

# The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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B70SL FILE

Towards  
a 12-page  
'Keep Left'

Report of a  
campaign meeting  
See page 3

MARCH WITH THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS  
**Brighton Oct. 2: Demonstrate against  
THE WAGE FREEZE, UNEMPLOYMENT  
AND THE VIETNAM WAR**  
on the eve of the Labour Party Conference  
Demonstration assembles 1.30 p.m. and will go from the  
Palace Pier, Grand Junction Road, Kings Road, Preston  
Street, Western Road along West Street past the Conference  
Hall, returning to Palace Pier for a  
BEACH MEETING: FISH MARKET BEACH 3.30 p.m.

## Wage freeze decision not end of struggle

By Reg Perry

WHEN THE TRADE UNIONS' block votes were counted at the TUC conference on Wednesday afternoon, the government had secured support for the prices and incomes policy legislation against the unions, the wage freeze and its national economic plan by small majorities.

It was, in fact, a pyrrhic victory for Wilson and the right wing of the General Council.

As Frank Cousins had said in the debate earlier: 'We do not think this issue will be resolved by the number of cards held up one way or the other in this Congress, or the number of resolutions which are passed.'

Or as Clive Jenkins, general secretary of the Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians, said after in a statement to The Newsletter: 'To be brief, the struggle goes on...'

The voting at Congress took place on three composite resolutions and the section of the General Council's report on prices and incomes and its acquiescence to the wage freeze.

Composite motion 6 in favour of the wage freeze, moved by the Amalgamated Engineering Union supported by the General and Municipal Workers' Union, was carried 4,936,000 to 3,814,000, a majority of 1,122,000.

Motion 7, against the freeze, moved by the Transport and General Workers' Union, seconded by the National Association of Local Government Officers, and supported by ASSET and eight other unions, was defeated 3,903,000 to 5,037,000, a majority of 1,134,000.

### 'Not decided here'

The section of the General Council's report 'acquiescing' to the government's policy was carried 4,567,000 to 4,223,000 against, a majority of 344,000.

Motion 8, opposed to legislation, submitted by the National Union of Mineworkers, seconded by the Boilermakers' Society, and supported by eight unions, was defeated 4,209,000 to 4,683,000, a majority of 474,000.

In a statement to The Newsletter after the decisions, Joe Kenny, a member of the National Union of Seamen delegation, said:

'I could have been disappointed with this decision, but I know full well that the issue of wage freeze will not be decided by these people or by this Congress. It will be decided at the place where policies take effect.'

'The fight goes on to stop the attack on wages, which has been continuing now for many years. Workers will have to fight just as the seamen had to fight. I only hope they are a bit clearer now as to what they are fighting.'

A leading member of the AEU delegation said that the Congress vote had in fact been decided a long time ago.

He felt that it was the responsibility largely of the Communist Party in the AEU.

If they had fought sufficiently over the years to expose Wilson and the Labour government, and if they had fought against the legislation on the trade unions, before the last National Committee of the AEU, then 'the AEU votes could and should have been cast against the government's policies.'

The voting figures in fact show only that the trade unions are split from top to bottom on these issues.

While the content of the discussions at the Congress revealed the rottenness and unprincipled nature of the right-wing betrayal, they also revealed the weakness in the 'left'.

### 'Not helpful'

Perhaps the worst example of this was the speech of Mine-workers' secretary Will Paynter moving the resolution for the NUM.

His sole case was that voluntary restraint by the trade unions was better than legal compulsion.

All history had proved, both here and in America, that compulsion and laws on the trade



JENKINS: Struggle goes on

unions only led to more chaos and more unrest and strikes and not at all to a helpful atmosphere.

Moving the resolution for the T&GWU, Cousins said: 'We do not regard this vote as the most critical stage in our history. It will not be decided by a vote at this congress. We do not believe that you can have a social

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## Demonstrate with Y.S. Brighton October 2

THE  
ISSUE

# A SOCIALIST POLICY

By G. HEALY

THE Fleet Street press recorded an almost unanimous verdict following the debate on the Prices and Incomes Act at the TUC. One after another the big Tory dailies gleefully reported that the trade union movement is 'split right down the centre' and of course they are unfortunately right.

Thanks to the consistent betrayal of the TUC General Council and the right-wing leadership of Wilson, Callaghan and Brown, the labour movement is now divided and without leadership.

These are the bitter fruits of reformism at a time when the world economic crisis of imperialism looms larger than at any period since the end of the Second World War.

It really doesn't matter two hoots what was decided at Blackpool in order to stave off unemployment. As the delegates trudged back to their hotels and boarding houses, the Labour Exchanges were filling up. Thousands laid off here, hundreds laid off there, the number of short-time workers increases, and so it goes on.

The argument of Wilson that a wage freeze is necessary in order to prevent 1½ to 2 million unemployed may well be extended in the near future along the lines that it is necessary to have wage cuts in order to avoid 3 million unemployed.

As reformists, Wilson, the TUC right wing and even the fake 'lefts' studiously avoid relating Britain's economic crisis to that of the United States. Yet it is here, in the citadel of world imperialism, that the danger signs are most pronounced.

A high bank rate has brought shares tumbling on Wall Street and at the same time the brake is on against substantial new investment.

The decisions of the TUC and the Labour government exercise no control whatsoever over what is going on in Washington.

The working class are being called upon to make sacrifices in order to avoid an economic crisis created by capitalism, whilst the capitalists who know full well what is happening, are able to put their house in order at the expense of the working class.

For who can deny that wage freezing helps the employers?

Who can deny that unemployment will help the employers in their drive to reduce wages?

The Labour government and the TUC have opened the door to policies which provide the banks and great monopolies with their most powerful weapons against the working class since the defeat of the General Strike in 1926.

In addition they have tied the trade unions so closely to the capitalist state that it is now the main arbiter on wages and working conditions.

What a Tory government would have to fight every inch of the way to achieve, a Labour government has accomplished by shamelessly exploiting the loyalty of the working class who instinctively desire socialism.

Serious policy issues were staid on their head at the TUC.

If what Wilson said is true about the danger of millions of unemployed, surely this is not an argument for continuing to operate capitalism, but one which is dead against it.

### Overthrow

If all this system has to offer (and it is) is massive unemployment together with the threat of a Third World War, then must it not be obvious that the hallmark of a serious socialist is one who fights for the overthrow of this system of hunger and war?

Very well, Wilson. If you are right about the threat of unemployment, why not nationalize all the basic industries immediately so that socialist planning may commence? Is it not the capitalist system which is at fault?

Come, come, Sir William Carron, President of the AEU and governor of the Bank of England. You say that wage freezing is necessary in order to plan capitalism.

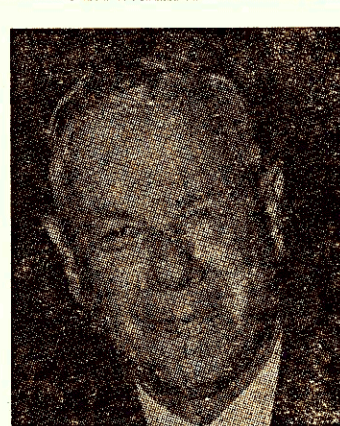
We do not know what your qualifications are for being a governor of the Bank of England, but at least your big business colleagues will tell you that capitalism 'cannot be planned'.

You use the word 'planning' as if it implies 'socialism'. Not even the most backwards-man Cardinal in the Vatican would fall for that one.

And you Mr. Cousins, the man who says he will discuss with anyone except Trotskyists. You implied at the TUC that the unions should be prepared to give up their wage bargaining rights to the TUC.

We Trotskyists don't give a damn whether you discuss with us or not. All you have been doing since you left the cabinet is trying to work out an in-between 'left' role in the trade unions.

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### Verwoerd

THE ASSASSINATION of Dr. Hendrick Verwoerd, the apartheid Prime Minister of South Africa early this week, evoked a sense of shock and revulsion in the bosoms of the imperialists and their hangers on. But it certainly brought a vague sense of relief and joy to the opponents of apartheid in South Africa and the world over.

However, the murder of a tyrant and agent of imperialism does not in any way eliminate the system of oppression in South Africa.

Since this system is the product of the class war, it cannot be ended except by the abolition of the oppressing class as a whole.

It is for this reason that Marxists have always condemned individual terror or assassination as a substitute for the class struggle.

### Successor?

Verwoerd's death does not resolve the problems facing the South African working class—he will almost certainly be succeeded by an even more despotic tyrant, in answer to the assassination.

So long as the national liberation movement leaders advocate an anti-working-class anti-Marxist approach to the methods of struggle, the African working class will be faced with the crisis of leadership.

The assassination was an act of political desperation by a poor white. This makes it even more urgent for the African working class to realise the urgency of building a revolutionary Marxist party uniting coloured and white to overthrow the regime, basing itself on the lessons of the struggles in the metropolitan countries.

### Govt. depot to close

By Bob Shaw

AS part of the government's economy measures the Royal Naval Depot in Cantyne, Glasgow, is to close on December 16. The closure involves the future jobs of 105 men, many of whom have long service.

Alternative jobs have been offered if workers transfer to either Coventry or to Faslane, the latter being more than 30 miles outside of Glasgow.

Other jobs have been advertised but none are within reasonable travelling distance from the men's homes.

The matter has been raised with the Glasgow District Committee of the AEU, but it is doubtful if this body has given the matter much attention as nothing has been heard by the workers.

Rebuffed by their unions the workers at the depot visited the MP for Shettleston, Mr. Galpern. He referred the matter to the unions.

Shop stewards interviewed by The Newsletter told of their disgust for the way the Wilson government had attacked the working class.

### No 5s.-a-week dinners at

## Disciple's party

By John Crawford

UNTIL RECENTLY, Ramsay MacDonald would have been rated the most despicable political traitor suffered by the British labour movement. Perhaps he now has a rival for that position.

It is most fitting that when the centenary of his birth is celebrated at a lunch at the House of Commons on October 12, one of the speakers will be his well-known successor and disciple, Harold Wilson.

### CLIMAX

Many workers will also wish to remember MacDonald. The climax of his career of treachery came, of course, in 1931, when he joined with the Tories to form a 'National' government, whose first job was to cut the unemployment benefit.

On the demand of the bankers, the standard rate paid to a man went down from 17s to 15s 3d a week. Even more memorable was the tightening of the regu-

## All sections sign up for Liege trip

NEWSLETTER REPORTER

THERE IS A great response to the Young Socialists' campaign to take the largest possible delegation from Britain to meet European socialist youth on October 15 in Liege. Not only are youth eagerly

signing up to go, but many adult trade unionists are also preparing for the trip.

In Liege, they will meet young people from all over Europe, who will be protesting against the war in Vietnam and against the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. NATO headquarters are in Belgium.

This very important trip comes at a time when the United States government is increasing its offensive against the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

In their protest against US aggression, the socialist youth of Europe express solidarity with the people of Vietnam in their struggle to overthrow imperialism.

The Young Socialists invite all those who are interested to sign up immediately.

The round trip, Dover, Ostend, Liege and back, costs only £8 10s. There will be a free meal in Liege and a free dance on board ship.

Send your applications to Dany Sylveire, Liege Organi er, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### 115 small firms hit

ONE-HOUR'S NOTICE of closure was given on September 1 to 20 workers at Radnor Tool and Gauge company, one of many small contract tool room firms in Birmingham.

The owner, who was advised to close the firm by his accountants, said he knew of 115 other small firms in the same position. Though they have full order books, the credit squeeze is condemning them to sudden death through lack of working capital.

Campaigning against unemployment and the wage freeze, Young Socialists have gained the backing of the Northfield Tenants' Association, and are planning a meeting jointly with Ward End tenants in the Washwood Heath area—near BMC's Tractor and Transmission factory.

## No closure date for ENV yet

BY ROBERT JAMES

STEWARDS AND OFFICIALS from all sections of the large north London engineering firm, ENV, handed a letter in to the Board of Trade on Friday, September 2. It states their case and opposition to the closure of the US-owned factory, which employs nearly 1,500 men.

Sections of the letter will be printed in next week's Newsletter. Convenor Geoff Mitchell told our reporter this week that the firm has still not announced a closure date.

In the meantime deputations are meeting MPs, asking them for support. A picket is planned for the ENV stand at the Farnborough Air Show.

The firm, said Mitchell, claimed the closure was a result of the wage freeze. 'But we say that this is not so, because the government's economic policy is designed to redeploy labour into industries.'

He felt the closure announcement was an attack on unionism in the factory.

A pattern was emerging of US-owned firms in Britain taking the initiative on behalf of the Labour government in attacking unionism and therefore weakening the struggle against the wage freeze.

'They are moving in at a greater pace than British firms,' he felt.

This was a reciprocal arrangement as Wilson was carrying out the wage freeze to bolster the pound sterling, and, therefore, the dollar.

### SWINDON PUBLIC MEETING

Lessons from  
the TUC

Co-operative Society  
(Small Hall)  
East Street, Swindon

Wednesday, Sept. 14  
7.30 p.m.

Speaker:  
G. HEALY, national secretary  
Socialist Labour League

Meeting held under the auspices  
of the Socialist Labour League



# PROBLEMS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

**THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE** delayed its political break from the Socialist Workers' Party until the end of 1960. We wanted, if possible, to have a serious discussion inside the International Committee in order to educate our comrades around the nature of the differences. We even arranged a special trip to Canada early February, 1960, in order to meet the main leaders of the SWP to see if there were some common grounds to heal the breach between the two sections. There were none. In our opinion they were moving more and more towards a public acceptance of Pabloite revisionism.

Still we hesitated. When we finally wrote concerning the differences to their National Committee early in January 1961, we hoped that there would still be a discussion under circumstances where the differences would be eventually clarified. We had no such discussion. Apart from a few brief letters of acknowledgement of correspondence between the SWP and the SLL the months dragged by without any discussion, either written or oral.

## Cannon shows his hand

Suddenly the whole shabby business became clear. A letter from Cannon in Los Angeles instructing the SWP national office in New York not to have any discussion with the Socialist Labour League, came into our possession.

The political degeneration of the SWP was out in the open. Here was a party claiming to be Trotskyist, whose leaders had pioneered the Trotskyist movement, the most controversial Marxist movement in the whole of history, deliberately evading discussion.

How was it possible to educate anybody with such a method?

How was it possible to build the Fourth International in this way?

Cannon knew full well that if he began a discussion with the SLL his so-called cadre would fall apart. After all, there had been close on 20 years' collaboration between leading members of the SLL and the SWP.

But Cannon, starting from his pragmatist relation with Trotsky, was by now an opportunist and a political coward.

He took full advantage of the insular 'all American way' in which the leaders in the SWP had been educated. His argument was, by implication: 'Don't discuss with the leaders of the SLL, they are "sectarian" and "insular".'

In other words he fell back on the arguments which the Stalinists had been using against us for almost 30 years in order to defend and justify capitulation to the pressures of American imperialism.

## Enter Joseph Hansen

And so, discussion between the SWP and the SLL was halted for over a whole year.

Then Joseph Hansen entered the scene. His job was simple.

'Eventually', said Cannon, 'we cannot avoid discussion so your task Joe is to poison the political atmosphere inside the SWP against the SLL so that when we have to discuss our members will be dead against them.'

By implication he was saying: 'Never mind about principles and truth. We're pragmatists like President John F. Kennedy, so we do what is "best" to preserve ourselves now.'

And Joseph Hansen got to work.

His task as an ex-Mormon from Salt Lake City, was to discredit the SLL, not by political argument, but by poisonous slander and gossip.

But let us look back a little. Who is Joseph Hansen?

Hansen was one of Trotsky's secretaries for a period during his exile in Mexico before his assassination. There were other secretaries such as the present day anti-Trotskyist Ray Dunevskaya.

There are no records available to show that Hansen was politically outstanding as a secretary. Ever since Trotsky's assassination he has been trying to build up a legend about himself, but as the years go by it becomes more and more faded and obscure.

One of the reasons why he has gone unchallenged is because those who worked with Trotsky during this period have mostly left the SWP and dropped out of political activity.

Following the assassination, Hansen returned to New York and almost immediately appointed himself as a cheer leader for Cannon. During the period early in 1944, when he and other leaders went to jail following the Minneapolis trial, he was in his element.

His story describing how Cannon left New York is a masterpiece of journalistic bootlicking.

'As the crack train gathered speed along the banks of the river, the man soon to be locked in a cell because of his beliefs leaned back in his seat watching the barren trees and the ice-fringed water skim by. The pillars of a famous geologic formation moved in stately procession into the past—scenes of the Hudson warmed by the winter sun for this socialist fighter to remember in the hard days ahead. The sun fell on his hair as the train leaned round a curve and the iron gray waves lighted up luminously. Jim's lips moved: The Palisades are beautiful.'

## Hansen's 'qualifications'

From then on Hansen had and has today a special role inside the SWP leadership. As a member of this leadership once said:

'When it comes to normal polemicalising against opponents there are all sorts of comrades who can undertake this task, but when Cannon wants to sharpen things up, with a real dirty below the belt job, all eyes on the Committee turn automatically in the direction of Joe Hansen.'

This man is tailor-made for this kind of work, for he can write for and against the same argument with equal enthusiasm the moment he is called upon to do so.

In 1952 and 1953 he bitterly attacked the Cochran and Clark faction who were supported by Pablo. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the 'Open Letter' exposing Pablo. For six months following the split, he wrote article after article in the 'Militant' in 1954 denouncing Pablo.

As Cannon's interest in the whole affair began to wane because he pragmatically believed that what was left of the SWP was out of harm's way, Hansen stopped writing just as abruptly as he started.

After that he switched to an entirely different controversy, on, believe it or not, 'Cosmetics'.

Writing under the nom de plume of Jack Bustelo he plunked a large mimeographed bulletin into the SWP ranks late in 1954 (see 'Struggle for Marxism in the USA', by Tim Wohlforth, p. 143, Fourth International, Number 3, 1966).

In 1961 when Cannon, out of fear, told his henchmen in New York not to discuss with the SLL Hansen was then a natural for the 'dirty work'.

His job was to listen to all the tired middle-class renegades who had deserted the Trotskyist movement in Britain, chew over their gossip, add a few bits here and there himself and toss the garbage into the disoriented membership of the SWP.

## What the SWP used to think about the SLL

At first Hansen encountered some temporary difficulties. For had not the SWP leaders described the SLL as follows in the Spring 1960 'International Socialist Review':

'In Britain during the past two years a major group of

highly qualified intellectuals and workers in the mass movement broke away from the Communist party. The break was programmatic, entailing a thorough review and study of the very "Stalin-Trotsky" dispute which Cochran and his collaborators

put in the same category as the Dempsey-Tunney fight. Among those in Britain who have broken definitively with Stalinism there has been impressive ideological ferment. A significant group, having studied the programmatic issues to the end, turned towards fusion with the British Trotskyists. This resulted in formation of the Socialist Labour League, a group within the Labor Party and the unions dedicated to advancing the Marxist view.

'As an organizing centre of both class struggle action by militant unionists and theoretical struggle for Marxism, the SLL has been selected as a target for witch-hunting. The British capitalist press and the right-wing trade union bureaucrats are displaying the keenest alarm over the fact that the SLL has become an inspiring and attractive force for radical youth, for trade union militants for the entire left wing in the Labor Party. The SLL is in the forefront of every struggle to unite workers, students and intellectuals in the fight against British imperialism, for withdrawing British troops from every part of the world, for ending the H-bomb tests, strengthening the socialist program of the Labor Party and defeating the right wing's attempts to scuttle the party's stand in favour of public ownership.'

'The SLL is taking the lead in the fight for full democracy in the unions, the Labor Party and in every aspect of British life. The SLL has shown its fighting mettle in beating back racist attempts to whip up a lynch movement against Negro workers in London.

'Where did this magnificent movement come from? It is obviously without a trace of sectarianism or disdainful aloofness from the actual movement and life of the working class. It is popular energetic and colorful in its public appeal.

'The real secret of the strength of the SLL is its concern for the theoretical basis of socialism, its "preoccupation" if you please with the "old disputes" and its rejection of every attempt at lightminded improvisation in the field of principle. This is true of the SLL and its leadership as a whole, both those who came recently from the Communist Party as well as the older Trotskyist cadre.

'The British Trotskyists prepared for the opening of the kind of opportunities prevalent in their country today and that will surely confront us in the US tomorrow by struggling against their own Cochran faction, the Lawrence group, back in 1953. They faced the same problem as the American Trotskyists in coping with destructive factional intervention on the part of Pablo. They too, had to overcome the effects of a split that was unnecessarily deep due to

The fourth of a series of articles by G. HEALY National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League

# Who is Joseph Hansen?

Pablo's influence. Their success in overcoming the internal dispute in a principled way, in strict accordance with Leninist tradition, is what prepared them to play their magnificent role today.'

Had not Hansen himself publicly endorsed in the pages of the weekly 'Militant' the statement of the Socialist Labour League on the expulsion of Peter Fryer and four of his cronies in the autumn of 1959, after they had publicly attacked the League?

Of course, and every informed comrade in the international movement knows this. Hansen had to invent his stories about the British Trotskyists and we will deal fully with these in the next issue when we speak about the movement here.

## Hansen gets busy

Hansen set about his task in two ways.

Firstly, there was the issue of Cuba. Hansen, of course, as well as the rest of the SWP leadership, got off to a very slow start so far as Cuba was concerned. The revolution was nearly two years old before they began to discuss it.

Indeed it was Henry Gitano, a supporter of Murry Weiss, who first started the ball rolling with an article also in the Spring issue of 'International Socialist Review'. This was followed up with another piece from Hansen himself.

Around that time Dobbs and Hansen visited Cuba and reported favourably on what they saw there.

But Cuba itself did not become an issue of difference between the SLL and the SWP until after we opened up the discussion early in 1961.

For two whole years after the Cuban revolution the SLL and the SWP were able to collaborate with each other despite the implications of the Cuban revolution. Now, however, when Cannon wanted to avoid a discussion on Pabloism, things took a different turn.

Together with the Pabloites, the SWP almost instantaneously, after having ignored the Cuban revolution for two years, now recognised Cuba as a workers' state.

This was the first major public turn towards Pabloite methods.

Hansen, who under instructions from Cannon in 1953-54 castigated Pablo for such methods, now became the most devout supporter of them. He argued with equal vehemence in favour, just as he was arguing a few years before against them.

Hansen got busy with his slander. Was it not US imperialism which oppressed the Cuban peoples? Of course it

was, and if the SLL hesitated in characterising Cuba as a 'workers' state', did not that automatically mean that the SLL was an ally of US imperialism?

This was the story which he peddled around the SWP in order to poison the political atmosphere against the SLL with whom they collaborated for 20 years.

Alongside all this, members of the SWP were organised to go to Cuba so they could see the 'land of socialism' for themselves.

Coming from the USA and its anti-red, witch-hunting atmosphere, everything which they saw in Cuba seemed fine from the tourist point of view, the one difficulty being that they were there only for a short time.

Nevertheless, it served Hansen's purpose. When the American and Canadian tourists returned he was saying 'Now you see how the SLL helps US imperialism. Don't bother to read their bulletins, Jim Cannon is right not to have discussion with "supporters of US imperialism, is he not?"—and they in turn, unfortunately said "Yes" to what was nothing more than shades of Stalinist distortion of Trotskyist method.

## Cuba—a cover for a right-wing turn

The issues, however, were quite different.

The SLL was not necessarily opposed to the designation of Cuba as a 'workers' state'.

We wanted to keep an open mind until after we had an objective discussion with those in the SWP we believed to be our co-thinkers.

They didn't want such a discussion because they were deserting to Pabloism. They were in fact rapidly turning towards the right and to liquidationism into the pacifist movement within the USA. Cuba was just a cover for the project.

For example, in discussing the class nature of the Chinese state in the years 1954-1955, Hansen himself circulated a memorandum to the SWP National Committee 'suggesting a state capitalist theory for China' (see 'Struggle for Marxism in the US', Fourth International, No. 3).

If it was permissible to have such a discussion inside the SWP in the middle fifties, why not between the SWP and the SLL on Cuba in 1962, especially since we had not characterised Cuba as 'state capitalist' and we were open to be convinced by those whom we believed to be our collaborators?

We wanted discussion over the class nature of the Cuban state—the SWP did not because they were busy capitalising on the liquidationist policy of Pablo.

Their turn to the right wing and the pacifists had now begun in earnest. At all costs they had to break from the SLL in order to get closer to their real international allies—the right wing Pabloites.

But how can such methods build the Fourth International in the revolutionary way that Trotsky wanted it to be built? The short answer is that they cannot.

That is also why the split between the International Committee and the Pabloites of the Unified Secretariat cannot be healed in such an unprincipled way.

## Cannon, Dobbs and Hansen prevent international discussion

In the autumn and winter of 1961 Hansen was sent on a tour of Latin America in order to confuse and dis-

orient those sections supporting the International Committee.

He utilised the 'workers' state' theory in Cuba to the full in order to separate them from the SLL.

Once again the pragmatic SWP was using the international movement to turn towards Pablo just as it had tried to use it in 1953 against him.

Understandably, the Cuban revolution made a big impact on the Latin American comrades, especially in Chile and the Argentine, but the practice of placing ready-made labels, such as 'workers' state', without adequate international discussion on such developments is not only dangerous but downright opportunist.

It politically suited the SWP but it greatly weakened the comrades in Latin America.

The 'workers' state' theory in Cuba was the vehicle which finally dragged the SWP back into the Pabloite camp. Behind this theory was essentially the idea that a revolutionary party was not necessary.

It met with immediate response from the disorientated petty bourgeois inside the SWP. Led by Hansen and fortified by tourist trips to Cuba, they were ready to believe anything they were told about the SLL.

Cannon gradually dropped his support for the Murry Weiss faction and switched it to Dobbs. Weiss, in turn, resigned and opened a bookshop.

Cannon, it is reported, sent him a donation so that he could buy some books, with a comforting letter saying that he understood how he felt.

After that the road was clear for Dobbs. Hansen naturally fell into line, voting with both hands for Dobbs.

Everything was set for the second stage of the campaign of slander against the SLL.

Early in February 1962 Hansen arrived in Europe for the funeral of Natalia Trotsky.

During his stay he visited England and attended a Central Committee meeting of the Socialist Labour League. On his return to the USA he immediately began a slander campaign against leading members of the SLL around gossip he picked up from renegades, although he never at any time opened his mouth when he was here.

At the meeting we briefly discussed the differences between the SLL and the SWP. Hansen freely admitted that he was a consistent empiricist.

Our next experience with him came later on in 1963, when he arrived in Europe to negotiate closer relations with the Pabloites.

During the summer of 1962 the International Committee, accepting the recommendations of the Socialist Labour League, opened up negotiations with the Pabloite International Secretariat for discussion on the disputed questions.

This was decided after we found it absolutely impossible to draw the SWP into the open as regards their political positions.

Since we knew they now supported Pabloite revisionism we felt that an international discussion with every tendency involved would help the movement re-organise itself, by clarifying the issues.

But the SWP were dead against such a discussion. They formally agreed with

the negotiations we had started because it provided them with organisational reasons to collaborate more openly with the Pabloites.

But now, as in the past, they wanted this collaboration to proceed as if the split in 1953 had never taken place.

Just as discussion was about to open and documents were exchanged, Hansen suddenly announced that a unification had been arranged between a minority of the International Committee affiliates, namely the small Swiss and Canadian sections, supported by the Chinese Peng who represented no-one but himself.

We appealed to them to proceed with the discussion but it fell on deaf ears.

Then in May 1963, just before this farcical unification, Ernest Germain, a leading Pablo man, came to England and told the SLL that irrespective of unification the negotiations would go on with those sections of the International who desired discussion before unification.

He repeated the same proposal when he spoke to our summer school two months later in early August. There are hundreds of comrades who heard him say these things.

After the unification Hansen returned to the USA for further instructions. He arrived back in Europe late in August and immediately told the Pabloites that the SWP was opposed to any discussion with the International Committee, so all negotiations were immediately broken off.

## How the 'no discussion' decision applied in Ceylon

The most disastrous side of this decision was that it prevented all discussion inside the Pabloite ranks about what was happening in Ceylon, where already the majority of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party were preparing to enter the coalition government.

By preventing such a discussion they also prevented the revolutionary minority of the LSSP from waging an all-out political fight against the opportunist majority.

They were silenced by orders of Hansen and Co. right at the time they should have been fighting tooth and nail to clarify the party.

Hansen, Cannon, Dobbs and Co. had achieved what they set out to achieve.

Once more the small Pabloite rump in Paris, now masquerading as the 'Unified Secretariat' became the cover for their 'Fourth International'.

Thus they were able to turn to the pacifists inside the USA without fear of international criticism.

The pragmatic methods flowing from nationalism had now merged with the completely opportunist Pabloite currents. This was essentially Hansen's contribution towards the destruction of Trotskyism, especially in the US and Ceylon.

Next week:

'The good name of Trotskyism in Britain'

## Robert Williams leaves Cuba

ROBERT WILLIAMS, a Negro militant and civil rights fighter who became the most wanted and hunted man in the USA as a result of his courageous defence of Dr. Perry in Monroe, North Carolina, has left Cuba, where he sought asylum in 1962, for China.

Williams has not given a reason for his departure but it is apparent that he is extremely worried—if not opposed to—the present policy of Castro and in particular the Cuban line-up with Moscow against China.

Some time ago, there were strong rumours that the Stalinists in control of Castro's propaganda machine were trying to muzzle Williams by censoring his broadcasts to the USA, as well as his printed bulletin 'The Liberator'.

Williams was the first civil rights leader to popularise and implement the idea of 'armed self defence' for Negroes and other minority groups.

## Growing support for anti-war GIs in U.S.A.

ALL OVER the USA support is growing for the case of three American GIs who announced recently that they would seek a court order against participating in the undeclared war of the US on Vietnam.

For this action they were jailed by the army authorities and were then ordered to board a plane for Vietnam pending their legal action.

The soldiers now known as the 'Fort Hood Three' refused and court martial proceedings have been begun against them. These conscript soldiers, Mora, Samas and Johnson, have posed an extremely thorny problem for Johnson, namely, the right of free speech, free thought and free discussion inside the armed forces, as well as outside against the war on Vietnam.



On the eve of the significant visit to Liege, Belgium, where Young Socialists from Britain will meet European youth who will protest against the Vietnam war and NATO in October, the Young Socialist newspaper 'Keep Left' takes the important step of increasing its size and influence as a revolutionary guide to European socialist youth. Below we report just one of several 'Keep Left' campaign meetings.

**YOUNG SOCIALISTS** and trade unionists voted unanimously to give full support to the launching of the 12-page edition of the youth paper 'Keep Left' at a meeting held in Partick Burgh Halls, Glasgow last Sunday.

They agreed to campaign to increase the sales of the paper and to appoint a 'Keep Left' reporter in each branch of the Young Socialists in Scotland.

Present at the meeting were Young Socialists from the branches in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen.

Trade unionists present came from engineering, electrical, draughtsmen's, postal workers' and painters' unions.

In her address Aileen Jennings, editor of 'Keep Left', reviewed the history of the paper since it was first published 15 years ago and the struggle carried out against the right-wing of the Labour Party, particularly since the formation of the Young Socialists in 1960.

She spoke of the fight of the Young Socialists to establish their leadership of the youth in Britain which resulted in the supporters of 'Keep Left' winning control of the National Committee of Young Socialists in 1964.

This was a situation which the right-wing leaders of the Labour Party would not accept because they did not want to be embarrassed by a youth movement which fought for socialist policies. The Labour leaders were then preparing the ground for closer collaboration with the banks and employers.

Young Socialists who supported 'Keep Left' were expelled and whole branches were closed down. Transport House withdrew recognition from the national secretary of the Young Socialists.

But the Young Socialists went forward to hold their own independent conference in 1965 in Morecambe at which a programme of action was accepted to build a mass Young Socialist movement in this country.

The fight with the right-wing was about whether the Young Socialist movement was to become the tool of the Labour government and its right-wing policies, or whether the Young Socialists were to fight for the principle that the working class must fight the employers and international bankers to improve their standard of living and achieve socialism.

After its election in 1964 the Labour government began by attacking the old age pensioners, withholding the increase in the pension for three months.

This was followed by the Immigration Act which invited all racialists to come onto the streets. Then there was the sale of arms to the South African government—a government which carried out the most vicious torture against coloured workers; and the government's continued support of Johnson's war policies in Vietnam.

In the next few months the government will proceed to create half a million unemployed in Britain, along with the introduction of its prices and incomes policy to keep down wages, Aileen Jennings warned.

'Keep Left' had reflected the struggle and the work of the Young Socialists and warned the working class against the betrayals of the Labour government.

**WARNING**

It played a particularly important role in warning the working class about the proposed anti-trade union legislation being introduced by the right-wing. It gave support to the lobby of parliament organised by the Lam-beth Trades Council on January 26 this year, and on May 25 the Young Socialists organised their own lobby.

This was no ordinary lobby, she said. Events had radically changed by the calling of a national strike by the seamen. The Young Socialists went round the ports and the docks to explain the necessity of fighting against the measures of the Labour government and the international bankers.

The seamen's strike made it clear that it was no longer possible to fight the employers as such—because of the intervention of the Labour government in the affairs of the trade unions on behalf of the capitalist state—all strikes became political strikes.

In launching the 12-page 'Keep Left' it is not just a question of increasing the size of the paper. Its expansion is linked with the building of a mass youth movement and participation in the struggles of the working class, nationally and internationally, she said.

The fight in Vietnam was a fight by the workers and peasants striking a blow against the strongest imperialist country in the world.

This was the kind of fight which workers would have to take up in the very near future in Britain. It was necessary to grasp the nature of the international struggle against imperialism.

Britain was in debt to the international bankers who warned the Labour government that loans would only be made if the standard of living of the working class was reduced. The Prices and Incomes Act was the result of that.

But, she added, it was not only in Britain that the economic crisis existed. America was also heading for a financial crisis. This was the basis of Britain's crisis—unless America could keep Britain going the whole future of international capitalism was at stake. This was the reason for the attacks on the working class. In America, the riots in



# Towards a 12-page 'Keep Left'

**'In launching the 12-page "Keep Left" it is not just a question of increasing the size of the paper. Its expansion is linked with the building of a mass youth movement and participation in the struggles of the working class, nationally and internationally'—**

**Aileen Jennings, Editor.**



based on the manufacture of war materials making the threat of a Third World War very real.

'For this reason we cannot view the question of Vietnam as a question of peace. Peace, such as that agreed at Geneva, would only open the door to the domination of American imperialism.'

'A victory for the National Liberation Front for the workers and peasants of Vietnam—would lead other workers to take up the struggle against imperialism,' she said.

**TAKE POWER**

It was not a question of negotiating peace but of defeating capitalism.

'For these reasons the campaign for a 12-page "Keep Left" must be carried forward. This will give four extra pages which can be used to develop the organisation of the Young Socialists—to put forward socialist theory which will help the Young Socialists to move forward to the taking of power by the working class.'

The first 12-page issue would contain an important report of a conference of socialist youth in Germany—it was necessary for Young Socialists in Britain to pay attention to the European socialist youth movement.

The visit to Liege, Belgium, which the Young Socialists would be making in October, could prepare the ground for an international conference of socialist youth.

'Keep Left' was the only paper to defeat social democracy and win the leadership of a socialist youth movement.

'But the Young Socialists cannot remain just a British youth movement—it must recognise that it has also international responsibilities,' she said.

A lively discussion followed Aileen Jennings' speech and trade unionists who spoke from the floor pledged support for the Young Socialists' demonstration at Brighton.

At the end of the meeting over 20 people signed up to go to the demonstration of socialist youth in Belgium.

Chicago, Watts and other districts were due to the tremendous frustration of workers suffering from poverty.

'In the next period in Britain we will see tens of thousands of unemployed which will make 1962/63 look like a tea party. The capitalists in Britain want to reduce the workers to the conditions of the 1930s,' she said.

Already workers at the Blyth shipyard had been paid off and the yard was to close: ICI had declared large redundancies: miners in the Rhondda Valley would lose their jobs through pit closures—the creation of unemployment by the government had already begun.

In the last lay-offs many workers from northern towns in England and Scotland went to London to find jobs, but that

situation had now changed. Young workers were already being paid off in London too—there was no way out for the working class now but to turn round and fight back for their lives and socialism.

'Wilson's intention in speaking at the TUC is to get the congress to accept the Prices and Incomes Bill and in doing so to betray everything the trade union movement has ever fought for. He wants the delegates at the TUC to vote the trade union movement out of existence. He wants the trade unions to operate in the interests of capitalism.'

'The last time this kind of situation happened was in Germany and it paved the way for Hitler,' she said.

Two world wars had already taken place. A large proportion of the US economy was now

## Ben Barka trial opens

Newsletter Correspondent

THE GREATEST farce in French judicial history opened in the Palais de Justice on Monday, September 6.

It was the trial of five men accused of complicity in the daylight abduction and mysterious disappearance of Mehdi Ben Barka, Moroccan nationalist leader, in October 1965.

The trial, despite the histrionic atmosphere and tension, is more like a staging of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.

The most important witnesses, and the most sinister figures in the trial—General Mohammed Oufkir, Moroccan Minister of Interior, Colonel Choutki, his deputy, and Major Dlini, chief of police, are not present. As the indictment prosaically describes it: they are 'in flight'.

'In flight' too are five other witnesses, some of them notorious members of the 'milieu' (the French underworld).

One other witness not 'in flight', yet not in court, is George Figon, a petty criminal and eye-witness to the meeting between Oufkir and Ben Barka before Barka's tragic disappearance.

**Suicide 'disease'**

Figon became victim to a common disease which afflicts many police suspects in France: suicide.

The prosecution is trying to present the case as a straightforward criminal one, but the whole of France recognises this as one of the dirtiest political scandals since the Stavisky affair of 1936.

On trial in fact is the whole

judicial system of the Fifth Republic.

Without the connivance of the French counter-espionage system it is highly doubtful whether Ben Barka could have been persuaded to leave his asylum in Cairo and come to Paris and be trapped into his fatal rendezvous at the Brasserie Lippé.

**Non-appearance**

So apprehensive is de Gaulle about the implications of the trial for his regime of 'personal power' that the two cabinet ministers, Frey and Pompidou, who were to be called as witnesses, have been forbidden to appear in court by a decision of the Council of Ministers.

Once again, France has been reminded of the first commandment of Gaullism: 'L'Etat? C'est Moi!'

## MEXICAN STUDENTS KILLED

DAVID AGUILAR MORA, a 26-year-old Mexican student and member of a group led by J. Posadas, and his wife Eunice Campiran de Aguilar have been murdered by the Guatemalan police recently.

In May 1965 Mora crossed into Guatemala from Mexico to join the November 13 Movement, which is led by Yon Sosa, and was recently attacked by Castro at the Tri-Continental Conference.

Arrested and deported to Mexico by Guatemalan police, Mora returned later, was cap-

## HUGO BLANCO'S LIFE IN DANGER

PERUVIAN revolutionist and peasant leader, Hugo Blanco, who has been in prison since May 1963 for the alleged 'assassination of four policemen', is now being tried, in camera, by a military tribunal.

The prosecutor has declared that Blanco might get a death sentence if found guilty.

Blanco's real 'crime' in the eyes of the military dictatorship which rules Peru is that he organised thousands of peasants in the Cuzco region to defend their land against rapacious landlords and inhuman government revenue collection.

The Socialist Labour League, which protested against his arrest and picketed the Peruvian Embassy in 1963, calls all socialists to protest against the filthy frame-up of Hugo Blanco and demand his immediate release.

tured and then killed.

His wife, together with the wife of Yon Sosa were also captured and killed by the Guatemalan police—while the Guatemalan government denied knowledge of their whereabouts.

According to recent reports, 28 members of the Socialist party have also suffered the same fate while in prison.

In Mexico a campaign for the release of Adolfo Gilly, a well-known socialist-journalist who was arrested by the Mexican police during the riots in Mexico City is continuing.

## WALL STREET SLUMP

# Symptom of growing U.S. crisis

OVER the last few months, Wall Street has suffered an enormous drop in stock prices which is the most significant collapse of values since 1929.

Since February of this year the Dow Jones Index (the most reliable guide for the movement of stock prices in general) has fallen by nearly 25 per cent. Stock values have fallen in this period by the enormous sum of about £35,000 million. This is equivalent to a sum considerably in excess of the current British National Income and greater than the US National Income as recently as 1940.

Drops of £7,000 million have been recorded in a single week.

The last few days has seen some small recovery. But there is no real confidence in the future.

**Deep deflation**

This was reflected in former President Truman's statement last week that he feared that the present inflation could rapidly turn into a deep deflation.

The collapse of share prices on the London Exchange shows that Wall Street is not an isolated case. What happens in America is a reflection of a crisis in the world capitalist system.

In America inflation is now gaining pace and Johnson is faced with growing demands from the Senate and big business to take firm and immediate action to raise taxes in order to curb the rising level of prices.

Last week the First National City Bank raised its 'prime' rate of interest to 6 per cent and other banks quickly followed its lead.

(The 'prime' rate is that charged to the biggest and most credit-worthy of the bank's customers.)

This is the fourth increase in rates over the last nine months.

Interest rates are now at their highest for 40 years.

The growth of national income is now definitely slowing down and there have been absolute declines in the motor trade—especially for America's biggest company, General Motors—and in private house building.

In response to this Johnson attempted to impose a limit of 3 per cent on all wage and price increases.

This 'guideline' has been smashed as a result of the successful strike of the airline machinists and the recent increase in the price of steel, the effects of which are bound to be quickly felt throughout wide sectors of the economy.

The growing militancy of organised labour is the main threat to the continued stability of American capitalism: wage claims are lined up in motors, electrical and general engineering and they must set a pattern for all other industries.

Many leaders of big business continue to be worried by the US balance of payments crisis. This crisis is no nearer to solution, despite Johnson's reassuring speeches.

The gold loss in July amounted to £45 million. The total lost so far this year is about £130 million.

**French capture**

It is widely believed that France took about £33 million of the total July loss.

There has, apparently, been some improvement in the balance of payments figures: the deficit has been cut from about £170 million to around £55 million.

But this 'improvement' is deceptive. It is mainly accounted for by the 'hot' money attracted into the States from other centres such as London: attracted by the abnormally high interest rates now prevailing in New York. There has been no real, long term, improvement.

In the case of the balance of trade (i.e., trade in actual goods) the position has worsened.

The US has always run a surplus on this account, but it has continued to grow smaller during 1966 and the last figures show it to be at its lowest for any quarter since 1959.

Over the last quarter exports showed a slight fall while imports, up by 4 per cent, were at their highest ever level.

One of the key factors now aggravating the situation is undoubtedly the Vietnam war.

It is now calculated that about £800 million a month is being expended on this war.

There is widespread fear in business circles that such payments can only be made out of increased taxation.

**Tax increases**

While the war may bring in rich contracts for the arms makers and help to keep industry booming, it is adding considerably to the present inflationary pressures which must bring sharp tax increases and sharper attacks on wages and working conditions.

The Vietnam war, by adding to the import bill, also worsens the balance of payments situation.

These growing economic problems are at the base of the increasing tensions in the American ruling class as it faces new problems and growing militancy in the unions and the working class. This crisis finds its reflection at the very top of the Democratic Party.

One of the reasons which has caused Johnson to delay the imposition of increased taxes is fear of heavy defeats in the November Congressional elections.

In addition, it is clear that LBJ is losing the support of sections of his party. He has been unable to control labour at home, to make any inroads into the mass of poverty in the States and, perhaps most important of all, he has brought the war in Vietnam no nearer to a successful conclusion.

He now faces a strong challenge from Senator Robert Kennedy, who, according to recent polls, is the more popular choice amongst Democrats as the Party candidate for the Presidential campaign of 1968.

We need not speak at length about the international implications of these growing problems for US capitalism. A recession in America—or even a slowing down in the rate of expansion—would have immediate and serious repercussions for the whole capitalist world, not least of all Britain.

Most important, this growing crisis heralds the opening of a new stage in the struggles of the American working class, struggles which have enormous significance for socialists in Britain and throughout the world.

## Problems for ruling class intensity

THE LATEST figures published at the end of last week show a further fall in the gold and convertible currency reserves of £19 million. This is the sixth successive month which has seen a fall.

It is widely known in the City that these figures cover up the real position.

Heavy calls have been made on the Continental bankers to bolster up the sagging pound. The real fall in the reserves over the last month was probably in the region of £75 million.

The reserves now stand at a little over £1,100.

At their present rate of decline they would last for under 12 months.

It is clear that the pound has in no way been saved by the July measures.

Wilson will face increasing pressure from the international bankers to step up the rate of unemployment and his attacks on the working class.

The last few days have seen the crisis gathering momentum and preparing the ground for a head on collision between the working class and the Labour government and the employers.

**SELECTIVE EMPLOYMENT TAX**

This tax was introduced on Monday of this week. Under SET, all employers will pay 25s for each adult male they employ (with reduced amounts for younger workers).

After a six months delay employers in the manufacturing sector will get a rebate which will bring them a net gain of about 7s 6d for each employee.

The service sector of the economy will get no rebate.

The supposed aim of this tax was to re-deploy labour and force it into the export trades in an attempt to bridge the balance of payments gap.

In fact all the SET has done is to expose as a sham Labour's claim that they were going to freeze prices in return for a standstill on wages. As a result of the new tax the cost of living will soar upwards.

From Monday, most beers will rise by 1d a pint; haircuts will go up by at least 6d; all ladies hairdressing charges will rise; hotel charges will rise by a minimum of 5 per cent; increased delivery charges will raise the price of milk; all

laundry charges will rise by about 5 per cent; meals in restaurants will go up in price; it is estimated that the tax will raise costs in the catering industry by about £25 million in a full year and already Lyons have announced that all dishes under 1s 6d will go up by 1d.

This list involves only those announcements which have been made about increases. The SET will put about 3s a week on the average grocery bill.

So much for the 'price freeze': employers in the service sector must only 'do their best' to absorb the tax: where they are unable to do so they can increase prices.

On the other hand since the July measures over 50 companies have increased (or have made announcements about proposals to increase) their dividend rates. Not a finger has been lifted against them.

**LOW PAID WORKERS**

Many on the 'left' in the trade unions and Labour Party tried to 'sell' the so-called incomes policy on the grounds that it would lead to a redistribution of income from higher to lower paid workers. Again this deception has been shattered.

Ray Gunter last week asked the Wages Councils to 'reconsider' their proposals for wage increases affecting roughly 600,000 of the lowest paid workers in the country.

About 200,000 of these workers were expecting straight increases in the near future, including nearly 100,000 involved in the distribution of milk.

Under Part IV, Section 31 of the Prices and Incomes Act the government can refrain from making a Wages Council Order, or delay the implementation of such an order.

**MACHINE TOOLS INDUSTRY**

Figures published by the Machine Tools Trade Association last week reveal a growing crisis in this industry which has been intensified by Labour's deflationary policies.

Machine tools are a key industry for any modern capitalist state: on this industry depends the ability of almost all the other industries to modernise and re-equip.

During the first six months of this year orders for this industry showed a 6 per cent

Continued page 4, column 1 →



REG PERRY REPORTS from BLACKPOOL

TRADES UNION CONGRESS

Cool reception for Wilson's warning



COUSINS rescues CARRON from lobbyists

DELEGATES ARRIVING for the Trades Union Congress on Saturday were met by a demonstration of 500 trade unionists...

large contingents of building workers from London, Manchester and Liverpool. Later on Saturday they were able to enter the hotel and challenge George Louthian of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trades Workers...

PROBLEMS INTENSIFY

From page 2 fall as compared with the same period last year. Export orders show a catastrophic fall of 22 per cent over the same period.

and solve the export-import gap. It can succeed in neither. The latest gold and trade figures show the pound to be as unstable as ever.

British capitalism is one of a completely outdated structure which is heavily dependent upon technically backward industries. The means for the modernisation of British industry must come from abroad...

Table with 3 columns: Imports, Exports, and Average annual percentage rate of increase (1960-64). Rows include Chemicals, Machinery and Transport, Miscellaneous, etc.

THE EXPORT-IMPORT CRISIS The present freeze, we are told by the Labour leaders, is necessary to save the pound

Wilson's warning

THE trade unions will either accept the wage freeze voluntarily, or the government will enforce it by law. The wage freeze will not end in six months, but will be followed by a period of severe restraint and a longer period of continued strict enforcement of the prices and incomes policy.

This was Harold Wilson's warning to the British working class when he spoke at the Trades Union Congress here on Monday. All these threats are tied to one condition—that the unions co-operate fully with the government's capitalist policies.

Wilson recognised the 'deep ingrained traditions inherited from the defensive days of this movement,' but added: 'It is hard to say it, but we cannot fight the problems of tomorrow with the rusty weapons of the past.'

While denigrating the trade union movement, he said, at the same time, that whatever the TUC vote on the government's economic measures, the crisis had to be settled the government's way.

Redeployment

'Our measures are aimed not at unemployment, but at redeployment, and it is of paramount importance, however harsh this may seem, that where, as a result, demand and real employment fall, the labour is released to meet the urgent demands of the export and other key industries.'

of consumer goods. This also meant higher prices which increased export costs. But it was not only on imports and exports.

Wage freeze struggle

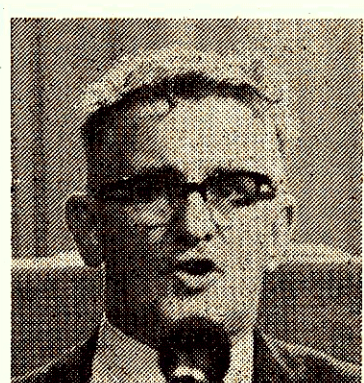
From page 1

democracy if the trade union freedom which is an essential part of that is controlled by legislation.

'I would like to ask what we are here for. Why do trade unions exist? It is to protect the interests of members; to improve their standards, and fight on behalf of all workers in their totality for a better standard of living.'

Surrender to TUC

If the trade unions were going to surrender their authority to anyone, they should surrender it to the TUC not to any government. There was applause when Cousins continued: 'I am opposed to the trade unions being transferred into the corporate body of the state.'



Patterson: Ask for strike?

Precaution

'To take these powers as a precaution was essential. We hope that it will not be necessary to use them, and that the policy will work by voluntary means. But if that is not so; if there is a breakdown in action, whether in wages or prices (loud laughter again), or by any other challenge, by any section of the community seeking to secure a privileged position for itself, the government will, reluctantly, have to replace voluntary action by operating the statute.'

Gunboat policies

'The Prime Minister tells us that the wage freeze is sound economics. This is not true. We are being asked to accept the wage freeze to support gunboat policies.'

Jobless miners — The pattern for S. Wales

FROM TONY GARD

THE struggle of the miners of the Cambrian, Duffryn Rhondda, and Glynrhondda collieries against their closure later this month highlights the crisis facing the entire South Wales' labour movement.

PIT CLOSURES

MINERS AT THE Cambrian colliery in the Rhondda Valley, who staged a one-day strike before the Bank Holiday (see last week's Newsletter) are continuing their policy of non-co-operation with the National Coal Board's plan to close the pit on September 24.

The NCB wants to transfer the Cambrian pit to Cwm colliery, Llantwit Fardre, and Llangarw Colliery. A great deal of capital has been recently invested in both pits, but the closure of Duffryn Rhondda shows that this will not make miners' jobs secure.

RECESSION IN STEEL

ON FRIDAY, September 2, the SCOW began short-time working in the cold mill finishing department at the Abbey Works, Port Talbot for 2,000 men.

The change means an average of four and a half shifts per man per week, instead of five and a half, and the loss of up to £5 a week in wages.

These and other union officials are due to start talks on remanaging on September 22. The company is reported to be planning 5,000 redundancies over the next three years as a result of remanaging alone.

LABOUR MOVEMENT

ON THURSDAY, September 1, Aberdare Trades and Labour Council meeting voiced strong criticism of the wage freeze. One AEU delegate is reported to have said: 'I didn't think I would see the day when the party of which I am a member would pursue a policy of creating unemployment...'

A Socialist Policy

From page 1 Just consider a simple question. What difference would it make to the economic crisis of world imperialism if the unions were to give up these rights to the TUC? None whatsoever.

Diversions

What you are doing is creating a diversion in order to avoid facing up to questions of socialist policies. This is the real issue which faces the labour movement.

- Full support and aid for the National Liberation Front in Vietnam. ● The withdrawal of all British troops from overseas. ● Freedom and the right to self-determination for all colonial peoples.

Because Cousins does not want to face up to all these important points of programme he naturally does not want to talk to the Trotskyists who advocate them. From the Blackpool conference of the TUC to the Brighton conference of the Labour Party.

UNION CRISIS

THE CRISIS IN the unions is indicated by the contest for the presidency of the South Wales area of the NUM, recently vacated by Mr. Will Whitehead. The vice-president, Glyn Williams, is opposed by three candidates—all opponents of the leadership's policies.

In a feature article in the 'South Wales Echo', one of them, Emyln Williams, said: 'The closures are part of a political instrument... We must fight as a militant trade union or go out as a rabble...'

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