

# The Newsletter

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Vol. 9, No. 447

June 4, 1966

Price 6d.

**PUBLIC MEETING**

**SUPPORT THE SEAMEN!  
AGAINST THE DEVLIN REPORT AND  
ANTI-TRADE UNION LEGISLATION!**

Young Socialists invite all seamen, dockers and trade unionists to a meeting at

**Keir Hardie School  
Beckton Road, Canning Town, E.16  
Wednesday, June 8, 7.30 p.m.**

Speaker: Gerry Healy  
Buses: 106, 175, 5, 13, 23, 40, 33,  
58 to Trinity Church, Barking  
Road, then two minutes walk  
along Beckton Road.

# SEAMEN AND DOCKERS

## NO WAGE FREEZE HERE!

AMONG SOME switches in the Civil Service announced on Thursday were:

Mr. D. C. Barnes, 51, now a deputy secretary, Ministry of Labour, will be promoted permanent secretary in succession to Sir James Dunnett. His salary goes up from £6,330 to £8,600.

Mr. A. R. W. Bavin, 49, an under secretary at the Ministry of Health will become a deputy secretary and his salary will increase from £5,250 to £6,300.

## MUST WIN Says SLL conference

'If they are defeated then it will be a defeat for the whole of the working class.'

**THAT** was the message of the Eighth National Congress of the Socialist Labour League. The Labour government—under the leadership of Wilson—has decided to make the seamen and dockers a scapegoat for its policies.

Before the legislation on prices and incomes is on the statute books they have decided to impose this legislation on the seamen. Those who are amongst the lowest paid workers in Britain are to be hit the hardest. We say that this is an attack on the whole of the working class.

Portworkers all over the country support the seamen but their leaders, such as Jack Dash of the Communist Party, do not want them to participate in the struggle. Yet, everyone knows that the Devlin Commission Report is drawn up by the same people who are opposed to the seamen.

The fight for improved wages and working conditions is the same as the fight against the Devlin Commission on the docks. Mr. Gunter, the Minister of Labour, recently asked representatives of the shipowners' industry when they could expect the seamen to drift back to work. Gunter and the Labour leaders want the seamen brought to their knees and divided.

If this happens, then the working class will suffer a serious setback. The strike of the seamen is a political strike. It can only be won by mobilising support against the capitalist state, which is today led by Wilson, Gunter and Callaghan, and to fight back against the state machine to prepare to take power.

It requires a Marxist revolutionary leadership which constantly struggles for power. Anything short of this is useless. From now on every strike in which the state intervenes is a political strike. A victory for the seamen would be a political victory because it would indicate who is the strongest, the seamen or the employers and the state.

The government in Britain today is dominated by American finance capital. The same people who broke the Pressed Steel, Acton, strike, in 1959, and the Ford shop stewards' strike, are today dictating the policies of the Labour government.

Nobody should have any illusions about these policies. They have nothing to do with socialism, or the reason why so many Labour voters voted for Labour at the end of March.

They represent decisions of the Tory Party carried out through Wilson and company inside the Labour movement.

Our message is centred on the need for the working class to fight back. The Devlin Commission, the anti-trade union legislation and the seamen's strike are part of the same process. Unless the first two are defeated and the strike won, the working class will go down to defeat and further losses in the purchasing power of its wages.

### Have no illusions

Nobody should have any illusions in the Labour government. It is not a real Labour government but a government of the big employers carrying on the same policy as the Tories before them. Despite the fact that they claim to be representatives of labour, this is a capitalist government carrying out capitalist policies.

These policies will not be defeated unless the working class is prepared to fight back with all its strength.

The Communist Party supports Wilson. They do not want a showdown in which he would be defeated. That is why they have agreed with the right wing of the National Union of Seamen that ships should be moved in the docks.

That is why they have opposed the dockers coming out on strike in defence of the seamen. Jack Dash, Gordon Norris and the other leaders of the Communist Party in King Street are traitors to the working class. They are, in fact, helping the Labour government to defeat the working class. Nobody should have any illusions on this score.

The May 25 lobby organised by the Young Socialists exposed both Dash and Norris decisively. Now the Communist Party calls another lobby on June 22.

We will not boycott this as they boycotted that of the Young Socialists on May 25. We will fight with rank-and-file members of the Communist Party and all trade unionists against the government's anti-trade union legislation, but the question of the hour is how this can be defeated.

A lobby by itself will achieve nothing. It can, in fact, be an obstacle unless it is related to an all-out struggle against the government. This struggle can only be entertained when those who sponsor it fight for the mobilisation of the entire working class and a one-day general strike.

Such a strike would today force the government to reconsider its position against the unions.

The SLL, therefore, says:

- All out in support of the June 22 lobby
- For a one-day general strike to force the government to change its policy
- For the victory of the Seamen and the Dockers

## NUR ALMOST AGREED ON OPENING

**INEXORABLY** the leadership of the National Union of Railwaymen moves a step nearer to the de-nationalization of British Railways.

Reports state that they have 'indicated' a willingness to grant to the private haulage companies a large measure of 'open access' to the liner-train terminals.

This position has apparently been made informally to the British Railways Board and the Ministry of Transport. There is to be a 'broad interpretation'

## LINER TRAIN TERMINALS

placed on the statement.

Nominal hiring provisions will be written into the contracts of companies using the terminals at places where there is no objection from the local NUR branches.

Everyone concerned, both on the management side and in the leadership of the union,

has attempted to get round the opposition to liner trains from the NUR rank and file by stating that technically the lorries would be on hire to British Railways, who will actually pay for their hire.

In other words, British Railways, with the agreement presumably of the NUR leadership, is going to pay for the introduction of liner-trains so that the private contractors can come in to the terminals.

The union is to discuss the matter at its annual conference in June in secret—it is not difficult to see why.



National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, Gerry Healy, introduces the British Perspectives document (reported on pages 2 and 3) at last week-end's SLL 8th Congress. Also see are Jack Gale and Cliff Slaughter, SLL Central Committee Members.

## Tribute paid to murdered socialist

Newsletter Correspondent

**MESSAGES** of sympathy and support from all over the world and the United States were read at a meeting in the Debs Hall headquarters of the Socialist Workers' Party in Detroit on May 20, called to pay tribute to murdered Party member, 27-year-old Leo Bernard.

Bernard, along with 22-year-old Jan Garrett and 19-year-old Walter Graham, was shot by an anti-Communist who had walked into Debs Hall on May 16 with the intention of 'killing some communists'—threats he had made to his wife and the South African Consul in New York, and threats that were known to the Secret Service and local special investigation bureau.

Bernard died, and the other two were seriously injured—Graham is still critical, Garrett may be released from hospital soon.

The May 20 audience in Debs Hall included many student and adult workers from

the socialist, anti-war and peace movements of America.

Frank Lovell, Michigan state chairman of the SWP, said there had been a heartening and immediate response from students the Wayne university—where the three victims studied—and the University of Michigan after the news of the murderous attack broke on the campuses. Many students had offered blood donations to the hospital where the injured youths were operated on.

### Experiences

Marilyn Levin, Young Socialist Alliance Detroit chairman, described Bernard's life. He had come from the middle class but through his experiences in jobs his view had been widened.

'Modest about himself, he had a high opinion about the capacities of the human race. He did not believe wars or racism or exploitation or poverty or regimentation are the result of human nature, but the result of the control of society being in the hands of a minority that benefits from these social evils.

'From reason and from instinct, he believed all this could be changed, and would be changed, and he held this belief so strongly that he was willing to give his life to it,' she said.

Low Jones, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, said the political causes of the assassination were the policies of the Johnson government in killing communists in Vietnam, and announcing daily kill-counts of communists.

### Responsibility

'Who can doubt where the responsibility lies; who can when you have a government that carries its violence out on such a wide scale throughout the world,' he said.

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the SWP, asked why the assassin had been allowed to walk about free after he had made his intentions clear to so many people.

'I think it is fair to assume that if that man had said he was out to kill police or he was out to kill bankers and auto corporation heads in the city of Detroit, he would not have been at large 24 hours.'

Many speakers emphasised the need to continue the struggle for socialism to which Bernard had given his life.

## SEAMEN REFUTE RUMOURS ABOUT YS LOBBY

By Newsletter Reporter

**NINE** Liverpool seamen have signed the following statement:

'We understand that there are statements circulating that the coach booked by the Merseyside Young Socialists which took seamen down to London, returned from London on May 25 leaving seamen behind.

'We are satisfied that this is false and that there is no foundation for the accusation that the Young Socialists refused to bring these seamen back.'

This statement follows the attempts by the right wing of the seamen's union and Communist Party members to split and disrupt the 2,000-strong lobby of parliament on May 25 in support of the seamen, and against the anti-union legislation and the Devlin Report.

### WORKERS UNITED

Many sections of workers, including the seamen and dockers, united on this lobby behind the political slogans of the Young Socialists for a magnificent demonstration.

Before the demonstration began, some Liverpool seamen were inveigled away from the march by CPers, who promised food and a possible lobby of Wilson along with their union secretary, Bill Hogarth.

Later these seamen were sent back to Liverpool on a coach hired by the disrupters at a cost of £60. This was to keep them separate from the youth and adult trade unionists from the same city.

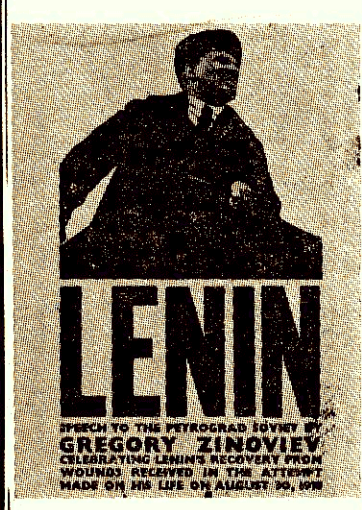
### 'STRANDED' RUMOUR

The Newsletter understands that the same people who booked the coach have been circulating rumours that the Liverpool seamen were left stranded by the Young Socialists.

This statement, to be signed by more seamen, completely refutes these lies and slanders.

The NUS disputes committee in Liverpool has returned the £60 bill for the coach back to the hirers and have said that it was totally unnecessary to book it in the first place.

## OUT NOW



This remarkable biographical speech is now available in pamphlet form. Well illustrated and pocket size, it costs 3s.

It is available from: The Socialist Labour League, 186A Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.



# British Perspectives

Introducing the perspectives document, Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the SLL, said:

**EVER** since the Labour government of Harold Wilson was elected in October 1964 its course has been unmistakable.

This government is a thoroughly capitalist government led by bourgeois leaders in the Labour Party whose main desire and only objective is to pursue a course of policy in line with the big monopoly capitalists and the most reactionary sections of finance capital throughout the world.

It willingly inherited this capitalist crisis from the Tory government. In no matter what field of this crisis to which we turn the problems remain unresolved: automation, overseas investments, the necessity for British capital to maintain a high standard of investment.

## Crisis

In the field of loans, now at an all-time high, military expenditure at an all-time high, or in the balance of payments, all these main fields of capital have a fundamental and deep-going crisis, and this government continuously develops in its own way policies to overcome this crisis at the expense of the working class.

It profited considerably from its small majority in Parliament in the period between October 1964 and the dissolution last February. It utilised this narrow majority to whip the 'lefts' into submission.

It even convinced a number of so-called Marxists that the most important task they had to face was the maintenance of this government, a government which gave every indication that immediately it would follow policies to discipline the working class and take back hard-earned gains won in the course of struggle since the end of the Second World War.

## Revealed

Now we have arrived at a point where the full-scale policies of the government are revealed for all to see.

Support for Johnson in Vietnam; military expenditure on the increase; the appointment of an arms salesman to make profits as a merchant of death. It pursues policies in the colonial and semi-colonial countries in line with the previous Tory governments. It proceeds from the point of view of the defence of capital.

Now the bill for all this defence of capital has to be paid, and unmistakably Wilson says the working class must pay.

We are on the threshold of enormous increases in the cost of living. The pay-roll tax will undoubtedly increase considerably the cost of living for every single wage worker in this country.

For the big bourgeois there is no cost of living problem; it is essentially a problem of the working class, a problem which the working class and only the working class have to face.

And there is no solution for the middle-class in the break-up of its salaried positions without the struggle of the working class.

This pay-roll tax is designed to foist on the backs of wage workers and small salaried employees the full impact of the expenditures incurred by the government to defend capitalism in this country.

## Tory backing

So far as the ruling class is concerned they stand completely behind the government. The declaration last Friday in the House of Commons by Quintin Hogg when he endorsed the Emergency Powers taken by the government was in these terms:

On behalf of the Conservative back and front benches we have complete support in this government. We have complete confidence that you will utilise these powers as you think fit, because these are the same powers that we introduced in 1926 for the General Strike and we are happy and delighted to see that a Labour government is following in our footsteps in its attack on the working class.

The 8th National Congress of the Socialist Labour League was held in London on May 28, 29, 30. The discussion on the British Perspectives was introduced by the League's National Secretary, Gerry Healy. Here we print extracts from his introduction and the full text of the Perspectives document discussed by the Congress.

The issues are now posed sharply. They have disregarded the balance of payments problem in their attitude to the seamen's strike. One paper after another has said that at all costs they must defeat the seamen.

So far as the struggle against the working class is concerned it is necessary to begin their attack by destroying the seamen, to drive them back to work under conditions where the attack on wages can go forward.

## Essence

If the seamen are defeated it will be a defeat for the entire working class, a defeat for all workers with wages problems.

The essence of the struggle is the compulsory legislation against the trade unions.

Long before the legislation is passed the government is taking steps against the seamen to defeat them. The seamen are the victims of a policy designed to take back from the working class the gains won since the end of the Second World War.

This determination of the ruling class does not arise because of an emotional whim. For a considerable period they have retreated and compromised.

Why then is there now a change in the policy of the ruling class, when we are told by the 'lefts' that we have entered a new era of expanding capitalism?

It has been said that the ruling class would not fight because it was too weakened. To answer this is necessary to review briefly some past events.

## Next stage

There have been over the last 50 years only two previous occasions where the working class has increased its wages. One was during the First World War when Lloyd George introduced the Munitions Acts, and the second was in 1925 when it became necessary for the whole force of the state to be mobilised in order to precipitate the 1926 General Strike and after the defeat of the strike reduce the value of wages.

Now comes the next stage of the struggle. Over the past year workers have increased their wages by between 8 and 9 per cent and state intervention is now needed.

We are not living in a period of liberal-bourgeois rule any more. The problems of the bourgeoisie are enormously aggravated. It becomes essential now for the Labour Party to embark ruthlessly to drive down wages and working conditions. That is why they were elected.

The Tories decided that since a confrontation between the state and the working class was necessary it would be better if they had a Labour government because they might be able to do what Lloyd George was able to do in the First World War.

## Using everyone

They think that through this government they stand a better chance to effect the driving down of wages and at the same time achieve a split in the trade union movement by the muffling of militancy of the rank and file. They are using everyone from the leaders of the Labour Party down to the renegade Stalinists in King Street to prepare the ground for this.

The determination of the working class which won 8 to 9 per cent increase in wages over the past year was reflected in the General Election. The bourgeoisie want to use as far as possible the Labour leaders to break down such working-class standards of wages under conditions in which they would be able to avoid a General Strike.

But a General Strike cannot be excluded because the moment the state begins to intervene on wages all major strikes tend to become political strikes.

We are in the era of the political strike.

But although the political strike poses the problem of power, that does not mean that the question of political power is on the agenda.

Political strikes are necessary for the education of the working class. This whole gamut of experience is part of that process. We have entered a decisive stage of this process and it is important

that we understand it so that we do not continue to think in terms of the past.

If the seamen's strike is defeated, even on a rotten compromise, this will not alter a single policy of the Wilson government.

He has the backing of the bourgeoisie and the state. If in the end there might be such a rotten compromise—and we cannot exclude it—that will tend to step up the offensive against the working class. We can see enough in the anti-trade union legislation to reinforce this point.

There is the Devlin Commission Report, which was written by, among others, one of the people now sitting on the Court of Enquiry on the seamen.

The government see their anti-trade union legislation, the Devlin Commission and the struggle against the seamen as part and parcel of the same offensive. All these struggles are brought together.

They have a policy centred on certain types of enquiries. A Committee of Enquiry could have been set up at any time before the strike.

## Propaganda

The only purpose of setting it up now is in order to devise propaganda against the seamen to demonstrate that they are unreasonable, to try to isolate the seamen, while at the same time the policy of the right wing is proceeding in order to split the working class.

Socialist policies to fight the government mean the unity of the working class in action, unity in struggle, in opposition to these measures.

We now have to look very closely at the policies of the Labour 'lefts'. We must understand their role.

Wilson does not claim to be a socialist. At least he differs in that respect from his predecessors in the Labour Party.

Wilson says he is a man of the future. For the benefit of the technical revolution, he argues, it is necessary to suffer

certain setbacks.

Wilson presents this 'man of the people' facade and it temporarily unites sections of the middle class and sections of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic sections of the labour movement and their hangers-on.

Within the Labour Party he trades under the banner of a Bevanite of the old school. He has taken many Bevanites from obscurity and thrust them into the cubbyholes of Ministerial positions. The appointment of these people is deliberate and is endorsed completely by the ruling class.

## Revisionists

Then there are those who argue that when all is said and done the Labour government is better than the Tories and therefore we must shut our mouths. You mustn't rock the boat.

This shameless revisionist element who advance such an argument serve the ruling class in the same way as Wilson.

In the forefront of this are the small groups of Pabloites.

They call the Labour government a workers' government. But it is a bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party and there is nothing working class about the present government.

These people try to use the instinctive loyalty of the working class to dampen down the struggles of the class. They deliberately deceive the working class and mislead the rank and file of the Labour Party.

## Division

There is also a very carefully thought-out division of labour, particularly between Wilson and George Woodcock, General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress.

The TUC is heavily committed to the government's policies. All the major unions have gone on record for the compulsory legislation against the trade unions.

At the TUC last September Woodcock argued for a volun-

tary incomes policy. This was done on the grounds that we must not have state intervention, and yet those trade union leaders who voted for Woodcock then have since gone on record for the government's policies.

Woodcock tries to turn workers away from politics, while other trade union bureaucrats move continuously into the government's camp.

## Explain

We must explain this division of labour in the course of our discussions with workers. We have to take up constantly the way in which the political life and policies of the labour movement are developing.

It is a division of labour in which Wilson compliments Eric Heffer, MP for Walton, on the role that he played in the 1960 seamen's strike, when in fact, behind the scenes, Heffer was responsible for weakening the strike.

Heffer is hoping that among those 'lefts' now leading the present strike are many like himself and that in the coming days after the enquiry they can join hands with the Communist Party and the right wing of the NUS to sell the seamen down the line.

## Stalinists

There is also the role of the Stalinists. The 'East London Observer' quoted Gordon Norris, a leading Stalinist seaman, as saying that he was not opposed to the movement of all vessels in the port. 'If a good case can be put,' he said, 'we are prepared to let a ship be moved and we have seamen standing by to do the job.'

Now you can see the division of labour. You have in their own way the Communist Party, Heffer and Woodcock backing Wilson, together with Quintin Hogg and the Tory Party. We must grasp this relationship of forces. We need to explain why this line up is so clearly in evidence today.

The crisis of British imperialism is the crisis of the Labour and trade union bureaucracy. If the working class fight back they will break this bureaucracy from stem to stern, just as the heroic Hungarian workers did to the Stalinist bureaucracy 10 years ago.

## Settle accounts

The time is coming in this country to settle accounts with the labour and trade union bureaucracy. That is why they maintain a screen of silence against us, because we come on the scene now with fresh forces, with many young militants and potential forces, not as little groups with duplicators, but as a real force.

We have always said that it is not the bureaucrats who will have the last say.

The bureaucracy is a degenera-

# 8th NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIAL LAB LEA

MAY 28, 29

tion of the workers' movement. The labour and trade union bureaucracy in this country have prostituted socialism and the desire of the working class for better conditions. They serve the bourgeoisie.

But the desire of the working class to fight back is disrupting both the Stalinists and the labour bureaucracy. Today Stalinism is the main prop of the bourgeoisie in Western Europe, in particular in France and Italy.

## Feel strong

If the Communist Party today fights our people they now have not only the Moscow bureaucracy, but also Wilson behind them. They feel strong now, because they are getting a little help from the Labour bureaucracy.

The goal of the British Communist Party leadership is no different from the goal of the Communist Party leadership in any part of the world.

The British Communist Party is a political gangster at the beck and call of the ruling class and the labour leaders.

But when we say this we must distinguish between the rank and file and the leadership. Marxists must learn to separate all potential communists from the

Communist Party leadership. Our programme is open for everyone to see. Our policies are explained constantly in our press.

The struggle to win away the rank and file of the Communist Party means joining them in united action where possible, and at the same time engaging in a constant educational discussion with them.

That was the importance of the demonstration of May 25.

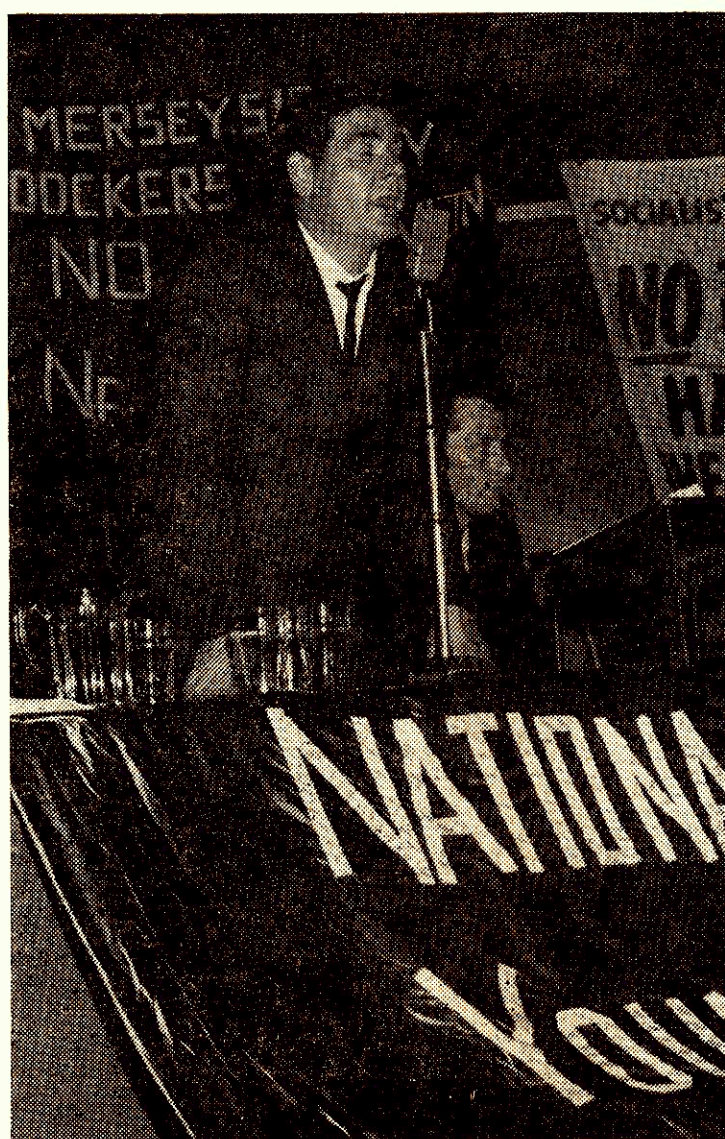
The Communist Party immediately proposed a diversionary counter-demonstration several weeks away while the date which we had chosen coincided with the real crisis of the working class. The demonstration on May 25 was a day before the Emergency Powers debate and the high point of the struggle against Devlin by the dockers and by the seamen.

## Political issues

It is no use thinking that we can win people away from the Communist Party simply by talking about unity. In all discussions with the Communist Party, the political issues have to be taken up. The Communist Party serves Moscow, and, on behalf of Moscow, serves British capitalism.

They want to win the Labour

## MAY 25th LOBBY



Dockers' leader, Larry Cavanagh (above), addressed the meeting in the Porchester Hall after the lobby of MPs at Westminster. On page three some of the 2,000 lobbyists are seen entering St. Stephen's entrance.

## The Porchester meeting

At a meeting in Porchester Hall, West London, after Wednesday 25's mighty demonstration and lobby in support of the seamen and against the anti-union legislation and Devlin Report, two seamen thanked the Young Socialists for organising the event.

The meeting was attended by seamen, Young Socialists, dockers, students and trade unionists who had marched 1,100 strong from Tower Hill to Waterloo and then to lobby parliament where their numbers swelled to 2,000. Other workers, unable to take time off during the day, came to the meeting from their factories and building sites.

## APPRECIATION

A Liverpool seaman told the meeting: 'I have been on shore for three weeks and am staying at the sailors' home in London. I wish to show my appreciation of the Young Socialists today. The only thing I got from parliament today, from Mr. Heffer, was sympathy. We don't want sympathy, we want the shipowners to give us a 40-hour week.'

'I believe that the majority of seamen won't go back to sea if

we don't get the 40-hour week and a rise in pay.'

Another seaman said simply: 'On behalf of all seamen, I want to say thank you all very much.'

Both seamen had a tremendous reception from the audience, and their speeches received thunderous applause.

Earlier Dave Ashby, national chairman of the Young Socialists, had opened the meeting. He said: 'We were told that the prices and incomes policy is designed to bring benefits to this country, but no Bill which can fine workers, or jail them for going on strike, is in the interests of the working class.'

## ACTION

'As soon as the terms of this Bill were announced, we immediately pushed Young Socialist branches into action and circularised trade union branches. We also tied it up with the dockers who are also struggling against the Devlin Report.'

He explained how the Young Socialists had worked for big contingents on May Day marches, and how the London May Day demonstration was far more successful than that organised by the Communist Party. On May Day the Young Socialists had put forward the need to struggle against the Prices and Incomes Bill and the Devlin Report.

## SUPPORT

'The day before May Day, 2,000 dockers on Merseyside decided to support this lobby today. Therefore, all the stories which have come from Jack Dash and others all around the country about the premature way this demonstration was organised

are slanders,' said Ashby.

The dockers voted to support the lobby on April 30. On May 9, the 'Morning Star' announced for the first time that Jack Dash and others were calling a lobby for June 22.

Said Ashby: 'We regarded this as a very dangerous attempt to split the efforts for May 25, but we said we were in favour of any attempt to defeat the anti-trade union legislation. We said we would support June 22.'

## TIMELY

Considerable gains had been made on the lobby because it was absolutely timely.

'We chose May 25,' said Ashby, 'but in the meantime we did not know that a strike of seamen would occur. However, because we discussed the serious situation facing the working class at our conference, we were able to choose this timely date.'

Conclusions could be drawn from the actions of Jack Dash and the MPs in parliament, but important lessons could only be learned in the building of a political party.

## ENCOURAGE

A new generation was coming forward to take over the struggle. 'We would appeal to older workers to encourage these young workers coming into politics today,' he said.

Secretary of the Merseyside Portworkers' Committee Larry Cavanagh told the meeting that since the dockers had taken their decision on April 30 to come to London and fight the anti-trade union laws and amendments to the Dock Labour Scheme, they had been visiting factories and building sites for support.



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evidence today.

The crisis of British imperi-  
alism is the crisis of the Labour  
and trade union bureaucracy. If  
the working class fight back they  
will break this bureaucracy from  
stem to stern, just as the heroic  
Hungarian workers did to the  
Stalinist bureaucracy 10 years  
ago.

### Settle accounts

The time is coming in this  
country to settle accounts with  
the labour and trade union  
bureaucracy. That is why they  
maintain a screen of silence  
against us, because we come on  
the scene now with fresh forces,  
with many young militants and  
potential forces, not as little  
groups with duplicators, but as a  
real force.

We have always said that it is  
not the bureaucrats who will  
have the last say.  
The bureaucracy is a degenera-

tion of the workers' movement.  
The labour and trade union  
bureaucracy in this country have  
prostituted socialism and the  
desire of the working class for  
better conditions. They serve  
the bourgeoisie.

But the desire of the working  
class to fight back is disrupting  
both the Stalinists and the  
labour bureaucracy. Today  
Stalinism is the main prop of  
the bourgeoisie in Western  
Europe, in particular in France  
and Italy.

### Feel strong

If the Communist Party today  
fights our people they now have  
not only the Moscow bureau-  
cracy, but also Wilson behind  
them. They feel strong now,  
because they are getting a little  
help from the Labour bureau-  
cracy.

The goal of the British Com-  
munist Party leadership is no  
different from the goal of the  
Communist Party leadership in  
any part of the world.

The British Communist Party  
is a political gangster at the  
beck and call of the ruling class  
and the labour leaders.

But when we say this we must  
distinguish between the rank and  
file and the leadership. Marxists  
must learn to separate all  
potential communists from the

Communist Party leadership.  
Our programme is open for  
everyone to see. Our policies  
are explained constantly in our  
press.

The struggle to win away the  
rank and file of the Communist  
Party means joining them in  
united action where possible,  
and at the same time engaging in  
a constant educational discus-  
sion with them.

That was the importance of  
the demonstration of May 25.

The Communist Party immedi-  
ately proposed a diversionary  
counter-demonstration several  
weeks away while the date  
which we had chosen coincided  
with the real crisis of the work-  
ing class. The demonstration  
on May 25 was a day before the  
Emergency Powers debate and  
the high point of the struggle  
against Devlin by the dockers  
and by the seamen.

### Political issues

It is no use thinking that we  
can win people away from the  
Communist Party simply by  
talking about unity. In all dis-  
cussions with the Communist  
Party, the political issues have  
to be taken up. The Communist  
Party serves Moscow, and, on  
behalf of Moscow, serves British  
capitalism.

They want to win the Labour

we don't get the 40-hour week  
and a rise in pay.

Another seaman said simply:  
'On behalf of all seamen, I want  
to say thank you all very much.'

Both seamen had a tremendous  
reception from the audience, and  
their speeches received thun-  
derous applause.

Earlier Dave Ashby, national  
chairman of the Young Socialists,  
had opened the meeting. He  
said: 'We were told that the  
prices and incomes policy is  
designed to bring benefits to this  
country, but no Bill which can  
fine workers, or jail them for  
going on strike, is in the in-  
terests of the working class.'

### ACTION

'As soon as the terms of this  
Bill were announced, we im-  
mediately pushed Young Socialist  
branches into action and circu-  
larised trade union branches.  
We also tied it up with the  
dockers who are also struggling  
against the Devlin Report.'

He explained how the Young  
Socialists had worked for big  
contingents on May Day marches,  
and how the London May Day  
demonstration was far more  
successful than that organised  
by the Communist Party. On  
May Day the Young Socialists  
had put forward the need to  
struggle against the Prices and  
Incomes Bill and the Devlin  
Report.

### SUPPORT

'The day before May Day,  
2,000 dockers on Merseyside  
decided to support this lobby  
today. Therefore, all the stories  
which have come from Jack  
Dash and others all around the  
country about the premature way  
this demonstration was organised

are slanders,' said Ashby.

The dockers voted to support  
the lobby on April 30. On May  
9, the 'Morning Star' announced  
for the first time that Jack Dash  
and others were calling a lobby  
for June 22.

Said Ashby: 'We regarded this  
as a very dangerous attempt to  
split the efforts for May 25, but  
we said we were in favour of any  
attempt to defeat the anti-trade  
union legislation. We said we  
would support June 22.'

### TIMELY

Considerable gains had been  
made on the lobby because it  
was absolutely timely.

'We chose May 25,' said  
Ashby, 'but in the meantime we  
did not know that a strike of  
seamen would occur. However,  
because we discussed the serious  
situation facing the working  
class at our conference, we were  
able to choose this timely date.'

Conclusions could be drawn  
from the actions of Jack Dash  
and the MPs in parliament, but  
important lessons could only be  
learned in the building of a  
political party.

### ENCOURAGE

A new generation was coming  
forward to take over the struggle.  
'We would appeal to older  
workers to encourage these  
young workers coming into poli-  
tics today,' he said.

Secretary of the Merseyside  
Portworkers' Committee Larry  
Cavanagh told the meeting that  
since the dockers had taken their  
decision on April 30 to come to  
London and fight the anti-trade  
union laws and amendments to  
the Dock Labour Scheme, they  
had been visiting factories and  
building sites for support.

# 8th NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

MAY 28, 29 and 30, 1966

government away from Wash-  
ington towards Moscow. To do this  
they seek to make British capi-  
talism work, to repay loans with  
interest, to make more profit so  
that the capitalists become en-  
thusiastic about moving closer  
to Moscow.

That is why they will colla-  
borate in the breaking up of any  
attempt by the working class to  
move forward along an indepen-  
dent class path.

We think that in the present  
period it is necessary that we  
should understand the class lines  
of the Communist Party, the  
fake 'lefts' and the right-wing  
Labour government as part of a  
whole development. Of course,  
this development cannot continue  
in its present form.

### Split

When the working class moves  
forward into activity and action,  
the struggle will go on and the  
more stubbornly we fight, the  
more we shall split the centrists  
and Stalinists when this time  
comes.

It is not our purpose to wait  
until the centrists become a  
force in the Labour Party. It is  
our purpose to move in now  
with our organisation with its  
forces, discussing and struggling  
in the working-class movement

under conditions where we can  
smash the centrists before they  
develop as a movement.

We must consistently expose  
people like Heffer, 'Tribune', the  
Pabloites, and the state capi-  
talists.

The political life of the labour  
movement in this country is  
becoming crystal clear. It now  
depends entirely on the work and  
the struggle of the Socialist  
Labour League what will happen  
so far as the future of the  
working class is concerned.

### Opposes action

Wilson has declared his poli-  
tics in a book of his speeches in  
which he said: 'We have always  
rejected the revolutionary ap-  
proach, equally we oppose the  
use of industrial action for poli-  
tical objectives.'

The policy of Wilson is today  
clear for all to see and those who  
serve Wilson follow his policy.

One of the arguments put  
forward by our opponents is that  
the Young Socialists is an or-  
ganisation outside the trade  
unions and as such has no right  
to intervene in trade union  
struggles.

We have carried out over the  
past year a serious attempt to  
turn our youth comrades towards  
the trade unions. As far as we  
can ascertain, in an organisation

of several thousand members,  
everyone is a member of his or  
her trade union.

What nonsense it is to say  
that the Young Socialists have no  
right to intervene in the trade  
unions when one trade union  
after another accepts Committees  
of Enquiry composed of Judges  
as 'impartial' men—reactionary  
elements who are completely  
outside the movement.

The Transport and General  
Workers' Union accepted Judge  
Devlin. They attacked the YS  
as being outside the trade union  
movement while it's 'Yes judge,  
No judge, Here's what you want,  
judge.' The attack on the Young  
Socialists is hypocritical and  
groundless.

### Active inside

At the same time we must  
make a serious approach to the  
problem of trade union work as  
our resolution attempts to do.  
Nobody at any time in our  
organisation has suggested that  
you can lead the trade unions  
from the outside, just by propa-  
ganda alone. We have got to  
be inside and active.

Trade union militancy and  
syndicalism must be distinguished  
from what we believe to be the  
duty of a Marxist trade unionist.

A Marxist goes to work for the  
purpose of winning members to  
his party and influencing the  
unions along the line of its  
policies. The possibilities for  
real, serious work in the trade  
unions are considerable. We  
must insist with all our comrades  
about this fact.

Things are very different from  
last year in the period when we  
first began to turn towards the  
trade unions. We then had to  
contend with conservative lead-  
erships and shop stewards.

Now there is a complete  
change in the situation.

### Leader

One comrade today in a big  
factory, able to explain to work-  
ers the meaning of the political  
strike, the meaning of the anti-  
trade union legislation and the  
type of strikes which have to be  
led, can become a leader in a  
very short space of time.

There is opening up now the  
opportunity for real serious  
Marxist activity inside the trade  
unions and we must grasp this  
with all hands. We must not  
think that work outside the  
factory gates is a substitute for  
penetration of trade union  
branches and factories and for  
giving leadership on the spot.

We have examples where our  
comrades have been able to do  
considerable work in their  
factories and industries. Because  
we had party members in a  
particular industry it has been  
possible to make important  
successes.

Whilst we do not accept the  
argument of being outside the  
trade unions, nevertheless we  
understand and recognise that we  
have to penetrate the trade

unions and industry a  
our people in key posi-  
must win over the best  
today and teach them to  
Marxists.

We don't want a sit-  
the Socialist Labour  
where we win trade uni-  
our ranks and then go  
our hands and knees to  
them.

The recruitment of  
unionists gives added  
ability to the party for  
them. We must not j  
them as trade unionists  
Party does not try to te  
Marxism, they will not

This cannot be don  
organisation of comra  
remain in a permanent  
theoretical backwardne  
long as members do n  
the history of our move  
the international move  
they cannot help trade

How is it possible  
comrades today with  
thorough knowledge of  
tory of the working class

They do not just  
know that the govern  
against them, they want  
how to fight, but they  
trained unless we h  
necessary understandi  
selves.

### Study Lenin

A study of Lenin is  
essential in order to  
know why they need a re-  
ary party that brings  
theory into the fact  
into the trade unions  
all sections of industry.

We must reject compl  
syndicalist or trade un  
tendencies and insist on  
for an all-round Marx  
tion.

Our job is to arm  
with a knowledge of h  
think over problems  
faced with and then to  
this history to see how  
to present conditions.

For example, we can  
describe the political  
this country as the same  
because the crisis of f  
is much worse.

Our job is not a  
preachers, preaching t  
the abstract. If that is  
will wall ourselves off  
working class. We mus  
to connect up posit  
struggles of today with  
periences which they  
Therefore the develop  
theory is a living questi

### Sensitivity

This requires a cor  
education and a great  
in the organisation  
education.

Are we going to take  
in Britain decisively to  
building of the party no  
we going to be another  
ganda sect, or another  
opportunistic sect, or  
looking for a place in  
centrist party?

## LOBBY The Porchester Hall meeting

At a meeting in Por-  
chester Hall, West  
London, after Wednes-  
day 25's mighty demon-  
stration and lobby in  
support of the seamen  
and against the anti-  
union legislation and  
Devlin Report, two sea-  
men thanked the Young  
Socialists for organising  
the event.

The meeting was attended  
by seamen, Young Socialists,  
dockers, students and trade  
unionists who had marched  
1,100 strong from Tower Hill  
to Waterloo and then to  
lobby parliament where their  
numbers swelled to 2,000.  
Other workers, unable to take  
time off during the day, came  
to the meeting from their  
factories and building sites.

### APPRECIATION

A Liverpool seaman told the  
meeting: 'I have been on shore  
for three weeks and am staying  
at the sailors' home in London.  
I wish to show my appreciation  
of the Young Socialists today.  
The only thing I got from  
parliament today, from Mr.  
Heffer, was sympathy. We  
don't want sympathy, we want  
the shipowners to give us a 40-  
hour week.

'I believe that the majority of  
seamen won't go back to sea if

## Hall

Mersey dockers had approached  
the Port of London liaison com-  
mittee.

'Most of you have heard what  
the reaction of that committee  
was. They ignored our appeal  
and called another lobby for  
June 22,' said Cavanagh.

Young Socialists had worked  
hard to raise money for coaches  
to bring them to London, he  
said.

### QUICK LOBBY

'We came down here this  
morning—dockers, building work-  
ers, seamen, Young Socialists  
and so on—to find one of the  
quickest lobbies ever being  
organised—the Communist Party  
and right wing of the National  
Union of Seamen had decided to  
split the seamen from the  
dockers.'

They offered them free food  
and laid on a special coach which  
cost £60 to make sure the seamen  
did not march in support of the  
lobby, said Cavanagh.

### CROSS LINE

He claimed that the right wing  
of the seamen's union had agreed  
in principle with the last offer  
of the shipowners.

'This is not surprising when  
we see the way they have de-  
moralised pickets by telling  
their own members to cross the  
picket line and strip hatches.'

There was also an agreement  
with the Transport and General  
Workers' Union to discharge  
certain ships that came into the  
ports.

### NO EXCUSE

'Some very young people, not  
yet even members of a trade  
union, have come a long way and  
paid their own fares because they  
have seen the seriousness of the  
situation facing the working class.  
There is no excuse for people  
who are supposed to be in the  
leadership of the working class

going around strike-breaking,'  
commented Cavanagh.

He also claimed that the fake  
'lefts' in parliament were also  
preventing a struggle by saying  
that the seamen's official leaders  
should not be criticised.

A Sheffield shop steward also  
explained the role of Communist  
Party supporters in holding back  
the class struggle.

### TWO LOBBIES

'On the January 26 lobby when  
correspondence was read out on  
our shop stewards' committee  
we were told we could not sup-  
port it as it was only organised  
by "young Trots" to stab the  
Labour government in the back.  
This was from a Communist  
Party steward.'

'For the March 1 lobby [called  
by organisations sympathetic to  
the Communist Party], we got the  
correspondence on the Thurs-  
day and the lobby was on the  
following Tuesday. But they  
supported it, because it was being  
organised by people they wanted.'

### REPORT BACK

He had reported back to a  
meeting of clerical workers  
where he said that in all these  
movements there were people  
fighting against the anti-trade  
union legislation.

Because of the urgency of the  
situation he had promised his  
committee's support for both the  
May 25 and the June 22 lobbies.

'Our convenor, a CP member,  
did not know what to say and  
finally said he agreed. But he  
said we did not have much time  
to organise. The treasurer said  
we did not have the money to  
support both, so we should sup-  
port the lobby on June 22.'

### LACK OF UNITY

It was put to the vote and the  
convenor's amendment was carried  
by 11 votes to 7.

'But there are 20 members on  
the committee, 10 of them are  
CP members, and they could  
only get 11 votes! One of their  
own members gave them a  
roasting about their lack of unity,'  
he said.

'A lot of CP members are



becoming disillusioned. A lot  
of us have been in the CP and  
got out for various reasons. For  
them any lie will do to smash  
this YS lobby.'

### WONDERFUL JOB

He had agreed with the CP  
members on his committee that  
there was a time limit. They  
were waiting for five weeks time  
while the seamen could be de-  
feated, while the Devlin Report  
was going through, and while  
scabs could easily appear in the  
engineering industry.

'Nevertheless, in spite of the  
dirty tactics, and seeing the size  
of the lobby, I think you have  
done a wonderful job,' he told  
the audience. 'It gives some  
idea of what it could have been  
without these splitting tactics.'

said: 'I want to say a fe  
in support of all those  
Socialists who stood out  
Pouring rain and who did  
get a look in.

The Young Socialists  
to wait in the wet and  
pushed and provoked  
police, are Young Social  
worked day and night  
policy which they firmly  
can and will unite the  
class at a time when e  
attacks are being  
against it.

### SACRIFICE

'Young Socialists have  
leafletting the docks,  
and the seamen's pick  
seeking support for this  
They have made con-  
sacrifices to be able t  
down on the lobby, some  
taking as much as 10  
work at a stretch.  
'They were kept out



# NATIONAL PRESS THE ALIST OUR GUE

and 30, 1966

government away from Washington towards Moscow. To do this they seek to make British capitalism work, to repay loans with interest, to make more profit so that the capitalists become enthusiastic about moving closer to Moscow.

That is why they will collaborate in the breaking up of any attempt by the working class to move forward along an independent class path.

We think that in the present period it is necessary that we should understand the class lines of the Communist Party, the fake 'lefts' and the right-wing Labour government as part of a whole development. Of course, this development cannot continue in its present form.

## Split

When the working class moves forward into activity and action, the struggle will go on and the more stubbornly we fight, the more we shall split the centrists and Stalinists when this time comes.

It is not our purpose to wait until the centrists become a force in the Labour Party. It is our purpose to move in now with our organisation with its forces, discussing and struggling in the working-class movement

under conditions where we can smash the centrists before they develop as a movement.

We must consistently expose people like Heffer, 'Tribune', the Pabloites, and the state capitalists.

The political life of the labour movement in this country is becoming crystal clear. It now depends entirely on the work and the struggle of the Socialist Labour League what will happen so far as the future of the working class is concerned.

## Opposes action

Wilson has declared his politics in a book of his speeches in which he said: 'We have always rejected the revolutionary approach, equally we oppose the use of industrial action for political objectives.'

The policy of Wilson is today clear for all to see and those who serve Wilson follow his policy.

One of the arguments put forward by our opponents is that the Young Socialists is an organisation outside the trade unions and as such has no right to intervene in trade union struggles.

We have carried out over the past year a serious attempt to turn our youth comrades towards the trade unions. As far as we can ascertain, in an organisation

of several thousand members, everyone is a member of his or her trade union.

What nonsense it is to say that the Young Socialists have no right to intervene in the trade unions when one trade union after another accepts Committees of Enquiry composed of Judges as 'impartial' men—reactionary elements who are completely outside the movement.

The Transport and General Workers' Union accepted Judge Devlin. They attacked the YS as being outside the trade union movement while it's 'Yes judge, No judge, Here's what you want, judge.' The attack on the Young Socialists is hypocritical and groundless.

## Active inside

At the same time we must make a serious approach to the problem of trade union work as our resolution attempts to do. Nobody at any time in our organisation has suggested that you can lead the trade unions from the outside, just by propaganda alone. We have got to be inside and active.

Trade union militancy and syndicalism must be distinguished from what we believe to be the duty of a Marxist trade unionist.

A Marxist goes to work for the purpose of winning members to his party and influencing the unions along the line of its policies. The possibilities for real, serious work in the trade unions are considerable. We must insist with all our comrades about this fact.

Things are very different from last year in the period when we first began to turn towards the trade unions. We then had to contend with conservative leaderships and shop stewards.

Now there is a complete change in the situation.

## Leader

One comrade today in a big factory, able to explain to workers the meaning of the political strike, the meaning of the anti-trade union legislation and the type of strikes which have to be led, can become a leader in a very short space of time.

There is opening up now the opportunity for real serious Marxist activity inside the trade unions and we must grasp this with all hands. We must not think that work outside the factory gates is a substitute for penetration of trade union branches and factories and for giving leadership on the spot.

We have examples where our comrades have been able to do considerable work in their factories and industries. Because we had party members in a particular industry it has been possible to make important successes.

Whilst we do not accept the argument of being outside the trade unions, nevertheless we understand and recognise that we have to penetrate the trade

unions and industry and place our people in key positions. We must win over the best militants today and teach them to become Marxists.

We don't want a situation in the Socialist Labour League where we win trade unionists to our ranks and then go down on our hands and knees to idolise them.

The recruitment of trade unionists gives added responsibility to the party for educating them. We must not just leave them as trade unionists. If the Party does not try to teach them Marxism, they will not develop.

This cannot be done by an organisation of comrades who remain in a permanent state of theoretical backwardness. As long as members do not study the history of our movement and the international movement then they cannot help trade unionists.

How is it possible to train comrades today without a thorough knowledge of the history of the working class.

They do not just want to know that the government is against them, they want to know how to fight, but they cannot be trained unless we have the necessary understanding ourselves.

## Study Lenin

A study of Lenin is therefore essential in order to teach workers why they need a revolutionary party that brings Marxist theory into the factories and into the trade unions and into all sections of industry.

We must reject completely any syndicalist or trade union only tendencies and insist on the need for an all-round Marxist education.

Our job is to arm ourselves with a knowledge of history, to think over problems we are faced with and then to explain this history to see how it relates to present conditions.

For example, we cannot today describe the political strike in this country as the same as 1926, because the crisis of capitalism is much worse.

Our job is not a job of preachers, preaching theory in the abstract. If that is done, we will walk ourselves off from the working class. We must be able to connect up positively the struggles of today with the experiences which they are making. Therefore the development of theory is a living question.

## Sensitivity

This requires a considerable education and a great sensitivity in the organisation towards education.

Are we going to take the road in Britain decisively towards the building of the party now, or are we going to be another propaganda sect, or another militant opportunist sect, or are we looking for a place in a new centrist party?

# Next week: International discussion

We must give the answer in this conference.

Everyone who waited on Tower Hill last Wednesday must have felt proud of the work of the Young Socialists who brought in coach after coach of young people and trade unionists to come on a vitally important demonstration.

How proud we feel of those adult workers who joined in, because this was not a demonstration of an ordinary kind. It was a bringing together of young and old workers.

The break of the Young Socialists from reformism and the stand they have taken to establish an independent revolutionary youth movement is a great conquest for the future of the Trotskyist movement in this country.

We see in this a pattern of the

future. We have in this country today, 1,000 comrades who are leaders in the Young Socialists. They have organised thousands of youth around them; and are the great force of the future.

This is a period of the mass party. We can build a mass party because we know we can win large numbers of recruits. The task is to assimilate them politically and politically develop them.

## Marxism's pull

Last Wednesday showed that there is a definite current of people prepared to make the sacrifices that go into organising a demonstration.

Why do you think that these sacrifices are made? They come from the pull which Marxism has for youth. The youth are in

the forefront today, but they are hesitant and need strength, they need our political leadership.

The youth is the great vehicle of the future to go into the factories to supply the trade unions with the political power and will to struggle, to show that it is possible to go out and challenge the government.

More and more as the older trade unionists get into action, so more and more they will applaud the youth, that is why the whole campaign of the Stalinists and the Labour Party is turned against the Young Socialists.

We have been able to keep the youth and win them away from the Labour Party, but we must not be complacent—our task is to build a party to take power. That is the kind of challenge which the Young Socialists applaud

# RESOLUTION

**THE intensification of the class struggle in Britain under the Wilson government will inevitably continue under the impact of the worsening crisis of the British capitalist economy, beset by the historically inescapable problems of the decline of British capitalism as well as the general crisis of international capitalism.**

**International finance-capital granted the British capitalists and the pound a breathing-space, in the shape of unprecedented loans, which now fall due.**

**These loans were given because of the importance of the pound to the stability of the international monetary system, and because of the central importance of any break in the class struggle in an advanced country like Britain.**

**The crisis of the British economy has been partially concealed also by the continuing expansion in general**

international trade, and by the turn in the terms of trade against primary products in favour of the advanced countries; the latter was one of the factors which slowed down the effects of the international liquidity crisis in the economies of the advanced countries. This particular crisis, a reflection of the basic contradiction between expansion of the productive forces and capitalist ownership and the national state, is no nearer solution.

Since November 1964 the Labour government has been the open agent of the international banks who have carried out this salvage operation. In foreign policy as well as economic policy at home, they have unwaveringly obeyed the wishes of the banks. Above all they gained further relief in a critical period for the pound in October 1965, only on condition that they pressed ahead with state intervention against the trade unions.

The proposed legislation against trade unions was intended as a guarantee to the banks that the long-term, fundamental obstacle to the capitalist transformation of moribund British industry, i.e., the organised working class, would be dealt with, and that the British Labour Party would follow the path of German social democracy at Bad Godesberg in 1959 in renouncing every shred of its past commitment to the working class and socialism.

THE BALANCE of payments crisis is just as serious as it was at the time of Wilson's election

to power in 1964. No impression has been made on the import-export problem, symptomatic of Britain's historical crisis. While industrial production stagnates, making nonsense of the growth plans and 'incomes policy' put forward by Brown and the Labour government, the capitalists do not even have the advantage of a recession to discipline the workers.

Full employment has persisted and working-class strength has kept up an intolerable pressure on wages, particularly in the engineering and other manufacturing industries. The flimsy basis of controlled growth plus disciplined wages increases handled by a co-operative trade union bureaucracy, which lay behind Brown's 'Plan', has vanished without trace.

The immediate internal and external problems of the economy demand in fact deflation and restraint in expansion, a policy which can only exacerbate the long-term problems. The contradictions underlying the balance of payments crisis have thus become more severe.

THEREFORE, the Labour government is even more than before a government of crisis. This must be emphasised against the parliamentary illusions of those who regard a larger numerical majority in the House of Commons as a guarantee of the stability of Wilson's regime. Neither this, nor the 'integration' of the left MPs will provide this stability.

The future of the Labour government will be decided by the interests of the imperialists whom this government serves, on the one hand, and by the suc-

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# Hall

Mersey dockers had approached the Port of London Liaison Committee.

'Most of you have heard what the reaction of that committee was. They ignored our appeal and called another lobby for June 22,' said Cavanagh.

Young Socialists had worked hard to raise money for coaches to bring them to London, he said.

## QUICK LOBBY

'We came down here this morning—dockers, building workers, seamen, Young Socialists and so on—to find one of the quickest lobbies ever being organised—the Communist Party and right wing of the National Union of Seamen had decided to split the seamen from the dockers.'

They offered them free food and laid on a special coach which cost £60 to make sure the seamen did not march in support of the lobby, said Cavanagh.

## CROSS LINE

He claimed that the right wing of the seamen's union had agreed in principle with the last offer of the shipowners.

'This is not surprising when we see the way they have demoralised pickets by telling their own members to cross the picket line and strip hatches.'

There was also an agreement with the Transport and General Workers' Union to discharge certain ships that came into the ports.

## NO EXCUSE

'Some very young people, not yet even members of a trade union, have come a long way and paid their own fares because they have seen the seriousness of the situation facing the working class. There is no excuse for people who are supposed to be in the leadership of the working class

going around strike-breaking,' commented Cavanagh. He also claimed that the fake 'lefts' in parliament were also preventing a struggle by saying that the seamen's official leaders should not be criticised.

A Sheffield shop steward also explained the role of Communist Party supporters in holding back the class struggle.

## TWO LOBBIES

'On the January 26 lobby when correspondence was read out on our shop stewards' committee we were told we could not support it as it was only organised by "young Trots" to stab the Labour government in the back. This was from a Communist Party steward.'

'For the March 1 lobby [called by organisations sympathetic to the Communist Party], we got the correspondence on the Thursday and the lobby was on the following Tuesday. But they supported it, because it was being organised by people they wanted.'

## REPORT BACK

He had reported back to a meeting of clerical workers where he said that in all these movements there were people fighting against the anti-trade union legislation.

Because of the urgency of the situation he had promised his committee's support for both the May 25 and the June 22 lobbies.

'Our convenor, a CP member, did not know what to say and finally said he agreed. But he said we did not have much time to organise. The treasurer said we did not have the money to support both, so we should support the lobby on June 22.'

## LACK OF UNITY

It was put to the vote and the convenor's amendment was carried by 11 votes to 7.

'But there are 20 members on the committee, 10 of them are CP members, and they could only get 11 votes! One of their own members gave them a roasting about their lack of unity,' he said.

'A lot of CP members are



becoming disillusioned. A lot of us have been in the CP and got out for various reasons. For them any lie will do to smash this YS lobby.'

## WONDERFUL JOB

He had agreed with the CP members on his committee that there was a time limit. They were waiting for five weeks time while the seamen could be defeated, while the Devlin Report was going through, and while scabs could easily appear in the engineering industry.

'Nevertheless, in spite of the dirty tactics, and seeing the size of the lobby, I think you have done a wonderful job,' he told the audience. 'It gives some idea of what it could have been without these splitting tactics.' The collection taken by the chairman, Dave Ashby, raised a total of £93 17s. 0d. and was greeted by tremendous applause. D. Davis (Newcastle East YS)

said: 'I want to say a few words in support of all those Young Socialists who stood outside the Houses of Parliament in the pouring rain and who didn't even get a look in.'

'The Young Socialists who had to wait in the wet and rain, pushed and provoked by the police, are Young Socialists who worked day and night for a policy which they firmly believe in and will unite the working class at a time when enormous attacks are being mounted against it.'

## SACRIFICES

'Young Socialists have been leafletting the docks, factories and the seamen's picket lines seeking support for this policy. They have made considerable sacrifices to be able to come down on the lobby, some of them taking as much as 10 days off work at a stretch. 'They were kept outside in

order to demoralise them. But it was worthwhile on the eve of the debate in the House of Commons on the Emergency Powers to be lobbying MPs and we were able to show the role of all those who worked against this lobby.'

## FIGHT CONTINUES

'Those who worked to isolate the youth also made a serious mistake. The Young Socialists have proved themselves to be a serious organisation. Only a serious organisation could have organised a lobby such as we have had today.'

In closing the meeting the chairman said: 'We have made it absolutely clear that this fight is going to continue. When we get back we must have report back meetings everywhere we can. The National Committee of the Young Socialists intends to announce the next stage of this struggle shortly.'

# NIGERIA

## Riots against Ironsi regime

By NEWSLETTER REPORTER

**G**ROWING discontent with the military regime of Major-General Ironsi in Nigeria exploded into riots last week-end in which 66 people were killed and hundreds injured. The riots, in the Northern Region, followed the General's announcement that the country would be governed centrally instead of through regional governments.

The main fear is that of the civil servants who will lose their jobs.

But the demonstrations have included workers and peasants discontented with the military regime and its failure to solve the problems of unemployment, food shortages, rents, wages and conditions.

Also underlying the riots were reports of members of the Hausa tribe, which dominates the tribes in the Northern Region, attacking Ibos.

It was through these tribal differences and antagonisms that the British were able to divide the masses to rule Nigeria.

In this present situation, after a military coup against a pro-imperialist Federal state, imperialist agents are again attempting to weaken the workers and peasants, and the military

government, for a return to Federalism under a civilian government.

The tribal differences, says a Nigerian correspondent, did not exist before the regionalisation of Nigeria. But the situation has arisen where imperialists are able to use certain differences to the detriment of the masses.

Ibo tribesmen, originally from the Eastern Region, accepted British education and became more enterprising. In business and civil servant circles they have a great influence throughout the country because of their willingness to travel and adapt themselves.

The Hausas are traditionally Muslim. They resisted English-style schools and methods. Numerically they are a larger

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# BUSMEN REJECT INQUIRY



Must now fight for conditions

NEWSLETTER REPORTER

**A**LTHOUGH the Transport and General Workers' Union has rejected the Prices and Incomes Board report on busmen's pay and conditions, more basic problems face the rank and file. The Board's inquiry, which, said the union, had been an 'unwarranted interference' with the normal collective bargaining, gave its approval to a 6.6 per cent pay rise for 28,000 London busmen, but rejected a similar increase for 128,000 provincial busmen.

The 6.6 per cent increase—amounting to about £1 a week—for London busmen had been virtually agreed with London Transport, and is expected to come into force on June 24.

But the Board says the provincial men should not get anything above the 3½ per cent norm unless there are large-scale concessions on manning.

Their argument for this attack on the busmen is that higher wages is not an answer to staff shortages. The most effective answer for this shortage is to make better use of existing staff, says their report.

This is the real basis of the Board's inquiry—led by Hugh Clegg, the Oxford don now on the seaman's inquiry—and probably of the settlement in London.

### Tough Conditions

Concessions on single-man methods of the buses are slowly being granted by union officials in return for wage rises.

But these concessions are undermining present conditions, which are tough enough anyway, where crews are forced to work overtime to keep a service running, where fewer buses pick up more and more passengers (following concessions on standing passengers), where drivers take the fares. All the present strains and stresses will be doubled and trebled within a short period if a real fight is not taken up now.

It is in these conditions that the union must not simply reject government interference in negotiations, but must take a tough stand, uniting the provincial and London forces in demands for the nationalization of the industry under workers' control, linked up with an integrated and nationalized transport system—to include shipping.

## GLASGOW

# Solidarity meeting fails to call for world support

## By Newsletter Reporter

**S**EVERAL hundred Scottish trade unionists, including the striking seamen, took part in a solidarity demonstration in Glasgow on Sunday.

Organised by the National Union of Seamen, the demonstration marched from the seamen's headquarters to the Cenotaph at George Square and then to Glasgow Green, where a meeting was held.

In sharp contrast to the determination of the rank-and-file seamen to win their demands was the hesitancy and complacency of their leaders and other union officials on the platform.

### Against bosses

Mr. Bill Marshall, an assistant general secretary of the Seaman's Union, repeated the general line that the strike was solely against the shipping bosses, and not against the state.

Stalinist seaman Gordon Norris emphasised, like Marshall, the potential support

# Northern Ireland YS campaign for unity with seamen

By a Newsletter correspondent

**B**ECAUSE 80 per cent of Northern Ireland's trade is with Great Britain, the seamen's strike is affecting industrial production and food prices much quicker than in Britain itself.

Four hundred drivers at Northern Ireland carriers were paid off recently.

All of the province's coal is imported, and stocks will soon be exhausted. Dockers on the coal quay will then join their brothers from the cross-Channel ferries on the dole (the Dock Labour Scheme does not operate in Belfast).

Northern Ireland Young Socialists have been campaigning among the seamen.

At one recent meeting of 200 seamen and trade unionists they were not allowed to speak. Mr. Tom Boyd, a Northern Ireland Labour MP and Mr. William Bleasdale, northern officer of the Irish Congress of Trades Unions expressed their sympathy with the seamen, but managed to avoid saying that they supported the strike.

Mr. Gerry Fitt, Republican Labour MP and an ex-seaman, spoke of his own experiences as a militant and gave whole-hearted support.

### DISAGREED

Young Socialist representatives asked the Belfast Strike Committee to support their call for a lobby of the Stormont (Northern Ireland parliament) on the same day as the Westminster lobby—May 25.

Strike committee members said they disagreed with the Young Socialists because they had been present when Prime Minister Harold Wilson had told the National Union of Seamen's executive that they had a just cause. They could not agree that their strike was against the Prices and Incomes policy.

This is not, however, the feeling of the rank and file.

Although very few pickets could be found along the docks, most of those with whom the Young Socialists discussed were disgusted with the Labour government.

Morale among the men is very high, but is often based on a dangerous illusion about the inevitability of success and support from other trade unions because of the State of Emergency.

The attitude of the Northern Ireland Communist Party was made clear by a leading Party member lobbied by Young Socialists at the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

### NOT ALLOWED

He said he could not move an emergency motion in support of the seamen, nor move the suspension of standing orders, because this was not allowed. He failed to mention that he was, in fact, chairman of the conference in the absence of the usual chairman.

In leaflets distributed by the Young Socialists they call for full solidarity with the seamen and support for their demands, the withdrawal of the anti-trade union legislation and the freezing of all food prices at the level of the first day of the strike (May 16).

In the case of small shopkeepers, traders and producers, they call for price reviews to be made by elected representatives of the trade unions, housewives and small traders, and state aid for any small trader threatened with bankruptcy because of the effects of the strike.

They also say that no worker should be held responsible for the strike, therefore there should be no redundancies. The books of firms should be opened and examined and there should be work-sharing without loss of pay.

Where there is no work possible, unemployment pay should be provided at an average weekly wage for the last year.

They also call for the nationalization of merchant shipping and the docks.

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## WALTHAM, LONDON

# Tenants may stage strike

**T**WELVE thousand tenants in the new East London borough of Waltham Forest are planning a rent strike for July when the second part of a staged increase is due.

The local Tenants' Confederation, which covers the old boroughs of Leyton, Walthamstow and Chingford, is advising the tenants to withhold the increase—from 10s. upwards—for a month.

Confederation officials claim that by then the Council will recognise the strength of the tenants. By striking, the tenants will cost the council £5,000 a week.

In a letter to the tenants, Confederation officials explain that they have always pursued a policy of negotiation.

'This we intend to continue, but we feel that the time has come to demonstrate the unity and determination of the tenants to resist the injustices of these increases.' By next year under the three-stage increase, some tenants will be paying more than £2 more than they were last year.

One mother, on one of the council's tower block estates, told reporters that she was paying £4 5s. a week where she lived previously.

### Not paying

'Now it's £4 1s. 6d. a week, including 10s. for a garage. And in July we're supposed to pay even more. We're not going to pay the increase.'

An elderly tenant in the same block said she was not going to pay the increase. Before she had been moved to the block she was paying 22s. 7d. a week. Her rent now stands at £3 14s. 5d. a week.

The council ordered the three-stage rise last year to cover maintenance and building costs.

Councils up and down the country face the same problems and, whether they are Labour or Tory-controlled, they all pass the buck on to the tenants.

### Thousands made

They ignore the fact that big business and the bankers are making thousands of pounds profit out of land, building, building materials and the interest payments on loans to councils.

Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League members who have aided many rent struggles in the last few years continually pose the socialist policies of the nationalization of the businesses and banks as the only answer to the crippling rises being imposed on thousands whose standard of living is under attack on all fronts.

They have also maintained that any rent struggle is strengthened when linked with the struggle of workers in the factories against bad conditions and wage freezing, which the Labour government hopes to legalise with their proposed anti-trade union legislation.

# British Perspectives

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cessful struggle of the working class in resisting it and building a new leadership, on the other.

The Wilson government will either do what the banks consider necessary against the workers, and consequently face the determined resistance of the working class, or else they will fall, and the capitalists will try to proceed by other means.

These alternatives are not, of course, mutually exclusive; they express the objective tendencies in the situation.

★

**IMMEDIATELY**, the Labour government proceeds to deflationary measures, the main purpose of which is to curb spending power and to create a measure of unemployment, particularly in the manufacturing industry.

At the same time they will press ahead in this parliament with the anti-trade union legislation, to provide a weapon to break the workers' resistance.

The economic position of the British capitalist economy is preparing an inevitable upsurge of struggle on economic problems such as wages, cost of living and housing and rents for very wide sections of the working class.

It is, therefore, urgent for the capitalist state to have weapons against the most organised workers in the early stages of this development.

★

**THE STRUGGLE** on legislation against the unions, and the fight of a decisive section of workers, the dockers, against similar state intervention through the Devlin Report, are, however, already quite advanced, and the fundamental questions of alternative leadership have already come forward in action.

From the very start of the struggle against the legislation, it has been recognised by more and more adult workers that the initiative of the revolutionary youth is a necessary challenge to both the reformists and the Stalinists.

Just as the initiative of the Young Socialists and Socialist

Labour League on the legislation campaign began to strike roots in the trade union movement, the right turn of the Communist Party accelerated with the General Election campaign and the change in the 'Daily Worker'.

Similarly on the docks: the Communist Party hesitated with policies of 'getting something out of Devlin' when militant dockers turned to fight against the Devlin Report and all that it involved in a fight against the Labour government.

Our campaigns are not just one spurt of activity after another, to 'show the flag', but part of a strategy to unite the working class behind a new leadership through every struggle which can be broadened out to take up the main issues confronting the whole movement.

The struggle of the dockers against decasualisation of the type proposed by the Devlin Report is precisely such an issue. The Devlin recommendations represent an attempt to break trade union resistance to a full capitalist programme of monopolisation, speed-up, redundancy and 'mobility of labour', with the abolition of all the practices established by the docker for his own protection.

This is the model of what the legislation prepares for all sections of workers.

In preparing to fight against the Devlin Report, the dockers have had to go through experiences which are indispensable to the whole class: the union bureaucracy, 'White' and 'Blue', has sold out and must be defeated by a new leadership; nationalization with workers' control is the necessary alternative to monopolisation plus capitalist state discipline; finally, it is not possible to fight on this question without a perspective of a fight against the state and the government, a Labour government.

★

**THIS IDENTITY** between the issues facing the dockers and those facing the class as a whole is not just a general question for propaganda. It now becomes necessary and possible to combine in action the campaign against the legislation, repre-

senting all the gains made in uniting the revolutionary youth with the adult movement, with the resistance of the dockers to Devlin.

The dockers need the support of the movement as a whole to defeat the decasualisation proposals.

A massive campaign for support for the actions of the dockers can defeat the Devlin proposals and take us to a qualitatively higher level of class action and class consciousness against the legislation.

In this concrete way the inevitable breaking of the British working class from social democracy will be carried through as a conscious process in which a revolutionary leadership is built in the fighting of campaigns on the most decisive issues facing the workers in struggle.

★

**THE TENACIOUS** carrying through of campaigns of this kind, against the opposition of reformists and Stalinists, is the test of our political leadership, and it must be accompanied by a determined struggle against sectarianism. Our fight against propaganda methods has prepared us for the present situation, in which we have the responsibility of giving actual political leadership against the Labour government.

It is necessary to pay attention to the different, often contradictory phases of the growth in class-consciousness of the working class. After the initial response to the January 26 lobby against trade union legislation, many adult workers fell back from further immediate action during the General Election period. It would have been a mistake to press ahead with another similar lobby, not taking this into account.

Initiatives must be taken by the party in such a way that they mobilise the advanced workers around the struggles of definite sections of the class who are moving into struggle.

Thus the most effective step forward in the legislation campaign after the YS Morecambe conference was to blend this campaign with the fundamentally linked problem of the dockers'

resistance to the Devlin Report, the government and the trade union bureaucracy.

While many workers no doubt remain under the illusion that Wilson will be able to provide an alternative to the openly capitalist policies of the Tories, many others express these illusions in a form which can be transformed very quickly, given correct policies on our part.

Their hesitation is a questioning of the possibility of a new leadership, a pondering of whether the time has yet arrived to fully identify themselves with the revolutionary alternative.

Our correct policies and campaigns are the only key to development from this position. There will be no automatic exposure of the social democrats, only a conscious exposure by a party which leads the class in action.

★

**ONLY WHEN** we start in this way from the building of the revolutionary party in struggle can we grasp the full implications of the legislation brought by the Labour government against the trade unions.

This involves a historic change in the relations between the capitalist state and the working class as a class in imperialist Britain. It undermines the fundamental basis for the 'stability' of British class relations, mediated primarily by the labour aristocracy and bureaucracy, working for concessions in bargaining with the state and employers.

The need to make this turn is the surest indicator of the depth of the crisis of British imperialism. There is no return possible to the old reformism and the old trade unionism, as Trotsky insisted in 1938.

As this system breaks up under the blows of the economic crisis and the measures of the Labour government, the alternative is posed: either capitalist state control of the working class, or revolutionary trade unions and a revolutionary party based on the Transitional Programme.

In the present economic position of the British employers, they are bound to provoke a

struggle with the unions, and since the severity of the crisis necessitates state intervention, a critical situation builds up between the unions and the Labour government. As on the docks, this will immediately raise not only wages questions, but the issue of nationalization.

Either state assistance to the monopolies to impose speed-up and wage freeze, or a fight for working-class power, nationalization and socialism.

This will take the form in the first place of a revival, at a qualitatively higher form, of the nationalization issue in the Labour Party. The pressure on the Labour Cabinet for policies of nationalization of the basic industries will grow from the trade unions, and is a central element in our alternative policies for the crisis.

Attention must be paid to the possibility of those who fight inside the Labour Party in the coming period since many opposition elements will come forward.

As on the docks and in the struggle against the legislation, many rank-and-file militants from the Communist Party can be won to revolutionary politics, but only on the basis of a principled combination of united front campaigns on class issues and ruthless opposition and exposure of the Stalinist leadership of Gollan, Dutt, Matthews and Co.

★

**IN THIS PERIOD**, when opposition to the capitalist state, and the defeat of the reformists by a revolutionary leadership, are thrust to the front of the struggle of the class, the most essential question is the winning and training of new forces for the revolutionary party.

In Britain, as internationally, the basis for this is more and more shown to lie in the working-class youth.

The Young Socialists as a definite political campaigning force, with independent policies on all the major issues confronting the class, is the key to our perspectives in the class struggles in Britain. It is with this force that we bring together in action different sections of the class, and confront the reformists and Stalinists.

Time and again our campaigns have enabled us to take sections of workers through the experience that the Stalinists are the main obstacles, conscious obstacles, to the building of an

favour the Southern parties and big business. In fact, it is mostly in the south where the farmer politicians have been put on trial and placed in detention. Feudal chiefs and landlords in the north have not been touched.

It is these people that imperialism would prefer to rule the country and that, says our correspondent, is why there has been so much play on tribal differences.

But not even a military government will be able to wipe out these differences.

Only when the workers and poor farmers in the country take over the power and build socialism in the country will tribalism and imperialist strength in the country be crushed.

## ● NIGERIA

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tribe than the Ibos, and had more say in Federal government affairs—Abubakar, prime minister before the coup, was, in fact, a Hausa. Their feudal leaders now fear they will lose all power and their feudal interests.

When the coup was carried out, all civil servants throughout the country's five regions supported it, and there were no disputes over tribal domination in any sector.

But on the same day, the foreign-owned newspapers labelled the coup an Ibo uprising to