sunday, May 1st, 1.45, Embankment entrance from Charing X Tube Station: supporters are to assemble to distribute literature and sell journals on May Day demonstration. The demonstration will be followed ^{by} a campaign meeting on Hyde Park.

SWEDISH STUDENTS CALL FOR VIETNAMESE SOLIDARITY FUND from a Swedish reader

The Swedish Social Democratic student movement has submitted the following resolution to the International Union of Socialist Youth, which is meeting in Vienna June 2-5:

"The National Liberation Front (NLF) in Vietnam is fighting for the right to peace, self-determination and social justice for the Vietnamese people.

"The United States of America considers this to be a threat to its economic and military positions in Southeast Asia. In the name of democracy, the U.S.A. daily bombs and destroys villages, rice fields, roads, bridges, factories and human beings in south and north Vietnam.

"It is the obvious duty of the socialist youth of the world to give all the support it can to the NLF in this struggle.

"The Swedish Social Democratic Students Union therefore moves that the IUSY start a solidarity fund for the NLF and that a collection be taken up among the participants of the 8th IUSY congress and that the money thus received be sent to the NLF in the name of the IUSY."

SCOTTISH T.U.C. CONDEMNNS AMERICAN AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM from a Scottish reader

By an overwhelming majority the Scottish T.U.C. passed a resolution, on Friday April 22nd, condemning the continuation of military operations in Vietnam by the United States. Of the 450 delegates only eight voted against. The resolution was moved by Lawrence Daly - a sponsor and good friend of The Week - who is general secretary of the Scottish National Union of Mineworkers. He said that the trade unions had a moral duty to denounce the brutal inhumanity being inflicted on the people of Vietnam. He continued: "When all the arguments have been put forward, the simple fact remains that the armed forces of the greatest capitalist state on earth are committing the most fiendish and outrageous atrocities since Belsen, Buchenwald and Auschwitz."

Of particular importance is what Lawrence Daly had to say about America's offer of unconditional negotiations. He commented: "How would the people of London, Coventry, Greenock and Glasgow have felt if Hitler had suggested we should go to the conference table while bombs were dropping on their towns and cities?"

Mr. Dan Kelly, of the N.U.R., made a telling point in his speech seconding when he pointed out that the Australian Labour Party was fighting against the war in Vietnam, while the Australian Tories used Mr. Wilson's support of the Americans to justify their position.

SECOND ISSUE OF "VIETNAM SOLIDARITY BULLETIN" OUT THIS WEEK

The second issue of the Vietnam Solidarity Bulletin will contain an article exposing the myth of China's military threat to the west; an account of how an American "war hero" became an active opponent of the war because of what he saw in Vietnam; an analysis of the "negotiations versus withdrawal argument" and other articles giving news, views and opinions about the campaign. A subscription for 12 issues costs 9/-, bulk supplies are available at 6d each, post free, on sale or return. Send to 8, Roland Gdns., London S.W. 7.

Over fifty people came to the inaugural meeting of Hull Centre for Socialist Education, on April 24th, a public forum on Incomes Policy. They were addressed by two local trade unionists: Don Major (D.A.T.A.) and Jack Ashwell (T.G.W.U.) and by John Saville and Norman Lewis of the university. All aspects of the problem were covered: do we want any incomes policy?; Do we want this one?; Does Britain's economic position make it more essential for us than any other country to have one?; Has there been any income redistribution since the thirties?; and can the freezing of the status quo be justified even if there has.

The meeting ran a full four hours, including tea, and many contributions from the floor, notably Mike Kidron. An observer from the Economic League was present.

EAST LONDON C.S.E. TO HAVE FORUM ON INCOMES POLICY from John Strauther

The following is the text of a letter which has been sent to trade union branches, Labour Parties, and individual socialists in the East London area: "Labour's convincing electoral victory over the Tories will be welcomed by all sections of the Labour Movement. At the same time, if the new Labour Government continues the policies of the last one, there is much that will give concern to all socialists and trade unionists: support for American aggression in Vietnam; immigration control and most crucial of all, incomes policy and the associated trade union legislation.

"Because we believe it is important that a socialist voice be heard during the next five years of Labour Government, we have decided to set up the East London Centre for Socialist Education to cover the Hackney, Islington, Haringey and Waltham Forest areas. Our aim is to provide a forum for the discussion of national political issues and also deal with working class problems - wages, working conditions, housing, education, racialism - in our own locality. We do not have ready-made solutions or unshakeable doctrines, but we do believe in looking at all problems from the point of view of the working class. We welcome the co-operation of all socialists, whether or not they are members of the Labour Party.

"Since it seems that the incomes policy will be the crucial issue of the coming year we have planned a forum on incomes policy on Wednesday, May 18. The main speakers will be:

Professor K.W. Wedderburn, author of The Worker and the Law (Penguin); Geoff Carlsson, A.E.U., Secretary London Shop Stewards Defence Committee; Chairman, Chris Wilson, Tailors & Garment Workers Union, Stoke Newington Constituency Labour Party.

"The forum will be held at Hackney Trades Hall, Vallette St., E. 8. at 8.00 p.m. We would appreciate the support of your organisation, or of individuals. Membership or affiliation costs £1 a year. Any donation would be of great help to us. Further information can be obtained from the convenor of the provisional committee:

John Strauther,
91, Stoke Newington High St.,
London N. 16.

The following statement has been issued in the form of a leaflet by the Fishermen's Defence and Aid Fund, T. Howell, Main St., Newport, Nr. Hull.

"Why we came out

- for 100% trade union membership. - to show the trawler owners we are not the leaderless sheep they thought we were. - to show our national and regional union leaders that our patience was running out. - to protest against the shocking working conditions, long hours, and poor pay.

"Note: that trawlermen average 5/6d an hour, compared with 8/9d an hour average industrial earnings;

- that Associated Fisheries' dividend rose from 30% to 35% this year;
- that the Government has GIVEN £16 million to trawler owners in the last 13 years.

"- to highlight the notorious Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, under which we are treated more like slaves than free men, in the Law Courts.

- to unite deckhands and engineers, in a common struggle: to thwart the owners efforts to divided us.

"What we achieved

- our union leaders were made to understand that we need action.
- were not intimidated by the owners' threat to prosecute 30 of our fellow fishermen.
- we are taking steps to make the union branch an effective expression of our wishes.
- we have established valuable links with Hull's labour movement and active trade unionists on shore.
- money is coming in steadily to a Fishermen's Aid and Defence Fund to help fishermen hauled up before the Courts in the future.

"(Contributions to T. Howell, Main Street, Newport, near Hull; trustees are: J. Curry, 83, Campain Ave., Hessle High Rd., Hull, and N. Godman, 13, St. George's Road, Anlaby Rd., Hull)

"Brothers

- our strike was an important START to a great campaign by fishermen.
- we can be proud of our stand against the owners.
- we can hold our heads high.

watch out for our FISHERMEN'S CHARTER out soon!"

AMMUNITION FOR THE DOCKERS' FIGHT

It is clear that we are on the eve of a major conflict between the dockers and the Government. The dockers are going to fight not only against the amendments to the Dock Labour Scheme but also for nationalisation. To assist the working out of a correct strategy and programme for this struggle, The Week and Humberside Voice are bringing out the

ANTI-DEVLIN REPORT. Price 1/6d.

This will be out some time next week. It is most important that it gets into the hands of as many dockers as possible in the shortest possible time. Copies will be available from either the Humberside Voice, 52, Hermes Close, Bilton Grange, Hull, or for The Week. Humberside Voice has also produced a wide variety of other material, and there are many excellent articles in the paper, on the docks situation in current and back issues. It costs 6d (9d P.P.)

'Mr Ray Gunter is trying to change the Dock Labour Scheme to give the employers more power over dockers and to force through the proposals of the Devlin Report, although he must know that the vast majority of dockers oppose this kind of change. The proposed changes are printed in a Government Leaflet called 'The Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) (Amendment) Order, 1966.' It was issued on March 26th, and all objections have to be sent to the Minister by May 6th. The leaflet is written in confusing, legal language, which is extremely difficult to piece together. The T. & G.W.U. supplied only a handful of copies for the whole of Hull. In other words, they don't want to give us decent time to object, they don't want us to understand too clearly what they are after, and they don't want the amendments to get around too much. After all, when they do want us to read something, they supply a straightforward leaflet for every docker in the country.

The Union said, when the Devlin Report was published: 'The Dockers will have the right to accept or reject at the end of the road'; 'There will be a great campaign of membership consultation'; 'Those who refuse to.... take part in the democratic decisions that have to be taken, do themselves an injustice and are the enemies of their fellow workers.' If the cap fits, the T & G leaders and the Government had better wear it.

The amendments say-

1. That instead of 'pool men', there will be 'temporarily unattached workers' i.e., there will still be a pool, but they will be the 'left overs' after the employers have had their pick.
2. A docker who refuses to accept allocation to a particular employer may be removed from the register. The employers can pick and choose, but not the dockers.
3. Permanent workers can be dismissed to the pool by their employers.
4. Permanent workers can be suspended by their employers for up to five days.

It is quite clear then, that while most dockers are to get permanent employment, they get it at the cost of much greater employers' power, and a 'pool' is still to be kept.... In Hull, already, the Employers have written to the Union asking that the 35% limit on perms should be lifted now. They aim to start their recruitment of the men they want, even before the amendments come into force....

Why does the T & G support these amendments, when they have given full support for the nationalisation of the industry? Why does the Government force these amendments when they have promised Nationalisation, an end to private stevedoring firms, and an extension of the workers' say in the industry?..... Here is the Labour Party election pledge:- 'We shall reorganise and modernise the nation's ports on the basis of a strong National Ports Authority, and Publicly owned regional Ports Authorities. Within the ports, we shall end inefficiencies and delays in cargo handling and help cure the chaos of the casual system, by making each Port Authority ultimately responsible for all Port Installations within its area, including stevedoring, and by extending the present valuable experience of joint participation.'

Reject the amendments. Demand the carrying out of Labour's election pledge now. The Union and the Labour Party cannot ride two horses at once and play fast and loose with the dockers.

Support the campaign against the amendments, already begun in London. Press through the branches, in every way, for the 'Voice' Charter.