

# **The Week**

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS  
Vol. 5, No. 26, 30th June, 1966

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**Vietnam  
Solidarity  
Campaign  
Activities**

# **SAY NO TO M<sup>C</sup>CARTHYISM**

**Defend the Seamen's and  
Communists' Civil Liberties**

54 Park Road, Lenton, Nottingham

Subscription: £2 per annum and pro rata

Activities  
Campaigns  
Solidarity  
Vietnam

# The Week

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A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS  
Vol. 2, No. 26, 2012 June 19th

## McCARTHYISM SAY NO TO

Defend the Seaman's and  
Communists' Civil Liberties

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WILSON'S WITCH-HUNT

The seamen are proving their point. Sir Basil Smallpiece revealed yesterday that Cunard may have already lost £4 millions in direct and indirect losses. Cunard, we may assume, are already beginning to feel that Mr. Wilson's incomes policy may be more expensive to them than the 40-hour week. But it is not only the shipowners who are incurring losses in the strike. Mr. Wilson, too, is losing heavily. The news that his apparently completely unprincipled aide in the Ministry of Labour has collapsed under the weight of his own despicable role in this dispute is perhaps a small indication that consciences linger on in the most unlikely places. We wish Mr. Gunter a very long and comfortable convalescence. But is not merely his henchmen who are collapsing under the strain of Mr. Wilson's ultra-rightist policies. The technocrat himself is clearly under strain. This fact cannot be more clearly shown than by the Premier's utterly visible red scare. Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad. Perhaps Mr. Wilson's undoubted flair for manoeuvre will persuade him to relieve him in the end, but mad he has certainly become. For him to imagine that Bert Ramelson is terrorising the seamen into demanding a 40-hour week is to be so completely egocentric as to vest his own undoubted powers of manipulation and bullying to his opponents. Nobody knows more about intimidating a conference or a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party than Mr. Wilson. He has just very smoothly called up a hundred placemen and several dozen peers to prevent the P.L.P. from flinging out the infamous East of Suez policy.

The left, on the other hand, far from being a tight-knit grouping, has been rallying with great difficulty, to defend the seamen from Mr. Wilson's attacks, by means of solidarity meetings, fund-raising, and other entirely public actions. Mr. Ramelson is one of thousands of people, of many political tendencies, who have been trying to help. For the Prime Minister of Britain to speak of a "conspiracy" in a pronounced Wisconsin accent is to mire down to a new low level. Since he was already at rock bottom, Mr. Wilson is performing a spectacular, if distasteful feat.

STOP PRESS: THE BOMBING OF HANOI AND HAIPHONG: As we go to press we learn that the Americans have just mounted the biggest offensive of the war against Hanoi and Haiphong. Reporters speak of an area of five hundred square miles in flames. How many thousands of people have been burnt to death is not known. Mr. Wilson has repeatedly said that he will not endorse the bombing of cities in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He must now go very much further. No possible excuse remains for the American alliance, which is a butchers' conspiracy against the poor people of the earth. Every socialist, every humane person, must not merely protest, but demand the most explicit condemnation of this atrocity. If Wilson does not repudiate this truly Hitlerian crime, he will stand in history, alongside Mussolini, as one of the most cruel, venial and pathetic lapsed socialists in the whole gallery of finks and traitors who have ever battered on our movement. In this event, no M.P. on the left, can have the slightest vestige of an excuse for not registering his immutable hostility in the division lobbies.



The Workers' Control Conference which has just closed in Nottingham attracted the widest support of any in the series of Conferences which have been convened on this subject in recent years. Delegates attended from all parts of the country, and the 19 delegates from Scotland - not to mention an observer from Sweden - showed that distance was no object. There were also large contingents from London, Manchester, Hull, Nottingham, Birmingham and Coventry, Yorkshire, and Wales and the West Country. Six Universities - Nottingham, Essex, Hull, Oxford, Loughborough, and Swansea were represented.

As a cross section of the Labour Movement the attendance was equally impressive: Labour Party, Communist Party, Independent Labour Party, Young Socialists, Fabian Society, Centre for Socialist Education, Edinburgh Trades Council, Glasgow Left Club, Arab Revolution, and a long list of Unions - AEU, ASSET, AScW, AUT, DATA, ETU, NALSO, NASDU, NGA, NSMM, NUM, NUR, NUS, NU.Students, NUT, POEU, SCEBTA, T&GWU, TWU, USDAW.

The socialist journals participating included 'The Week', 'International Socialism', 'The Newsletter', and 'The Voice'.

Many industries were obviously well represented by the long list of unions involved, but there were also individual delegations from specific sections of industries, and the detailed contributions which they were able to make to the Conference were of especial value. The Bristol-Siddeley Engines Joint Shop Stewards' Committee sent a four-man delegation, and there was also a delegation from the Redbourn (Scunthorpe) Works of Richard, Thomas and Baldwin. The Paper on Workers' Control in the Steel Industry, submitted by the latter, is published on pages of this issue.

The Conference agreed, on the first day, to separate into eleven Study Groups as follows:- Health & Safety Delegates in Industry; Labour Democracy; Incomes Policy; Package Deals; Workers' Self Management in Yugoslavia, Poland and Scandinavia; Workers' Education; The Steel Industry; Docks; Mines; Busmen; The Aircraft Industry.

The breadth of subjects covered makes the task of reporting the Conference a formidable one, but it is intended to publish a full, bound Report during the next ten days to a fortnight. This Report will be distributed to 'Week' readers and to accredited delegates to the Conference, but it will also be generally available at a cost of 2/6d (post free). So that the demand can be accurately gauged, will 'Week' readers who require additional copies please apply immediately to the Conference Organiser, Geoff Coggan, 47 Brindley Road, Bilborough, Nottingham: Tel No. 281364.

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The speakers at the Workers' Control Conference included John Prescott, Propaganda Officer for the NUS, and co-author of the pamphlet "Not Wanted on Voyage", which was distributed to 'The Week' readers last week and reached a printing of over 30,000. It was described in the 'Sunday Times' as a "brilliant" reply to the Pearson Report. John Prescott was given an enthusiastic welcome by the delegates to the Workers' Control Conference, and later by the 150 or so trade unionists and others attending a Social organised by 'The Week' on Saturday evening.



The newly-elected leadership of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee started off on a militant note in late May by pulling out of the President's Council on Civil Rights with a sweeping denunciation of the Council's forthcoming conference as a "useless endeavour" and with a sharp attack on the Johnson Administration for attempting to "use black Americans to recoup a loss of prestige internationally". "Regardless of the proposals which stem from this conference we know that the Executive Department and the President are not serious about insuring Constitutional rights to black Americans." "For example, murderers of civil rights workers and black citizens roam free in this country with the desire to kill more freedom fighters; and the national government claims it is impotent... For example, police chiefs sheriffs, and state officials who have victimised black people, beaten and gaoled them and further suppressed our dignity are fully aware they were in effect given a blank check by the executive department of the government to inflict these lawless acts upon negroes." "Our organisation is opposed to the war in Vietnam and we cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy maker of the Vietnam war to discuss human rights in this country when he flagrantly violates the human rights of coloured people in Vietnam."

The militant tone of the SNCC statement caused considerable concern among the ruling class "friends" of the civil rights movement, particularly since it came on the heels of a change in the SNCC leadership. Stokely Carmichael was elected the new chairman. He is one of the chief organisers of the Lowndes County Freedom Organisation, better known, because of its symbol, as the Black Panther Party. The new all-black organisation has been organising Afro-Americans at the grass roots level in the Black Belt to seek political power in opposition to the Democratic and Republican Parties. During the recent Democratic primary in Alabama, when the "liberal" ruling class was working overtime to get the oppressed black people of the south to join the party of their oppressors, SNCC drew a tirade of indignation from the capitalist press for urging newly registered black voters to stage electoral boycott and save their votes for independent black candidates. At that time, Stokely Carmichael attacked the fraud of asking Afro-Americans to vote for the party of Eastland and Wallace by stating in an interview that "to ask negroes to join the Democratic Party is like asking Jews to enter the Nazi Party." This created near-hysteria among rich liberals like the publishers of the New York Post and alarmed reactionary sections of the ruling class even more.

The statement denouncing the President's Council ended with this same note of militant determination to break irrevocably with the ruling class political machine by calling on "... all black Americans to begin building independent political, economic and cultural institutions that they will control and use as instruments of social change in this country."

#### "THE WEEK'S" SUMMER SCHEDULE

As is well-known the holiday period increases the difficulties of producing any journal based upon voluntary labour. As is our normal practice, this year we are going over to fortnightly production as from next week (July 6th issue), so as the subscription rates are honoured we will be producing 3 or 4 pamphlets during this period which will be sent together with The Week. These pamphlets will cover Incomes Policy, Vietnam, Labour Party Democracy and the workers' Control Campaign.



VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

from Pat Jordan

The next few weeks will see a wide variety of activities by the Vietnam Solidarity Committee:

**Sunday July 3rd:** The V.S.C. has been invited to participate in two marches, a youth march from Speakers' Corner (Hyde Park) to Trafalgar Square, which starts at 2.30 p.m.; and a march from Trafalgar Square (after a Communist Party meeting) to the American Embassy - the meeting starts at 3.30 p.m. and will probably last about an hour.

**Monday July 4th:** The campaign will be taking part in a demonstration called by C.N.D. in Grosvenor Square between 6.00 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. There will be a march around the Square and a message will be delivered to the American Embassy.

In both these demonstrations the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign supporters will march behind the campaign's banner. In addition N.L.F. flags will be sold. The flags will be manufactured by two work parties on:

Saturday July 2nd at 9.30 a.m. and Sunday July 3rd at 10.30 a.m.

Both meetings at 3 & 4, Shavers' Place, Haymarket. (to reach there leave Piccadilly Tube Station from the Haymarket exit, Shavers Place is almost opposite on the other side of Haymarket, it is "L"-shaped and the 3 & 4 entrance is round the corner.)

Helpers will be needed on the demonstrations, to arrive half an hour early, for selling flags, Bulletins and distributing leaflets.

**Saturday July 9th:** The V.S.C. will be supporting the South East London Centre for Socialist Education branch's activity to raise money for the National Liberation Front. (see separate announcement).

**Wednesday: July 13th:** The campaign will be supporting the demonstration organised by the University of Sussex Faculty Student Vietnam Committee on the occasion of the conferring of honorary degrees to Wilson and Menzies. There will be a picket line outside the Brighton Dome (9.30 a.m. - 1.00 p.m.) to greet Wilson, Menzies, Ralph Bunche, Milton Eisenhower and 12 other American university presidents.

**Saturday August 6th:** Solidarity meeting with national speakers. This has been called in conjunction with the International Days of Protest called for by the New York 5th Ave. Demonstration Committee (the organisation which called the 150,000 strong demonstration earlier this year). This will be at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square (near Warren St. Tube Station) at 7.30. Full details will be announced as they become available but we would ask everyone to note this date and start publicising it.



Calling the Indonesian massacre of over 300,000 anti-imperialists "the Second Biggest Crime of the Century", the organisation 'Youth Against War and Fascism' has called for an international commission to be created to fix responsibility for the crime. They have scheduled a public meeting at McMillin Hall of Columbia University, calling it a 'Public Inquest Into the Mass Murder in Indonesia' they have dramatised the blood purge and raised the important question of C.I.A. involvement. Bertrand Russell, adding some evidence of his own on this score, congratulated the youth for starting this international investigation. Some sources (such as 'The Times') now put the figure of dead as high as 500,000. "More people have been murdered in Indonesia" said the group's statement, "than have died in 15 years of war in Vietnam. Indonesian deaths are at least twice the combined toll of Nagasaki and Hiroshima." A large number of educationists, editors, scholars and other prominent public figures have already responded to YAWF's campaign.

FANTASTIC INFLATION IN INDONESIA

from the 'Financial Times'

Inflation continues in Indonesia at a very rapid pace, with consumer prices tripling in the first four months of the year, and the quantity of money also increasing nearly threefold. Between December 1965 and the end of April this year, consumer prices rose to 96,030 on the index under which March 1957 to February 1958 prices rate as 100. In December this index stood at 36,347. Meanwhile the money in circulation rose to Rupiahs 7,106m. at the end of the second week in May, as against Rupiahs 2,982m. in December last. (These figures are in new Rupiahs, following the December reorganisation under which 1,000 old Rupiahs became one new Rupiah and new notes were issued.) But not all prices have been rising fast this year. The price of rice in parts of Indonesia has been relatively stable recently; textile prices have also come down, following the resumption of shipments from Japan. On the other hand most food prices have shot up, and services have also become much more expensive.

The Economics Minister, Sultan Buwono, is influenced to some extent by University of Indonesia economists, who want to cut the rate of inflation gradually, perhaps to 50% next year and 20% the year after. No drastic action is planned however, partly because the overall political position is not yet clear. The current session of the MPRS (the People's Provisional Consultative Council) in Djakarta, due to end on July 5th, is not expected to underwrite sufficient political changes for those who favour economic reform. Meanwhile the commercial sector, which is largely Chinese, continues to work in terms of dollars rather than rupiahs. As the black market in money fluctuates, so do prices of items in foreign trade; thus while the black market rose to Rupiahs 180 a dollar for a short space of time last month—which roughly corresponds to the London note rate of 60 rupiahs to the £—so prices of such luxury imported items of motor scooters rose, also falling away with a decline in the dollar rate to the present rupiahs 100 a dollar. (The official rate is just over 4 rupiahs to the dollar) Similarly, export prices also follow the dollar rate closely. The threefold increase in the black market rate since the turn of the year is the logical outcome of inflation.



Could I join in the Topham-Kidron controversy, given that a share in the body is mine? The argument over our book, Incomes Policy, Legislation and Shop Stewards, appears to fall into two parts: the question of trade union officialdom, and the question of politics.

I don't, as Tony Topham does, (The Week, 23rd June), see any inconsistency in the discussion of wages. We make it clear in the chapter on "The Wages Front" that national bargaining is of great importance for all workers, including those whose local militancy enables them to raise their wages high above national minimum rates. What is increasingly true, though, is that the "wage drift" element has, since the war, come to play the role of "leading leg" in wage movements. In other words, on the wages front itself, shop stewards are increasingly becoming the leaders, consciously or not. There is no suggestion, however, that we believe that the national bargaining "leg" must be cut off, as Tony Topham suggests.

What we do say, and still hold, is that trade union officialdom is, for historical reasons, increasingly separated from the rank and file membership of the unions. But it cannot for this reason be ignored, or "cut off". As in the stewards' movement in the First World War, the rank and file militants must of course work with the full-time officials whenever they can, but must be able to preserve their independence of action whenever officials fail to support, or actually oppose, action that goes beyond the present limits of official policies. The linking-up of stewards (not, surely, a demand that Tony Topham would oppose?) will, of course, be more effective the more help and support the trade union officials give it. The problem is that their help and support, with some very fine and notable exceptions, will in general not be forthcoming.

As for politics, Reg Birch is quite right. "The extension of shop stewards' organisations, their increase in number, will not automatically lead to the development of a Socialist movement". Who said it would? We didn't. Since it seems we must quote chapter and verse, the last part of the chapter on shop stewards and unofficial strikes points to the lack of politics as a central weakness of the contemporary shop stewards' organisations. That we didn't spell out a political program is certainly true: the book is addressed to a movement consisting of 57 varieties of Labour Lefts, Communists, ex-Communists, Trotskyists, syndicalists, anarchists etc., each with its more or less separate - often very separate! - political leaderships. Neither our present relationship to the movement, nor Tony Topham's nor anyone else's, puts us, or them, in a position to lay down a general political line for the class to follow. The Government's Incomes Policy and its proposed legislation, however, offers a situation in which militants must unite perforce, regardless of their other political differences - as they did in last week's demonstration and lobby in London. The only possible political program for 1966 is a united front of all militants, regardless of other differences, against present Government policy, on the grounds that this policy is directed against the working class. Clear understanding of this need will take the working class forward in a very significant political direction.

Beyond that, let controversy thrive. Those who would like to read what we said can get the book for 2s. 6d. (plus 6d. postage) from C. Davison, 83, Greyhound Road, London, N.17.



SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT - THE SOUTH-EAST LONDON CENTRE FOR SOCIALIST

EDUCATION is organising a SUMMER FAIR TO RAISE MONEY TO BUY ARMS FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY OF VIETNAM.

Time: Saturday, 9th July at 3.00 p.m. at 7, The Glebe, Blackheath, S.E.3.

There will be: an art exhibition; poetry reading; live jazz; Indian classical sitar; And other entertainments and refreshments.

All proceeds to the National Liberation Front to buy arms.

Please do your best to publicise this venture. Every person committed to the victory of the National Liberation forces in Vietnam should give their support. This will be the first time that an activity of this nature has been organised in Britain but not the last- it must be a huge success.

For further information contact Malcolm Caldwell, 7, The Glebe, Blackheath, London. S.E.3.

HOW TO GET THERE - Take a train from Waterloo, Charing Cross or London Bridge to Blackheath Station. When you come out of the station turn right and right again and walk down Lawn Terrace. Where the road curves to the left, continue walking straight on keeping to the footpath. This footpath leads into The Glebe.

AMERICAN ANSWERS BERTRAND RUSSELL'S CALL

An American citizen living in Britain, Cordley Coit, has refused to report for American induction after receiving his call-up papers. Mr. Coit, who is married to a British subject, stated: "My reason for refusing to serve in the United States Army is that the American Army is guilty of war crimes in Vietnam in its war against the National Liberation Front. I abhor the use of chemical, gas and germ warfare, the bombing and slaughter of innocent civilians and the genocide of an entire people. I am answering the call of Bertrand Russell in asking that Americans should refuse to serve in Vietnam and that those now serving should desert, ask for transfer and give evidence before the War Crimes Tribunal which is being set-up. I ask my fellow Americans to join me in refusing to answer call-up and in trying to stop this criminal war." 19th June, 1966.

ANOTHER WATTS MURDER

Leonard Deadwyler, a young Afro-American father-to-be, was driving his pregnant wife to Los Angeles County General Hospital on the night of May 7th. Perhaps he was hurrying; men often do when their wives are in labour. Had they been white and rich, they might have had a siren blowing escort to speed them to the hospital. But to the police, a black man driving in a hurry must be a thief. A patrol car started chasing them through the Watts area, the scene of last year's uprising. Mr. Deadwyler drove on: his wife had to get to hospital and he probably was in no mood to be stopped and harrassed by policemen. The police chased the couple for two or three miles at high speeds. Finally Mr. Deadwyler stopped his car. Out of the patrol car jumped a cop with his gun drawn. He ran to the other car and fatally shot the young husband in the chest. An accident, said the killer, who had claimed the victims halted car had lurched foward, causing the revolver to go off.



## 17,000 STRIKE AT KRUPP STEELWORKS

from the 'Financial Times'

About 17,000 men at Bochumer Verein, a Krupp-controlled steelworks, struck for several hours on June 23rd because they feared imminent mass dismissals. Several thousand- a Krupp spokesman estimated their number at 5,000- marched to Bochumer Verein headquarters for a demonstration. Work was resumed after lunch. The protest had been called by the works council which is elected by the men. Members of this council have to be consulted before mass dismissals take place. Two days ago they told a meeting of workers that more than 2,000 men would lose their jobs at Bochumer Verein and its parent steel company. (The Krupp steel company). It does appear to be true that dismissals on that scale were contained in proposals for rationalisation worked out at management level. They went before the supervisory board on June 23rd where they were considerably toned down. It would not be the first time in Krupp history that the very top leadership has overruled economy measures in the interests of good relations with the men. The Board decided to stretch the run-down over a long period and to try to find other jobs for the men becoming redundant. As the economy measures are to be concentrated in ancillary departments, whereas the main production centres are short of men, that should to a certain extent be possible. A statement issued after the meeting of the supervisory Board said that the state of the steel industry made economies necessary, including measures cutting down on labour costs. Cuts to be made would be concentrated in ancillary services, including administration. Scope for economies, especially in administration, was created last year by the merging of Bochumer Verein in the Krupp steel industry.

## 180,000 RUHR MINERS SCHEDULE STRIKE TO FORCE GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY

Some 180,000 miners in the Ruhr scheduled a strike for June 23rd. The demands include a pay increase of 8.5% and the inclusion of eleven Saturdays during the year to be considered as holidays with full pay. Thousands of foreign workers in the mines were reported to have given full backing to their German brothers. As these demands were countered with the argument that the pits were "uneconomic", the struggle merged into one for Government intervention by granting a subsidy. This policy, which is regarded as a cardinal sin by the "Free-Enterprise" loving West German authorities, was finally agreed to at the 11th hour.

## DIVERTING THE U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT

from 'The Militant'

The American ruling class is confronted with a first rate political problem-how can the mounting opposition to the Vietnam war be blocked from breaking out of the two-party system? The tentative outline of a solution has already been projected with a recent creation of "A National Conference for New Politics". This organisation appears designed to halt the tendency of the anti-war groups to break down the fences of the two-party system. The New York Times has reported that Robert Kennedy "welcomes the formation of the conference". Jerome Grossman, a Boston executive who is a promoter of the new organisation said 'it could enter the mainstream of American politics sharing the outlook of Sens. Kennedy and Fulbright on many issues'. He said "the conference would function as a service organisation, providing research, personnel and funds for candidates it endorsed! These of course would be mostly Democrats claiming to be "peace" candidates. Apparently there is big money to help this organisation in its political objective of molding the antiwar movement into a left buttress for the Democratic Party.



## DEMOCRATIC CONTROL & ORGANISATION OF THE STEEL INDUSTRY

Submitted by N.D. Jones, C.T. Framp and C. Goddard, of the Richard Thomas & Baldwin, Redbourn Works Delegates' Sub-Committee on Steel Nationalisation.

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The demands of steelworkers today for their right to participate in the management and control of their industry cannot be described as revolutionary. Indeed they show a marked degree of that restraint so beloved of bureaucrats. They embody not nearly so much the aspirations of a class, as those of individuals. They embrace no fervour to "take over", only the desire to be included in management. Their primary concern is with the shop floor, ie. departmental matters and works level decisions. Although obviously the steelworkers are aware of the vital role of overall planning for the industry, and therefore demand representation at regional and national level.

The implementation of these measures would lead to no violent disruption of the present organisation, although it could be done much earlier in that part of the industry already nationalised, and indeed, would be much more needed in such a giant rigid undertaking. The present institutions in the Nationalised Sector of the industry at Works Council and Departmental Joint Production Committees would, with the adoptions as described in the outline plan, lend themselves admirably to the change.

Although the men's representatives are elected to the committees, their powers and terms of reference are severely limited, and there is no voting on issues. They serve mainly as a forum for company pronouncements and complaints by the workers. The real decisions are taken elsewhere; and at present the functioning of these bodies serve no other purpose than to hide behind a facade of democratic participation by the workers. Above works level, the employees have not even the token offerings of participation.

The present composition of works councils need hardly be altered. The General Manager appointed from above, subject to the approval of the council, could continue to chair its meetings and guide its deliberations. This also applies to the departmental committees and Heads of departments which are appointed by the more democratic works councils and should continue to sit on these committees as is the practice now. The present method of electing the men's representatives at Union branch meetings to these committees, and from these to the works councils need not be changed.

The Works Council needs to be promoted to the highest authority on the works level and, in accord with that status, have the powers to implement its authority - powers it derives from the actual participation of the workers below and the democratically elected bodies above. This under the overall surveillance of Parliament. This would mean the Works Council would have access to the plans, records and books of the company, the right to debate and vote on all matters, the right to appoint the Heads of Departments, and to elect representatives to the Regional Boards, and to send delegates to conferences of works councils.

The departmental committees sit under the chairmanship of the Departmental Head, but instead of the representatives being elected half by the men and half by the management, as at present, there would have to be change.



Here again the change need not be disruptive. The Departmental Head appointed by the Works Council should continue to chair its meetings, but all the members of the committee should be elected from the shop floor. Committee members would then undertake all the functions of foreman, not as informers or drivers, but as leaders deriving their respect and authority from the committee democratically elected by the men themselves.

The Departmental Committee, under the chairmanship of its Head, would be fully responsible to the men and the works council for the efficient organisation and running of the Department. The method of organisation, allied to collective incentive bonus schemes (where possible), would ensure that the best men were elected, and also that reserves of ability and the desire to serve, frustrated for so long, would now have an outlet. The consensus of community opinion would be restored to fulfil its rightful role of incentive and discipline in the creation of correct behaviour with the Departments.

No special provisions are needed for the Unions. Their functions would be entirely separate, remaining much as they are at present. It may well be that the shop steward will be elected on to the departmental committee, or perhaps may even become its Departmental Head, but this would only mean he had won the confidence of both workmates and works councillors as a trustworthy and responsible leader.

The Unions would still be needed. For even democratically elected bodies are not perfect, and the individual worker may still occasionally feel the need of recourse to a more impartial body in order to redress a grievance. The appeals machinery of Trades Unions offer a safeguard, and perhaps will have to be copied by a democratically organised Industry.

Wage negotiations at works level could still be conducted much the same as they are now, if this is considered desirable by the Departmental workers. The Labour Officer would still represent the company - the only difference being that his report would be available now to the Works Council, which engaged him, and which approves final settlement.

The enclosed plan for the democratic control and organisation of a nationalised steel industry has, we believe, much to recommend it. It indicates the next step - its direction and length - not as seen by visionaries, but as seen by ordinary steelworkers. It offers a nicely balanced combination of democratic control from the "top", and of democratic participation and representation from "below".

The need today is to replace the outdated shibboleths in industry - the British stick and carrot methods of obtaining discipline - with a much more effective and humanitarian procedure, inkeeping with the dignity of the worker as a citizen also. Only the implementation of democratic control and working conditions on the shop floor offers this possibility.

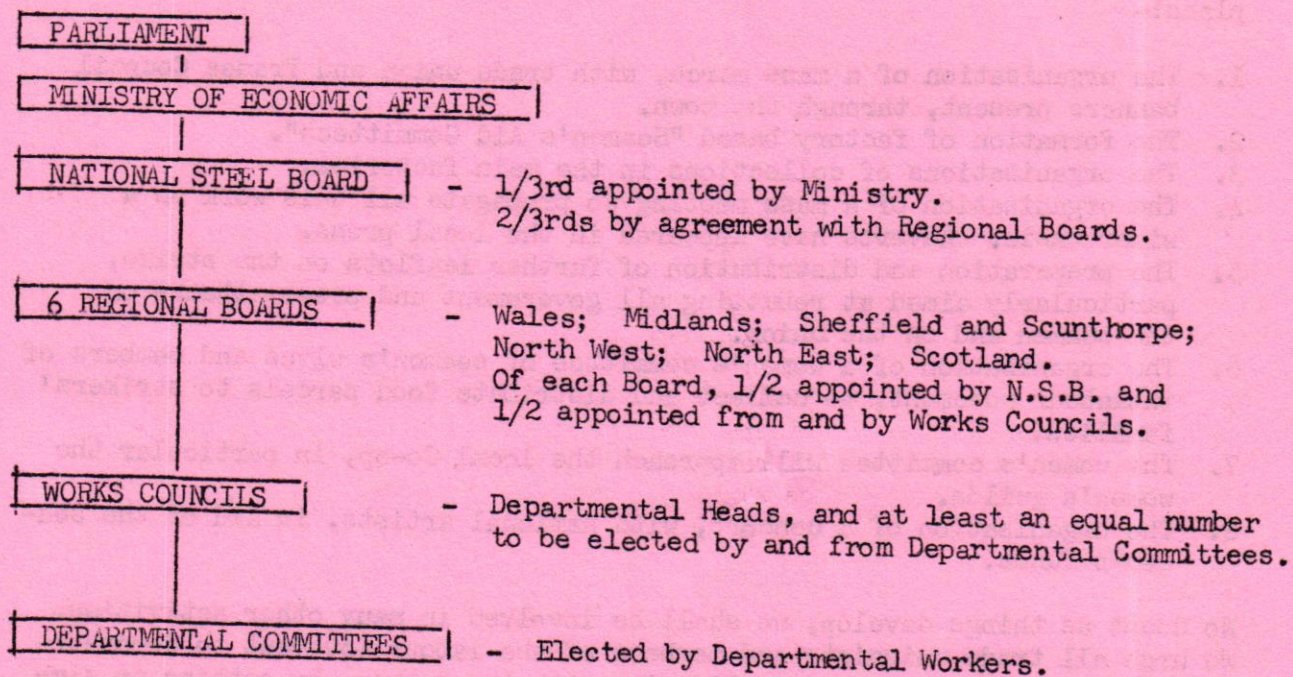
This will mean facing up to tackling the greatest demarcation line of all - the sacred line of managerial prerogative. It is along this line that the sporadic outbursts of conflict consistently occur. The only way to settle once and for all the evergreen "them and us" conflict, with all its attendant inefficiency, is by Democratic Control and Participation.



PRESENT ORGANISATION AT WORKS LEVEL

- WORKS COUNCIL - Chairman - General Manager or Assistant General Manager, other senior Managers and Departmental Heads, Mens' Representatives elected from Departmental Committees (usually senior Shop Stewards.
- DEPARTMENTAL JOINT PRODUCTION COMMITTEE - Departmental Heads and Foreman, Equal number of Men's Representatives (shop stewards elected by men), Company Minute Secretary.

SUGGESTION FOR THE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE STEEL INDUSTRY



1. In each case Chairman to be extra and appointed by Body immediately above, subject to annual approval of the body to be chaired.
2. Chairman of Works Councils to be General Manager.
3. Chairman of Departmental Committee to be Departmental Head.
4. Provision of Works Council National Conferences.
5. Annual elections with part retiring each year - up to N.S.B. level.



## THE HULL "SOLIDARITY WITH THE SEAMEN" COMMITTEE\*

The national events leading up to the decision to form a Solidarity Committee to support the seamen in Hull are well known. Locally, throughout the strike the NUS Disputes Committee has been outstandingly active, and has taken a number of important initiatives.....Among its many other activities, it decided to back the publication of Not Wanted on Voyage, of which 10,000 copies have now been sold. (See The Week, 23.6.66.).....Local financial support and resolutions from trade unions branches have been relatively slow to develop, however, and it was this fact, together with a growing awareness that the owners, the government and the press were determined to try to isolate the strikers, which led to the formation of the present committee. Encouraged by resolutions of support passed by two of the town's three Labour Parties, individual Labour Party members, shop stewards and the Trades Council, came together with the NUS Disputes Committee to form an ad hoc organisation. With 14 members, the committee met for the first time on the evening of Wilson's Red Scare speech in the House of Commons. The stunt was treated by people present as rather contemptible, and we got down to business. We have made the following programme the basis for our immediate plans:-

1. The organisation of a mass march, with trade union and Trades Council banners present, through the town.
2. The formation of factory based "Seamen's Aid Committees".
3. The organisations of collections in the main factories.
4. The organisation of a mass meeting to propagate all this work on a wider basis. Adverts have appeared in the local press.
5. The preparation and distribution of further leaflets on the strike, particularly aimed at rebutting all government and press attacks on the seamen and on the union.
6. The organisation of a women's committee of seamen's wives and members of the labour movement, to collect and distribute food parcels to strikers' families.
7. The women's committee will approach the local Co-op, in particular the women's guilds.
8. The organisation of a concert, with national artists, in aid of the seamen's funds.

No doubt as things develop, we shall be involved in many other activities. We urge all trade unionists and members of the labour movement to demonstrate and give effect to their solidarity with the seamen, by setting up similar committees in all towns. It doesn't matter whether or not you live in a port. This struggle involves the whole trade union movement, since the Government has foolishly decided to make the seamen the test case for their incomes policy. Wilson's attempts to scare you off with his deplorable red-baiting McCarthyite methods must not be allowed to divide the trade union movement. If you are not in a port, get your Solidarity Committee to contact the NUS Disputes Committee in the nearest port; ask for speakers and information, and tell them what you are doing on their behalf. Equip yourselves with the seamen's case, by obtaining copies of the pamphlet, "Not Wanted On Voyage", price 1/9, from NUS Disputes Committee, 8, Posterngate, Hull. (Tel: Hull 35191)



Regrettable though the Parliamentary Party's East of Suez decision was, it was hardly surprising - reflecting, as it did, the power of patronage rather than the logic of argument. It is some consolation that the course of history is unlikely to be deflected by the antics of pint-sized personalities at Westminster. Every sane person knows that a Western military presence cannot long be maintained in Asia. We can either leave voluntarily, or be forced out at the cost of immense suffering and probable economic ruin.

However, while the issue itself will undoubtedly be resolved by the course of events, one aspect of the affair is extremely disturbing and cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. The manner in which the decision was arrived at has grave implications for the working of democracy in this country. In a democratic state government must be clearly separated from party. Our basic criticism of Stalin was that his power was built on the fusion of the state and party apparatus, and the most encouraging factor in the current liberalisation of Communist regimes is the gradual acceptance that these two functions must be separated if government is to function in a healthy democratic manner. It is indeed ironic that while the Yugoslavs have formally accepted that no-one should hold office in the party and the government at the same time, a Labour Government in Britain should be travelling in exactly the opposite direction.

Labour's National Executive is supposed to be governed by Annual Conference: in fact it is dominated by the government, whose ministers refuse to give up their seats while rejecting the instructions of Conference. The same pattern applies at regional level; for example, Bob Mellish, chairman of the London Labour Party and of the Greater London Coordinating Committee is also conveniently the minister responsible for London Government!

Back in 1960 we accepted that Labour M.P.s were free to determine their actions in the light of national policy, and in the manner traditional to the Labour Movement - i.e., by democratic decision after proper discussion, on the basis of one man one vote. In the process leading up to the formation of policy every member of the party is equal, whether he is an elder statesman or a new back-bencher.

The government is not elected, it is appointed; it has no standing within the party. It is therefore quite improper that the government should instruct its members to 'pack' the parliamentary meeting. Even more serious is the implied threat that government members must either vote for a specific future policy or give up their positions.

The threat to democracy is clear. The Cabinet can 'manufacture' support for virtually any policies it wishes, firstly by bringing enough M.P.s into the government, and if that does not do the trick, by creating enough peers to tip the balance at the party meeting.

The only solution is to press for the separation of State from Party. As Ray Gunter said, "The Government is not the Party, the Party is not the Government". This should be seen to be true.



## BIG RISE IN UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE U.S.

by an Economic Correspondent

There was a rise in unemployment in the US last month from 3.7 per cent to 4 per cent. This, according to the Department of Labour, was the biggest increase in unemployment for over a year. The total number of unemployed in May was 2,900,000, a rise of 140,000 since April. This rise in unemployment is a reflection of the slow down in the US economy that took place in April and May. A survey of the National Association of Purchasing Agents reported reduced rates of growth for new orders and production. It was also reported that there has been a slow down in price rises, and a moderation in inventory accumulation.

One of the factors in this situation has been the decline in motor car sales. This began in April and continued in May, deliveries for the latter month being ten per cent down on a year ago. Another factor has been the tightening of the money market. Credit is dearer since the Federal Reserve Bank increased its discount rate. General Motors announced on June 9th that its Chevrolet division will close down two of its assembly plants this month, and a third one on July 1st. The reason given was for plant rearrangement and modernisation. However, it is clear that the present state of the economy has been the primary factor here.

From the point of view of the Johnson administration the situation is very delicate. Earlier in the year there had been a great deal of discussion (reported in THE WEEK) about the possibility of tax increases to disinflate the economy. It had been feared that the cost of the Vietnam war would have inflationary effects on the economy. However, there has now been a slowing down of the economy without such moves. Now it seems that, far from being a problem, war expenditure has not been able to maintain the US economy.

This problem for Johnson is being compounded by the US balance of payments position. Readers will be aware that European bankers, etc., have been urging the US to eliminate its trade deficit. The war in Vietnam is estimated to have a 700 million \$ effect on balance of payments: Indirectly because of multiplier effects this is likely to be 1,500 million \$ this year. This means that Johnson will be faced with a choice of taking measures to correct the balance of payments in other directions - further restrictions on US business spending overseas, etc. - which may have the effect of a further slowing down in the US economy, and indeed may trigger a recession.

The fact that sterling is still under pressure, and devaluation is still a possibility means that confidence in the dollar is that much less. The possibility of increasing public expenditure (other than on arms) to help offset any effects that balance of payments correctives might have is not great. Firstly because Congress is notoriously difficult in granting appropriations for civil expenditure by the Federal Government. Secondly because those monies voted last year were not all used, various agencies have reported that they underspent by as much as from 100million to 200 million dollars. Therefore there still remains a question mark over the prospects for the US economy this year, and concomitantly on the British economy.



## ITALIAN STRIKE WAVE CONTINUES

One million metal and machine-building workers employed by privately-owned enterprises started a three-day nationwide strike on June 21st, while 150,000 state-employed workers from the same trade, who had also staged a similar strike the week previous, resumed their struggle through intermittent alternating strikes. For six months the metal and machine-building workers have been demanding the safeguarding of their trade union rights, higher wages and shorter working hours, and end to work speed-up. A six-day strike was started on June 20th by the assistant professors in all Italian universities. They demanded more funds for their departments and reform of the universities. Meanwhile, nationwide strikes for the renewal and improvement of collective agreements are being held by 40,000 confectionery workers, 80,000 kilnmen, 70,000 quarrymen, while the ground crews of state-owned airline 'Alitalia' are still continuing their intermittent alternating strikes.

On June 22nd about 40,000 war cripples and invalids from all over Italy staged an anti-government demonstration in Rome, demanding higher pensions. After a meeting on Republic Square, the demonstration held a march to parliament. On June 24th Italian workers of all trades began a two-day general strike in the port city and province of Trieste, protesting against the government's planned closing of the state-owned shipyard 'San Marco', the main enterprise in Trieste. They staged a procession along the main streets of the city. This plan to close down the shipyard was worked out by the Italian government in compliance with the demand of the European Economic Community and the interests of monopoly concentration.

## MALAYANS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST U.S. TROOPS

Hundreds of people demonstrated in Penang on June 24th to protest against the arrival of U.S. troops from South Vietnam on their vacation. Demonstrators held placards saying "Don't Turn Malaya into a Second Vietnam", and distributed leaflets. The police used tear gas to disperse them and arrested seven people. To avoid meeting the demonstrators, the second group of 74, mostly officers, arrived on the island in civilian clothes at night. When the first group of 83 soldiers arrived in Penang on June 19th over 1,000 people demonstrated. "Yankees Go Home" was painted in various colours along the streets.

## WEST GERMANY GRANTS LOAN TO INDONESIA

The West German Foreign Ministry announced on June 20th that they had decided to grant a loan of 30million marks to Indonesia's right-wing military regime. Confronted with grave economic difficulties the regime has specially sent government officials to seek aid from various countries, including the United States, the Netherlands, India and Japan.

## HUGE DEMONSTRATIONS IN VIETNAM

from S.Vietnam Liberation Press Agency

Incomplete statistics show that from the beginning of May to the middle of June, over 400,000 people in South Vietnam have demonstrated against the Ky regime and the U.S. Nearly 5,000 people demonstrated on May 18th in Vinh Long city; more than 3,000 people demonstrated on May 28th in Go Cong city; on June 2nd and 3rd, nearly 5,000 people demonstrated in Cau Mau city. Demonstrations occurred in the Cai Lay district, and sporadic demonstrations occurred throughout May in Quang Tri city.



The following extracts from a Financial Times article last week give an interesting idea of how, despite the political independence of many of France's former colonies, economic control is exercised.

"Exactly how the Franc Area works is a closely guarded secret between France and the bulk of her old African colonies who make up its membership...On the part of the French such reticence is to be expected. For the area affords them a degree of control over the economic lives of the African members that is unparalleled in any other post-colonial system...The Franc Area was set up in its present form on the eve of the last war as part of the general flight from convertibility. But it was always much more tightly organised than the Sterling area..which was created at approximately the same time, being in essence a monetary expression of the old French policy of binding colonies to the mother country in a closed economic system, whereby France guaranteed a market for their produce at higher-than-world prices, while they took her manufactured exports.

"At present its 13 full members form a monetary union with France..with its own currency, the CEA Franc, which is freely convertible into French francs at a fixed rate. Even to make this system practical France needs guarantees of good monetary conduct from the member states: the notes are discreetly marked so their circulation can be watched and, more important, French officials exercise surveillance over the policies of the African governments through the Area's two regional Central Banks and local currency boards. Although the Africa states can have all the French francs they like, their right to change these into other convertible currency is very strictly (but secretly) controlled by the French Finance Ministry and Central Bank. Each year the membercountries negotiate their import programmes with the French authorities in a special committee where each side has parity, and receive a quota of non-franc foreign exchange to cover approved imports from outside the area.

"These quotas are divided into three segments covering trade with the East Bloc, the rest of the Common Market and the rest of the world: a certain measure of preference going to the first two categories. The African countries remain nominally free to conclude what trade pacts they like with countries outside the area, but any purchasing agreements they make are simply set against the figures worked out in Paris. Very little more is known about how the system works in any detail, but surpluses ( or the reverse) which the Africans may build up in their trade outside the area are absorbed into the balances of metropolitan France, and there is evidence that part of the hard currency "reserves" earned by the richer members are used to offset the deficits incurred by their less fortunate fellows.

"From the African point of view the main benefit of the Franc Area is the substantial aid it allows France to provide, which effectively absolves them from the need to balance their budgets. Most of this is repatriated either by channelling their imports from the mother country, or by the French-owned firms which still dominate the economic life of these countries. Another factor is the attractive guaranteed franc exchange rate, which besides inspiring investor confidence encourages private capital transfers back to France, and is a prime reason why so many French technicians (and less desirable classes of whites) stay on in West Africa. The normal pattern among them is for the wife to support the family with a local job, while her husband banks his salary in Paris on advantageous terms. But now that the third great advantage of Franc Area membership - the guaranteed markets and prices for African produce in France - is being phased out under the member countries' association with the Common Market, the African states are beginning to see the other side of the coin. For years of protection and a currency many observers feel overvalued have left their economies sadly uncompetitive on world markets..."

The countries which are subject to this subtle but very affective economic bondage are Mauritania, Senegal, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Togo, Cameroon, Gabon, Niger, Chad, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey and Malagasy Republic.