

The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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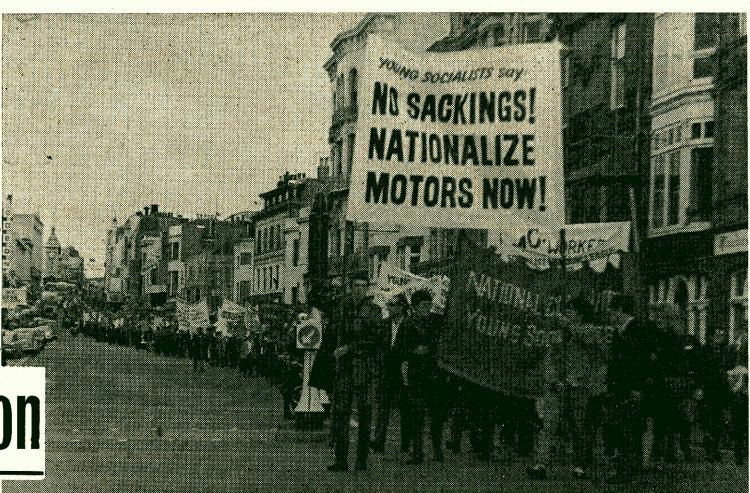
October 8, 1966

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WILL COUSINS FIGHT?

1,200 march

Brighton



Car workers praise political lead of YS

Newsletter Reporter

SHOP STEWARDS and workers from the motor industry last Sunday praised the Young Socialists for giving the only political lead in the present crisis.

They had just marched in a colourful 1,200 strong demonstration Wilson's hotel chanting 'Nationalize BMC-Unemployment Out!'

This was just one of many hard-hitting slogans shouted by the quarter-of-a-mile long procession of Young Socialists, students and adult trade unionists from all over the country.

The increasing number of adult members of the labour movement on Young Socialist marches emphasises the political impact of the youth—their policies continue to mobilise more and more workers each time they turn out on the streets.

The convenor of a leading Liverpool factory connected with the motor trade summed this up when he said:
'I have seen something this weekend to make me realise there

is somebody prepared to act—with patience there will be hundreds and thousands who will come and act at your request.'

A steward from BMC's Tractor and Transmission factory in Birmingham hoped that the YS would continue its campaigns with the 'same zeal' as it had in the past 12 months. He was glad to see young people interested in politics. They soon found a road through politics, 'and the only road to socialism is through the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League,' he

Several others at the meeting after the march (reported on page three) similarly praised the lead given by the YS.

Factory and shop stewards' committees represented on the march-many of them officially march—many of them officially delegated—came from Lucas-CAV (Liverpool); Shardlows, Tempered Springs and Daniel Doncaster (Sheffield); Rootes Pressings (Linwood), BMC (Bathgate), Albion Motors and Singers (Clydeside)—(all* in Scotland); Morris Motors (Cowley, Oxford); and representatives from major Morris Motors (Cowley, Oxford); and representatives from major factories and sites in the Midlands, London, the North East, Yorkshire, the North West and South Wales.

Almost every union—from woodworkers to clerks, from construction workers to shop assistants from seamen and dockers.

tants, from seamen and dockers to teachers—had members on the

Hundreds turned out to watch the demonstration-most of them delegates to the conference—as it wound its way along the Brighton front, into the town, then back again along the front.

It was the most highly political highly-organised and disciplined demonstration ever held by the YS.

It was another great stride by the youth towards mobilising thousands more in the present crisis behind a revolutionary leadership against the betrayals of the Wilson against the betrayals of the Wilson government towards the taking of power in this



Conference endorses legal wage freezing

LABOUR PARTY CON-FERENCE on Wednesday endorsed the Cabinet decision taken in Harold Wilson's hotel room in Brighton the previous night, under which the government took legal powers to en-force the Prices and Incomes Act. This means that conference has approved the compulsory freeze of wages, with fines or imprisonment for workers who resist.

But had conference rejected the iniquitous Part IV, Wilson had given them fair warning that their views would be ignored. He said on Tuesday that it was the task of the government to govern for the nation, and the conference viewpoint was therefore secon-

James Callaghan, Chancellor of

Mersey dockers strike

BY WEDNESDAY, 7,000 Merseyside dockers were on strike against non-union labour following a call for a show of cards Transport and General Workers' Union branch com-

Both T&GWU and National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers' ('Blue Union') members are on strike. The rank and file is supporting the drive for trade unionism in view of the attacks inherent in the Devlin Report published last week, and many support the right of a man to join the union of his choice.

But T&GWU officials want 100 per cent unionism which will mean control by their union's the Exchequer, asking for endorsement of the government's economic policy, gave very plain warnings that after August 11, next year, when the prices and incomes legislation is due to lapse, the government would not cease to interfere with the rights of trade unions to free collective bargaining.

'These issues,' he declared, concern the future of collective bargaining, the right to which was painfully won by the pioneers of the last century. The document also indirectly raises the question of what role the trades unions are to play in a full employment society in which we forever use to the very limit of our resources in manpower and materials.

'I hope that no one is going to suggest that he is more con-cerned than anyone up here on the platform for the preservation of full employment . . . or is more anxious to maintain the freedom of the trade union move-

ment, than we are.'
But later came the pill hidden beneath the sugar.

'The best prospects . . . lie in the recognition that any group of people who are arguing about their incomes . . . must accept that the bargaining strength of the two parties is not the only

(Continued on page 4, col. 1)

Rachmanism continues

THAT RACHMAN-TYPE excesses against tenants in certain areas of London still continue, in spite of the 1965 Rent Act, was revealed by Ed Rhodes, the delegate to the Labour Party conference from St. Pancras North.

He heard that 'big boys' were taken along by landlords to overcome opposition from tenants. and that in one case a pistol had been flourished. There was no doubt that, though illegal, these practices still continued.

The delegate was pressing for an urgent review of the 1965 Rent Act, in particular the operation of the Rent Assessment

George Lowthian, the delegate for the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, wanted the government to create a Public Building Corporation, though 'not at this stage asking for total nationalization of the industry.

Even so modified a step in the direction of public ownership proved too much for Tony Green-wood, Minister of Housing, who said the government could not support the resolution since there had been nothing about public building corporations in the Labour Party manifestoes of 1964

'LEFT TALK'? BY THE EDITOR

OR IS IT JUST

LIKE THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS the Labour Party conference was split right down the middle. Wilson and the right wing won a majority for their Prices and Incomes Act and Cousins defeated them by a narrow majority on the issue

of work-sharing and unemployment. The labour movement may well ask; where do we go from here? The one thing that was conspicuous by its absence from the conference was bold decisive leadership. It is all very well for Frank Cousins to say that the trade unions will fight the laws if the laws are unjust, but this is not a simple question of unjust laws.

A Labour government which included Cousins in its Cabinet for well over 18 months has now legally invoked Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Act which instructs the employers not to pay any wage increases until the middle of August 1967.

All wage struggles from now on are not simply industrial struggles but political struggles against the government.

This was in fact the precise meaning of the seamen's strike. It was a fight against the government and because of this was political fight from the start.

political fight from the start. Yet Cousins stayed a member of the Cabinet right throughout the whole of the strike. When he did publicly speak about the strike it was in the form of criticism—he blamed the strike

leadership for making it a political issue with the government. Yet, the government was only doing in the seamen's strike wha it proposes to do now in the operation of Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Act against the unions.

Is Mr. Cousins and his union now prepared to light the government? Because if they are then the question of power is posed, and not just a fight against laws. If the T&GWU is proposing to defeat the government then it should be calling on its members and the working class as a whole to replace the government with a real socialist government pledged to the application of

Crunch for the 'left'

But this is not Mr. Cousins' intention-he wants to retain a Labour government operating capitalism with the Prices and Incomes

Act removed from the Statute Books. Here is the crunch for all the needs the Act if it is to survive. Wilson and the right wing, who stand four-square for bolstering up capitalism, have no intention of removing the Act.

Even if they had been defeated at the conference this week they would have gone ahead, just as Gaitskell went right ahead supporting the H-bomb after conference defeated him in 1960.

Unless Cousins and his union are prepared for an all out political struggle against the government then his opposition is simply 'left talk'.

Then there were others at the conference who imagine that because they have made one or two 'left' noises on the platform that means they have acquired great power and are now speaking on behalf of and to the working class. This is an old centrist illusion.

The same people glibly talk about the 'isolation' of the Socialist Labour League when they themselves have no organisation of any

sort to fight the right wing.

They get carried away with the publicity of a few minutes speak. ing time on the platform, and completely overlook the vital necessity for training a revolutionary leadership to politically expose and fight the right wing on a programme for power.

Any 'left' delegate who spoke at the conference and overlooked or rejected this fact is simply talking 'left' in order to avoid reality. Only those who fight for and believe in revolutionary organisation

can organise the break which the working class is now called upon to make from the MacDonaldite leadership of the Labour Party.

It is not the Socialist Labour League which is isolated but them. The magnificent 1,200-strong demonstration on the Sunday before the conference in Brighton proved for anyone who cares to see that hundreds of young leaders are now being trained as Marxists for work inside the trade unions and later, when the split deepens inside the Labour Party.

The only way to fight the right wing and their compulsory wage freezing is to build up this or-ganisation to fight in an organised revolutionary way in-side the trade unions and both inside and outside the Labour

This was partly achieved by the Young Socialists between 1960-1964 until they were expelled by Wilson without Cousins or the 'lefts' lifting a finger to help

Here is the reason why we do not accept the Cousins line wholeheartedly as the 'left' fakers do. Is he prepared to fight Wilson recognising that it is a political

fight against the government?

We do not think so, and whilst we are prepared to sup-port him and his union insofar as they mobilise the working class against Wilson's line we insist that the real issue is the building of the alternative leadership inside the labour movement now—otherwise we are on the road to further defeats at the hands of the right

This is the time for purposeful action and not merely 'left' talk as a substitute for such action.

CE C C OCTOBER 15 AGAINST NATO AND THE

Book now for

There is still time for our readers to sign up to go to Liege with the Young Socialists of Britain to meet socialist youth from Belgium and countries all over Europe.

They will be protesting against the war in Vietnam and against the capitalist alliance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which has its headquarters near to Liege.

The cost of the round trip to Dover-Ostend and Liege is £8 10s which includes a free meal at Liege and dancing on board ship there and back.

Do not delay write now to Dany Sylviere, Liege Organiser, Young Socialists, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, for further details or send a deposit of £2 with your name and address.



PARTY IN CONFERENCE

'Conservatism'-

of the Tories and workers

Wilson's ruse to attack the working class

FRESH from his mauling by redundant car workers, dockers and busmen on Brighton front, Harold Wilson appeared before the Labour Party Conference in more confident mood on Tuesday to give his parliamentary report. But his reception was cool and restrained when he came to the rostrum; no cheers, no standing ovation.

But at the end, when he had invoked what was surely the most sickly and unctuaus appeal to religious sentiment to be heard at Conference since Ramsay MacDonald, delegates dutifully rose to applaud him.

Wilson's main tactic in the business of bemusing the Labour Party and trade union leaders has always been to pick on some word which exer-

But Wilson hinted quite broadly that all that he was say-

ing about the need to prop up

the economy at the expense of the working class would also

guide any decision on actions

Speakers on this rostrum on

Thursday in the foreign policy debate will rightly express

themselves in strong terms. But

for their speeches to be more than mere words, they have got to recognise the realities

we shall be debating on Wed-nesday."

(Wednesday was the day of the economic policy debate.)

In veiled terms, he was again

reminding delegates that the

foreign policy depends on the

pound also being boosted by im-

perialist allies. In return for the money of, for example, the United States, the British govern-

ment must support Johnson's policies in Vietnam.

PRINCIPLES?

Cynically, he also referred to standing by our principles' on the Rhodesia question.

This was, he said, a fight against racialism 'which is now

far more of a divisive and explo-

sive factor in world affairs even than thermo-nuclear power'.

By standing by principles, Britain had kept the Common-

Principles certainly were not showing when, soon after taking

government tightened up on immigration into this country,

thereby strengthening whole sec-

tions of racialists who openly attacked coloured people.

We shall defend those principles, Wilson continued blandly, and we have the

right to ask the Conservative Opposition whether they will

at their conference continue to

insist that there must be

guaranteed and unimpeded pro-

gress to majority rule, proof

against gerrymandering or any racialist inspired braking mechanism, whether they will

in 1964, the Labour

wealth together!

Money crisis a guide

MANY DELEGATES were dubious about the ability of the

conference to raise any real issues concerning foreign policy as

only Thursday morning was devoted to this vast subject.

to foreign policy

By Newsletter Reporters

cises an emotional spell over the labour movement and use it in precisely the opposite sense to that in which it has always been understood in working class organisations.

The theme of his speech was 'conservatism'.

Characteristically, he tried under this heading to lump together the conservatism of the Tories with the defence by trade unionists of the gains of the working-class over the past century, and the rights to independence of unions under a capitalist state

'We must be on our guard to ensure that conservative practices are not strengthened by the understandable reflex action of trade unions and their members to ill-considered provocative actions taken by some industrialists using as their pretext the measures the government have had to take.'

In other words, if the bosses use the government's anti-working class measures as a pretext for an attack on the wages and conditions of employees, it is 'conservatism' in those workers to resist and defeat such moves.

'The July measures,' declared Wilson, 'were required to deal with a crisis. But, however rough and painful their immediate effects, we must regard them, not as a backward

reversion to stop-go, but as a necessary condition for the nation's advance to economic strength and independence, to industrial expansion and rising living standards. We reject Tory stop-go methods.'

According to all this, it is 'conservatism' not to be able to see—simply because Harold Wilson assures that it is so-any difference between present Labour policies and Tory stop-

Retrenchment

He referred to Labour's 'rejection-never found in the Tory stop-go—of the proposition that the burdens of retrenchment should be placed on those least able to bear them. For we have matched economic retrenchment

It is 'conservatism', in his view, to say that the burdens of retrenchment are still placed on those least able to bear them, the wage earners, the low-paid workers, the old age pensioners while rich industrialists, divi-dend holders, judges, MPs and senior civil servants continue to increase their profits and fat salaries. In fact he attempted to hide these attacks on the working class by outlining the halfcock reforms carried out by the government.

'It is precisely because we insist,' declared Wilson, 'that an incomes policy must cover all incomes and not just wages, it is precisely because Labour budgets have attacked the system of fiscal privilege in expense accounts and tax free capital gains, while a new system of industrial taxation favours investments against dividends, it is precisely because we are ending the free-for-all for the speculator, the land profiteer and the land-lord' that in his view the government had a right to ask the people of this country for an incomes policy.

The impudent hypocrisy of these assertions hardly needs em-

'Ending the free-for-all for the speculator'? What about the recent wild spree in the City when ICI's call for a £50 million loan was over-subscribed to the tune of thirty times that sum, in order that speculators might make a lush profit? What about the nation-wide rise in rents, giving landlords and money-lenders a fat harvest?

Wilson declared:

'The productivity, industrial modernisation, the sense of

continue to insist, as we are insisting, that any settlement reached is acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole, the people, whether they will insist, as we are insisting, on a real return to legality as a condition for negotiation.'

But what else has it been but a 'braking mechanism', in consideration of big business interests in Rhodesia, and not those of the Rhodesian people, which has prevented the African people from taking power from the Smith

REAL ATTITUDE

Wilson continually referred to the democracy of the Labour Party and labour movement, and of the right of delegates to express themselves strongly. But he really summed up the whole right-wing attitude of his speech when he said:

'But I say to this conference as I said to the TUC—that that influence, that weight, that power to intervene [in great issues], perhaps decisively, that power to lead, all these de-pend not only on our moral strength, they depend neither on resolutions nor on demon-stration, they depend on our material strength, on the mobilisation of our economic power and vigour.' (Our emphasis.)

He was saying, in fact, that all the decisions had been made: the Labour government, under Harold Wilson, has decided to make the economy work for capitalism, whatever the expense, and that no conference or opposition will change that course.

This was an apt reply to those Communist Party shop stewards from Birmingham, led by Mr. Dick Etheridge, who were carrying out their Party's policy of pressurising Mr. Wilson to change his policies.

As one Sunderland miner was heard to say in a Brighton restaurant immediately after Wilson's speech: 'This is a democratic country, but do as your told!'



with social advance'.

The loyal doubters

THE COOLNESS of the reception for Wilson's speech was not simply the coolness of the right-wing delegates at con-

One of our reporters found that it was an expression, as one Party agent put, 'of that nagging feeling in the back of your head', which was rife throughout the constitutency

parties.
The loyal certainly want to remain loyal to the image of the Party and Party leader, but there are growing doubts even amongst this most unthinking section of the labour

movement. Another agent, from a depression area, claimed proudly that direction of industry had slowed down the lay-offs and redundancies in his area.

'But we feel indecisive,' he said. 'The wage freeze is supposd to end in six month's time. But what after that?'
'If I knew what was coming after the freeze, I would

be much more confident in going into a trade union branch to convince members that it was for their good,' said another. 'But I don't know, and it worries me.'



self-discipline and restraint for which we ask will provide the industrial base for social advance... based on a fair and equal chance in life for all Britain's children.'

Britain's working-class children face a 'fair and equal' chance of seeing their parents thrown out of employment, and of leaving school to join the dole-queues themselves, unless they follow the leadership of the Young Socialists in an all-out fight against Wilson's attacks on their class.

'I make clear again today, as I did at the TUC, that at the end of the day the government must take the final decision in the interests of the nation as a whole. We shall not shrink from that decision. For what is at stake is whether we can have economic planning for full employment, if prices and incomes are governed by a fre-

In plain terms, the government is to fix wages and take away from the unions their rights of negotiation and struggle to im-prove the standards of their members.

According to this word-spinner, to deny his government of traitors the powers to do all this is consequent to the contract of is 'conservatism'! He described the July measures

as 'a necessary condition for national advance to economic strength and independence, to industrial expansion and rising liv-

ing standards'.

Economic independence, when the government becomes more and more tied hand-and-foot to the bankers of Wall Street and

time when thousands of car workers are being thrown on the dole, preparatory to a general beating-down of wage rates in the

noise about the government's in-tentions for 'the reform of our ancient system of laws and legal

date has been legislation shackling the trade unions to the capitalist state and threatening with fines and imprisonment workers who resist. And in return for this we are to be offered an Ombudsman!

'conservatism' Wilson slated what he termed 'dinosaur-type thinking in our own Party'.

a solution to those problems seek vainly to find the answer

procedures' and promised 'an Ombudsman, whose duty will be to enquire into alleged injustices affecting the lives, happiness and welfare of the individual'. The main reform of law to

In his relentless hunt against

clared, 'to fight the problems of the sixties with the attitudes of the Social Democratic Federation, nor in looking for in Highgate cemetary.' (A reference to the fact that Karl Marx was buried in that place.)

talist system.

Zurich? Rising living standards, at a

industry? Wilson made considerable

'We cannot afford,' he de-

To Wilson it is 'conservatism' to turn to the only solution—the Marxist one—which makes any sense or coherence in this time of mortal crisis of the world capi-

was not a 'centralised interna-tional communist movement, 'but a 'united fight of the left and all progressive parties'.
When asked to pledge the CP

DUTT

DISTORTS

AGAIN

By Newsletter Reporter

SPEAKING IN Southall, Middlesex, last weekend on 'Imperialism and India Today', R. Palme Dutt of the Communist Party exposed completely the counter-revolutionary role of world Stalinism.

Sidestepping the task of how to build a real communist move-ment in India—there are now two Communist Parties, pro-Chinese and pro-Soviet Union-by saying this was an internal question for the Indian communists, Dutt played strongly to the nationalist feelings which he assumed his audience, most of them Indians, possessed.

'Chief difference'

Lenin, he said, considered the socialist revolution was decisive for the USSR and Asia and far more important than the revolu-tion in Western Europe.

'This was one of his chief differences with Trotsky, who said that Russian socialism could not succeed unless there was a world revolution!

Lenin, Dutt continued, was right, adding that the Asian revolution was two-thirds completed and that the Indian revolution

lution itself, 'the decisive stage' for world socialism, had now reached its half-way stage.

A grosser misrepresentation of Lenin, or a grosser complacency in the face of hostile facts, is hard to imagine.

His praise for Nehru was unstinting. By non-alingnment, at a time when the imperialists were proposing military blocks, Nehru was really supporting the Soviet block, he claimed.

The partition of India, the fact that in 1953 even Nehru admitted that imperialist profits here were greater than before 'indepen-dence', that the majority of peasants continued to exist at or below subsistence level, with rising prices, starvation and mass unemployment was the responsibility of the imperialists.

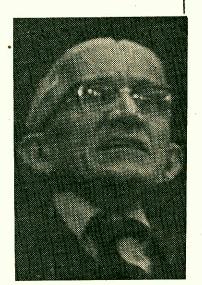
'United fight'

What was needed now, he said,

to join a united fight in this country with the Young Socialists, he answered that the CP was not interested in 'alliances with impatient little groups who get up and wave a flag'.

The Young Socialists will, however, continue fighting to build a

centralised international com-munist movement and will unite with all workers, including CP members, who are fighting against reformism and Stalinism.



R. PALME DUTT: Praise for Nehru.

Embassy confirms release of Hass

THE POLISH EMBASSY in London this week confirmed that Ludwig Hass, one of several Polish Trotskyists jailed earlier this year for issuing a document criticis-ing the Polish Workers' Party leaders, has been released.

Hass was sentenced to three years' jail along with Romuald Smiech, Kaismierz Badowski, Karol Mozelewski, Jacek Kuron and others following secret

The embassy official refused to comment on the position of the others, but it is thought they will stay in jail.

In May, the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists marched to the embassy to demand their release.

demand their release.

A resolution handed in at that time stressed that the demonstration was not hostile to the Polish state, but that like the Stalinists' murderous acts against the Polish Communist Party leadership in 1938 and the jailing of the present Prime Minister, Wladislaw Gomulka, between 1949 and 1956, the present sentences were an attack on the interwere an attack on the international working class.

Labour leaders 1931 and 1966

Ramsay MacDonald, like Harold Wilson, was a leader of the Labour Party who came to power at a time of economic crisis. He found himself in this situation only able to carry out policies that attacked the working class. The centenary of MacDonald's birth is a convenient occasion on which to discuss his unhappy career and to show that Wilson has already followed him a long way down the same disastrous road.

MACDONALD, the most notorious politician in the history of the British labour movement, was born 100 years ago on October 12 1866, in Lossiemouth, a small fishing village on the shores of the Moray Firth. His origins were humble, for he was the illegi-timate son of a farm labourer, but he was to do more than anyone to ensure that the British ruling class held on to their power.

MacDonald went to London and became a journalist. At first he supported the Liberal Party, but later joined the In-

Party, but later joined the Independent Labour Party and became secretary of the Labour Representation Committee at its foundation in 1900.

This was the body set up by the trade union leaders and the ILP to promote independent working-class representation in the House of Commons; its name was later changed to the Labour was later changed to the Labour

the number of MPs elected increased in the years up to 1914, MacDonald was the main architect of the pacts, accomodations and compromises with the Liberal Party which characterised the Labour Party at this period.

The Labour Party thus began its career inauspiciously in har-ness with one of the old parties of the ruling class, and as early as 1907 trade union leader Ben Tillett wrote that Labour MPs 'repaid with gross betrayal the class who willingly supports them'.

During the First World War, MacDonald was supposed to be an opponent of the war. But he

RAMSAY never made a principled stand of any kind against the war, merely uttering a few pacifist phrases about 'the nation's honour' and its 'tradition'. In September 1914 he even

wrote:
'History will in due time appor-

tion praise and blame, but the young men of this country must, for the moment, settle the immediate question of victory. In other words, British workers must slaughter as many German workers as possible, whatever the

issues involved. As a result of his alleged stand against the war at this time MacDonald won the reputation as a man of the 'left' and many workers looked to him for leadership. It was from the Clydeside, where working-class militancy had been at its strongest, that the 'left' MPs came in 1922 who were decisive in securing the election of Mac-Donald as leader of the Labour

First government

In 1924 the first Labour government was formed with MacDonald as Premier. One of the main aims of this government has been described 'to dispel any apprehension

as to the government's radical-

The same policy was again pursued when the second Labour government was formed by MacDonald in 1929 in a period of massive economic

MacDonald maintained that in this situation he could not pursue a policy at variance with the wishes of the British capitalists and the international bankers. He promised that if workers

were willing to accept sacrifice in the short term, eventually there would be a solution to the problems of capitalism. Because no real fight was put up against these policies, the way was open for MacDonald to cut the wage of government employees, to create unemployment that ran into millions, and to cut the dole. These measures pleased the foreign bankers and heralded a decade of misery and suffering for the working class.

The adoption of these Tory policies by MacDonald in 1931 forced him eventually to leave the Labour Party altogether and to join with the Tories in the so-called 'National' government.

Some other leaders of the Labour Party condemned Mac-Donald for this final step, but they had followed every stage in the preparation for Tory rule and working-class misery. They had shared in MacDonald's treacherous policies, if not in his political logic.

It is easy now to look back on MacDonald's career as a whole and to condemn the betrayals that ended it. But these were not isolated from the rest of his career.

In 1909 he said that socialists must ignore the class struggle and begin with the facts of social

Such a starting point made him quite incapable of anything other

than carrying out the dictates of the bankers when he came up against any real problems. He said in 1924 that 'socialism

. . . must repudiate force', yet when in power he threatened strikers with the army and carried on the same oppressive policies as the Tories against

the colonial peoples.

Before the open class betrayal of 1931 many workers thought that MacDonald should be 'given

By failing to build up an alternative to MacDonald in time, they were faced with dole queues and depression. MacDonald's policies from the beginning could only lead to the betrayal and defeat of the working class.

'Left' poses

Harold Wilson, like Mac-Donald, has found it convenient to adopt 'lett' poses. In 1951 he resigned from the government with Bevan over the introduction of health charges, but was never

part of the Bevanite group.

During the crisis in the
Labour Party 10 years later over foreign policy and defence he stood against right-winger Gaitskell for the leadership of the

Labour Party.
As with MacDonald in 1914, As with MacDonald in 1914, the reasons for this stand were somewhat obscure. He was opposed to Gaitskell's methods rather than to his policies. Yet, as a result of this, he got the support of the 'left' MPs who ensured his election as leader of the Labour Party in 1963 after the death of Gaitskell, just 41 years death of Gaitskell, just 41 years after the election of MacDonald. Like MacDonald, Wilson has

promised workers a golden future without altering the structure of capitalism.
In the 1950s as in the period after the first world war, when

employers were able to grant concessions, such policies might have seemed realistic. In periods of economic crisis like 1931 and 1966, such policies can lead only to defeats and betrayals of the working class.

Wilson's actions and Wilson's policies lead in the same direction as MacDonald's, and to the

same defeats and betrayals of

the working class.

Only the policies of the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League in fighting to huild an element in lighting to build an alternative leadership to Wilson will make it possible to Continued page 4, column 6 ->

DECISIONS TAKEN at the Labour Party conference would not mean a thing-the real decisions have already been taken in Wall Street and Washington, said Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League in Brighton last Sunday.

He was speaking to an audience of over 1,000 in the Ocean Restaurant, West Pier, following the highly successful demonstration by Young Socialists, workers from the motor car industry, other trade unionists and students through the town (reported on page

No one could have any illusions about what was going to happen at the Labour party conference, he said.

'This will not be a conference, because all the issues were decided in advance on the day the Labour government came to power in April 1964.'

The government had decided in the first few weeks of its office to accept the complete dictation of the international bankers headed by Wall Street and President Johnson.

TIED

It had no independence from these forces because British capi-talism was tied hand and foot to the economic requirements of this system and all decisions would be taken along these lines, irrespective of what 'left' speeches were made.

were made.

'The government has embarked on a policy of attacking the working class because it wants to take back from the working class some of the most important gains which the strength of the rank and file has won over the last 20 years,' he said, adding: 'They are out to make tens of thousands of workers unemplayed and reduce workers unemployed and reduce our standard of living.

Whilst we are speaking, meetings are taking place between the employers and the various government ministries, as well as the trade union leaderships, to discuss the invoking of Article IV of the Prices and Incomes Act. The employers will now enjoy the complete backing of this government when they resist all wage demands.'

Every strike that is taken against Article IV could be considered an illegal act. Trade unionists would now be

'What is the purpose of bring-ing legislation into force if you are not going to put teeth into it?' he asked.

The Prices and Incomes Act was a capitalist law. The govern-ment operating the law was a capitalist government, but different from a Tory government

Conference decisions already made by bankers Meeting told-

real decisions are taken in Wall Street and Washington,' Comrade Healy said.

The government was placing legislation on the statute book which would be there when Wilson went out of office. It was establishing the fascist principle by making the state the arbiter of wages and conditions.

TWO SCHOOLS

Once the state took over control of wages and working conditions, then trade unions had no existence.

'Only the strength of the working class is left to fight any government which does this,' he

There were two schools of thought on how this fight would

'Ours says that the task is to build a leadership, to go amongst all workers threatened by unemployment, to build up a unity between the employed and unemployed, to prevent them being driven into disillusionment, and to explain that all struggles



BMC Shop Steward.

into private enterprise. Imperial Chemical Industries. one of the first to announce unemployment, had appealed to the City of London for a loan, which was oversubscribed be-cause the financial sharks hoped to re-sell and make a profit on the Stock Exchange.

workers had to be unemployed.

tinuation of the war waged by Wilson against workers in this country. This was why when workers fight back, they support the workers in Vietnam.

'We have a big fighting front led by the youth who are supported by the Socialist Labour League.

nationalization and to end the war in Vietnam.

GREAT EFFORT

'We are confident we can build up this movement into a great party and go forward to a

Opening the meeting, Dave Ashby, national chairman of the Young Socialists congratulated the demonstrators on their magnificent effort, and especially the Young Socialists who had campaigned day in and day out for strong delegations from each

to protest. Nor are we here to persuade Wilson to change his

'It is impossible to fight against the wage freeze and unemployment today without making an open break from the right-wing Labourites in the government who are dresponsible for this policy'. directly

The demonstration had not been organised so that a little 'left' pressure could be exerted on Wilson, but to bring together and organise the alternative to Wilson.

'We intend in this meeting to speak out against Wilson and all those who refuse to make a clean break from him,' said Ashby.

Frank Cousins, of course, still called the Prime Minister by his name and was expressing some criticisms of the way 'Harold'

whole method of the 'Tribune'ite Young Socialists had

> trade union movement. He cited the case of Australia where an Act had been used as a threat, but had now snowballed into a position where the trade unions were completely in-effective. All gains were now

If the situation there was linked to England then a man elected by trade union members as their representative in Lon-don could be opposed by Birmingham men, and a court action by Newsletter Reporters



DELEGATES from the Lucas-CAV factory who joined Sunday's demonstration

begun against the representative to prevent him taking office. 'The whole trade union structure is being threatened,' he

He had waited in vain for people who should act to begin campaigns against this situation.

But they had not moved. 'I have seen something this weekend to make me realise that there is somebody prepared to act,' he said.

He appealed to the YS not to be impatient with 'those not quite prepared to believe this situation is happening'.

'With patience there will be hundreds of thousands who will come and act at your request,' he

DEGRADATION

BMC, Oxford, shop steward John Power said thousands of car workers, some of the most highly paid workers in the country, faced a future of

There had recently been a 28 per cent. cut in production at BMC Oxford; where 6,000 cars had been produced, only 4,000 were now coming off the lines. Yet the company was still stockpiling.

This would mean that many more thousands would lose there jobs and there would be massive redundancy in the trade.

As a steward, he said, he had periods of disappointments.

'But there is always one beacon. That is the Young Socialists. I want to thank you all very much for your action'.

Summing up the discussion, Aileen Jennings, Editor of the YS newspaper 'Keep Left', said: 'No other organisation but the Young Socialists could organise such a demonstration as the one which has marched through the streets of Brighton today.'

The YS had achieved this, she said, because they had always fought on the basis of socialist principles and not on the basis of a compromise with Wilson and

the right-wing Labour bureaucracy.

The so-called 'lefts' were completely bankrupt because they relied on reforming through the structure of the Labour govern-ment and not through the mobili-

sation of the working class. To fight the anti-trade union legislation and unemployment it was necessary to have a move-ment which could prepare the

working class for a struggle against the employers.

against the employers.

'Today we publish our 12-page
'Keep Left''. For us this is a
big advance at a time when the
YS is turning its attention to
socialist youth in Europe. We
will be taking a contingent of 500
to Liege in Belgium on October
15 to meet European youth
demonstrating against the war in
Vietnam and NATO.'

The National Committee of the

The National Committee of the Young Socialists urged all those at the meeting, both adult trade unionists and Young Socialists, to join this trip and make it the most most impressive intervention they have ever organised.

CP PAMPHLET SHOWS

Stalinists have no

IN THEIR LATEST pamphlet on the current economic crisis, the Communist Party of Great Britain demonstrates once more that it has the role of the Stalinists is deliberately to underplay the depth of the crisis and to ignore its international signicance.

Bert Ramelson, industrial organiser of the Party, author of the pamphlet,* suggests that the present crisis can be tackled by means of the following remedies. As usual a few phrases are added about the need to extend public ownership.

A cut in military expenditure abroad:

A ban on all capital ex-

ports from Britain;

An end to the wage freeze, with a strict freeze on all prices:

The end of sterling's role as an international currency.

These, briefly, are Ramelson's remedies'. Some are sheer non-

For example, all those who call for a freeze on prices, such as the CP and the 'Tribune'-ites, fail to explain how this is possible within a capitalist economy, where prices are determined by competition between the capitalists on the basis of the struggle for the highest rate of profit.

Cover up

Nor does Ramelson explain who would impose such a freeze. The Labour government?

In fact the Labour government used the 'incomes policy' and price control' as a means to cover up its real intention: to mpose a freeze on wages alone. Second, Ramelson argues that wage freeze is bad for the

'Higher wages will not only benefit the wage and salary earners; but by keeping up demand, it can get the economy going again.'

All one can conclude is that the capitalists are a bunch of misguided fools! Of course not. Capitalists are

always interested in forcing down wages to their lowest possible level; they do not produce goods for the benefit of the working class but in order to make profit, which is extracted from the labour of the working class. What of Ramelson's other pro-

posals? Take the question of overseas

investment. Ramelson proposes that a ban be placed on this-it imposes a terrible strain on 'our' balance

nal payments, why do they con-

Last year £300 million was ternational outlook. privately invested abroad. But again the question arises, if the capitalists know that this

home in a direct way.

Over £200 million is earned by the activities of the City of London each year in shipping, insurance banking and other services. All this income would be lost if the capitalists were to carry out Ramelson's advice.

In other words the document is a real cover up for the actual problems facing the working

is of course unable to say one word about the role of the YS in this campaign, supported as they were throughout by the Socialist Labour League.

point of criticism of those 'lefts' in Parliament, not one of whom either voted against the Prices and Incomes Act or led the slightest semblance of a campaign

The actual process by which the Bill became law is strangely missing Ramelson's from

account! Frank Cousins receives no

criticism for his lack of any leadership: the fact that he sat in the Cabinet for over 18 months while the Bill was being actively prepared.

Service

Cousins' letter of resignation from the government, says Ramelson, did a positive service. It '... disclosed what many had long suspected, that the deflationary budgets reducing demand by cutting our spending power, were dictated by the bankers of Wall Street and Zurich'. In fact of course, as Ramelson

knows full well, the YS and SLL had pointed this out right from the refusal of Wilson to give an immediate rise to the pensioners in October 1964.

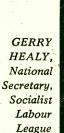
machine to defeat the anti-trade union laws. 'The rank and file should not

such action should not be seen, not as some ultra lefts do, as directed against the official movement, but its aim should be to move the official movement, or powerful sections of it, into action against the freeze and the Prices and Incomes Act, and to bury once and for all the incomes policy in whatever form it appears." The Trades Union Congress

conference at Blackpool showed that the official leadership, far from being able to fight this Act has been the main instrument, along with Wilson and company, in bringing it on to the Statute

leaders will swing further to the right, despite Ramelson's hope that they can be pushed to the left, a 'theory' which he holds in common with all the revisionists of whatever hue.

* Incomes Policy: The Great Wage Freeze Trick.' Bert Ramelson



because it rested on the working class. 'So, when the struggle of the

working class builds up, workers will disown and split from it. Instead of the working class being driven into confusion and disillusionment, the main task is to provide leadership that will prevent them being disillusioned.

ABUSED

'But there is no doubt that the working class will repudiate Wilson, he stressed.

The confidence of millions of hard-working trade unionists throughout the country had been abused by the government. Not a single Labour candidate had gone to the electorate and said they would create unemployment

'Many workers find it hard to believe this government will do what it proposes to do. There is confusion among those threatened with unemployment. 'For so long they have hoped

and put trade unionists in jail.

that they would never again have to face unemployment. It is going to take a little while, but not too long, for that hope to fade Industries most affected by

unemployment were the most automated and forward industries today. What would be the position in the other industries when the crisis developed? It was not just a British crisis.

It was international. The dollar was shaky, and the pound was the dollar, said Comrade Healy. Today there was an enormous mass of capital investment that

had to be held back. Production had to be drastically reduced, and when Douglas Jay, the President of the Board of Trade, had said the dollar should be revalued in relation to gold, he had voiced something that many capitalists were saying—that devaluation

was on the way. 'This conference next week cannot take a single decision which matters one damn. The

'The other school of thought "Do not go into mass action, but go into the courts and ask a judge". Suppose the dockers refuse to operate the Devlin report, then they can be taken into court and forced to

Sir Hartley Shawcross had supported the court action because once the state decided on wages there was no further use for the trade unions. It was a cover up for Wilson.

Comrade Healy then turned and dealt with the role of the so called 'lefts'. They would not visit workers in their trade unions and industries and call for support. They would appear to act on the workers' behalf, but

they would not want action. 'We believe the most powerful force is the working class. build the party by working and fighting with you. They use you and do not want to consult you',

When Wilson made workers unemployed, the fake-'lefts' said, 'Hold back, we are in a bad way'. They did not want to way'. They did not want to fight Wilson when he fought the working class. Marxists did.

FIGHT TODAY

'When Wilson attacks the working class, the working class has no choice but to build up a leadership to fight him. What more could the Tories have done?' he said.

The Tories were extremely cagey. They wanted Wilson in power. They wanted to split the working class. To fight the Tories in the future, Wilson had to be fought today.

'Who is going to control the Iron and Steel Boards? Not the workers who work in the indus-tries. Sir Neil MacDermid and Lord Melchitt, son of Sir Alfred Mond, who proposed after the General Strike that the trade unions should link up with the state. Also Lord—I beg your pardon—Mr. Ron Smith, who will not fight

will not fight. 'What more proof do you want that this government is a



capitalist one?' he asked. The same government would only channel the profits back

Capitalists could do this, but The war in Vietnam was a con-

'There is no need to be pessimistic about the

'We are inside the movement and will fight for policies of

socialist victory.'

Ashby stressed: 'We have not come to Brighton

was carrying out his policies. 'Let us break the silence and say it at this meeting,' Ashby insisted. 'The whole episode of Cousin's departure from the Cabinet was phoney from start to finish; it was riddled with the

called their demonstration for the Labour Party conference in July, knowing full well what Wilson's policy would lead to and the reaction of the 'lefts'.

It was no accident that the Young Socialists, who had the experience of 12 months' campaigning against the anti-union laws of the government, were out in front making a timely intervention against the policies of the Wilson government. Ashby's last remark was con-

firmed by the immediate reaction

CORPORATE

join them, but I am a bit too old, he said jokingly.

of adult trade unionists who came to the platform to praise the work and lead of the Young

One younger worker from the Lucas-CAV combine in Liverpool

said he was overwhelmed with

the demonstration and with the

sincerity of everyone who was

He explained the background

to the recent strike at Lucas-CAV where the convenor had been sacked for going from one

factory to another to deal with a dispute (this was reported in last week's Newsletter).

short and direct speech, said it

had been the first time he had been anywhere with the Young

'I just want to say how much I appreciate all they have done. I am highly satisfied and I would

A Sheffield AEU member, in a

Socialists.

protesting.

A shop steward from BMC's Tractor and Transmissions factory in Birmingham said he had maintained for a long period the Young Socialists' contention that Britain was heading for a corporate state.

He felt that no lead against this could come from the shop floor; they could not resist redundancies without resorting to the 'full means'. BMC depended for their investment profits on their export markets. They could run out of

stocks in six weeks. 'In six weeks we could win if we stuck together,' he said. One did not have to be a genius to work it out that there would not be a return to full-time working until the company had 'got a little bit of what they have wanted to impose on us for years'-job evaluation and other British

methods used by British firms dominated by US capital. This would mean a large reduction in wages for BMC

'The firm wants to create the climate through redundancies to make workers more conditioned to accept these new wage schemes,' he said. He hoped that the Young Socialists would pursue the cam-paigns they had been carrying

interest in politics as they 'soon start finding a road'. There was only one real road to socialism—through the Socialist Labour League and the Young

out in the last 12 months with the same zeal. He was pleased to see young people with an



AILEEN JENNINGS, Editor of 'Keep Left'

The sacked Lucas convenor claimed he was attacked because of the wage freeze. But there was more than the wage freezethere was now an Act against the

of payments. made through unofficial action. imposes a strain on their exter-

policy no policy which can take the working class forward along the road to power. In fact the role of the Stellister is Crisis

by PETER JEFFRIES

tinue to send such sums abroad? In fact in the last 10 years million of capital.

A similar trend is true of the United States which has again produced serious balance of payments strains.

Again, it is all connected with that six letter word 'profit'. For British capitalism over the last two decade's net income from overseas investment (i.e., income over and above that paid to holders of capital invested by foreign concerns in this country,

has totalled more than £5,000 A section of the capitalist class draws its major source of in-come from these activities and would be quite horrified at Mr.

Ramelson's suggestion! Without outlets for capital exports, this mass of capital which has gone abroad would have had to find profitable outlets at home in competition with other capi-tal and with wage rates often considerably higher in the British economy, than they are abroad.

Little need be said on the

question of military expenditure. The pattern of this expenditure, concentrated as it is in the Middle East, South East Asia and for NATO forces in Europe, is inseparably bound up with the maintenance of British imperialism and its markets and raw materials throughout the world.

To call on the Labour government to slash this expenditure is to ask them to agree to the winding up of British imperialism and the break up of NATO. They give no indication of doing either. Finally Ramelson calls for the end of the role of the pound as

an international currency. The

only snag here is that such a

'remedy' runs contrary to the plans of the US! The only reason for the massive support given by President Johnson to the pound since 1964 is that a devaluation of sterling would wreak havoc in the in-

ternational monetary system. It would lead to a certain devaluation of the dollar with a repeat of the disastrous cycle of devaluations of the 30s.

Ramelson makes absolutely no

mention of the international character of the crisis and its origin in Wall Street. For him it is a 'British' question alone. In fact Stalinism is unable to face up to these questions. Its role is to cover up for the bureaucracy in its 'own' labour movement. It can have no in-

In any case the end of the role of the pound and with it that of the sterling area would hit sections of the capitalists at

In dealing with the fight against the wage freeze Ramelson

He is also unable to make one

against it.

Ramelson's only 'perspective' is closer work with the official

shrink from unofficial action in certain circumstances but

As the crisis develops these

The present economic and political policies of Wilson will only be defeated by a new leadership which can mobilise the rank and file of the working class against the official leaderships. In this fight an all-out battle with Stalinism and an exposure of its role, in theory and practice, is absolutely essential.

CPGB 1s.

MIDLAND GAR MEN CONFRONT WILSON But their 'leaders' gain nothing

BY NEWSLETTER REPORTERS

HAROLD WILSON was publicly repudiated by hundreds of redundant and short-time car workers and by London busmen, dockers and engineers gathered outside his hotel on the first day of the Labour Party Conference. A burst of booing had previously greeted the appearance of James Callaghan, Richard Crossman, Roy Jenkins and other Labour Party leaders. But the reception given to these could not compare with swelling roar of rejection which met Wilson as he came down the steps. This crystallised into rhythmic chanting of 'Traitor, traitor, TRAITOR!'.

Wilson, looking tense and unsure of himself, was unable to speak until car workers' leaders appealed to the crowd to 'hear what he's got to say'.

For a moment there was silence, and the Prime Minister got as far as 'of course you have a perfect right to come here today . . .' when a further storm of boos and shouts drowned his words. It was surely the most daunting example of workers' nostinty to a Labour Party leader for many a decade.

Nearly 450 car workers from Birmingnam and the Midianos came by special train on a demonstration organised by the BMC joint shop stewards' committee. There were delegates also from Bathgate and from Llanelli.

Wilson finally retired into the hotel to discuss the situation with twelve representatives of the car men. These included Dick Etheridge and D. Robinson, of the Longbridge BMC factory, Arthur harper of Fractors and Transmissions. Transmissions, and Peter Nicholas, of the Rover factory, Birmingham, all prominent Communist Party members.

BMC workers had last weekend received the first batch of

redundancy notices. Austin men in the demonstration described the present situation as 'a vicious spiral downwards', in which work schedules in the factory would not be maintained and redundancies would be the in-evitable result.

Ignorance

With regard to finding alternative jobs, they said Ministers were talking from 'utter ignorance' when they suggested it would be easy.

There were, for example, one hundred and one different trades among toolroom workers, all employing different skills. None of these could do the job of the others except after retraining, which might take a considerable

While the car workers were waiting for the results of their leaders' discussion with Wilson, two Midland Labour MPs had an uncomfortable time trying to the government's measures to a big gathering of workers on

the seafront.

Donald Chapman, MP for
Northfield (the Longbridge factory is in his constituency) tried to mollify the workers by re-minding them that he had once 'stood on the picket lines' with car men on strike.

He declared that he did not support government policy which had brought about this situation. He deplored the use of 'this crude, blunt instrument which knocks the car industry and you

The government was at fault in that it had not yet evolved a system of putting on the brake gently in place of this 'disproportionate smack in the teeth'.

He was asked if at any stage he had voted against the government's freeze and anti-union measures. His reply was:

'No, I take no steps which would bring a Labour government down.

A worker shouted 'you've got a majority of 97 now, mate, not

Pressed, he admitted that he intended to vote for Part IV of the Prices and Incomes Act, giving the government compul-sory powers to enforce the freeze. He pleaded that the government 'didn't particularly want to enforce Part IV' but their hand had been forced by the actions of such people as Clive Jenkins (general secretary of ASSET) in going to the courts for a verdict against employers who observed the freeze.

There was a howl from the workers at this reply.

Result same

Another car worker said: 'For all this talk of using a soft instead of a blunt instru-ment, the result would be the same. Labour should have got away from Tory solutions and Tory policies to a Labour policy, with a bloody great dose of

socialism in it.' This was loudly cheered by the workers.

'What the government and employers want is fewer men working in the factories producing more for lower wages, and don't you be kidded into thinking all this is for any other reason, he

Christopher Rowlands, MP for Meriden, also admitted that he intended to vote for Part IV. It was necessary, in his view, in order to make legal the wages and prices. There were shouts of 'nonsensel' when prices

were mentioned.

Bill Jones, chairman of the London central bus committee, Transport and General Workers' Union, said the government was carrying out in every way the policies the Tories carried out before them, 'only a little harsher'.

They were completely bankrupt of any ideas how to solve

the problem.

Gunter, Wilson, Callaghan and
Brown could like it or lump it, but if any members of his union took action against this diabolical policy, the union would support

At this point workers caught sight of Callagnan on the other side of the road. On the loudspeaker attached to a van they shouted a challenge to him to 'come and confront the people who are being thrown on the streets by your policy'.

Mr. Callaghan thought it discreet to pass on.

Anticipation had been well built up by the time Etheridge re-turned from his conference with Harold Wilson. He had kept his lobbyists waiting 70 minutes. As he began to speak, there was only a short time available before the men had to catch their train back to the Midlands.

He was obliged to admit that the Prime Minister had 'made no commitment to us at all'.

He had agreed to refer all points to the appropriate Ministry

THERE WAS an even more

angry reaction from some

shop stewards from the BMC

factory at Cowley, Oxford, after Etheridge had given the report back of his meeting

'They said the discussion had

been "fruitful" and then they come out and say they can't get anything now, there will be de-

tails later. It's a load of cod's wallop,' commented John Power,

'They are precisely in the same position as when they went in,' he added.

'It's fair enough to plan

further action, but to pretend

you have got something when you haven't is to completely mislead the lads.'

Jack Cartwright, another

BMC service steward, said: 'We

were hoping to hear something

definite. But it was the sort of reply you could have got by

A CUT-BACK in the mainten-

ance and overhaul of BOAC

aircraft due to the lack of

spares now looms over the

heads of thousands of engin-

eering staff based at London

Presumably, the same situation exists at BEA, because this is

not due to this mismanagement of

(Heathrow) Airport.

BMC service shop steward.

with the Prime Minister.

Oxford stewards

incensed by CP

tactics

rubbish.'

ground is Dick Etheridge, CP convenor at Austins (wearing glasses). and make known his conclusions in his speech later in the Conference!

Etheridge said the car workers must continue to use all the pressure in their power, and if it produced nothing, to go to wherever Wilson was and take it

sending a letter. It's a load of

steward at Morris Motors, said that Etheridge and the other Communist Party stewards who

had gone into the Grand Hotel with Wilson, had been taken in by the Prime Minister's glibness.

He absolutely flummoxed them, and nothing's been achieved,' he

They all resented the fact that Etheridge had been telling a joke about BMC chief Sir George Harriman while our

George Harriman 'white our lads are getting the sack'.

Certainly many others felt the same as the Oxford workers. Despite the big build up for Etheridge as he came, cloth capped, from the hotel, led by an Irish piper and hordes of Elect Street and television re-

Fleet Street and television re-

presentatives, his report back fell flat and swamped the anger

and enthusiasm of the workers he had brought all the way from

BOAC cut-back

squeeze.
This squeeze is designed to

bring about mass unemployment

and cut back production in the

engineering industries.

Any lack of required spares will hold up overhaul work and

could very possibly lead to the

managements trying to enforce short-time working or even com-

plete redundancies.

___ soon?____

Birmingham.

Bob Hilton, a T&GWU

government'. up with him again.

CAR WORKERS outside the Grand Hotel, Brighton. In centre fore-

the unions was discussed, and the Prime Minister seemed concerned about this point. In spite of what some people have been saying about collusion, he denied he had had any conversa-tion with BMC before their announcement. I prefer to believe him rather than the em-ployers; so far as I am concerned

think we have done a good job. We did not think we should see the Prime Minister!' and for good measure threw in a tribute to the police, who in his view

Such a complete abdication of leadership by both Labour MPs and Communist Party 'leaders' must have made it clear to many militant workers that the urgent task before them is to develop a new leadership capable of waging a victorious struggle against

He reiterated 'we are prepared to lead you to the extent that you are prepared to follow us, but we must not conduct ourselves in such a way that we get the Tories in place of a Labour

Lest the car workers should begin to think they had come a long way for very little, he said: 'The lack of consultation with

a man is telling the truth till he's proved a liar.'

No strikes

Etheridge said they had asked Wilson if he could postpone re-dundancy notices till further consultation had taken place, and had assured him that they did not want strikes and trouble! He concluded triumphantly 'We

had handled the demonstration 'a bit more sensibly than usual'.

Wilson and the employers.

The razor at our throats

Newsletter Reporter

'YOU HAVE been offered a razor to cut your own throat with, and have been told that if you don't someone will cut your head off.' This was how George Doughty, leading official of the Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association, described the so-called 'voluntary' wage freeze policy to a meeting in

Together with the Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians and the Association of Scientific Workers, DATA called the meeting to discuss the crisis facing trade unionists.

LEEDS

Busmen's

standing

attack

ban under

By Newsletter Reporter

LEEDS BUSMEN, who are

operating a no-standing ban,

were last week attacked by Alderman Rafferty, Labour

head of the transport com-mittee. He called on passen-

gers to ignore the ban, to con-tinue standing when asked not

to by the conductor, and to press the bell if they con-

sidered that the bus should

stop to pick up more passen-

Since this statement, the extreme-Tory 'Yorkshire Evening Post' has conducted a witch-hunt

against busmen both through its

editorial and correspondence

Needless to say, they have

given complete support to

In the last few days there have

been repeated cases of abuse and assaults against busmen. It is

reported that a shop steward is off work as the result of a wrist

The busmen are acting to force the transport committee to

pay an agreed increase of 9s 3d a week which has been stopped

There has been an attempt to set other workers against the busmen and pass off the diffi-

culties caused to workers by the pay freeze as the fault of bus-

men. The real reason for the long bus queues in Leeds is the fact that the Corporation is short of 600 bus workers: it is

claimed wages and conditions are

so bad that it is impossible to

injury he received.

by the pay freeze.

recruit them.

too far.

columns.

Rafferty.

Doughty compared the threat of penal sanctions against trade unionists to the situation in Italy under Mussolini's corporate state.

In Germany between 1933 and 1939 there had been a Labour Front wholly subservient to the government, and any trade unionists not complying were 'clobbered' and usually ended up in a concentration camp.

The very term 'a parliament of industry' had first been used by Oswald Mosley to describe a 'classless' organisation of em-ployers and employed whose function was to control wages, with sanctions against the employed.

This new situation was not happening in a Britain under a Conservative government. It was happening in a Labour Britain 'under our friends and our own party'.

Crushing unions

The legislation now hanging over the heads of trade unionists would just about crush the life out of the unions.

Clive Jenkins, general secretary of ASSET, said it was a question of whether there was in fact a crisis or whether the government was simulating a crisis in order to do something it wanted to do.



CLIVE JENKINS: 'No crisis' claim

He did not believe there was a crisis. Every worker thrown out of work was thrown out unnecessarily.

An Amalgamated Engineering Union member present said:

'I disagree with Clive Jenkins that there is no crisis. There is a crisis of capitalism all over the world which starts right in America. It can only be resolved in one way; the capitalist system must be overthrown and all industries taken over.'

He asked: 'What is Wilson preparing? Who will operate the state after this government? There are all the ingredients here of a fascist state. It must not be forgotten that it was the trade union leaders who voted away the unions' rights.'

Another trade unionist said: 'Capitalism needs a smaller labour force; that is the reason for the short-time and unemployment at the present time. Those dismissed will not get back. The socialist answer is the nationalization of industry and the land We are not going to have the 30s back with misery and unemployment.'

LEADERS 1931 & 1966

From page 2

avoid these defeats in the coming period.

A celebration dinner is to be held in the House of Commons to remember MacDonald, and Wilson will be one of the main

Will he explain then how his policies differ from those of MacDonald? Will he explain why 'socialist' MacDonald acted at the behest

of the bankers and cut the dole and created unemployment? Will Wilson explain how he expects his policies to lead anywhere but to the open class betrayals of MacDonald?

Will Wilson explain why he too needs to attack the working class in order to achieve 'socialism'?

In the face of this hypocrisy workers will have to demand: Throw out the Wilson-MacDonald traitors!

● Fight to build the Young Socialists and for policies of nationalization and workers' control as the only solution to the

economic crisis! Any other policy merely opens the way for worse unemployment

NO LEAD In this situation, the busmen's union (the Transport and General Workers' Union) has given no real lead from its officials. The union local leadership has failed to explain the political reasons for their members' conditions and has merely told them, even after Rafferty's remarks, not to go

Despite all this, the bus crews' support for the ban is solid. It is reported that crews from the Yorkshire Woollen District Co. and other private bus companies around Leeds are taking support-

A meeting to discuss the ban was called for Wednesday even-

Three busmen, who felt that the union leadership might call off the ban, told the 'Yorkshire Evening Post': 'We can see an end to the no

standing ban in the near future. You can see, day by day, that the relationship between us and the public is deteriorating.'

They said that Rafferty's statement was 'like inciting a riot'—they had faced abuse and threats for several days.

Queues in the city, they said,

were not caused by the no standing ban, but by the staff shortage, which means that the correct number of buses is not running. Quite a few busmen had left the service since Rafferty's remarks.

The men quoted from the manual issued by the transport department that no passenger must 'enter or remain in or on a vehicle when requested not to do so by the authorised person . . when the vehicle is carrying its full complement'.

One said: 'Our union says we should not carry standing pas-

sengers, and therefore a full complement is made up then.'

LATE NEWS: At a meeting on Wednesday, 700 Leeds busmen decided to call off the standing passengers ban. Union officials claimed to have got agreement with the city council on negotiations over a bonus scheme, and an apology from Rafferty—in fact he has not withdrawn his advice to passengers to stand, only deplored the assaults on bus crews.

T&GWU officials have not got any written agreement on negotiations, and many of the busmen felt they had been sold out after having dutifully followed the official union call to implement the ban several weeks ago.

The third and last instalment of a local three-year package deal was due to be paid this October, the two corporations, but is a direct result of Wilson's and the international bankers' credit Conference endorses legal wage freezing

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factor that can be allowed to decide these issues in the future. The public is in these negotiations as a third party, and I express my own view that when the powers become extinct next August, the public interest will remain in the arguments about the level of incomes. I do not know how this public interest will continue to be expressed, but I am certain it is there to

It is an easy guess that 'the public interest' will continue to be 'expressed' in the form of government control, backed by the power of legal sanctions.

Getting acceptance by con-ference of this compulsory clause was, of course, the crux and purpose of Callaghan's economic

He slapped down those who suggest that cutting defence or stopping the export of capital or ceasing to operate as a re-serve currency country would have made the July measures unnecessary'.

This was his curt dismissal of those stalwart champions of the Labour government, the Stalinists and fake 'lefts', who have been advancing these solutions of the capitalist crisis, thus evading the manifest fact that the crisis can only be solved by ending the capitalist system itself.

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For the rest, Callaghan's statement was a rehash of the circumstances, according to the government, which led to the 'necessity' of imposing the July measures. He stressed Britain's role as 'world bankers', and the fact that foreign creditors 'begin to get nervous' when they see 'that we are running a continual deficit in our yearly balances with them and others'.

Predictably, he blamed 'the loss of exports caused by the seamen's dispute as a factor in the crisis.

He also declared: 'Not least, there was an outflow of funds caused by the world-wide rise in interest rates that has followed upon the efforts of the United States to deal with their own payments deficit.

Slowing down

'There was a temporary slowing down in the rate of increase of the productive capacity of the economy itself, reflecting the actual cut in working hours which accompanied the wide-spread move towards a 40-hour week during the last 18 months.'

As a sop to fake-'left' opinion a m o n g delegates, Callaghan announced that there would be an 'extremely large cut of 20 per cent' in overseas spending. This would represent 'something like million, mainly from

defence'. Regarding productivity agreements, he declared: 'It was only after very serious consideration that we decided that the standstill must apply to them as well as to every other type of income for a limited period. For the future the government

would be anxious to allow such agreements to go through 'provided they serve the national interest as well as the interests of the workers and the employers concerned: that is to say they will need to be directly linked with productivity improvements and not paid simply on account'.

For the failure of the voluntary system, Callaghan blamed trade unionists who said 'we will challenge the government at every opportunity and exert our legal rights to the full'.

The consequences of this attitude, he declared, would be that the nation would be faced with the collapse of the standstill. That is what some people want: that is why they issued the challenge. They are opposed to the standstill. They are unwilling to stand back and some of the most voci-ferous, who are also some of the highest paid, are determined that nothing will stop them'.

This was clearly a slap at the car workers who on Monday booed him 'vociferously' as he

Callaghan lamented a little over the prospect that 'profits over the next year will not increase and may well fall. This will, in its turn, have its own effect on distributions, including dividends'. 'Nevertheless' he declared,

'companies are expected to conform with the general principle of not increasing their dividends and to consult with the Treasury where there is any question of doubt.

No question here of fines and imprisonment. Companies are merely 'expected' to conform.

'There may not be perfect justice or perfect equity in the policy we are following, admitted Callaghan. He is certainly telling us. Car workers have already shown him how much justice and equity they see in his policies.

ENV RETURN

WORKERS WHO have been locked out of the ENV engineering factory in Willesden, North London, for a week following their refusal to take part in stock taking are being asked by the management to return to normal working on Monday. The ENV factory is under notice of closure, but no date has yet been given by the US-based management.

A meeting of 900 of the workers on Tuesday night passed resolutions against the factory's closure, phased redundancy and the lock out.

On Wednesday, 50 ENV workers lobbied the Labour Party conference and met union officials and MPs.

The firm's plea for a return to work is claimed as a 'partial victory' by the shop stewards.

but is now frozen by the wage

freeze. The BOAC joint shop stewards' committee 'insists' that this should be paid. But this 'insistence' can be determined by a statement the stewards have issued referring to the agreement.

The statement was addressed TUC delegates. It outlined the package areement signed in 1963 which gave the workers a consolidated rate, better holidays, sickness and pension benefits and a 40-hour week in return for flexibility of labour, work study methods, ends of certain demarcation lines and other con-

This helped BOAC gain increased productivity of 9.3 per cent in 1963-1964 and 13 per cent in 1964-1965, the statement said. Cost per capacity ton mile decreased from 3.3d to 2.92d, a saving of £1,774,917 on the 1,121,000,000 capacity ton miles

produced. Further improvements are possible, says the statement, 'improvements which will serve the nation's interests as well as those of the industry itself'.

It asks what will happen to the third payment of the package deal now the wage freeze is in force. It asked TUC delegates to reject the wage freeze and incomes policy in its present form.

Many of the shop stewards are Communist Party members or sympathisers of the Party whose policy is to go as far as possible with the management without involving the workers in any real struggle to better their wages and conditions.

The above statement is typical of the CP—compromise covered over by fake militancy. Next in line will probably be a long, drawn-out, go slow or work to rule as part of the 'insistence',

which will lead to demoralisation amongst the workers. Instead workers should call for a massive strike involving both BOAC and BEA, as well as calling for support from other en-

gineering industries like the motor car industry; action on this scale is necessary if airport engineering workers are to maintain their relatively high standard and misery than in the 30s.