

The Newsletter

WEEKLY JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE Vol. 6, No. 275

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1962

NEW FORDS THREAT TO MERSEY WORKERS

EDITORIAL

Speak up Sir Patrick!

NO one in the Labour movement should be surprised over the Liverpool outburst of Sir Patrick Hennessy of Fords. Sir Patrick, fresh from his witch-hunting in Dagenham, is an arrogant man.

The failure of the trade union chiefs, amongst them Frank Cousins, to call a halt to the victimisation of their members has given him great encouragement.

The inability of the leadership of the Communist Party to mobilise rank and file support against the attacks on their members has aroused in him his contempt for so-called militant trade unionists, who make a lot of left-wing noise but do no fighting.

Hennessy is a faithful example of the class he represents. The British employers, through such men, demonstrate their real class hatred for the working people, whose labour power is the source of all real wealth.

While workers toil away under conditions like those which prevail at Fords of Liverpool, they sit in their centrally-heated offices, discussing the next list of victimisations.

They have nothing but the utmost contempt for the spineless trade union leaders. Hennessy and men like him are in fact a tribe of industrial savages. Their main purpose in life is to extract more and more profit from the backs of human beings, who in their eyes are as unimportant as sheep.

We think it is therefore a good thing that Sir Patrick spoke up and should continue to do so, since he will help the working class to understand their real role in capitalist society.

It will urge them forward in their efforts to get rid of capitalists and capitalism for ever, and speed the day when Sir Patrick Hennessy will be required to toil under the conditions prevailing at Speke —just for the experience.

Meanwhile, is it not time something was done about Bessie Braddock MP and her husband, John?

In its editorial of 27.11.62, the *Daily Mail* commented favourably on Mrs. Braddock's periodic outbursts against so-called 'trouble-makers'.

Liverpool labour have it in their power to deal with the Braddocks. They should start using that power immediately.

'Wreckers' charge must be answered

By Reg Perry

THE Ford Motor Company is preparing further attacks on the wages and conditions of workers in the Merseyside area.

The warning, given at a banquet of civic dignitaries in Liverpool this week by Sir Patrick Hennessy, that the company is reconsidering plans to build a £9 million extension at the Halewood plant was designed to panic Labour and trade union officials into supporting a showdown with the local labour movement.

In addition Fords have announced their intention of moving tractor production to Holland, where they hope to be free from strikes.

Determined

Encouraged by the success at Dagenham in victimising 40 of the most active shop stewards and branch officials, Hennessy is determined to ensure that resistance to Fords' demands is broken once and for all.

The militant resistance of Merseyside building workers to the constant attacks on shop stewards on the Halewood site and their fight for standard bonus rates and working conditions has been a big shock to Fords' bosses.

When they took the decision to build on Merseyside with the assistance of a government subsidy, they obviously calculated on having at their disposal a docile labour force demoralised by long periods of unemployment and intimidated by the lengthening queues of jobless workers.

Resist

With the first factory nearing completion, Hennessy is afraid that he has badly miscalculated and that Merseyside workers will resist the 'speed-up', 'no tea break', anti-union measures which Fords intend to carry through once production starts.

In attacking unofficial strikes and communists, Hennessy is once again appealing to the 'responsible' trade union leaders, to help

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The bye-elections

Tories get a thrashing

By ALAN WEST, Our Labour Correspondent

WITH each crop of bye-elections, the standing of the Tory government sinks lower and lower. Despite frantic cabinet changes and desperate attempts to bribe the electorate, Macmillan and his gang are clearly on their way out.

Last week, they lost two seats, Woodside and South Dorset, to Labour and scraped home by very narrow margins in three others.

It is clear that even without any sort of policy at all the Labour Party can command overwhelming support from the working class in the industrial areas like Glasgow, Woodside, where unemployment, shocking housing conditions and low wages have rent asunder the Colman, Prentiss and Varley glossy myth of affluence and never-had-it-so-good.

But for poor weather on polling day, which traditionally hits Labour harder than the Tories, it is obvious that Mr. Carmichael would have gained an even larger majority.

DIFFERENT STORY

In the rural and suburban constituencies it is a very different story. Although Labour will clearly prosper in industrial areas from the anti-Tory swing, they have a great deal of ground to make up in the middle-class professional and rural belts.

They will need to win a large number of seats here if they are to get anything like a reasonable majority at the next election.

At the moment it is the Liberals, with an assorted bunch of extreme right-wing anti-Common Marketeers and 'independents', who are forcing the pace.

Mr. Barnett, the new Labour MP for South Dorset, owes his victory to the intervention of Sir Piers Debenham, an anti-Europe protege of Lord Hinchinbrooke's, who swung a large number of votes from the orthodox Tory, Mr. Angus Maude.

The middle-class vote for this



Gaitskell: complacent whoops

rag-bag on the far right is a dangerous expression of dissatisfaction and anti-working class feeling which, unless Labour sets out consciously to overcome it, could subsequently manifest itself in support for a 'strong-man-to-get-to-grips-with-the-unions' type of neo-fascist movement.

Labour must win the middle-class vote. It can only do this by showing that this sector of the community is suffering at the hands of the same oppressor as is the labour movement — namely, the monopolists and their hired hands in the Tory government.

From this stems the need for realistic and thorough-going socialist policies to answer the menace of the monopolists.

There are 'joyous whoops' from Mr. Gaitskell and company, we are told, at the latest results. This is dangerous complacency. There is no decisive vote for Labour at the moment, only votes against the Tories.

As the General Election approaches the need for rank and file struggle to place the Party on a truly socialist basis becomes more and more necessary.

What's going on in the USSR

An important series of articles on the crisis facing the Soviet bureaucracy and the effects on their foreign policy begins on page two

By GERRY HEALY

The heads go on rolling

The following extracts are taken from the French newspaper 'Figaro' of 28.11.62

Sofia, November 27, 1962

Bulgaria today proceeded with a profound alteration of the ministerial cabinet giving Mr. Todor Jivkov's government a structure similar to that of the Soviet Union.

The number of ministers has changed from 26 to 28. Parliament has approved the nomination of 12 new ministers and leaders of special government commissions. Following the example of the Soviet Union, responsibility for industry and agriculture has been separated.

The post of First Vice-President of the Council, formerly held by Mr. Raivko Damyranov, has been entrusted to Mr. Jivko Jivkov (no relation to the head of government and First Secretary of the Party).

The 'Commission for the truth about the crimes of Stalin' has sent the President of the Council of Czechoslovakia and the presidium of the Czech CP Congress a telegram demanding the public recognition of the crimes which were the judicial murder, nine years ago, of Rudolf Slansky, Vladimir Clementis and nine other condemned political prisoners, all hanged on December 3, 1952, after trials which are today recognised as parodies of justice.

The telegram demands equally the denunciation of the executioners.

Moscow, November 27, 1962

Denunciators, slanderers, accusers and provocateurs guilty of abusive repression and of the death of innocent people during the epoch of Stalin's personality cult in the USSR, will be able to be prosecuted, it is learnt from good sources.

A first official measure in this direction has been against a Moscow literary man, Yakov Efimovitch Elsberg, who has been expelled from the Moscow writers' organisation as a voluntary provocateur and accuser of his brother writers.

His expulsion is announced in the latest information bulletin from the leadership of the Moscow writers' organisation *Moskovskii Literator*, in the framework of an account of a meeting of the party cell of the critics' section.

The 'voluntary provocateur', Elsberg, according to an informed source, caused 'several talented writers' to be sent to prison during the personality cult era. A good number of these have not returned.

ECONOMY EXPANDS— UNEMPLOYMENT

RISES

PETER JEFFRIES
explains why

FIGURES published last week show that unemployment soared during the period from mid-October to November by over 43,000 to a total of nearly 550,000.

This is the highest November figure for 22 years.

Because of seasonal fluctuations in unemployment at this time of the year, the number without jobs will almost certainly rise to 600,000 by the New Year. It is clear that Maudling's 'little Budget' has made no serious impact upon the economy.

Unemployment rose in all regions, but especially so in the North (including Tyneside) where unemployment stands at 62,000, Scotland where 93,000 are out of work and the North-west where the figure stands at 88,000.

It should also be noted that the 'prosperous' Midlands and the South-east recorded a rise in the number of jobless. There are now 70,000 out of work in the Midlands where the rate of unemployment is now very near to the national average.

Another indication of the worsening position of labour is the fall in job vacancies. There are now only about 160,000 unfilled jobs. This represents a fall of about 14,000 compared with October.

SEVERE

The position is especially severe for unskilled workers where very few unfilled jobs are to be found.

A new element is apparent in the unemployment situation: unemployment is rising steeply against a background of rising national production.

In the past, once production has started to expand, unemployment has fallen after a lag of a few months. But this is not happening in the present situation.

Since unemployment began to rise in June of last year production has risen steadily and reached an all-time high in September.

How do we explain this?

The basic reason is that productivity (i.e., production per man) has been rising throughout this period.

About 3 years ago there was a spurt in investment which is now beginning to show its return from the point of view of the capitalists. With newer and more up-to-date machinery in many branches of the economy output can be expanded without any additions to the labour force.

PROBLEMS

But money sunk into these new machines has got to show a return. As an example of the problems faced by the monopolists at this time we can take the case of the British Motor Corporation.

During the last financial year their total profits fell from over £15 million to about £10 million while total turnover remained about the same, at roughly £33 million.

The explanation for these figures is simple—the profit made on each car fell considerably during the year as the competition in the European and American markets heated up.

So the employers, besides speeding up production and sacking militants, are also shedding any 'excess' labour.

In the past the monopolists have been willing to 'carry' some labour in anticipation of a production boom, but they now feel

that an improvement in the economy is so unlikely that all unwanted men are being sacked.

Those left with jobs are made to work harder and produce more.

This is why we are in many ways entering a new phase as far as labour is concerned. Even if the Tories do manage to expand the economy through lower interest rates, easier credit, and so on, this does not mean that employment will grow, as it has done in the past.

Production may well increase and unemployment remain the same or even rise.

The latest figures show the growing seriousness of the unemployment situation in the North-west, the North and Scotland.

DECLINING

This is the area of the old 'declining' industries, notably coal, cotton and shipbuilding.

But unemployment is now growing in the Midlands and the South-east. Again this is the result of the increased productivity mentioned above, and the 'tight' position of many employers in cars and light engineering.

The other reason for the growth of unemployment and short time in these previously boom areas has been the movement of industry to low wage areas such as Scotland, the North-east and Northern Ireland.

Following the movement of Fords and BMC to these areas, Vauxhall have just announced a £4 million plant extension to their existing factory at Ellesmere Port, Cheshire.

This will bring the total investment in this depressed area to £26 million.

Not only have the moves failed to solve the problems of unemployment but the transfer of industry away from the Midlands and the South has meant greater unemployment in these regions also, giving the monopolists more power to institute speed-ups, cut wages and to dismiss militants.

Not only will the hard winter weather mean more unemployment but the hundreds of school-leavers who will enter the labour market will only add to the problem.

STRUGGLE

If we are entering a new phase in relation to unemployment then new methods of struggle will have to be devised.

It will be useless to call upon the monopolists to bring their factories to areas like Scotland and Merseyside. Unemployment has continued to soar in these areas despite such moves.

Nor will a call to the Tories to expand the economy be in any way adequate. They will only do this if they feel that their class will benefit.

Too much expansion at home will mean rising costs and wages for the employers, this will lead to a further loss of export markets and a familiar balance of payments crisis.

In any case, as we have said, an expansion of production may lead to no expansion in jobs in the next period.

The solution to the gravest threat ever made to the labour movement of this country must be met by both the short- and long-term measures outlined consistently in THE NEWSLETTER in recent months.

The demands for the 40-hour week, a ban on overtime, work-sharing and unity of employed and unemployed are not just splendid paper demands.

They are the only realistic steps to counter the measures being put into operation by the employers.

What's going on in the Soviet Union

By **GERRY HEALY**

This is the first of a series of articles dealing with the relation between the internal crisis of the Soviet Union and its foreign policy. These articles will deal with the politics of Khrushchev as distinct from Stalin and the efforts of the present-day Khrushchevite apologists for Stalinism outside the Soviet Union.

THE Plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which opened on November 19, did not discuss the recent war crisis over Cuba, but there is little doubt that it figured prominently in the background.

The committee heard a lengthy report on economic development, dealing with the period covering the operation of the seven-year plan (1959-1965).

This report, perhaps more than any other since the death of Stalin, revealed an intensification of the crisis in relations between the bureaucracy and the working class.

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In opening the report, Khrushchev declared that the main targets of the seven-year plan were being surpassed. Industrial products have increased between 1959 and 1962 by 45 per cent as against 39 per cent envisaged in the target figures.

The output of capital goods had increased by 51 per cent as against the 41 per cent outlined in the general target.

When the seven-year plan was put into operation in 1959, great

stress was laid on the priority which would be given to the production of consumer goods.

This stress arose out of the considerable pressure upon the bureaucracy by the working class and peasantry who were tired of the shortages and scarcities.

The report revealed that the increase over the four years was less in this field: 34 per cent as against the 33 per cent spoken of in the plan.

Despite his previous promise, Khrushchev admitted that the output of consumer goods was secondary to the priority development of heavy industry and the manufacture of farm products.

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He warned, 'We must take additional measures to accelerate the output of consumer goods.'

The dissatisfaction of the Soviet people has, in fact, grown much greater since 1959.

This was frankly admitted by Khrushchev when he said that the targets for the rise of labour productivity in industry, construction and agriculture, set by the seven-year plan, were not being reached.

Although overall production has gone up in certain fields, labour productivity remains stagnant.

He drew attention to some workers 'who willingly welcome decisions which have been taken, but who display irresponsibility



and helplessness when it comes to carrying out those decisions.'

In this connection he condemned the 'bureaucratic control apparatus' which isolated the party from the masses. This, he implied, was due to the 'cult of the individual' initiated during the lifetime of Stalin.

The remarkable thing about this report was that it failed to reveal the wages and incomes of the working class, the managers, technicians and other personnel of the bureaucracy.

The stagnation of labour productivity indicates quite clearly that there is resistance on the part of the working class who are coming into conflict with the bureaucracy and are, therefore, inclined to behave with indifference towards their responsibilities for the implementation of the plan.

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It is reasonable to assume that the discontent of the working class has, in fact, wrested wage increases from the bureaucracy in a number of industries.

At the same time as he avoided the question of wages and salaries when speaking of production, Khrushchev spoke about the need for more incentives for the collective farmers.

'A series of measures', he said, 'had been adopted to increase the material incentives of the farmers, and above all to raise the purchase price of meat and certain other products. As a result, collective farmers would be getting an additional 1,200,000,000 roubles a year.'

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In other words, although the price of meat is definitely going up, there is no indication that wages are following suit.

During his report Khrushchev spoke a number of times about bureaucracy and its evil effects in the administration of industry.

There is little doubt but the

The French 'New Right'

by **Tom Kemp**

A NEW right-wing force, solidly based on support for de Gaulle and for the policies of 'the strong state' for which he stands, is the most evident result of the French elections.

The Union for the New Republic has taken a decisive step towards replacing the traditional parties of French capitalism.

It is a party based on the leadership principle, made up of many men new to politics but resolute in their determination to keep the working class in its place and endow France with the kind of political institutions which they believe can safeguard their own wealth and influence.

It has swept along many of the former supporters of the old

parties who see in de Gaulle and his followers the only force which can provide them with the quiet life for which they crave.

Of course, the UNR is far from being a mass party of the Nazi type. It is still the movement of a new layer of local 'notables', a party machine without a large active membership.

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Meanwhile, with a rubber-stamp Assembly to do his bidding, the

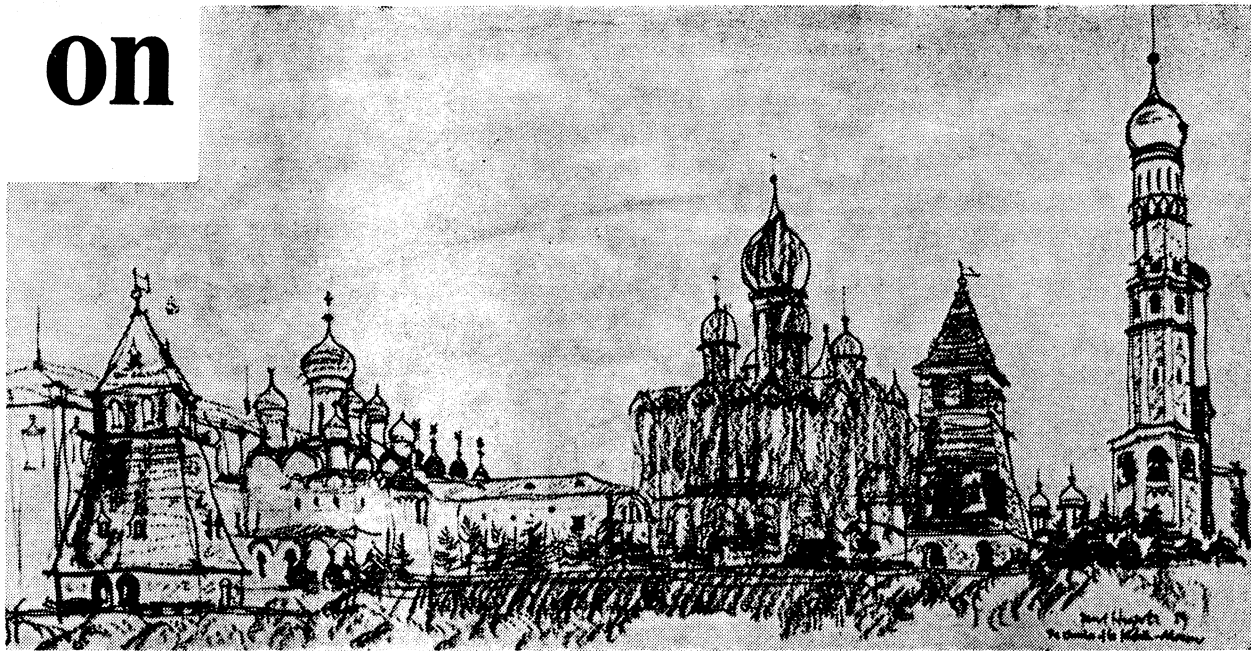
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Unless someone can be found able to command from the middle class electorate the respect and confidence it now gives to the General, the whole political structure will come to a halt as did the Fourth Republic in May 1958.

For such an eventuality a party like the UNR could become an indispensable instrument of French capital—not as a parliamentary party but as a shock force against the working class and its organisations.

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parasitic role of this bureaucracy is now gravely endangering the Soviet economy.

The slow rate of increase in the production of these goods must be considered alongside the increased proportion of these goods which must have gone to the bureaucracy who enjoy incomes far in excess of Soviet worker.

The lack of ideas and bureaucratic behaviour of these ruling parasites can be seen from the fact that they not only consume the lion's share of consumer goods but in a country where capital investment has increased, labour productivity has declined because of hostility to their administration.

Where an increase of capital investment has taken place in capitalist countries, the tendency has been for productivity to increase, in contrast to the USSR.

The problem before Khrushchev is how he can continue to protect the rule of the bureaucracy by less violent means than Stalin.

In his speech he talked about the great need to return to the policies of Lenin, but he took care not to outline what these policies were.

'The time has come,' he said, 'to extend and deepen the democratic principles of the management of enterprises.'

'We must,' he declared, 'set up broadly representative bodies at industrial enterprises and construction sites, and, at large enterprises, shop production committees elected at a general meeting of the entire labour force.'

But he then goes on to emphasise that 'the director' of the shop 'should take all decisions on his own and be entirely responsible to the state for the situation at his enterprise. The production committee should be a consultative body.'

Khrushchev's reference to Lenin was just as fraudulent as those references made on occasion by Stalin.

It has nothing in common with the decree made in November 1917 and later abolished by Stalin which transferred control of the means of production to the working class.

In the scheme of Khrushchev and his bureaucracy, the final say will rest not with the working class on the job but on the director responsible to the state and party bureaucracy—a member, in fact, of the bureaucracy!

To implement this policy, Khrushchev proposes the division

of the party into two groups of administrators.

One would be responsible for industry and the other for agriculture.

Whilst these would be responsible for the production in the regions, they would be strictly accountable to the party and the central state apparatus.

Khrushchev is here obviously anxious about trends which exist in the bureaucracy that look towards the incentive methods of capitalism as a means for increasing production.

By keeping control strictly in the hands of the party, he hopes to be able to check such tendencies.

At the same time he is forced not only into giving concessions to the collective farmers but in industry he talks about the need to establish a comparison of the growth of different industries through a system of profit making.

He qualifies this by saying that such profit, of course, must not be considered the same as in capitalist society.

This is, of course, true insofar as the bureaucracy cannot transform itself into a capitalist class. What is revealed, however, is that by urging profit comparisons between industries it is proposed that the working class in these industries should be exploited more than at present.

In other words, this new reorganisation envisages an intensified exploitation of the workers as the only way to overcome the stagnation of labour productivity.

Here is the real nub of the crisis in Soviet economy. The bureaucracy are acting more and more as a powerful fetter on industrial production.

Khrushchev is forced by working-class pressure to open up limited relations between the workers and the bureaucracy. At the same time nothing is resolved and the cost of living is bound to increase, particularly for farm produce.

The Soviet working class come more and more into conflict with the bureaucracy and this explains the desperation of Khrushchev for peaceful co-existence with the imperialists.

He hopes by such co-existence to be able to reduce the massive military expenditure and utilise at least some of it for purchasing and producing badly needed consumer goods to satisfy the masses.

This is the background to the developments in the Caribbean over the past few weeks.

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The Permanent Revolution and Results and Prospects

Cloth 25s.

Paperback 15s.

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS

186A Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4



China and the boundary

THE following are extracts from a note to the Indian Embassy from the Chinese Foreign Ministry, dated October 6, 1962.

'In its notes to the Indian Government dated September 16, 20, 21 and 25, 1962, the Chinese Government has given clear and detailed accounts of how Indian troops intruded into Che Dong, north of the so-called McMahon Line, established an aggressive stronghold, attacked Chinese frontier guards and created incidents of bloodshed there.

In the past few days, the Indian troops have again expanded the scope of their encroachment and set up three more aggressive strongpoints in the Che Dong area, one at Chekuopu, east of Che Dong and west of the Che-jao bridge, another at Jungputiu, southwest of Che Dong, and the third at Kalung, west by north of Che Dong.

'Provocations'

What is even more serious, the Indian troops have become increasingly unbridled in their armed provocations. Against this, the Chinese Government has repeatedly lodged the most serious protests with the Indian Government.

The Chinese Government now demands once again that the Indian side immediately stop its armed attacks on the Chinese frontier guards and withdraw from China's Che Dong area. . . .

The Indian Government asserts that Che Dong is to the south of the illegal McMahon Line and is Indian territory. This is wholly incompatible with the actual situation.

'Traacherous'

The so-called McMahon Line was treacherously concocted in 1914 by Britain for the purpose of aggression against China's Tibet. It is illegal and null and void and has never been recognized by any Chinese government. But according to the original 1914 map of the "McMahon Line", this Line extends eastward from approximately 27° 44.6'N, 91° 39.7'E, while Che Dong is situated at 27° 46.5'N, 91° 42'E,

The Director, that illuminating magazine published by the Institute of Directors, contains an important article in the current month's issue which has some relevance to our understanding the reason for the continually increasing number of unemployed.

80 large companies were approached by the editor of *The Director* for information about their cost-cutting plans, and replies were received from the majority of them.

The purpose of the enquiry was to establish how and where the reduction of costs was to occur. One question asked was: 'Which sector of the company is the main target for economy measures: Sales, Production, Clerical, Publicity, Welfare, etc.?' Nearly three-quarters of the replies stated that production was to be the main target for economy.

In everyday parlance that means a reduction in the direct labour force—the worker on the factory floor.

Will this tendency continue, or is it a once-and-for-all guillotine operation?

Having established the scope and importance of cost-cutting in industry, the question remains

Tribune finds an ally

By A Newsletter Correspondent

ON August 4, 1914, the Parliamentary fraction of the Social Democratic Party of Germany decided, by a large majority, to vote the war credits demanded by the Kaiser's government.

It thus set the tone for almost all the other parties of the Second International which, forgetting the solemn resolutions against war voted at their international gatherings, became supports for their governments and recruiting sergeants for the bloody slaughter of the First World War.

This policy, dubbed by Lenin 'social patriotism', subsequently became second nature to all fake socialists of the Left as well as of the Right. Every time the ruling class of their own country has been in danger they move towards it.

In support for the 'Atlantic Alliance' this now exists as a

and so obviously north of the Line.

In the map 'India and Adjacent Countries' published by the Survey of India in 1959, the so-called McMahon Line has already been shifted further north, yet the Che Dong area is still north of the Line as delineated in this map. . . .

It is precisely the Indian side that has intruded to the north of the illegal McMahon Line and created incidents of bloodshed in the Che Dong area.

'Indignation'

The Chinese Government expresses its extreme regret and indignation over the Indian Government's practice of wilfully distorting facts and calling black white in its notes.

It is absolutely futile for the Indian Government to try in this way to absolve itself of the guilt of expanding its aggression and killing and wounding Chinese frontier guards.'

Izvestia yesterday attacked Albania, stating that the 'socialist realisations in that country are threatened by the adventurist policy of its leaders'.

permanent part of policy in Western European social democracy.

Meanwhile, the Communist parties, in their own way, and to the extent permitted by the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, moved towards a similar position.

A war was no longer appraised by reference to the class forces in the two camps. The Communist parties were only too happy to support the wars carried on by their 'own' government—as long as it suited the needs of the Kremlin.

The Indian Communist Party even supported Britain's entry into the war—though the nationalist movement continued to oppose it, at least formally.

LONG TRADITION

When *Tribune* devotes its front page to applauding the action of the Indian CP in supporting Nehru's Himalayan war with the Chinese People's Republic, its emotional outburst arises from deep sympathy and an unconscious regard for a long tradition—a tradition established by the Second International in 1914.

Tribune can quite understand why the Indian CP should see this war through the same lens as the Indian bourgeoisie. It reveals that it, too, does not look at the question of war and peace in class terms.

It recognises its kinship with Joshi's party because it will also support its own bourgeoisie in such a crisis.

Nehru, in any case, is a man after their own heart: 'socialist' in words but in practice a good friend and faithful ally of 'the West'.

POUR SCORN

Of course that does not mean that *Tribune* may not, in the future, write approvingly of China, including those features of Mao's rule which are most deformed, and will pour scorn on those who pursue a consistent Marxist policy in respect both to bourgeois India and to the degenerated and deformed workers' states.

At least the *Tribune* boys are consistent in their worship of the accomplished fact.

parasitic role of this bureaucracy is now gravely endangering the Soviet economy.

The slow rate of increase in the production of these goods must be considered alongside the increased proportion of these goods which must have gone to the bureaucracy who enjoy incomes far in excess of Soviet worker.

The lack of ideas and bureaucratic behaviour of these ruling parasites can be seen from the fact that they not only consume the lion's share of consumer goods but in a country where capital investment has increased, labour productivity has declined because of hostility to their administration.

Where an increase of capital investment has taken place in capitalist countries, the tendency has been for productivity to increase, in contrast to the USSR.

The problem before Khrushchev is how he can continue to protect the rule of the bureaucracy by less violent means than Stalin.

In his speech he talked about the great need to return to the policies of Lenin, but he took care not to outline what these policies were.

★

'The time has come,' he said, 'to extend and deepen the democratic principles of the management of enterprises.'

'We must,' he declared, 'set up broadly representative bodies at industrial enterprises and construction sites, and, at large enterprises, shop production committees elected at a general meeting of the entire labour force.'

But he then goes on to emphasise that 'the director' of the shop 'should take all decisions on his own and be entirely responsible to the state for the situation at his enterprise. The production committee should be a consultative body'.

Khrushchev's reference to Lenin was just as fraudulent as those references made on occasion by Stalin.

★

It has nothing in common with the decree made in November 1917 and later abolished by Stalin which transferred control of the means of production to the working class.

In the scheme of Khrushchev and his bureaucracy, the final say will rest not with the working class on the job but on the director responsible to the state and party bureaucracy—a member, in fact, of the bureaucracy!

To implement this policy, Khrushchev proposes the division

of the party into two groups of administrators.

One would be responsible for industry and the other for agriculture.

Whilst these would be responsible for the production in the regions, they would be strictly accountable to the party and the central state apparatus.

Khrushchev is here obviously anxious about trends which exist in the bureaucracy that look towards the incentive methods of capitalism as a means for increasing production.

By keeping control strictly in the hands of the party, he hopes to be able to check such tendencies.

★

At the same time he is forced not only into giving concessions to the collective farmers but in industry he talks about the need to establish a comparison of the growth of different industries through a system of profit making.

He qualifies this by saying that such profit, of course, must not be considered the same as in capitalist society.

This is, of course, true insofar as the bureaucracy cannot transform itself into a capitalist class. What is revealed, however, is that by urging profit comparisons between industries it is proposed that the working class in these industries should be exploited more than at present.

In other words, this new reorganisation envisages an intensified exploitation of the workers as the only way to overcome the stagnation of labour productivity.

Here is the real nub of the crisis in Soviet economy. The bureaucracy are acting more and more as a powerful fetter on industrial production.

★

Khrushchev is forced by working-class pressure to open up limited relations between the workers and the bureaucracy. At the same time nothing is resolved and the cost of living is bound to increase, particularly for farm produce.

The Soviet working class come more and more into conflict with the bureaucracy and this explains the desperation of Khrushchev for peaceful co-existence with the imperialists.

He hopes by such co-existence to be able to reduce the massive military expenditure and utilise at least some of it for purchasing and producing badly needed consumer goods to satisfy the masses.

This is the background to the developments in the Caribbean over the past few weeks.

City Slants by colin chance

whether this is likely to continue. Here the answer is clearly that cost-cutting has become, over the last year or two, a permanent key feature of directors' functions,' writes *The Director's* contributor.

This cost reduction campaign is taking place at a time when production is on the increase—the September figures were an all-time record. Modern plant installed at

£ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £

The axe

£ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £ £

the time of the last boom is contributing to this increase, yet less labour is required for its operation.

So substantial has been the capital investment of a few years back that orders for new machinery are declining. (Only 4 per cent of the respondents to *The Director's* enquiry expect to reduce costs by means of new

investment.) These then are the ingredients of the present economic situation: increasing productive capacity, yet static demand; growing unemployment, yet declining new capital investment.

The buttress against unemployment and economic depression of former post-war years, in the shape of a strong capital goods demand, is absent—though Maudling's measures may temporarily remedy the situation.

Not so long ago the Croslands of this world were telling us that the tough thirties were gone for ever.

But with world surplus capacity in many major industries, the classic contradictions of capitalism are once more to the fore.

The capitalists may try to solve their problems by cutting costs and by throwing more and more of us on the scrap heap; but these perpetual economic crises will only be solved by reversing that process.

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Pressed Steel workers force bosses to retreat

From BOB SHAW, Our Scottish Correspondent

THE strike of 4,000 workers at the Linwood, Paisley factory of Pressed Steel to prevent the sacking of 70 men marks a new stage in the fight against sackings. This factory is vital to the operation of the British Motor Corporation, which produces commercial vehicles at Bathgate, 30 miles away. Pressed Steel will also provide car bodies for the nearby Rootes factory now being completed, which will start its output of small cars some time in the spring of 1963.

A lot is at stake at Linwood. Wage rates are £7 to £8 per week less than those paid in Oxford and other parts of England by Pressed Steel.

This means the slashing of production costs to capture a large slice of the European market for the Rootes car. As a result, skirmishing over wage rates has gone on at the Pressed Steel factory for the last year.

The strike last week took place when the management openly stated that they intended to cut costs by sacking time-wage workers and that 70 men would have to go.

STEWARDS FOUGHT

The shop stewards said they would fight against any sackings which would only add to the unemployment problem in the area. They countered with a proposal for a 40-hour week, even if this had to be with loss of pay.

This was flatly refused by the management.

The Pressed Steel workers were backed by the Paisley District Committee of the AEU which includes the convenors of such factories as Rolls-Royce, Remington Rand and Hillington, where sackings have also either taken place or been notified.

They anxiously wait to see whether the Pressed Steel men can

accomplish what they have been unable to do—prevent sackings.

The Pressed Steel shop stewards were also in touch with the unemployed in Paisley where there are more than 2,000 signing on at the Labour Exchange.

After two days the management were forced to retreat.

They contacted trade union officials and asked for a resumption of work pending negotiations. The sackings were to be postponed in the meantime for two weeks.

The Pressed Steel strike follows action by other sections of workers in Scotland against unemployment. The victories of Scottish builders and plumbers for the 40-hour week are of major importance.

The employers on the Clyde are amongst the hardest and most ruthless exploiters of labour to be found anywhere.

They cannot be softened by sentiment and they have the police to deal with any pressure which is confined to street demonstrations.

Long unemployment is a terrible experience. In Glasgow the frustration of bad housing adds to the problem. A carefully thought-out strategy to fight against this is needed which will start with those successes now being won at Pressed Steel.

From this a beginning can be made in rebuilding the militant leadership on the Clyde. The employers can then be engaged in battle.

Scots TUC's no jobs farce

By Our Glasgow Correspondent

A THOUSAND delegates attended the last in a series of 9 'Jobs for Scotland' conferences held by the General Council of the Scottish TUC over the past four months. The conference consisted of four boring speeches from the platform from full-time officials (Lauder, NUR; Connor, AEU; Scholes, TGWU; and Middleton, Secretary of the STUC). There was not an ounce of fight between them and only 11 delegates were called in discussion.

The main line of the speakers was to compel capitalism, via the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Tory government, to solve the problems of the workers by directing industry to Scotland.

The conference was so dull that a constant stream of delegates left the hall; a quarter had left before the conclusion.

At least four Communist Party members were selected to speak in the discussion. If anyone expected from them a call to unite the unions in a struggle for the 40-hour week and a ban on overtime as a means to unite the unemployed with the unions, then they were sadly disappointed.

INDISTINGUISHABLE

Their speeches were almost indistinguishable from those of the right-wing union leaders.

Finlay Hart, a CP member and boilermakers' shop steward, called for 'a lobby of parliament to 'compel' capitalism to direct industry.

The platform claimed that the 'Jobs for Scotland' campaign has been a success. But there is no evidence anywhere to show that the employers are in the least concerned about these conferences, which have utterly failed to mobilise the working class for a struggle.

FRIENDLY WRITE-UP

The capitalist press gave the conferences a most friendly write-up. This is hardly surprising, for the whole purpose of the trade union leadership is to shackle the power of the unions by subordinating them to lobbies of parliament and appeals to the Tories to help the labour movement.

Recently in Scotland, the timid leadership of the building trades unions were forced to take action to obtain the 40-hour week.

This should have provided the leaders of the STUC (including

the 'Left' CP leaders) with an opportunity to openly call for all unions to join the building workers and so present a united front against the employers for shorter hours.

But all these gentlemen cover behind constitutionalism and negotiation procedures with the ruling class and are afraid to unleash the might of the working class to challenge capitalism.

The people in powerful positions in the unions won't lead.

INDEPENDENT

The responsibility rests with the rank and file of all the unions to build up their independent committees of action within the unions and workshops, to develop the fight for the 40-hour week and a ban on overtime.

Labour-controlled councils must be forced to launch schemes of public works and to use for this purpose some of the enormous sums of money paid in regularly in loan interests to capitalist sharks.

NO COLLABORATION

The Parliamentary Labour group must be swung away from collaboration with the Tories towards the working class—towards leading demonstrations in all the major cities of the combined workers' movements for a general election.

Such a movement generated by the rank and file would soon reveal for all to see where the Gaitskellites, Carrons and Byrnes really stand, and would assist in the shaping of genuine socialist action policies which would clearly appeal to the unemployed.

STILL 'NO' TO ROBERTS

The Labour Party NEC, meeting on Wednesday, rejected a request from Horsham CLP to reconsider the position of Mr. Ernie Roberts whose candidature the NEC have rejected.

AT a meeting at Halewood, at 1 p.m. Wednesday, it was decided to invite the Lord Mayor of Liverpool, Sir Patrick Hennessy, all the local trade union leaders, site shop stewards and the press to conduct an enquiry into the truth of Fords' allegations.

The meeting was chaired by site steward, Jimmy Dill. He stressed that questions would be allowed and discussion from the floor. Turner of the Confederation and McGree of the NFBTO addressed the meeting. No questions were asked or allowed. This caused dissent from the floor, as many wanted to ask John Braddock of the Trades Council what he meant by saying he agreed in principle with Hennessy.

The trade union leaders who spoke stressed how good Merseyside workers were, creating the impression that the dispute was all a big misunderstanding.

Hennessy and the advice of all those 'leaders' like Braddock they can give a lead to the whole motor industry and greatly encourage the shop stewards at Dagenham who have still a long fight in front of them.

The labour movement must slap the label of 'trouble-makers' on to Sir Patrick Hennessy and the British employing class and resolve to fight them and their policies of wage freeze, victimisation, speed-up and sackings.

The 37,000 unemployed in the North-west must make it clear that they will not allow industrialists to come to Merseyside and use them as cheap docile labour.

In this they will secure the backing of the labour movement.

Labour Council snubs tenants

Newsletter Reporter

THE Southwark Borough Council in South London, which is 100 per cent Labour, has finally replied to the tenants of Blendon Row, Southwark, who are demanding to be rehoused.

They gave this reply not to the tenants direct but to the local paper, which printed it under the heading 'Why vociferous tenants of Blendon Row are not so badly off'.

The tenants, say the council, cannot take priority over others who have been on the housing list for a number of years.

There are people living in even worse conditions, they state, and even if they did demolish the buildings there would not be sufficient space on the site to rehouse everyone.

Mr. R. Lake, secretary of the tenants' committee commented: 'They say we aren't so badly off. We try to keep our places nice, but no amount of paint stops the bugs from coming back every summer.'

Said another tenant, 'I wish we could get some of these councillors to live here for a few days. They'd run out screaming.'

The Borough Council claim that it would cost them about £120,000 to take over the buildings and modernise them.

They say the landlords have agreed to make certain improvements so the Council will not proceed with action against them.

They really believe that the landlords are prepared to spend the sums required to make these places habitable.

Tenants should demand to know from the Borough Council: what loans they are repaying and at what rate of interest; if the existing site is not big enough why they can't acquire the large bombed-site at the back of Blendon Row; how many houses are standing empty in Southwark because of the high prices at which they are being offered for sale?

The tenants are not satisfied with the reply of the council. They intend to hold a meeting to discuss proposals for further action, including an offer from the Southwark Trades Council to help them organise a meeting of representatives of the trade unions, Labour Party and tenants in the area.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

Falkirk

MARXISM AND THE TRADE UNIONS

Speaker:

G. HEALY

(National Secretary, Socialist Labour League)

Sunday, December 9, 2.30 p.m.

Ascot Hall, 11 Calander Riggs, Falkirk (at bus station)

Glasgow

A SOCIALIST POLICY TO DEFEAT UNEMPLOYMENT

Speaker:

G. HEALY

(National Secretary, Socialist Labour League)

Sunday, December 9, 7.30 p.m.

Woodside Hall, Clarendon Street, St. Georges Cross, Glasgow

Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper
Published by The Newsletter,
186A Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4
Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), r.o.
180 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

Fords Mersey threat: from page one

him discipline the 'trouble-makers' as they did at Dagenham.

The Labour fakers like Alderman John Braddock, should be disowned by Merseyside workers.

They should ask him to explain his statement, 'Not all the trouble-makers should be described as communists. They are dedicated revolutionaries who want an end to the capitalist system.'

He and all those like him who have been piously pleading for the unemployed in the North-west, shedding crocodile tears over their plight and asking the monopolists to build new factories must be exposed.

It is clear that Braddock cannot lead any struggle for socialism since he is in favour of retaining

the capitalist system in Britain.

Isn't it Tory policy, on behalf of British capitalism, that has created 550,000 unemployed?

Doesn't Hennessy talk as one of the most arrogant leaders of the British employers when he declares 'I regard the constant procession of unofficial disputes as the biggest challenge and the most serious threat facing the nation at home'?

The unemployed and Fords' workers on Merseyside should close their ranks in preparation for the showdown Fords are planning.

By rejecting the threat of