The Newsletter

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TROTSKYISM

IN THE SOVIET UNION

Special report by MICHAEL BEST

See page two

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.

GROWING OPPOSITION TO GOVERNMENT POLICY

UNIONS SNUBWILSON ON WAGE FREZE

Must demand I.C.I. be nationalized

by Robert James

BIG snub for Harold Wilson's economic measures is expected at the Blackpool **Trades Union Congress**

Already unions whose policies have ranged on the 'loyalty to Labour' fringe ever since the October 1964 General Election have tabled motions and amendments strongly deprecating the anti-union laws and wages standstill.

Wilson's visit to the TUC to plead for his policies will be a last-ditch stand with the union if the delegates' actions speak as loud as the militant motions forced on the union leaders by their rank-and-file

With the deepening crisis of capitalism, events often overtake intended action, and many of the TUC motions now seem strangely outdated.

The government's economic measuresso closely connected with its wage freeze policy, legally enforcable through its Prices and Incomes Act—are wreaking havoc among firms throughout the country.

Extent of measures

Imperial Chemical Industries shock redundancy announcement shows the extent to which these measures affect combine capital, and how they will also be used by the employing class to rationalise their productive forces. (The ENV closure, cutback in the motor trade and other congoods producers are other sumer examples.) The ICI lay-offs will probably find

another expression in lost profits when the firm announces its trading figures. (Peter Jeffries explains this on this page.) If ICI, the biggest employer and onetime fastest expanding combine in the country cannot manage now, then there is only one demand that workers can make:

Nationalize ICI and all basic industries! The fight against the wage freeze and the demand for nationalization are in-

separable. If the TUC delegates do ignore Wilson's pleas on his economic measures, then their next step must be an emergency motion on ICI and the growing unemployment caused by these measures.

But the real lead must come from the mass labour movement united around the slogans and policies of the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League for a revolutionary answer to the capitalist

All trade unionists must now decide to join the October 2 demonstration in Brighton outside the Labour Party conference, called by the Young Socialists around the slogans:

- End the wage freeze.
- Against unemployment.

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The Newsletter

Only rank and file can beat wages Bill

THE FLEET STREET press suggest that the opposition to the wage freeze and the Prices and Incomes Bill may well win the day at the Blackpool conference of the Trades Union Congress early in Sep-

Prime Minister Wilson is to urge the conference to support the government, but it is not at all certain that he will be success-

As the fake 'lefts' around 'Tribune' would say, 'the debate continues'. Be that as it may, we are left with an urgent impression. Even if the right wing challenges the so-called 'left' at Blackpool, who in effect is going to defeat the Prices and Incomes Bill?

We say the working class, who are or-ganised in the trade unions, are the ones who will defeat the Bill, and not the leadwho have betraved them at every decisive stage of the struggle.

Frank Cousins who now claims to lead the fight against the Prices and Incomes Bill spent six and a half weeks in Wilson's cabinet supporting the smash-ing of the seamen's strike which up until now was the only major action against the Bill.

How can rank and file trade unionists

THE mounting loss of US aircraft in the North

and men in the South is forc-

ing Johnson and his co-hawks

in the White House to make

a re-appraisal of the Vietnam

The effects of this new strategy will have ominous

and far-reaching repercussions

in south-east Asia and will

tear to shreds the last remnants

of the notorious Geneva agree-

is preparing to invade north Vietnam and crush the revolu-

tion at its source, in Hanoi.

In short, American imperialism

What was once inspired guess-

work about US policy is now a

This week's issue of the influential US journal 'Newsweek has

reported that Johnson's plans to

escalate the war by an amphibious landing above the 17th parallel and by the blockade of Haiphong.

This will require a tremendous

War.

brutal fact.

support Cousins with such a record?

The most important thing, to appreciate about the struggle against the govern-ment and its antitrade union legislation is that it is a political struggle. The trade unions are being legally tied to the capitalist state, which means that they are. becoming more and more chained to the big monopolies.

To end this tie-up means to fight the capitalist state, something which the right wing and the 'left' wing trade union leaders will never do. Only the rank-and-file trade unionists working with and led by a

revolutionary leadership pledged to throw the capitalist state can offer a solution to the present Since all major wage

struggles are now political struggles, because they involve an open confrontation with the capitalist state these will be resolved not by a reformist trade union leadership but by the building of a revolutionary party.

The fight against the Prices and Incomes Bill will be decided by the rank-and-file trade union movement fighting under a revoluleadership tionary against the capitalist state and not by the TUC, even if it decides to oppose the Bill.

By MICHAEL BANDA

number of men—far more than anything US imperialism has in

So while Johnson makes unc-

tuous speeches about an equitable call-up of US youth, the draft

boards are preparing to conscript

anybody—including the mentally defective and the physically in-

British participation

we can and must expect increased pressure for British participation in Vietnam. (With George Brown as Foreign Secretary we can ex-

Meanwhile the persistent re-

fusal of China and Russia to be drawn into the Vietnam war pro-

longs the agony of the Vietnamese

people and leaves the door open for further acts of imperialist

The reply of Kosygin to Bertrand Russell, far from allay-ing the suspicions of Marxists has

pect anything.)

And if this policy fails, then

Vietnam at the present.

I.C.I.'s biggest sackings since war

by PETER JEFFRIES

MONDAY'S announcement that ICI is sacking 1,000 workers at three of their nylon industry.

fits for this giant monopoly. The 1,000 men are drawn from factories at Doncaster, Pontypool and Gloucester, where 9,000 are at present employed.

The management says that the sackings were due to economic conditions, tax changes and the further deflationary measures.

These redundancies, involving over 10 per cent of the ICI labour force in man made fibres are the

pansion plans by this company which were announced as recently as March of this year.

EXTRA WORKERS

their whole investment plans). lessons to be learnt about the background to these decisions.

certain that the present recession will deepen and will last for a considerable period.

Continued page 4, column 4 ->

U.S. prepares to cross

17th parallel in fact confirmed the widely-held impression that Kosygin and Brezhnev are prepared to fight to the last drop of blood of the Vietnamese workers.

However the cynical betrayals of those counter-revolutionary traitors will not prevent the Vietcong from smashing US imperialism and its 'running dogs' in Vietnam.

Socialists.

Organisation.

factories underlines the rapidity with which unemploy-ment is now hitting British

ICI shares fell 6d on this news, which coincides with falling pro-

force in man-made fibres, are the biggest since the war. They come on the eve of massive ex-

to meet what ICI thought would be an expanding market, to take on 1,500 extra workers at Don-caster and 700 at Pontypool. In the event, 600 will lose their jobs at the first plant and 250

at the latter (not counting the 700 at the South Wales plant who are presently engaged on plant extensions and whose jobs are almost certain to go as ICI cut There are several important

ICI has dispensed with the old solution of short-time working. This means the management is

In the past, firms have been willing to 'hoard' labour in anticipation of a quick upturn in the

It is clear that this is no 'normal' recession. Other firms are adopting a similar attitude.

'Phased closure' of ENV plant A^N all-out fight by 1,500 Willesden, North London, engineers

to keep their jobs is expected following Wednesday's announcement of a 'phased closure' of the ENV factory.

The announcement was given at a works conference by the plant's American manager, John P. Townsend.

Since June, the employers had been attempting to introduce proposals to end the strong union organisation in this factory, which had some of the best wages and conditions in the north-west Long don industrial belt.

(See page three for full background story.)

SQUEEZE BLAMED Townsend blamed the closure on the government's

credit squeeze. Commented ENV convenor Geoff Mitchell:

'We take a position of opposition to the closure and endorse the position taken by local officials.

'We feel that the whole question is linked with the policy carried out by the government at the dictates of the big financiers tied up with Washington.'

1,500 to lose jobs NEWSLETTER REPORTER

sions.

The government's economic measures were an attempt to break down organisation and weaken rank-and-file opposition to the government's incomes policy—the ENV shop stewards' committee has, in fact, taken a leading role in the fight against the Prices and Incomes Bill, jointly calling two of this year's four lobbies of parliament of parliament.

At Wednesday's conference, the firm presented their state-ment. After an adjournment, the union side said they opposed the closure and asked if the management would jointly explore the possibilities of keeping the factory open by visiting the Labour Minister, Ray Gunter, and through other channels. This was turned

REJECTED INVITATION

The union then rejected the firm's invitation to examine the mechanics of the 'phased redundancy'

The shop stewards' committee met later to endorse union

Aycliffe, Darlington, workers. Already the Manchester men have told ENVs they will 'black' any work taken from Willesden. Before he left he told The Newsletter that the Eaton combine—the US-based organi-sation which bought up ENV in 1962—had produced some production figures which

appeared to be 'doing very well indeed'. The firm was simply claiming that the Willesden plant was not paying its way.

showed that as a concern it

Later a local conference is

to be held for further discus-

In the meantime, says Mr. Mitchell, action will be organised. Local MPs and the TUC will be lobbied. Workers

might join the October 2 lobby

of the Labour Party conference

organised by the Young Socialists for October 2.

on Thursday to gain support of the firm's Manchester and

Mr. Mitchell travelled north

But, he claimed, the prooosed closure was a breach of faith—the company had given verbal and written assurances



that in the event of a cut back,

the parent company would not carry out work to the detriment of the Willesden plant.

AST Monday night-shift workers at Ambrose Shardlow Ltd., Sheffield, began a one-day stoppage in protest against the government's wage freeze which Shardlow's directors are using in order to withhold increases in piece-work prices. These prices had been the subject of negotiations during the previous

WAGE FREEZE

STRIKE IN

SHEFFIELD

NEWSLETTER CORRESPONDENT

The day-shift carried through the stoppage on Tuesday starting in the early morning by lobbying leading engineering factories in Sheffield.

This is a policy fully supported by the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League who have been consistent in their opposition to the Prices and Incomes Bill and the subsequent wage freeze, having supported all four lobbies of parliament and recommended industrial action.

Factory meetings

Some workers felt that more could have been done on Tues-day—a demonstration through Sheffield and factory-gate meetings should have been organised by the shop stewards' committee. But this is an important first political step by these engineers, which must be continued in an

Liege—three weeks to go

THERE ARE just three weeks to the closing date for readers and supporters of The Newsletter to enrol in the

trip to Liege in Belgium on October 15 with the Young

This is a very big opportunity for any socialist, trade unionist and apprentice to meet Young Socialists of Belgium

and other European countries who will be protesting against the war in Vietnam and against the North Atlantic Treaty

The number of youth joining the trip increases daily with the Young Socialists' two-week campaign, but there is still

The all-round cost will be £8 10s from Dover to Ostend

then Liege and back. This includes a free meal in Liege and

For further details write to: Dany Sylveire, Liege

room for any Newsletter reader who wants to go.

Organiser, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

dancing on board ship there and back.

extended campaign against the wage freeze and the growing unemployment.

Shardlow workers must unite with engineers and all workers in lobbying the TUC and joining the Young Socialists' demon stration in Brighton on October 2, advertised on this page.

• On page 3 read our correspondent's report of events leading up to last Tuesday's action.

Soviet

week began a month's tour

semble will perform in Santander, Madrid, Bilbao, San Sebastian and Barcelona. This is one of the first Soviet contacts with Spain since the Civil War 30 years ago. On the day that the Ensemble

the gradual collapse of the Franco Perhaps they are hoping the dancers' 'Dying Swan' will have a psychological effect on the Generalissimo!

SOVIET ballet dancers this

for Spain

of fascist Spain.
The Igor Moiseyev Dance En-

left Moscow, 'Pravda' predicted

NOT NORMAL But ENV's action confirms

that the government's economic measures are leaving a trail of unemployment, and that what has been considered normal union-management negotiations in the past no longer exist—firm's cannot and will not bend under pressure from miltant shop stewards' committees when they have their backs to the wall and know they will have them there for some time to come. The cut back in the motor

trade (see page two) will lead more and more to similar action in plants providing component parts. The pattern set at ENV

could sweep through the northwest London engineering fac-tories—employing some 31,000 Amalgamated Engineering Amalgamated Engineering Union members alone—and others throughout Britain.

Action must now be coordinated in mass united demonstrations by all workers at the TUC and Labour Party conferences on September 3 and October 2 where they must demand:

End the wage freeze.

- End unemployment.
- Nationalize the engineering

industry and the banks.

Trotskyism in the Soviet Union

N the 17th of this month 'Pravda' published an article under the title 'A Rebuttal to Falsifiers'. It was unsigned, but placed in a position where important articles often appear, across the bottom part of page two.

Its sub-title: 'Through the Pages of the Magazine "Problems of History of the CPSU"' the apparant intention of 'Pravda' was to draw its readers' attention to certain articles which had been appearing in the abovementioned magazine, read mostly by party hacks.

The article begins:

'In the present epoch, when the contradictions between the two social systems determines the character of world development, all forms of the class struggle acquire a particular sharpness, among them the ideological struggle.

Thus setting the scene, it then goes on to tell the readers of the 'rebuttals' to genuine bourgeois



ISAAC DEUTSCHER is used by Soviet bureaucracy in amalgam

critics by certain Soviet writers in that magazine.

But towards the end, there comes the typical Stalinist amalgam trick, made famous during the purge trials of the 1930s, when old Bolsheviks were deliberately mixed up with a few genuine spies and anti-Soviet elements in order to give greater verisimilitude to the monstrous charges against the genuine revo-

Gimmick

The present amalgam gimmick works on the same principle. The genuine bourgeois anti-Soviet critics are 'casually', as it were, mixed up with Trotskyism, in order to 'prove' that it is only just another form of this sharpening bourgeois struggle against Leninism. Here is the quotation

'One other method used by the anti-communists for under-mining the theoretical basis and political line of the party has spread in recent years. The essential point of this method consists in the utilisation of the wretched baggage of various anti-Leninist currents, long since utterly defeated by the party. Readers are given the impression, as if the many Trotskyist and such like "ideas" were shared and carried out by the party and by Lenin. The dexterous pens of the bourgeois scribblers have turned the Trotskyists and particularly the right-wing capitulators into the most orthodox of Marxists who, allegedly, had indicated the only correct road for the development of the Russian revolution.

'These manoeuvres have also been exposed in the magazine. 'Trotskyi m a Bourgeois Imperialist Propaganda"—such is the title of the article by N. P. Mikeshin. The author points out that for I. Deutscher, L. Schapiro, G. Sheyer and other solid "Sovietologues", Trotskyism often serves as a point of departure for their stand in the fight against the Marxist-Leninist teaching. They make particular free use of the Trotskyist "theory of permanent revolution" with the aim of "refuting" V. I. Lenin not only on the possibilities of the victory of socialism initially in one country alone, but also the Lenisist plan of building a

socialist order in the USSR. 'The anti-communist ideolo'THE TIMES' carried a report of the 'PRAVDA' article mentioned below under a heading intimating that Trotsky would not be rehabilitated in the Soviet Union. Our correspondent answers this article.

by MICHAEL BEST

gists have counted upon using the criticism of past mistakes, at the XX and XXII Con-gresses of the CPSU, in order to rehabilitate Trotskyism and make null and void the history of the party's struggle against him. "But such attempts," the article says, "did not and never would achieve this aim. Our party's condemnation of the personality cult by no means signifies a rehabilitation of anti-Leninist currents.".'

Thus, not only is Trotskyism linked with all genuine bourgeois attacks on the Soviet Union, by attacks on the Soviet Union, by people who are not designated as 'Trotskyist'; but people like L. Schapiro, a genuine bourgeois 'Kremlinologist', who really does talk a lot of drivel about the Soviet Union, are also linked with Isaac Deutscher, author of 'Stalin' and the Trotsky trilogy. But the great significance of

this article is not in the fact that the bureaucracy has rejected the idea of rehabilitating Trotsky. That is not news and is not sur-What is significant is why 'Pravda', the most important and

most widely-read paper in the Soviet Union, should wish to give the widest publicity not to Deutscher, Schapiro or any other 'foreign ideologist of anti-communism' whose writing in any case the Soviet citizen never had a chance to read, but to the 'rebuttals', which had appeared some months ago.

Why should 'Pravda' recommend to the widest possible readership Mikeshin's wholesome articles on how the Trotskyists —all abroad, of course—faithful servants of world imperialism, are at it again, propagating the re-storation of capitalism in the Soviet Union, all with the aid of Trotsky's diabolical theory of permanent revolution?

Wider audience

Why should a wider audience unless 'Pravda' thought that there also existed a wider audience, which normally does not read the magazine, but which has nevertheless began to get ideas about Trotsky?

And the answer, of course, is that such a wider audience does now exist inside the Soviet Of course, so does an audience

for real bourgeois ideas exist. bureaucracy, broadly speaking, is fighting on two ideological fronts. On the one speaking. hand, there is a growing bourgeois influence, created mostly not by Western capitalist broadcasts, but by a far better propa-gandist; the cheap and better quality goods that have pene-trated into the Soviet Union through the sight of what tourists wear and what Soviet seamen bring from abroad or from parcels received from relatives abroad.

A politically more backward section of the Soviet public, with its base in the countryside, dis-satisfied with the state of the country, as 90 per cent of the population is, believing in the bureaucracy's claim that it is pursuing a true Leninist policy, saying: if that is Leninism, then it is no good, and they turn their minds to the West. The bureaucracy, in its own interests, has to fight this genuine anti-communist

current. On the other hand, there is a broad section of Soviet citizenry, socialist to the core, with its base in the industrial towns and cities, also dissatisfied with the state of the country, but who find themselves opposed to the bureaucracy because they sense that it is NOT pursuing a Leninist policy.
I say 'sense' deliberately, be-

cause despite the fact that Lenin's works are published by the millions in the Soviet Union and the Lenin personality cult is practised to absurd lengths, it is incredible how poorly educated in Lenin's writings the vast majority of Soviet citizens are.

Everybody there knows about Lenin, but as to the solid ideas he stood for, there is only a general idea in most people's minds. This is chiefly because the bureaucracy is constantly chang-ing and rearranging Lenin's

Far from trying to adapt itself to Lenin's true image, they constantly change Lenin's to make it appear close to their own. Since co-existence with world imperialism became chief policy, for example, Lenin has been pre-sented more and more like a defied Minister of Trade, with everything he had ever said about the importance of trading with

the capitalist West quoted daily, and out of context, of course. So the bureaucracy has also to fight against this essentially genuine Leninist current, but of course pretending all the while that it is anti-Leninist. That is the purpose of this amalgam.

Does such a current, strong or weak, for the rehabilitation of Trotsky, really exist in the Soviet Union of today, if only as an historical figure? Why does 'Pravda' find it necessary to declare that Trotsky

will not be rehabilitated, so there!, unless there is a live current inside the Soviet Union Not being able to take a national opinion poll on the sub-

ject, we can only gues about its strength, but that it exists, there can be no doubt. The extra publicity indicates that clearly.

The Soviet people's collective memory of Trotsky has always existed, dimmed by the Stalin years of reaction, but never ex-

Light up

tinguished — despite all the Orwellian, 1984 methods.

And now, this memory is beginning, has begun, to light up again, and the bureaucracy has begun to worry.

We do not delude ourselves by jumping to the conclusion that the mass of the Soviet population has now turned towards Trotskyism. Far from it. But at the same time, it would

be equally wrong to accept the official pretence that there is no Trotskyist current—or even a tiny stream—inside the Soviet Union today and that all 'Pravda' is concerned with—while all the signs have already appeared that signs have already appeared that the new five-year plan, like all the previous ones, is once again coming up against the age-old, destructive, inevitably wasteful bureaucratic mis-management which is a built-in feature of this regime—is to tell its readers that the anti-Leninist current of Trotskyism will never be rehabilitated.

The 'Pravda' article gives us greater encouragement to believe the existence of this current. What is more, the objective conditions for a revival of Trotskyism are more favourable today than they have ever been before and, paraphrasing Voltaire, we

never existed, current, living Soviet history would now have to invent one.

have seemed plausible to most.

progress, has taken such giant steps in the production of steel, coal, enineering, aviation, atomic energy, and of course in space exploration, the impossibility of building socialism in one country alone is becoming more and more apparent.

market; you can see it in the disarray of Comecon, where each unit finds it increasingly impossible to get economic satisfaction from within this even wider economic community: and you can see it from how the political needs of the bureaucracy make it impossible to introduce inside the Soviet Union real socialist democracy which alone can mobilise the creative energy of the people, the best, the only guarantee of growth towards

These factors are beginning to stare into the face of the now better-educated young Soviet workers.

make our own contribution.

can state that had a real Trotsky

In the days of the first five-year plans, the idea of building socialism in one country alone, in such a vast under-developed country like the Soviet Union, with such great potentials, might

But precisely today, after the Soviet Union has made such vast

You can see it in the growing dependence of the Soviet eco-nomy on the world capitalist

An ever-growing number of

them must begin to wonder if Trotsky was not right, after all, in saying that one cannot build socialism in one country alone.

If in the inconceivable circumstance, the bureaucracy were to succeed in suppressing the fact that Lenin, too, did not believe in this essentially petty-bourgeois. chauvinist, Great Russian nationalist idea; were such a circumstance at all conceivable, then it would inevitably result in a discrediting of Lenin's name, but it would not hold back the dam of a growing working-class con-sciousness in the Soviet Union, that in order to build socialism inside the frontiers of the Soviet Union, it would first require the overthrow of the capitalist social order in several advanced capitalist countries.

To this end we in Britain can

HOGARTH: Statement does not help at all.

Fewer seamen on ships since strike

FROM BILL HUNTER

WHAT are the conditions on the ships after the seamens' strike? What are the feelings of the men and what is the future for struggle in the seamens' union? These are some of the questions asked by The Newsletter of seamen waiting around the 'pool' in Liverpool.

The answers made clear that since the strike there has been a cut-down on labour. Fewer seamen have been employed, particularly in the catering departments of the passenger liners.

The August issue of 'The Seaman', monthly journal of the National Union of Seamen, reports that the recent meeting of the executive council discussed the under-manning of

'Instances were given of owners trying to reduce the crews below pre-strike manning practice. Such cuts were re-solutely opposed by the union and the companies were told: "If you cut down crews, you'll get no NUS members at all"."

'The general secretary [Mr. Bill Hogarth] emphasised that it was the duty of all officials and ordinary members to refrain from touching ships where this cutting of crews took place because of the strike.

Liverpool seamen questioned said that Hogarth's statement didn't help them at all. Ships are sailing under-manned and nothing is being done.

PERFECT EXCUSE

Employers have the perfect excuse for using less men by saying it is not because of the strike, but in the interests of 'more efficient working'-in the end-of-strike agreement the union agreed to co-operate in 'more efficient working'.

One seaman reported how two 'time and motion' experts appeared on the 'Empress of Canada' recently to study the work of the catering department and make proposals as to how the same amount of work can be done by less men.



DASH: 'No unofficial action,'

Passenger liners, such as the Cunard and 'Empress' boats (Canadian Pacific Railway Co.), are making quicker turn-rounds. Recently the 'Sylvania' was only in the Mersey for two hours after a trip to New York. After a 15-day voyage, the 'Empress of Canada' only docked for a day.

'You'd think that after the strike there'd be plenty of work,' said one of the seamen, but there's a drive to cut down labour, and there are no ships in. Look at all these men around the pool.'

New seamen are coming out of the training school every three weeks. 'If there's no jobs for us, what about them?' asked one of the seamen. 'There is a method here,' said

another. 'The older fellows are kicking about under-manning. But these lads won't know the difference. We've got to tell

These young seamen coming out of the training school do not get full rate for a number of years, although they do the same work. The men reported there was

still a slowness in getting ship's delegates. One point made was that on some ships, séamen are reluctant to take ship's delegates jobs because they feel sold out

ELECTIONS

Some men are waiting for a

Communist Party members and

sympathisers place everything on this. In nine months, they say,

officials of the union can be

But what type of leadership is

going to take their place? Sea-men had a lesson during the strike of the type of leadership

offered by the Communist Party, which assisted the right wing,

and helped carry out the sell-out.

made between the NUS and the Transport and General Workers'

Union that ships could be moved

from their berths. Seaman Gordon Norris and London

docker Jack Dash, two Com-munist Party members, assisted

The seamen's strike was weak-

when an agreement was

changed.

change in the union coming from the forthcoming elections.

in putting over that agreement. Dash prepared the way by calling on dockers not to take unofficial action in support of the seamen. Both he and Norris worked

might and main to split seamen from militant northern dockers on the demonstration in London on May 25 in support of the seamen and against the antiunion laws proposed by the government.

When militant dockers in Liverpool 'blacked' ships, Roger Woods, CP chairman of the strike committee, kicked their feet from under them. At a meeting of dockers where portworkers' committee members workers' committee members were under attack from the right wing, he refused to take a stand and implied there was confusion, not because of the right wing, but because of the militant portworkers' committee.

ISOLATE

The policy of the Communist Party in practice was to isolate the strike. And this was a strike which was not just a 'seamen's issue', but involved the governissue', but involved the government's wage-freeze policy; a strike in which Wilson was bringing together all the resources of the state, of propaganda, of the whole ruling class, to defet the commen to defeat the seamen.

Face with a choice of Norris or Hogarth, of course, militants in the NUS would choose Norris. But they should be warned that Norris, because he carries out Communist Party policy, can only carry out an opportunist line that will leave the seamen wide open to defeat in the future. There is need to build a real

alternative force that will develop the seamen on policies of struggle, not just on assurances that the solution lies in waiting to substitute one person for



NORRIS: Helped put over move ships agreement.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS BEGINS TO BITE

AST month saw a 21,000 rise in the number of wholly unemployed, excluding school-leavers—this represents three times the rise in unemployment normally felt at this time of the year. Unemployment has in fact

been growing at the rate of 14,000 over the last three months. Unemployed levels are now higher than unfilled vacancies, which last month fell by 23,000.

These figures do not yet reflect the crisis measures announced last month by Mr. Wilson. It is clear that the economy was already on the turn down as they were introduced and when their effects are realised they must lead to an even sharper increase in the level of unemployment. Each day during the last week

has seen announcements by many firms of sacking and short-time working as the crisis matures.

STEEL:

The Steel Company of Wales has already announced that shorttime working is to begin at its Margham plant (the biggest in the country) in September. This cut back is the result of a fall in orders.

This will not be an isolated Over-production of steel is rapidly becoming a ma European and world problem.

As a result of the latest technological and scientific developments steel production increases rapidly each month but a stagnation of demand leads to an intensified price war and fall-

The steel plants in Britain are too small, outdated technologically, and badly organised and are in no position to meet this gale of competition. Already this year exports of steel are 8 per cent down on

last year and in June of this year steel imports reached 82,000 tons, more than twice the level of a year ago.
The intensification of

credit squeeze in the fields of motors and consumer durables will further hit the steel industry, sections of which are heavily dependent on these markets.

MOTORS :

Vauxhalls have announced that they can no longer gurantee their workers that there will be no redundancies in the coming months. When they do occur they will be the first redundancies at this firm for four years.

Rootes followed this up with a statement that 3,500 at their Linwood plant will almost certainly start on a four-day week next month.

Dunlops introduced a threeday working week at two of their Coventry plants making suspen-sion units for the BMC Minis, 1100 and 1800 range. A spokesman was quick to deny that this was because of any cut-back in BMC requirements and said it was to allow for 'adjustment of

Jaguars have also ceased to take body shells from Pressed for their Mark X model

Aston Martin have already warned their 900 workers at the will be redundancies amongst production staff. This factory has been on a four-day week for the last two months because of

By PETER JEFFRIES

CONSUMER GOODS: There is widespread fear from

manufacturers that the measures taken by the government will lead to a severe falling off of demand for a wide range of household Thorn-AEI Radio Valves, one

of the top two makers of cathode ray tubes for TV has sacked 125 skilled electronics workers at its Sunderland factory, representing 10 per cent of its total labour Mullard, the other leading firm

in this field, admit a reduced demand for their goods and admit that the only hope of avoiding the consequences of this is to sell more goods abroad in the highly competitive world market. Figures for the first five months

of this year show that manufac-turers' deliveries of electric cookers, refrigerators and washing machines are considerably down on the same period last year: again this does not take into account the severe deflationary measures of July. Many manufacturers fear that with a stagnant or declining home

market, existing capital will be under-utilised, costs will rise, and there will be even greater difficulty in holding on to export orders. The hire-purchase position has been worsened by the decision of Mercantile Credit, one of the most important concerns in this

field, to discontinue hire purchase

and credit sales on domestic appliances from October.

OTHER CUT BACKS:

Rank Bush Murphy is to cease production at its South

Shields factory in October and 500 men will be sacked. The significance of this closure is that it occurs in the field of consumer durables which have been badly hit by successive doses of the credit squeeze. It must certainly mean that

announcements by other manufacturers in this field will soon G. B. Britton & Sons and Clarks, two leading manufacturers

of footwear have announced that they will have to lay off a total of 400 men because of the government measures. These announcements indicate

a rapidly worsening economic and employment situation. The National Institute of Economic and Social Researchthe leading non-government fore-casting body—in its August 'Economic Review' anticipates

'Economic Review' anticipates that unemployment will reach

nearly half a million by next This forecast—itself more optimistic than that held by the government—is based on the assumption that British capitalism holds on to its precarious position in the world market and that there will be no recession or even slowing down in the

world capitalist system in the

coming months.

Both of these assumptions are untenable: British industry makes no progress towards the necessary modernisation and reequipment that would alone enable the ruling class in this country to make up any lost ground.

In fact the 'freeze' on the economy by cutting back investment, forcing up interest rates, etc., will further impede growth and modernisation of British and

The latest slide on the Wall Street Exchange has brought

stock prices to their lowest level for two years and indicates the instability of the largest capitalist power in the world on which the whole capitalist system depends for its stability and survival. The Labour leaders have de-

liberately devised policies to raise the level of unemployment well beyond the half million envisaged by the NIESR. In fact the spokesmen for the ruling class fear that the present squeeze measures will not lead to a sufficiently thorough-going 'redeployment' (sacking) of redeployment' (sacking) labour. They are worried that

firms will simply put men on to

short-time working, hoping that

business will soon recover. This is why 'The Times' last week called for the provision of funds by the government to en-able business men to get rid of any labour they did not require.

If money was made available employers would not be worried about having to find the cash for redundancy payment and the 'mobility of labour' could be increased.

It is clear that all those who spoke of the crisis as something in the distant future were talking patent nonsense.

The crisis in this country now begins to affect the lives of millions of workers in the most basic way: jobs, wages, rents cost of living, etc. The depth and speed at which this crisis is now maturing poses new problems for working class and its organisations.

Traditional leaders are now involved in open collaboration with the employers in their endeavours to ensure that the crisis is 'solved' at the expense of millions of workers.

Now is the time for the work ing class to strike back and hit the employers: this can only be done under a new Marxist leaderonip in struggle against the Labour government and all those who cover up for the present betrayals of the working class and its struggle for socialism.

The history of mistakes at the Shardlow factory

Two engineering factories - ENV, Willesden, London and Shardlow's, Sheffield—have hit the headlines this week. On-the-spot Newsletter re-porters have been looking at the happenings behind the headlines to produce these two reports.

ON THE INDUSTRIAL

BY ROBERT JAMES AND OUR SHEFFIELD CORRESPONDENT

FRONT

Fight against unionbreaking ends in ENV closure

THE tragedy behind the action this week at Shardlow's engineering factory in Sheffield is the series of mistakes by the stewards' committee, which the management has used to their advantage.

In a period of short-time working in 1956, the old shop stewards committee adopted a policy of a common 6s an hour piece-work ceiling for the machine shop. This was done and maintained for a period to facilitate worksharing as an alternative to redundancy.

At a later period the stewards entered into an agreement with the management raising the ceiling by 6d an hour and ensuring 6d an hour revisions on bad jobs that did not reach 6s an hour, to enable this figure to be reached.

In November 1961 there was a change of convenor, deputy convenor and many stewards.

Even though there were many subsequent requests for increases in the ceiling—to keep up with the rising cost of living—nothing was concluded until three years later, in November 1964.

This agreement is known as the proposed temporary arrangements, machine shop department (standstill agreement).

It worked on the basis that for every 6d increase in average earnings of the shop above 6s 5d an hour, a monthly bonus would be paid on the basis of a certain figure per hour for hours worked

OBJECTIONS

There were objections to two clauses in this agreement.

Even though part of it stated: 'These arrangements include no 'These arrangements mount work study whatsoever, one worded: 'The management have included work study as part of their proposals, both for an interim scheme and for their long-term proposals'.

The shop stewards' committee already had a unanimous mandate from the shop floor, which had never been repealed, that they would on no account tolerate work study—they knew it would mean time and motion study. It is important to remember this because of future negotiations.

The second clause objected to was: 'It is intended that all piecework revisions would take place in a planned manner based on intervals of 12 months. As a first stage all jobs which cannot attain 6s 6d per hour piece work will be revised to enable that level to be attained. It is understood in the terms of the standstill that if this extends for over 12 months or alternatively if the negotiations do not produce more beneficial results inside the next 12 months, then the management will enter into negotiations with the stewards on the basis of revising piecework prices, and revising up to a higher level than 6s 6d. We have in mind, dependent upon conditions at that time, revisions up to a minimum of 7s an hour.'

The objections to this clause were based on the fact that this meant a wage freeze at 6s 6d an hour piece-work for the lower paid worker for 12 months— 1s 6d an hour behind other workers.

Some militant workers considered that it would have been better to use any benefits derived from a saving on overheads through increased productivity for the benefit of the lower-paid

The Series 'PROBLEMS OF THE FOURTH INTERNA-TIONAL', by G. Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, will be resumed next week with the third article 'The role of the Socialist

Workers' Party.

In spite of objections to these two clauses, the standstill agree-ment was adopted on recommendations from the shop stewards' committee. A recommended ceiling of 8s 6d per head was en-

On Thursday, April 1, the management tried to introduce a work study engineer on to the factory floor. The shop stewards' committee recommended that this should be opposed and a token stoppage occurred. The engineer was withdrawn.

On May 18 a document was drawn up by the convenor to be studied by the workers prior to two meeting being held in the machine shop canteen.

Shop stewards' recommendations were to be put forward for endorsement or rejection by the night and day shift.

Apart from matters relating to the application of work study, the clause relevant to revisions was 'On the question of revisions the management have agreed that when the annual review falls due in November, 1965, all requests for revisions would be dealt with as new jobs if work study is operated satisfactorily to both

MANDATE

One would expect from this clause that when old jobs were revised as new jobs they would be based on whatever piecework ceiling obtained at that

In spite of objections from certain militant members on the shop floor that there was already a mandate to oppose work study at any price, this new proposal to accept it was carried on the shop stewards' recommendation and following a statement by the convenor that even though there had been victories over Shardlow's management, now that the firm had been taken over by Guest, Keen and Nettlefold these people were too big to

Later in the year on the recommendation from the stewards committee a new piece-work ceiling was again established with. of course, an increase in monthly bonus but no further revisions in

piece-work prices on bad jobs. Thus the difference in wages between the have and have not's was increased, and because of extra productivity, a lowering of

worker, instead of a general pro-In many cases an actual lowering in the gross earnings of the lower-paid worker resulted, as ductivity bonus for all. well as an increase in the gross earnings of the higher-paid ones.

In November an application for revisions was made according to the terms of the standstill agreement of November 1964 and the work study agreement of May 1965. The negotiations were protracted.

In January 1966 an appeal was made to the shop stewards com-mittee to support the Lambeth Trades Council in a lobby of MPs to oppose any form of anti-trade union legislation, called for January 26.

This was rejected on the convenor's recommendation that the action was a 'young Trots' manoeuvre to stab the Labour government in the back'.

A recommendation at the end of February for the committee to support the March 1 lobby against the Prices and Incomes Bill was carried.
Following this, a resolution was

put in the shop stewards' committee to support a recommenda-tion from the forge department for day-work action to force the management to negotiate revisions on the bad jobs.

This was defeated on the convenor's recommendation that he should re-approach the directors for special consideration on the worst jobs. He was to report back the following Friday. No report back was given. No revisions were obtained.

In May resolutions were put in the shop stewards' committee calling for the committee's support for two lobbies of parliament organised to oppose the Prices and Incomes Bill. The first on May 25 called by the Young Socialists National Committee, the second on June 22 called by five London rank-andfile committees.

NO DISCUSSION

An amendment put by the convenor that the committee support the June lobby but not the May lobby was carried.

The management refused to discuss the revisions of bad jobs because they were not satisfied with the work-study acceptance or the way this was working in

A meeting was organised in late June to discuss what action should be taken to force the management's hand in this matter. At this meeting a reso-

lution to ban overtime and to apply selective day-work action was carried by the shop stewards' committee and the shop floor.

A resolution that this should be immediately implemented in order that the matter could be settled before the application of the Prices and Incomes Bill was also carried.

However, after one week's application of the action the convenor, on behalf of the shop stewards' committee, called off the action on the basis that the management would not negotiate

under duress. (This was despite the fact that day-work action had been claimed successful on previous occasions on less important

With a promise of an early reply at least by July 14 the day before the firm's annual holiday

the matter rested.

No reply came from the management either on July 14 or

A second promise after the holiday of a reply by August 12 from the directors also yielded no results. The reply finally came on August 15. Revisions of 6d per hour to raise the rate from 6s 6d to 7s per hour were to be applied at the end of the wage freeze— whenever that may be.

STOPPAGES *

It was following this reply that the shop floor accepted the pro-posal to have two token stoppages posal to have two token stoppages against the government's wage freeze. This was a proposal to take a political strike and to follow this with a lobby of the Amalgamated Engineering Unions' delegation to the TUC at Blackpool on September 3 to oppose the wage freeze oppose the wage freeze.

This examination of the developments at Shardlow's over the past nine months and parti-cularly the reaction of the con-venor and shop stewards' committee on the two issues of piecework ceiling revisions and the campaign to oppose the anti-union legislation and the government's prices and incomes policy has very valuable lessons for militant trade unionists.

The question raised is one of leadership in the trade unions. The seamen's strike and now the domestic issues in this factory bring out clearly the fact that issues of wages and working conditions cannot be separated from politics and the government,

The Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists have always claimed that leadership in the trade unions must be political

leadership.

We welcome the fact that those
Communist Party members in
Shardlow's who previously called us 'splitters' when we raised these questions now have taken strike action on a political question as the only way to show a determined opposition to the Labour government's policies.

This strike is seen by us as big step in the right direction. The way forward is to fight to get the campaign of opposi-tion to the wage freeze extended in Sheffield and elsewhere.

LIMITED ACTION

The campaign from Shardlow's around the other factories in Sheffield on the day of the strike was very limited.

Workers involved in giving out leaflets explaining the strike said much more should have been done. The shop stewards' committee at Shardlows, they felt, could have organised a demonstration in the city against the stration in the city against the wage freeze and certainly could have held factory-gate meetings to explain their action.

Many workers were asking what

one strike could achieve. Our answer is that it is an important step.

The main question now is to campaign to extend the action to lobby at the TUC and to join the demonstration called by the YS on October 2 outside the Labour party conference to oppose the wage freeze.

In the course of this cam-paign it will be necessary to de-fend our actions against the attack of the capitalist press and the union bureaucracy—already the AEU executive attacked the action of the Shardlow's workers on the day of the strike and plans to circularise all districts of protest strikes against the freeze.

It is likely that the shop stewards' committee and the convenor will be under attack not only from the management and the press but from the AEU

All trade unionists must unite to defend the action of Shard-low's workers and to build in the working class a clear opposition to the wage freeze and the betrayers in the Labour govern-

the differences between one party

take over the houses and shops of the rich which, the officer points out, 'is exactly what the

communist youth movement tried

ON Wednesday, the American management of the north-west London engineering firm, ENV, announced a 'phased closure' of the Willesden factory. This means that 1,500 men will lose their jobs.

Earlier the management, which claims the credit squeeze has caused the closure, had attempted to introduce proposals that could have far-reaching effects on all engineering workers, if forced through.

These were brought to a meetring—between the management and top union officials, including Sir William Carron of the Amalgamated Engineering Union—called to discuss the growing number of disputes at the firm and its deteriorating profit position.

tion.

'Functions of management'—
one of the documents—proposed
that shop stewards should not be allowed to leave their depart-ments without a pass and that the convenor could not operate in his full-time conciliation work.

Attacks on all present domestic agreements appeared in the second document 'The Interim Agreement'. This outlined threeshift working, time and motion study and changes in the pay-ments-by-results system.

Mr. Townsend has just returned from a briefing at the head-quarters of the American firm which owns ENV—Eaton's of Cleveland, Ohio.
The men had already shown

their disgust at the management's attempts to impose the original proposals through factory and

The third week in July was a very eventful one for them, with a proposed strike (the management was refusing to negotiate with the stewards), a lock out of certain sections and the chairman of the shop stewards' committee and finally a violent factory meet-

ULTIMATUM

Returning to work on July 21 after striking over the lock out, the workers found the electricity switched off. They were herded into the canteen where Townsend delivered an ultimatum: accept the proposals, or the factory closes. He asked the workers to vote on the matter.

The ballot was in the hands

of the Electoral Reform Society who used old packing cases as ballot boxes. Screens were set up near the doors—guarded by foremen—and each worker was asked to put his cross as he went

Shop stewards warned the management and the workers that the ballot was a breach of pro-

When attempts were made to force the workers to vote, they broke through the ranks of foremen, burst through the doors and threw the ballot boxes down the stairs.

A postal ballot was then arranged, but most of the ballot forms were returned blank. Geoff Mitchell, convenor at ENV, told our reporter that ballot

forms were sent out to all kinds of people; men who had retired, some who had left the firm 18 months ago.

'Some people received two forms. Some others didn't receive one at all,' he said. The

ballot was abandoned.
(Mr. Mitchell was interviewed before the announcement of the

Nobody, said Mr. Mitchell, had ever drawn a line between labour function and managerial function in the factory. But the employers were attempting to impose pro-posals which would undermine hard-won conditions built up over

a number of years.
Some of the methods they wanted to use are used by American bosses. The tenacity with which the workers resist these is international, but in this period of economic crisis, it is particu-

American unionists have already been warned that they must not and cannot act like their British brothers if the US economy is not to deflate rapidly.

employers, but it was toughened

by the fact that ENV workers had a record for using militancy to get their way. Since 1902, when ENV was bought out by Eaton's, this struggle became even tougher.

Mr. Mitchell says that all the men were involved as their earnings were so closely tied together -ume workers had always benefitted from the piece workers' gains.

Pay increases at the firm had been based on average produc-tivity figures produced every three months and time workers received a percentage rise of the piece workers' rise, according to their grade.
This increase, says Mr. Mitchell,

had worked out roughly at 1s an hour each year for skilled workers. Even if the firm failed to force

through their proposals, the government's wage freeze would have taken care of any increase. In any case, Mr. Mitchell claims that a time and motion depart-ment had begun working in the factory in preparation for working out time price rates—this is a US method of replacing payment-by-results piece working by a set target and set price for a job; disciplinary action is taken against those who do not reach the target.

the target.

'This is a wage freeze,' says Mr. Mitchell, 'there would be no control over earnings through individual or shop bargaining.'

Mr. Mitchell also warned that this could sweep through other factories, whose stewards had quoted ENV's high pay rates to their managements when making claims.

ORGANISATION

Union organisation had certainly put this factory at the head of engineering factories in the north London area since a 13-week recognition strike in 1951. There were shop stewards for each section of workers in each department and shop com-Shop committee representatives were chosen by the stewards.

The shop stewards' committee had been in the forefront of the struggle against the government Prices and Incomes Act.

Warnings of a cut in the labour force had already come from the management. Redundancy would be on the basis of last in first out, though there may be exceptions. Shop stewards had resolved

previous redundancy proposals by fighting for a shorter working

The firm also wanted to suspend the domestic overtime agreement, but the workers imposed their own overtime ban following a dispute involving draughtsmen's overtime rates and the introduc-tion of a high quota of appren-There had also been a recent dispute concerning the foremen who were being organised in the

ASSET and with CAWU clerks over mobility. This illustrates that the firm was scared of unionism and would take on any section of workers to prevent it.
When they bought a Manchester factory recently, they began taking work from ENV Willesden and Aycliffe (near Darlington) to be carried out by

women at cheap rates. Work to the Manchester fac-tory was blacked and a drive

made to unionise the factory. This has succeeded.

Certainly militant unionism had paid off in this struggle to maintain high standards of pay and conditions. But as mentioned previously, the economic measures of the government, and their Prices and Incomes Act, will now prevent individual victories by shop stewards' committees which were possible in the post-war beam period boom period.

Britain's crisis is just part of the quickening, uncontrollable, irretrievable crisis of world capitalism and the misery and death this period can bring goes far beyoud the actions of even a giant combine like Eaton's.

The Eaton's of imperialism have to be fought, the redundancy, mass unemployment and wage cuts of the next period must be fought, not simply by militant unionism, but through a political struggle by a united working class ranged behind a political leader-ship—the leadership now being prepared by the Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League.

Part of this preparation is the October 2 demonstration outside the Labour Party Conference in Brighton organised by the Young Socialists against the Labour government's wage-cut policies. ENV workers would be a welcome delegation on this demonstration.

Million Indonesian communists confirmed dead

THE wave of Moslem, Nationalist and armybacked hatred which swept through Java, Sumatra, Bali and other islands following the abortive September 30 'coup' in Indonesia led to the death of nearly one million

A team of university graduates, appointed by the present army leaders, are working systematically through the islands investigating the deaths and confirm that at least 800,000 probably died in the densely populated east and central Javan areas, 100,000 in Bali, as many more in Sumatra and others in the smaller

islands. And the killing continues, if not by the rampaging head-hunting bands of youth, then by a repressive state feeding thousands of prisoners a starva-

The graduates' report, mentioned in last week's 'Economist', cays that most of the killing was carried out by militant youth groups belonging to the Nationalist and Moslem Scholars' Parties, sometimes armed and trained. and always encouraged, by the

army'. (Our emphasis.) The investigation team found many champions among the youth who bragged of the numpeople they had killed, and their report states that the communist party is almost

(This is doubted by many; both army leaders and western corthe CP's central committee are still alive and that communist forces are regrouping in the mountains.) Now that the youth organisa-tions have run out of victims— having killed anyone connected

with known communists, and, of course, having killed many not even connected with the CP they are turning on each other in a bid for supremacy. 'The Economist' also has an interesting report taken from an army officer stationed near Ban-

cribes some of the events following September 30. Executions began soon after news of the 'coup' came over the radio. The communists were involved, he said, and the Party had nearly 300,000 members in

jumas in central Java. He des-

his area. Animosity between communists and the Moslems heightened the murder lust of the Moslem youths who, with the aid of the Nationalist youth, organised themselves into death squads of 60 to 70 with their own headquarters and operations.

Armed with cane cutters and guns, supplied by the army and

defence corps, they began

taking leading communists from their homes, from the jails and from the hands of the police into nearby fields and decapitating Later their patrols moved from house to house asking each person for credentials. Truckloads of prisoners were taken into the

canefields, forced to dig their own graves in the water channels,

and were then executed. One of the most revealing aspects of the army officer's description is the fact that many communist party members were caught unawares. They knew nothing of what was happening or thought they might be jailed.

and another. The officer also referred to the mounting hostility between the youth groups and, ironically, reported that many were back in their villages demanding that 'capitalist bureaucrats' be re-moved. Groups are beginning to

The resistance was so slight because when protection from Jakarta was removed, and the communist leaders were killed, their followers were confused, says the officer, adding that many of the Party followers were poor

> Williams tells how he saw 200 prisoners, guarded by one man carrying a gun, walking to a river for their bath. They

runs, 10 are shot. an authoritative Associated Press report, but has appeared in few Western newspapers. The 'Japan Times' decided to print it on July 17.

out of the gates, only to be torn to pieces by a waiting crowd.

There is absolutely no future for these men. They are being left to rot and to be added to their million comrades who met a quicker death

day and, if they are not supplied by friends and relatives with any other food, they do Back inside the prison walls, the communists are kept 400 to a cell block which is 50 metres by 25 metres— 4,000 men are being kept in space reserved for 1,000.

Thousands more starve COMMUNISTS are slowly

being starved to death in Indonesian jails where the slightest protest is dealt by a spray from a machine gun. This news was put out in

In it AP reporter T. Jeff Williams tells of an interview with a prison director at Klaten, Indonesia. The director 'laughed with mild embarrassment as he discussed without emotion how one or more communist prisoners died in his prison every day from

sheer starvation'. Prisoners are given about seven ounces of cornmeal a

wore ragged sarongs and did not make any attempt to escape—the rule is that if one

Originally 8,000 had been arrested. The director was vague about the other 4,000, though some had been thrown

The struggle at ENV sharpened because of the economic situa-tion in Britain and its effects on within such a short space of

Rhondda **Coal Board** threats by our cardiff correspondent

MAMBRIAN COLLIERY miners carried their struggle U against the National Coal Board's closure plans a step further last Saturday when they agreed to continue their nonco-operation policy.

The Tonypandy, Rhondda Valley miners refuse to accept the closure of their famous pit and oppose the transfer of men to other pits.

The meeting of 600-700 miners also decided, with only eight against, not to answer the individual letters sent to each man by the Coal Board.

These letters said: 'If you do not reply, the Board will assume that you have rejected the offer to continue employment, and they may not in that case be obliged to treat you as entitled to a payment under the Redun-dancy Payment Act, 1965.

Replies were demanded by the NCB by Monday, even though some letters were only received

on Saturday morning.

The decision of the Cambrian miners is the biggest development so far in the struggle against pit closures in South Wales and marks a break from the National Union of Mineworkers' policy of co-operating with pit closures, while asking for talks with the government.

With big increases in redun-dancy in the area over the last three weeks, miners know that they are fighting for their liveli-hood.

No Hopes

In the Cambrian lodge's clubhouse—30 yards from Sewing Industries factory closed three weeks ago-miners told The Newsletter how the sackings at the nearby Treforest Trading Estate had destroyed their hopes

of alternative employment.
One miner said that he had been in the coal industry all his life and, at 50, could not hope

to get a job outside.

The Stalinist-dominated leadership of the South Wales' NUM has undermined the struggle against pit closures in the past. Now that a bitter fight is in-evitable, these so-called 'leaders' try to prevent united action. Last week leaders declared that any action was up to the Cambrian lodge alone.

In an interview with The Newsletter, lodge secretary Garfield Rogers said that he felt the NUM had lost confidence in the future of the coal industry and the time had come for a review

of union policy.

The union should not cooperate in the closure of pits where there are still reserves of

More Closures

He said the closures were being accelerated, now coming two or three at a time, and miners were being offered jobs contrary to their abilities.

In the setting of the Labour government's wage freeze policy and increasing unemployment, the Communist Party's peaceful pipedreams of 'directing industry to Wales' and putting pressure on Wilson is transparent non-

A leading Rhondda CP member said on Saturday: 'We can no longer hold back severe criticism of the Labour government, and we from the Rhondda must say to them: "Lads, you are on the wrong track, you are put-ting the people of South Wales on the dole".'

This is not only ludicrous, but

smacks of nationalism as well. Harold Wilson's 'lads' must be quaking at this 'severe criticism', which came after a poster parade by a mere 30 people . . . out of the Rhondda CP's several hun-

dred paper members.
Rank-and-file miners have to take a more serious attitude than

the Stalinists and fake 'lefts'. They can only fight for their futures by fighting for a socialist alternative to the Wilson government and defending the national-ized industries through a programme of workers' control, pension of compensation and interest payments, and extending

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Corporation workers' wages frozen

miners reject Birmingham wages BY SYLVIA PICK hit twice T seems likely that Birmingham's road sweepers, dustmen, school cleaners and caretakers, and

certain other categories of low-paid workers employed by the Corporation, will fight the government's wage freeze.

Many of them are council-house tenants. They have been hit at the same time by a standstill on a rise in their wages, and by an increase in their weekly rent.

They were due for a pay rise on September 5 of between 8s 4d and 11s 8d a week. This in any case would virtually have been swallowed up by the increase in rent imposed recently by the Tory-controlled City Council, in defiance of government appeals for a rent freeze.

As things stand, they must pay twice over. The roof over their heads will cost them more, and they cannot touch a penny of the promised pay-rise to meet the

extra expense. 'They're quick enough to stop us getting more in our pay-packets. When the Council want to put up the rent, that's not

CALLING POLICE — 'dangerous step'

THE use of police in demonstrations was an 'exceptionally dangerous step', Cliff Slaughter told a large meeting following a demonstration by Young Socialist and Socialist Labour League members through Leeds last Saturday.

Recently the local Com-munist Party had used the police in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent a large YS-SLL contingent from taking part in a publicly advertised demonstration on the Vietnam war.

He also drew attention to the recent similar episode in Croydon, Surrey, after which don, Surrey, after socialists had been fined.

In the United States, the Communist Party had supported laws which were used to jail Trotskyists opposed to the Second World War, only to be jailed later themselves under the same laws.

UNPRECEDENTED

Now Johnson was preparing to jail opponents of the Viet-nam war. With the deepening crisis of imperialism, particularly British capitalism, such events could happen here.

Already the Leeds police have taken the unprecedented step of changing the traditional route and time for political demonstrations in order to keep them away from the large city centre

A large audience attended last Saturday's meeting and heard the speakers stress the class nature of the Vietnam war and the solidarity with those in the United States opposed to the

demonstration. marchers had called for a Victory to the Vietcong and the defeat of US imperialism'.

The Young Communist League refused an offer from the YS to take part in the demonstration on the grounds that the YS and SLL were 'splitters'.

The YCL failed to break up a YS meeting held on the morning of the demonstration.

FIND **NEARY** A JOB —

UNION TOLD

By Newsletter Reporter

LIVERPOOL seamen are demanding employment for Paddy Neary—one of the leaders of the 1960 seamen's strike and imprisoned during the strike under the Merchant Shipping Act.

For his part in the strike and in forming the Seamen's Reform Movement, Paddy Neary was ex-pelled from the National Union of Seamen. Under the pressure from the ranks, the leaders of the NUS were later compelled to reinstate him.

He is still refused employment by the shipowners. The demand of seamen at the NUS branch meeting last Sunday was that if the union could not obtain suitable employment for Neary with-in the next few days then they

The meeting passed unanimously, the following resolution: 'That the Liverpool branch of the NUS withdraws its labour until Bro. Neary is reinstated in his lawful employment as a sea-

stopped,' said one dustman dis-gustedly.

Another said: 'Rising prices and frozen wages hit all workers, but the low-paid worst of all. We don't know where this extra rent

is coming from.'
Nearly all these workers are members of the National Union of Public Employees, which recently declared its opposition to the wage freeze. NUPE delegates will your and speak against the will vote and speak against the government's measures at the TUC and Labour Party con-

Fifteen thousand Birmingham workers are involved in this freeze dilemma. It is to be put before the union as a 'special case', and may well become an important issue in the fight to beat the government's anti-work-

ing-class wage-freeze policy.
The struggle in Birmingham is gaining support from another section of workers. The central com-mittee of the tenants' and residents' association, representing 16 tenants' associations in various parts of the city, has approached NUPE with proposals of mutual support.

RENT FREEZE

This association, which says that 1,400 tenants have refused to pay the higher rents, expressed ne view that if there are threats of eviction the tenants concerned should have government support.
One thing most of these coun-

cil tenants appear to have resolved is that they will not stand for having to pay higher rents out of frozen wages, while interest rates soar and benefit the money-

Birmingham Young Socialists stand side-by-side with the tenants in this struggle, attending meetings and organising support in factories and among the youth. For the future they urge all tenants to take up the fight against wage-cuts and unemployment by joining the mass demonstration of workers at the Labour Party Conference on

Scottish jobs hit by Wilson measures

From BOB SHAW

TIME facts of how the living standards of workers are threatened by Wilson's policies are already apparent in key sections of Scottish industry. Instructions have been given that all municipal building projects other than housing and schools are to be severely cut. All civic buildings and amenity projects will be suspended. The programme for road development will similarly be cut back.

DATA backs YS march

ON SATURDAY (August 20) the No. 1 Divisional Council Scotland of the Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association voted by a large majority to support the call by Glasgow Federation of Young Socialists to demonstrate through Glasgow on August 27 against the wage freeze and the government's anti-union legislation; The deci-sion authorised the carrying of the union's divisional banner on the demonstration.

It was decided to ask the Executive Committee of DATA to send a delegation to the Young Socialists lobby of the Labour Party conference at Brighton on October 2.

The EC was also called upon by No. 1 Divisional Council to organise a delegation or send observers to Liege on October 15 in solidarity with European Young Socialists' demonstration against NATO and the war in Vietnam.

Employment uncertain after Blyth lay-offs

Newsletter Correspondent

SINCE the announcement of the closure of the Blyth shipyard a fortnight ago-when 500 men out of a 1,200 total were sacked without warning during their holiday period-two factories on the local trade estate have announced they are to

• I.C.I.'s BIGGEST **SACKINGS**

From page 1

ICI is now to examine their labour requirements in every department and Sir Paul Chambers is on record that the company could produce its present output with 15 per cent fewer workers. All firms now of course have another incentive to sack rather than 'hoard' their labour force: the Selective Employment Tax to be operated from September. This applies with particular force to applies with particular force to those firms in the service sector of the economy who will not be liable to any rebate after six months, as will firms in the manufacturing sector.

With a tightening of bank credit and the raising of interest rates firms will not be in a

rates firms will not be in a position to tie up any resources in taxes to the government: even over a six-month period, while no rebates are being paid, the cost of keeping on this extra 1,000 workers in terms of the employment tax alone would have amounted to over £30,000.

These developments also show the international nature of the crisis now mortally afflicting the employers in Britain.

The background to these sackings is the European position of the man-made fibres industry and particularly that section producing nylon. There have been massive nylon. There have been massive investments in the expansion of nylon production by the British

BIG INVESTMENT

Over the last three years ICI alone has invested over £70 million in nylon and this has matched similar investments by their leading rivals, Courtaulds, British Enkalon and Chemstrand. In Europe generally there has been a massive expansion of capacity as each giant has attempted to grab a bigger share of the market and increase its profits.

This situation now means that ICI has no chance at all of penetrating these foreign markets as a means of relieving its problems at home produced by Labour's freeze in defence of the pound. In fact, in November, when

Labour is to remove the import surcharge on goods coming into this country, the full blast of this world competition in nylon will be all the more keenly felt and further cut-backs could take

This industry is only typical of the general problem being faced by the employers: steel is a case in point where the industry is hopelessly un-competitive and

unable to meet competition from Europe and the USA.

The ICI sackings also make

nonsense of Labour's so-called 'economic policy' for the modernisation and re-organisation of Britain. In the first place all the talk of 'directing labour and in-dustry' to those areas where it was most needed is now revealed for the fraud that it was.

ICI dismiss men in South

Wales, always an area of high unemployment, in Doncaster, where the contraction of the mining industry now leaves very few acceptable jobs open, and finally grave doubt is now cast over the much publicised Scottish plant for nylon polymer (the raw material for nylon yarn).

Already it is clear that the economic crisis will hit those areas already suffering from high

unemployment: Scotland, Wales, the North East and Northern Ireland—just as they did (although to a much less extent) in Selwyn Lloyd's Tory squeeze in 1961.

CAN'T COMPETE

Nothing has changed under Labour despite the battery of planners and highly paid administrators who were to direct industry to these areas.

Secondly it is clear from the ICI case that the present crisis and the measures which the bankers have demanded Labour take to solve it will make British industry less able to compete on the world market these before the the world market than before the

ICI is now forced to work with plant below full capacity, thus raising its costs as well as to scrap or defer its plans for much investment in modern plant which the crisis now makes impossible to carry through.

The main consequence, of course, will be the sacking of thousands of workers. Wilson's reported threat to

the Trades Union Congress General Council that failure to accept the wage freeze would mean two million unemployed is a lie: the heavy unemployment which was already resulting from Calladan's measures is in fact Callaghan's measures is in fact being used to force through the

wage freeze.

These results of 22 months of Wilson's government follow directly from the decision to operate capitalism. The workers' movement must throw out Wilson and his treacherous policies, which can only mean a return to the mass unemployment conditions of the thirties.

Of the 500 men who were sacked, a small number have left the area altogether, but most of them seem to have found work in the shipyards on the Tyne, ten

miles away.

Seven hundred men are still
the vard on the reworking at the yard on the remaining ships—a 7,500-ton collier is to be finished completely, two ships are fitting out, but on four ships for the Westminster Dredging company work has ceased

completely.

It may be that for men in the finishing trades, there may be work for another five months. As for the rest, redundancy could come at any time. 'You don't know when you walk through the gates in the

morning what is going to happen, said one welder. 'Anyone could get their notice at any time. Some of the office staff got their cards last week.'
The closure has taken the local councillors and union men completely by surprise. Although talks between yard stewards and

the Lloyd's bank receiver are being held regularly and representa-tions to the Board of Trade are to be held, no one has any idea

what the outcome will be.

The union demand for the government to give financial help to save the yard seems to have met with no response.

One Boilermakers' Society official considers that the same than the same

cial considers that the town should shame the government into doing something by raising a 6d rate and 'refloating' the shipyard at a cost of £500,000!

'Don't Move'

In addition local councillors, union official and representatives of the north-east development corporation are urging skilled men still out of work not to move from Blyth as this will make it more difficult to attract alternative industry to the area.

But as has been pointed out previously, to appeal for help from a government whose very policies are responsible for what happened at Blyth is completely inadequate inadequate.

As the recent Geddes-plan mergers on the Tyne and the pro-posed mergers on the Clyde signify, only large consortiums, concentrating capital, rationalising production and cutting labour costs will be able to survive in the

The failure of the union leaders to draw the lessons of the Fair-field yard—where the union rule was thrown out-and to effectively oppose the Prices and Incomes Act and the Geddes plan means that workers will be herded into a trap of speed up, yard closures and redundancies.

Negotiations over Geddes must be broken off now and a real fight be staged for nationalization of the yards under workers' control.

Building workers know that these cuts mean unemployment; they had it from the Tory government three years

Colvilles have announced that at their three factories in Lanarkshire one of the night shifts is to be suspended. This move affects 2,000 workers and it is not clear how they will be employed if at all.

But steel workers in Motherwell and Wishaw are worried; they have observed Colvilles cur-rent purge of all spare labour. The cut in the night shift they say is a serious threat. Thousands of car workers at

prohibits them from taking strike action to demand that they be given the same pay for four days as for five. The Communist Party on the Clyde demonstrates a paralysis which has resulted in complete

Rootes, Linwood, are on a three or four-day week. Wilson's law

inactivity on the anti-trade union law since its campaign of June 22.

Jobless pattern THE TREND of unemployment in 1966 is following fairly closely that of the Summer of 1963. The pattern is all too familiar to

Scottish workers. On August 8, 58,887 were jobless in Scotland, the press emphasising that this was 4,080 fewer than August last year.

However, the trend of unemployment has been reversed from a general decline in the figures to a steady increase. The number of unemployed workers has increased by 4,000 this month.

Building workers, steel and car workers should join the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League in a fight to defeat the attack by the Wilson government.

Make the banks and the employers pay for their crisis, nationalize the building industry, steel and car industries.

Join with the Young Socialists in a demonstration from Queen's Cross, Glasgow on Saturday, August 27 at 3 p.m., and at Brighton on October 2.

Snub for TUC chief

By Newsletter Reporter

THE Scottish Plasterers' Union conference, held in Dumfries a week ago, passed by 28 votes to 17 an emergency motion condemning the wage-freeze and the Prices and Incomes Act.

Following the carrying of this motion there was a speech by James Jack, general secretary of the Scottish TUC. He advised the delegates to accept the govern-ment's policy because, he said: 'We are not entitled to doubt the government's integrity because we do not know all the facts.'

This is the same stale argument repeated by the Labour MPs at each lobby of parliament called to oppose the passing of anti-union legislation.

He also tried the old argument of saying: 'We must not make it (the trade union movement), a battleground, nor must we make it an area where people can make partisan political capital out of the position in which they find themselves.'

Jack received his reply from the delegates when an emergency motion moved by a member of the EC that the conference accept the wage-freeze was thrown out and the conference reaffirmed its opposition to the government's

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