## The Newsletter

WEEKLY JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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Macmillan: support dwindles

# TORIES STAGGER ON

### EDTORAL

### **Short Answer** to Mr. O'Hare

BRITAIN'S portworkers are now involved in a wage struggle with the Tory government. More and more firms in dockland are preparing to introduce mechanization and thus rid the industry of thousands of port workers.

Over the past few months there has been widespread unemployment in the large ports. This is indeed a critical time for the industry.

One would have thought that at such a time the task of trade union officials would be to develop the maximum unity between all workers employed on the docks in defence of wages and conditions.

But this is not so. Mr. O'Hare, right-wing full-time Transport and General Workers' Union official on the Merseyside, has set in motion a campaign in which he hopes to get rid of the NASD ('Blue' union) members from the docks.

Why does Mr. O'Hare now emerge as an agitator for a strike against fellow trade unionists?

To answer this question is to pose another: in whose interests would such a strike be? Obviously, the people who would most benefit would be the employers who would like nothing better than for the dockers to fritter away their energies fighting amongst themselves at this time.

In the past Mr. O'Hare has received many colourful answers from port workers engaged in unofficial action. We have no doubt that he will be given a few more during the coming days.

What is important now is for port workers to restore as speedily as possible their traditional unity around their rank-and-file committee comprising the TGWU as well as the 'Blue' Union. Such a committee can clear nonunionism from the docks and give the non-union port worker a choice of union.

Why should he not have such a choice? The two unions exist side by side on the London docks. Why can't they exist side by side on the Mersey and elsewhere?

If it is good enough for the Transport and General Workers' Union to consider the 'Blue' Union men trade unionists in London, why isn't it good enough in Liverpool?

Next time Mr. O'Hare comes agitating for a strike of docker against docker, he should be told in no uncertain terms where to get off.



## **Byrne** Acts

By Our Industrial Correspondent

THE right - wing executive council of the Electrical Trades Union, meeting on the week-end of March 30 to April 1, decided to expel Frank Haxell, Jack Frazer, Robert McLennan and James Humphrey from the union.

This action was taken under the old rules which were amended by the Rules Revision Conference of December 1961. The fact that a court case is pending on the authority of these rules did not apparently bother Mr. John Byrne and his colleagues.

The voting was eight votes for expulsion with three abstentions. Those who abstained did so because they felt obliged, because of the pending court case, not to commit themselves on rules which were superseded by the 1961 Rules Revision Conference.

### BUREAUCRACY

The four men who were expelled claim that they had not been properly charged under rule and made statements that they will continue to fight for their membership of the union.

This action by the right wing is another demonstration of the bureaucratic nature of this new regime in the ETU. When the Communist Party took control of the union, not a single action of this description was taken against a group of right-wingers or for that matter anyone else.

The Trades Union Congress would have been satisfied last July if the men concerned had been suspended from holding union office for five years.

The decision to expel them and deprive them of their possibilities of livelihood is the action of cowardly, frightened men.

It was the power of Fleet Street, anti-communist propaganda which placed them in office and now they are putting into operation policies which demonstrate that their claim to want to democratize the ETU was a sham.

(Cont. page 4, col. 5)

## But Labour has no Policy

By Our Political Correspondent

S Mr. Macmillan staggered around Stockton-on-Tees urging people to vote Tory, the crisis within the Conservative Party grew worse. Tens of thousands of middle-class voters who supported the Tories solidly in 1959 are deserting them.

These people, who vegetate in the dormitory suburbs of the big cities, have been the hardest hit by the fare increases and the effect which the pay pause has had on their salaries. The increase in the Liberal vote is a measure of their discontent and not a vote for Liberalism as such.

Mr. Macmillan is aware that the worst is yet to come. In Stockton he concentrated on justifying Britain's entry into the Common Market, knowing full well that this will bring with it a demand by the big monopolists for a reduction in production costs.

In other words, the Tories

will have to take an even stronger line with the working class, which will in turn lead to an even tougher policy with the middle class.

The mistake which middle class people always make is to ignore the simple fact that their salaries are fixed very much by the power of the trade unions' wage bargaining machinery and not by the fact that they live in select surroundings.

Further attacks on the wages of the workers will lead to greater problems for the middle

### **Quandary**

Here is Macmillan's quandary. No matter how many times he kisses the babies at Stockton and shakes hands with people in the streets, his government is pledged to an all-out offensive against the trade unions and the Labour movement.

This trend is emphasised by the letter which the Minister of Labour has sent to the chairmen of wages councils throughout the country.

of the policy of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent sition. for wage increases.

In other words, the pay pause is to continue. Wage restraint has now become a basic part of government policy.

Meanwhile, the working class are demonstrating their readiness to hit back at the Tories. The magnificent sit-down strike of the workers at the BMC Austin factory in Birmingham provides a splendid example. The workers are ready to fight and they believe they can win.

Contrast this with the tonguein-the-cheek policy of the rightwing trade union and Labour leaders in their attitude towards the struggle against the Tories.

They refuse to give leadership to those workers who want to



Baby-kissing won't prevent desertions

fight and they ignore the problems of the middle class.

The problems of the motor industry do not arise because of the unreasonable attitude of the workers but because of the determination of the monopoly capitalists who control it to make as much profit as possible.

This industry provides a strong case for nationalization, but Mr. Gaitskell and his colleagues turn their backs on such demands.

If the middle class are to achieve the standard of living they require, it can only be done by uniting with the working class in an all-out opposition to the government.

But this requires a socialist policy directed against the big monopolies. Gaitskell and Co. will have none of it. They are as paralyzed as the Tories in He calls for a continuation the face of the growing oppo-

### **Determined**

The main difference is that the Tories, who control the wealth and property, are determined to hang on to it.

The Conservative crisis is but another example of the wind of change sweeping Great Britain. Right-wing Labour stands at the crossroads in the same way as the French Socialist Party did before it was destroyed.

The Tories will resolve their crisis, as they have always done, by adopting extreme right-wing policies against the workers.

The Labour Party and the trade unions can only measure up to this situation by adopting socialist policies. This is the only answer to Toryism.

## Death of Joe **Fitzgerald**

An appreciation by Jack Gale

**TOE FITZGERALD**, aged 35, Brodsworth miner, member of the National Committee of the Socialist Labour League, and editor of the rank-and-file paper 'The Miner', died in Doncaster Royal Infirmary on Friday, March 30.

He had been knocked down by a bus while on the way to work early that morning and he died from severe head injuries some four hours later. He leaves a widow, Mary, and a 16-year-old daughter, Kitty.

I first met Joe Fitzgerald four years ago at a political meeting in Doncaster. Joe was the first to arrive. Some time later, we asked him if he had been wait-

ing for us long.

Joe replied: 'I've been waiting for you people to come along for ten years. This is the sort of movement for me.'

And so Joe joined the Socialist Labour League and became our comrade. The word 'comrade' is bandied about too



loosely in the Labour Party and the Communist Party. It should only really be used about a man who is 100 per cent with you, all the way.

That's how it was with Joe Fitzgerald. On the day he died, he was to have spoken to a group of young workers in Leeds about the 1926 General Strike and the struggles in the mines.

He had prepared for that as thoroughly as he did everything else. He chased around getting books and the day before his death he spent several hours. after doing his shift down the pit, in reading and making notes.

That was what struck all of us about Joe. Just as nothing was too big for him to tackle —like editing a national miners' paper-so nothing was too small for him to take seriously and to

(Cont. page 3, col. 1)

## Algeria: Struggle Continues

TT is difficult to determine who is actually ruling Algeria at present. Where the concentration of French troops is still thick enough, and as long as their loyalty can be counted upon, the government of de Gaulle rules.

The French administration had been crumbling for some time under the pressure of the Secret Army; in any case it is now formally standing in for the provisional executive of the new 'independent' Algeria.

Headed by a late rallier to the nationalist cause, this executive does not really rule either. In some areas and in the Muslim quarters of the cities the FLN, which backs the executive, rules. But it cannot rule the country as long as the OAS remains unsubdued and the Europeans non-co-operative.

The latter, however long they may continue to stand out for 'Algerie Française', have little hope of immediate support from the army or from the metro-

Against the background of this three-way pull, it is clear that the FLN and the Gaullist regime stand together. Likewise, in France, the parties, including the Communist Party, will give support in the coming referendum for

### **TOURE:** Disillusion **Spreads**



READERS who recall the recent articles on Guinea may be interested to know that the French 'new left' paper, 'France-Observateur', generally indulgent to Sekou Toure, now confirms the main points which they made.

The article in the issue of March 29 speaks of the repression of the strikes among dockers and railwaymen, the subordination of the trade unions to the state and the measures against the radical

speaks of 'aristocratic pride'. But it was not pride, but hard necessity which has led him to adopt an attitude of conciliation towards de Gaulle following the Algerian settlement.

The growing economic difficulties account for attacks on the workers, peasants and intellectuals as well as for the readiness to make new concessions to capitalism in return for financial assist-

Toure is greatly relieved that the Algerian war is over. As long as it lasted there was always the risk that Africans would demand that he put his anti-imperialist words into practice.

The kind of settlement the FLN has made was much more in his line.

### By Tom Kemp

de Gaulle's policy of selfdetermination.

All 'good Frenchmen' and Algerians, too, will back this imperialist deal.

It is argued by the friends of the FLN that, although the settlement is admittedly a compromise, it is a victory over imperialism. The failure of the French working class movement to provide effective support for the Algerian people was another great historical betrayal on the part of its leaders.

But the truth is that the FLN and its leaders, being the kind of movement it is, has been seeking such an arrangement all along. The fact that it used guns and bombs and bodies of armed men is not the determining one: they were necessary to win political independence from the French.

If there had really been a movement of solidarity between the French workers and the Algerian people fighting for their human rights and national independence, not only would that have meant pushing Thorez and Mollet from the scene, but Ferhat Abbas and Ben Khedda would have had to go as well.

The latter can settle with de Gaulle, just as the former can vote approval for his policy in the referendum.

It is all very well to argue that although the settlement prevents real agrarian reform or social change in Algeria in the long run these will come about. The question is that the agreement has not facilitated the achievement of a socialist Algeria.

The social and political balance inside the Muslim community itself has, for the present, swung towards 'moderation', which means acting in co-operation with French capital.

The new regime, after independence, is likely to swing towards the type of Bonapartist politics which we are familiar with in Tunisia, Guinea, Ghana and so on. There is no 'socialism' here.

While no viable 'national capitalism' can be built either, the historical impossibility of such a development in a backward country should not be taken as a sign of an 'irreversible movement' towards socialism.

Unless a new leadership can develop in Algeria, as well as in France, at least some temporary stabilization is possible for a period that will block the social revolu-



OAS chief Salan

Of course there must be solidarity with the Algerian people. There must be backing for the new Algerian government insofar as it seeks to wage a real struggle with imperialism.

This is quite a different thing, however, from pressurising de Gaulle to honour his own agreements, made to favour French imperialism, in the style of the Communist Party, or making heroes of the FLN leaders.

There should be no illusions about the latter. Their policy in the past has been far from flawless and bears some responsibility for the shameful sell-out they have now been forced to make.

We do not acclaim these leaders, but we do support the Algerian Revolution, which in its course will sweep them aside.

The French army must be withdrawn from Algeria; even now the OAS could not survive without it. The French and international labour movement must demonstrate its solidarity with the Algerian people in its continuing struggle for full independence, which begins with carrying out an effective policy against imperialism in its strongholds.

## **JAGAN Reassures**

'EXPROPRIATION of private property is not in the Government programme', said British Guiana Premier Cheddi Jagan last week. He was speaking to the trade mission, led by Lord Rootes, which has been discussing future commercial relations between Britain and British

According to 'The Times' correspondent, he told the mission that it was not the intention of his government to nationalize the bauxite or sugar industries.

He was prepared to guarantee that any nationalization carried out of other industries would involve adequate and fair compensation.

In a statement at the end of the discussions, Jagan said: The mission welcomed the statement that I wished British Guiana to achieve independence within the Commonwealth and looked forward to the country playing a full part in the Commonwealth.

Thus the leader who was eight years ago accused of being a communist and of plotting to burn down Georgetown, is now able to satisfy Lord Rootes and his fellow-industrialists that their capital would be quite safe in

## **Lord Rootes**

### Milk . . .

THE DECISION of the Milk Marketing Board to pour 250,000 gallons of skim milk into disused coal mines has caused a storm of protest amongst MPs of all parties.

As far as Labour MPs are concerned, this can only be described as hypocrisy. What else do they expect in capitalist society which produces for profit and not in the interests of the requirements of human beings?

Such two-faced gentlemen have really nothing to say about taking industry away from the capitalists, which alone can answer this milk scandal. How else can one resolve the crisis except by dispossessing the capitalists through the nationalization of the basic industries and the introduction of workers' control?

Socialist planning can only take place on this basis and socialist planning is the only answer to this further demonstration of the crisis of overproduction in a capitalist society.

### Wyatt . . .

WOODROW WYATT is reported to have been puzzled by the letter he received last week from the Labour Party National Executive. He has our sympathy.

For Gaitskell, Brown and Co. who have warned him not to talk too loudly about a Liberal-Labour alliance are really in complete agreement with him in principle.

Like Wyatt, they want to turn the Labour Party into an organization free from socialism. Only last week, Ray Gunter was explaining how the class struggle was outmoded and how the Labour Party stood for all sections of the community.

Their only complaint is that Wyatt says in public what they think in private, and that he says it at the wrong time.

The letter to Wyatt was only sent in order to justify tightening the disciplinary measures against Gaitskell's left - wing critics. Meanwhile, the rightward drift of Labour policy continues to threaten the whole future existence of the Labour

The only alternative lies in a policy based on the needs of the working class, independent of capitalist politics, whether of the outright Tory or concealed Liberal variety.

## Stop the Blockade of Guba

FIFTY people attended a meeting in Liverpool last Sunday, held to set up a Merseyside 'Food for Cuba' Committee.

Opening the meeting, exseaman Councillor Bill Hart declared that he was in Cuba some years ago while Batista was still in power. He had seen a glittering facade with a rottenness behind.

There was a large number of young people and visitors from Merseyside Young Socialist branches.

A speaker from Gillmoss Young Socialists said he was interested in the fate of Cuba because of the big part youth played in the revolution.

His Young Socialist branch had donated £3 to the committee.

Councillor E. Loyden, member of the Transport and General Workers' Union and one of the signatories to the letter calling the meeting, said that 'Discussion over the nature of Cuba can carry on while people die. We must act and think big. We must think in terms of setting up a national committee and the Liverpool Committee can give a lead in this.' Stan Thorne, secretary of Toxteth Labour Party, declared the campaign could involve a broad section of people, including some religious organizations. He suggested that one activity of the committee should be to organize a showing of the film 'Island

The meeting elected a committee to organize the raising of money and to appeal to the Liverpool Labour Movement, Bill Hart agreed to act as chairman.

The secretary is J. Disley, 11 Redruth Road, Liverpool 11

### **YORKSHIRE**

The North East Leeds Young Socialists have sent a similar resolution to their divisional party. Students at Leeds University will be canvassing for support to set up a 'Food for Cuba' Committee after the Easter vacation.

### **MIDLANDS**

THE Birmingham No. 4 branch of the AEU passed the following resolution unanimously at its meeting on March 23:

'This branch protests at the American blockade of Cuba. This blockade is an attempt to crush the Cuban government by bringing about starvation of the

Cuban people.'

Another resolution called upon the Labour movement to come to the aid of the Cuban people. A donation of £1 was sent to the

### LONDON

The General Management Committee of the St. Pancras North Labour Party carried a resolution from its Young Socialists branch calling for the lifting of the ban and for food and aid to be sent to the Cuban people.

Pickets were out again last Saturday at the US Embassy in Grosvenor Square, protesting at the blockade on Cuba. picket, which was the third one organized by the London Area Committee of the Socialist Labour League, attracted support from many sections of the London Labour movement. Leaflets which denounced the blockade and appealed for help for the Cuban Revolution, were distributed to passers-by and to the many American tourists entering the embassy.

 Regular Saturday morning pickets will continue at the US Embassy until the blockade is

### and Brandt

WILLY BRANDT represents the interests of Western imperialism, especially States imperialism.

As Mayor of West Berlin, he has a front-line post in the Cold War. His policy in Germany has lost all vestige of socialism. He offers no real opposition to the growing influence of ex-Nazis in the Adenauer administration.

But socialists do not oppose Brandt as a German, but as a right-winger. Those people who demonstrated at his meetings in Britain last week with anti-German patriotic slogans were undermining the real struggle against this German reaction, for this can only be based upon the international solidarity of the labour movement.

The German workers must get rid of their Gaitskells just as we must get rid of ours.

# The Cost of Living

N a reply to a reader's letter (Newsletter, 10.3.62) Gerry Healy pointed to the fraudulent nature of the Tory 'Cost of Living Index'. The announcement of March 16 that changes are to be made in the compilation of the Index makes the fraud even more open and the task of the working class in drawing up its own Index even more necessary.

Some details of these changes will be outlined below, but first a word or two about the present Index-what it pretends to show and how it is constructed.

The present Index is based upon investigations carried out in 1953-54 and with 1956 taken as base year It was drawn up by the Cost of Living Advisory Committee and a smaller Technical Committee.

In 1956 these two bodies had a total of 24 members, of whom only two represented working class organizations. The rest were University Professors, employers or Civil Servants.

Yet 2 million workers (including sections in building, civil engineering, iron and steel, printing and furniture manufacture) rely directly upon this body to determine their cost of living, upon which their wages depend.

Briefly, the Index is drawn up by taking a cross-section of households, at present excluding those at the level of Old Age Pensioners and those where the 'head of the household' earns more than £30 a week.

Their expenditure is analysed

### JOE FITZGERALD

From page 1.

do as conscientiously as he knew how.

That was what won him the respect, not only of his comrades in the Socialist Labour League and his colleagues around 'The Miner', but of all who knew him in his district.

Many of them may not have agreed with his views, nor perhaps have understood what he was doing, but everybody knew that here was a man who was absolutely incorruptible and completely devoted to the interests of the working class. Nothing could turn him from it.

He faced opposition from the management, from rightwing trade union leaders, from wing Labour Party officials, from the Communist Party, from Moral Re-armament, and from the Catholic Church. He stood up to them

When Curly Owen was attacked by the Brodsworth management and by union leaders, Joe was prominent in his defence. When Curly later became sympathetic to Moral Re-armament, Joe was disappointed but not disheartened.

the all-Yorkshire During miners' strike last year, Joe worked tirelessly for victory, urging the spreading of the strike and producing special strike bulletins on behalf of

## Fraud

and broken down into 10 groups, with many sub-divisions.

The groups consist of food, alcohol, tobacco, fuel and light, durable household goods, clothing and footwear, transport and vehicles, miscellaneous goods and finally services.

Each of these is given a 'weight' or degree of relative importance determined by the findings of the survey. For example, food is judged to be over three times as important as clothing and footwear, which in turn is reckoned at twice the importance of fuel and light. Thus a rise in the price of food will have about six times the influence upon the general cost of living than a similar rise in the cost of fuel and light.

What are the recently announced changes in the construction of the

### by a student of economics

Index? There are three main

(1) Many new items are incorporated into the survey, including sherry, roasting chickens, motor scooters, electric cookers, refrigerators, potato crisps, jeans and gloss paint. This must take it even more away from the realities of the working class budget.

(2) The weights of the relative groups have altered. Food is now given less importance, durable household goods more; housing, including rents, only retains its position (despite the Tory Rent Act!) and the buying and running of cars is given more emphasis.

(3) The weighting of the Index is to be revised each year. Previously the weights were kept standard over a number of years.

'The Miner'.

He opposed all fake leaders, whether right wing or Communist Party. He fought to build up rank-and-file committees, from pit to pit, coalfield to coalfield, from industry to industry. Wherever miners were in dispute, there was Joe, tireless and determined.

He got groups of young people together to talk about socialism. He chased after members of the Communist Party to raise political questions.

He started up a miners' discussion group on Marxism. Nothing was too much for him,

He would not have wanted a big fuss now. But we in the Socialist Labour League will build a monument to Joe Fitzgerald. That monument will be a powerful branch in Joe's area of the movement to which Joe was so devoted. That is what he would have wanted and that is what we shall do.

We have lost Joe Fitzgerald in the only way that we could have lost him, for he would never have given up the fight as long as he was alive.

He will be sorely missed by all of us in the Socialist Labour League, by the many militant miners he came to know in all the coalfields, by everyone who

knew him at Brodsworth. He was a fine comrade. He was a good, kind and gentle man. He was a very dear friend.

On balance, this will make it less responsive to price rises—that is rises in the real cost of living will be hidden.

As the 'Economist' (24.3.62) had to admit, 'the new measure will show a smaller movement than the old one would have done in a period when the goods of which consumption is rising most are those of which prices are rising . . . Generally speaking people buy more things in which prices rise least, so that the most usual effect is to make prices rise rather more slowly'.

What is the basis of the fraudulent nature of the Index, now even more clearly seen with the changes mentioned above?

Basically, the wide range of incomes included in the investigations (leaving out the very poor but going up to £30) distorts the Index towards those in the higher income brackets.

How many people get £30 a reek? The fact is that 40 per week? cent of people earn less than £10 a week before tax and in 1960 nearly 11 million people (counting man and wife as one) were living on this sum.

For these people, expenditure upon food, rent, and fuel takes up a bigger slice of their income than it does in the case of richer people. The size of food and rent bill is largely a function of family size and not of income level. Only one-quarter of families own a refrigerator, but this is now included in the Index.

The influence which people in the higher income groups have upon spending patterns is out of all proportion to their numbers. This is shown in a survey very recently concluded by the Thomson Organization and called 'But some Consumers are more Equal than Others'. Here are a few items from their findings.

Percentage of total Expenditure on individual Products accounted for 30 per cent of the highest income families.

Motor vehicles	73
Wines and Spirits	64
Radio and TV	63
Women's Outwear	62
Maintenance and running	
of motor vehicles	61
Men's Outwear	58

## No Inspiration from **VFS** Leaders

By M. SHAW

THE Annual Report for 1961 issued to members of Victory for Socialism for discussion at the Annual General Meeting to be held on April 8, states that the decline in morale and loss of interest in the Labour Party has adversely affected the work of VFS, in that some of our members have been less active, this has not been because they have ceased to be inspired by socialism but because they have ceased to be inspired by the Labour Party'.

Reading through the report and examining the activities of VFS over the past year one is tempted to ask, 'Have not VFS members ceased to be inspired by VFS itself?'

The keynote of the 1961 AGM was to implement the Scarborough decisions, repulse the setbacks of the right wing and end the bans and proscrip-

Among the resolutions which were carried was one calling for a campaign to lift the ban on the Socialist Labour League and The Newsletter.

Others called for the nationalization of the arms industry. Another resolution called upon all MPs who were in support of the 1960 Scarborough Conference decisions to 'organize

### Domestic Furniture furnishings and equipment House repairs and decora-50

This clearly shows that the Index, which claims to cover 90 per cent of all households is a fake, so far as working class budgets are concerned. If anything the Index serves the needs of the better-off sections of the middle class.

The conclusion is clear. As Gerry Healy said, the Trades Union Movement itself must draw up its own Index and check it regularly. This will give a proper working class basis from which to fight for real increases in wages.

and conduct a campaign in the House for the implementation of such policies'.

The Annual Report for 1961 makes no mention of the AGM decisions or what has been done to put them into operation.

No attempt is made to analyse the reversal on Defence policy which took place at the Blackpool Conference last year and how this came about. The Report merely states, 'It is useless to disguise the fact that some of the decisions taken at Blackpool were a set-back to the cause of socialism.'

### **INVESTIGATING**

Instead of going into action to operate resolution No. 4 on the 1961 AGM agenda, viz., to 'set up socialist groups among members of trade unions . . . to organize support in the trade unions for the decisions of the Scarborough Labour Party Conference', the VFS leadership turned their attention to investigating the bona fides of individual VFS members because they were disturbed by visions of Trotskyist infiltrators.

A serious campaign around the 1961 AGM decisions never got under way. That is why the work has been 'adversely affected' and activity has been 'limited'. The leaders have failed to lead.

Recently there has been speculation that the days of VFS are numbered, but there is no indication in the Annual Report that VFS is to be wound

Of the ten resolutions on the Agenda for this year's AGM, four repeat the demands put forward last year for nationalization of the basic industries.

If these resolutions are carried at the AGM on April 8 and VFS will go into action to really campaign on these decisions and those taken last year, there may still be time to stop the rot and begin a fight for a socialist policy to defeat the Tories.

## City Slants by colin chance

### **Balancing trick**

Q. When is a deficit not a deficit?

A. When the annual balance of payments figures are published! We have just been treated to a

mass of new Treasury statistics which reveal that their previous figures. used by Selwyn Lloyd as an excuse to impose the pay pause, were not correct.

Earlier interim figures had shown deficits at the yearly rate of £200 million in excess of the actual figures. Now we are told that the statistics indicate that Britain has had a healthier balance of payments position than

A close examination of the figures show the pattern of trading has changed drastically over the past few years.

Three years ago 'invisibles' were yielding some £220 million yearly -already a huge reduction from pre-war days, but still a significant item. Today this excess is a mere £65 million, and at this rate of decrease, within the coming period, there will be a deficit on this section of the balance of payments.

What are 'invisibles'? Income items include interests, profits and dividends on investments, shipping and insurance receipts. Outinclude dividends to goings investors, and Tory foreign government military expenditure, including German support costs.

In 1961 there was a small balance of long-term capital movements of some £8 million. These movements reflect the flow of investment capital to and from Britain. If the Ford transaction (whereby American Ford took over the English company) the Swiss loan and German and French debt repayments were ignored as non-recurring items, there would actually have been a deficit of over £200 milion on this section of the account.

In other words considerably more British capital is being invested abroad than foreign capital here. Nearly £400 million yearly is being poured into overseas investment.

The Tory dilemma resolves itself into how it can finance this. It cannot contemplate reducing these investments for it knows that there is plenty of foreign capital available to step into the breach.

Whereas in the past, colonial

possessions yielded much material wealth, exploitation tends to take a different form today. Capital is invested to produce profits which are not 'earned' overnight.

On the one hand income from 'invisibles' is tending to fall whilst, on the other, more capital is sent abroad. The inference would seem to be that income from these investments is not being brought back to the U.K.

Some of it may be re-invested abroad. A good deal, no doubt, is accumulated abroad and helps to build up the private overseas fortunes of wealthy British capit-

To maintain its world position, British capital must find its outlet. But this has drastic effects on the balance of payments position. The Tories hope to alleviate this by continued attacks on wage rates so that British goods are 'competitive' in the export markets of the world.

When the British working man is exhorted to work harder, to accept wage restraint and to produce more so that the balance of payments might be improved, he should remember that much of his effort will be used to bring about his own impoverishment.

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## TGWU officials attempt to split dock workers

By BILL HUNTER

L AST Friday's meeting of 6,000 members of the Transport and General Workers' Union which decided to end the Merseyside dock strike lasted for exactly 55 minutes.

For 50 minutes Mr. P. J. O'Hare, docks district secretary of the TGWU, spoke to his members. Five minutes more and the resolution he proposed was put to the vote, carried, and the meeting

The resolution called for a return to work and then declared that lapsed members of the TGWU must re-establish themselves in the union by Saturday, April 14, or 'we will refuse to work with them on and after Monday, April 16 on a fresh engagement'.

This gives the impression that 6,000 members of the TGWU have now decided that they will no longer work with members of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers.

Mr. O'Hare and his officials may try to say so. In reality however, most of the men at the meeting voted for a return to work and not for the conditions attached.

Whether or not the 'Blue' Union is driven off the Merseyside docks depends on more than the

given a simple and effective answer to that.

The basis of trade unionism is unity in struggle. NASD men came out on strike last week because they couldn't scab on their mates, even though they were suspicious of the motives of TGWU officials. Their trade unionism passed a decisive test.

### O'HARE'S 100%

There was a small but revealing statement by O'Hare during the strike. He declared the dispute was not a quarrel with the employers.

Dockers in both unions want 100 per cent trade unionism on the docks so that they will be more strongly organized to face the employers.

But Mr. O'Hare's statement means he does not want it for that purpose.

## Chance of a big 'Yes' in **Confed ballot**

by Reg Perry

S ballot papers go out to over three million engineering workers throughout Britain to decide for or against strike action on the claim for a substantial wage increase and a reduction in working hours, attempts are being made by right-wing union leaders and the national press to influence and sabotage the ballot.

The 'Sunday Times' reported last week that 'In some unions the vote is two to one against; in another it is four to one against, and in none of those which have a clear idea of the position is it in favour.'

It would be interesting to know which unions the 'Sunday Times' is referring to, since in all the large unions the ballot papers are only now being sent out and are not due to be returned until the end of April.

It is quite clear that this is another piece of interference in trade union affairs in the interests of 'democracy'.

From reports coming in from major industrial centres like the Clyde, London and the Black Country around Birmingham, there is a big feeling for strike action.

The mass stoppages on February 5 and March 5 clearly showed that the will to fight the employers is there. The sit-down strike at the BMC in Longbridge and the claim submitted by 30,000 workers at the Ford Motor Company reinforce this feeling.

If there is a vote against strike action, then it is entirely the responsibility of union leaders like Cooper and Carron, and Byrne of the Electrical Trades Union.

As far as engineering workers are concerned, the case for an increase is clear. Since the last award to engineers was made in 1960 the cost of living has risen by 5 per cent.

Over the last few weeks the Tories have raised fares by up to 10 per cent and are threatening increases in rents (especially to council house tenants) and

It is clear that the claims by

the national press that the pay pause has ended are false. In fact, the pause has now become a general freeze.

action which some shop stewards' committees have taken in circulating leaflets supporting a strike decision is absolutely correct.

In London, the shop stewards at CAV and Napiers in Acton and shop stewards' committees on the Park Royal engineering belt have been campaigning for such a decision.

actions which have been taken are the setting up of factory committees by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions to conduct propaganda for the ballot.

In South West London, three of these committees exist and have so far organized a few meetings

national level to chairmen of Confederation District Committees, following demands from branches for some preparations for the oneday token strikes on February 5 and March 5.

These committees, acting with the full authority of the unions, can become a powerful weapon in the event of strike action. It is necessary now to ensure that all local Confederation committees get to work and begin to conduct factory gate meetings and issue leaflets explaining why engineers must not retreat.

The response to gate meetings at factories like ENV at Harlesden, Projectile & Engineering in Battersea, and CAV and British Light Steel Pressings, organized by the London Area Committee of the Socialist Labour League, clearly indicates that given a lead the pay pause can be broken by the engineering workers.

In these circumstances, the

Perhaps the most important

at factories.

These committees were set up instructions from

### SLL's Factory Gate Campaign THE Socialist Labour League loudspeaker van will be visiting

held a meeting outside the the Royal Docks for the second huge Stag Brewery at Victoria, London, on Thursday, April 5, as part of its campaign of for Sainsburys at Blackfriars, industrial meetings to explain Glacier Metal in Harlesden and its policies for fighting the return visits to CAV, ENV Tory pay freeze.

Engineering and Projectile &

On Saturday the League's Engineering.

ability of right-wing trade union leaders to push resolutions through meetings without amendment. Above all it depends on the

natural and traditional solidarity of militant dockers. At meetings during the strike a NASD speaker listed men at the

various controls who were in the

Blue' Union. Some had been working on the docks for 30 or 40 years.

You all know these men. Honest militants. Men who have stood for a principle. Are you going to sling them on to the stones?'

Transport and General officials have said that NASD members are non-unionists. This strike has

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He can only want 100 per cent membership of the 'White' Union to increase the power of officials and their control over the dockers.

Further meetings are planned

time in the campaign.

Everything is shaping up for the battle over dockers' wages and over the latest decasualization proposals.

Every thinking militant will agree with Bert Aylward, the national dockers' secretary of the NASD, who spoke at a Pier Head meeting of 3,000 dockers which passed a resolution that the rights of both unions should be respected.

### UNITY

He declared: 'We must use the unity of the rank and file of the Blue' and the rank and file of the 'White' Union to prepare for 100 per cent action on wages and conditions.'

But the right-wing of the TGWU are trying to turn the genuine desires of dockers for a strong organization in to a war against the NASD.

In fact, strong organization can only be built on Merseyside by a joint campaign of both unions.

Militant dockers realize this and there is every possibility that the attempts of TGWU officials to weaken and split the dockers' strength at this critical time will be defeated.

## Shopworkers don't like ECM By ALAN WEST, Our Labour Correspondent

THE preliminary agenda for the annual conference of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers contains a majority of motions supporting unilateral nuclear disarmament, against those in favour of the official Labour Party-TUC policy.

It was the USDAW conference last year that supported the infamous Crossman-Padley compromise, which sent the defence pendulum swinging back towards Gaitskell after his historic defeat at Scarborough in 1960

A number of resolutions strongly criticize the USDAW executive for failing to table a unilateral resolution at the Blackpool Labour Party Conference, when the union's president, Walter Padley, withdrew his compromise document in favour of the right-wing's policy.

The weakness of many of the unilateralist motions on the agenda is that they tend to place too much emphasis on Polaris bases and testing.

Twenty-seven motions call for working week for the 351,371 members.

There are no motions supporting entry into the Common Market. Six motions flatly oppose

The right-wing leaders of the Labour Party may find themselves forced to climb down from the fence at Brighton this year and give a definite yes or no to the Market.

But then the leaders may find themselves forced by the rankand-file to take a number of important decisions at Brighton.

Anger at the complete lack of leadership over the pay pause may culminate in demands for more militant, socialist policies.

## Austin **Strikers** worry BMC **Bosses**

from Our Midlands Correspondent

THREE thousand day workers on unofficial strike at the giant British Motor Corporation's Austin works at Longbridge, Birmingham, voted on Tuesday to continue the strike in support of their claim for an extra 36 shillings a week.

The Austin works are at a standstill, with 19,000 idle; 2,400 have been sent home at Fisher and Ludlow, a subsidiary factory, and a thousand more have been laid off at the BMC Oxford works.

The three thousand day workers went on sit-down strike on Tuesday. An emergency meeting was called in London between leaders of the seven unions involved and management representatives.

From this meeting, the union leaders sent urgent messages to the strikers, urging them to return to work and promising that negotiations would be re-opened by the week-end.

The advice was rejected at a mass meeting; the strike went

The BMC chairman described the decision to continue the strike as a 'crippling blow'. He said it would have very serious repercussions throughout the whole organization.

The strikers include storemen, transport workers, and progress clerks. They are angry over the long delay in getting an increase.

The claim was originally made last summer. It has been discussed, negotiated and shelved until a 'more suitable time', that is, when production is rising again in the car industry. Negotiations on day workers' rates have been dragging on for two and a half years.

Asked if a report in the Tory press was true that average earnings of the strikers was £17 a week, a group of pieceworkers said it was complete nonsense, invented in the offices. newspaper minimum rate is £11.

ETU Cont. from page 1.

This further move to split the ETU occurs at a time when all members of the Engineering and Shipbuilding Confederation should be forging the maximum unity to fight the employers on the wages issue.

Whilst the right-wing executive council supported the call for strike action with their tongues in their cheeks, at the same time they took decisions which can only further split the union at a most critical time.

The witch-hunt in the Electrical Trades Union will continue, but it will not be successful in the long run.

Members of this union have a most militant record of struggle against right-wing policies. They are not going to take these expulsions lying down. Every branch in the union should demand the immediate reinstatement of the four expelled members.