

# The Week

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS  
Vol. 6, No. 1, 7th July, 1966

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**An Appeal  
to  
Jennie Lee**

# WELCOME

# BACK FRANK

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74 Mansfield Road, Nottingham

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Vol. 2, No. 1, Fall 1982

## WELCOME

## BACK FRANK

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WELCOME BACK, FRANK!

"The most politically significant resignation since Aneurin Bevan's in 1951", wrote The Times, in its sour editorial on Monday, after Frank Cousins had left Mr. Wilson's cabinet rather than endorse the new anti-union legislation which was published immediately afterwards. For once, The Times is right. Frank Cousins, alone among left-wing members of the Government, has stood by his pledges: and the sight of a man of this Government taking his own past promises seriously will have an electric effect upon the whole Labour movement.

Mr. Wilson cannot accuse Frank Cousins of inconsistency. Right at the beginning of the incomes policy debate, at the T.U.C. in 1963, he set the pattern of his present action: George Woodcock, he said wanted to influence governments: but "I am not conceited enough to think that they are influenced by what I say. I think they are influenced by the power of the people I represent. When I talk to the Government.....they are much more influenced when I am saying the things my members want me to say, than when I am saying the things they do not want me to say, and we will not have restraint, whoever brings it and wraps it up for us."

In his resignation statement the same thought stands out clearly: he rightly accuses the architects of the policy of believing that wage restraint is a substitute for an economic policy. Of course, Mr. Wilson has an economic policy: it is a policy of saving sterling, and making the capitalist economy viable again, and no-one can say that it is meeting with any appreciable success. He would have been more usefully employed if he had stayed at Oxford and worked out how to square the circle. But Frank Cousins is demanding a different policy: a policy along the lines of the 1963 speech he made to the Labour Party Conference, in which he promised to support Mr. Wilson, because "He is wanting to be part of a team that is going to change the system" "We want," he said then, "a planned rate of growth which will enable us to have improvements in our real standards of wages." It was Mr. Wilson who changed, and the resignation statement makes this perfectly plain. The promises given by the Government to the bankers represent "a wrong attitude and a contradiction of the philosophy upon which our party is based."

In 1963, in the same speech to the Conference of the Labour Party, Frank Cousins made great stress of the attitudes and intentions which underpin economic policy. Then, he took Mr. Wilson's promises in good faith, as we did, and as very many of Labour's supporters did. Now, he says on the basis of deep experience of the behind-the-scenes influences on policy, that these essential attitudes are wrong, and must be opposed. We agree with him. We would add two appeals to this. To the left M.P.s, we would say "back Frank Cousins for all you are worth, and oppose the anti-union bill" And to the left members of the Government who remain behind, we would say, "for conscience" sake take stock of your position. Join Frank Cousins in the fight for real socialist policies now, while there is still the chance to save the Labour Party from the miserable effects of Wilsonism!

## DEATH PENALTY FOR ANTI-WAR G.I.s?

from the 'New York Times'

A senior legal expert at the Defence Department indicated (on July 2nd) that members of the armed forces who refused to fight in Vietnam might be prosecuted under existing laws and regulations and, in extreme cases, might be sentenced to death. It would be extremely unlikely, however, that the death penalty would be carried out, Frank A. Bartimo, the Pentagon's assistant general counsel, said in an interview. A sentence of death for cowardice or other misbehaviour before the enemy in time of war, he noted, would have to pass through six legal stages of investigation and review, culminating automatically in a personal interview by the President. Mr. Bartimo declined to comment on the news conference called in New York by three army privates who said they intended to refuse military orders to go to Vietnam. The men, he said, had exercised their right of free speech and had not - as yet - violated military discipline. However, he warned, men already enrolled in the fighting services cannot expect lenient or other special treatment for refusing to obey orders on the ground of "conscience". The soldiers... said they intended to refuse to board a troop ship for Vietnam because United States military action there was "unconstitutional" and offensive to their individual moral and ethical beliefs.

In the recent case of Pvt. Adam Weber, an inductee serving in the Army in Vietnam who refused on moral grounds to bear arms against the enemy, the locally convened court-martial ordered a sentence of one year at hard labour and partial forfeiture of pay.

## RIGHT-WING GERMANS CLAIM SOVIET LAND

from Hsinhua

West German revanchist organisations at recent meetings have raised territorial claims on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and called for the annexation of the German Democratic Republic. On July 2nd and 3rd, the revanchist organisation 'The Community of South Prussia' held a big federal rally at Dusseldorf. President Heinrich Lübke, Chancellor Erhard and former chancellor Adenauer sent messages of greetings to the rally. Minister for Refugee Problems, J. Gradl, attended the rally and asserted at the opening ceremony that West Germany had the "sole representation" for Germany. This he said included not only mid-Germany (G.D.R.), but east Germany, which has become part of the territories of the Soviet Union and Poland. The 'Pomeranian Community' and the 'Upper Silesia Community' also held provocative meetings.

## THE WEEK'S SUMMER SCHEDULE

With this issue we go over to fortnightly production until September. The next issue will be on July 21st. But to make the volume numbers up, each subscriber will receive a pamphlet on the recent workers control conference in Nottingham. This will be an extremely useful document in the workers' control discussion which is taking place in the trade union movement. We will be bringing out another issue on August the 11th when another pamphlet will also be included. Extra copies of these pamphlets will be available. Should there be any urgent political reason we will bring out a special issue in the week when the paper does not appear.

## HAVE YOU SUBSCRIBED TO VIETNAM COURIER YET?

Up-to-the date and authoritative reports of the progress of the Vietnam war appear each week in Vietnam Courier. On the payment of a mere 10/- you will receive the journal direct from North Vietnam for a year. Subscriptions can be channelled through the Week.

## AN APPEAL TO JENNIE LEE

The following is the text of a letter sent by Ken Coates to Jennie on 6/7/66: "After Frank Cousins' resignation, I am sure that you must be very unhappy about the drift of Government policy. If Mr. Cousins is right that the Government has given assurances to the bankers that we will restrict internal demand, then he is also quite clearly right that this is a wrong attitude and a contradiction of the philosophy upon which our party is based and so it must be opposed. If domestic and external policy are being dictated by the bankers, I am absolutely certain that you will be deeply opposed to this. I remember what you said in the debate on Indo-China in 1954: "We cannot talk to those (liberal) Americans, when at the same time we approach Washington with a begging bowl held out, because money talks louder than words. I am grieved and shamed when I hear that the contribution which our country can make to international affairs is lost because of the clatter of dollars falling into the begging bowl."

"I know that you are able to do good work in your particular job, and that you must feel that it offers an opportunity for practical initiatives. But on the other hand, in so many key areas, in the whole field of trade union freedom, in foreign policy, in economic policy, the Government is committed to completely conservative and orthodox attitudes. Ought you not to stand at Frank Cousins' side against these attitudes, as you stood by an earlier rebel in 1951? It would restore the faith of many worried socialists if you were able to make this stand, painful though I am sure it would be. You would be anything but lonely in the coming years, which seem to be likely to be as troubled and as full of struggles as any of those in which you fought so bravely in the early fifties.

Yours....."

## SUPPORT FOR GEORGE CLARK'S FAST AGAINST VIETNAM BOMBING

The following statement has been sent by a number of organisations and journals to all Labour M.P.s:

"The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong has added a new dimension of horror to the Vietnam war. The American Government is now committed to a purely military solution to the war, and to crushing the National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese whatever the cost in human life and suffering.

"George Clark has begun a fast in Parliament Square in order to call for public support for the demand made by 118 M.P.s who have so far signed the motion calling on the British Government to dissociate itself completely from the Vietnam war. We applaud and wholeheartedly support the 118 M.P.s...we urge them to make additional demands on the Government, for the total cessation of U.S. bombings of both North and South Vietnam, and for the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. We urge those M.P.s who have not yet signed the motion to join the struggle against this brutal war." This appeal has been endorsed by Caravan Workshops, Humberside and Nottingham Voice papers, Views, the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, The Week, Labour Worker, the Centre for Socialist Education, and a number of other organisations and journals are discussing whether to add their support.

## A CORRECTION

Two mistakes appeared in our report of the Vietnam Solidarity Conference. When listing the members of the National Council of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, we described both David Horowitz and Quintin Hoare as being representatives of the New Left Review. David Horowitz should have been down from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and Quintin Hoare as an individual.

Policemen in Riverside last week went to the home of a steel company labourer named Jack Tomlin to investigate reports that he owned an unregistered machine gun. The police say they found not just a gun but a private arsenal consisting of dynamite, booby traps, machine guns and some solid-fuel rocket propellant. Incredibly, discoveries of caches of weapons and explosives are recurring with increasing frequency in southern California. Six arsenals have been detected in the last month and more than a dozen in the last year. Thomas Lynch, attorney general of California, said that some of the discoveries clearly involved weapons that belonged to or were destined for what he described as extremist private armies operating in the state- the Minute Men and the Californian Rangers among them. The detection of these illegal private weapons hoards has helped to dramatise a much broader problem that is worrying authorities in southern California- the tremendous increase in the quantity of legal hand guns in the possession of ordinary citizens.

The Watts riots of last summer first set off a buying wave and this pace has not slackened in the year since the riots. According to official estimates, more than 31,000 hand guns will be sold in Los Angeles this year, enough to arm two infantry divisions. While ordinary citizens acquire most of their guns through regular commercial outlets, three southern Californian Representatives demanded this week a full-scale investigation into the possibility that the extremist groups might have found yet another secret channel for acquiring weapons en masse.

HOFFA TO RUN TEAMSTERS FROM PRISON?

from Dilly Broody

James Hoffa appears assured of little opposition to his programme to retain influence in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, even if he is imprisoned. Harold Gibbons, an international vice-president from St. Louis, has dropped plans to run against Frank Fitzsimmons, international vice-president from Detroit, whom Hoffa has tapped as his potential successor as Teamster president. Mr. Gibbons backed away from the fight against Hoffa's candidate as the Union's Constitution Committee approved a Hoffa-backed amendment that would create a general vice-presidential vacancy. Hoffa has said he would back Mr. Fitzsimmons for the new post if the amendment was adopted at the union's convention next week in Miami Beach. Hoffa is expected to win re-election to a five-year term at the convention, but his creation of the new post for Mr. Fitzsimmons is an effort to retain union influence through a caretaker administration even if he is gaoled on recent court convictions. The amendment, which is expected to pass handily, also would permit Hoffa to resume the presidency when he was freed. Mr. Gibbon's associates have said that he has decided to drop his plans to oppose Mr. Fitzsimmons when a canvass of teamster leaders showed he could not win.

U.S. ARMED FORCES AT 11-YEAR PEAK

from U.P.I.

America's armed forces have reached their highest manpower strength in 11 years and are almost a year ahead of schedule in the build-up set in motion last summer. Figures released by the Pentagon on June 28th showed that the total military manpower at the end of May reached 3,057,000. The Pentagon estimated earlier that there would be 2,987,000 by then. The present level is only 36,000 men short of the goal of 3,093,000 originally fixed for June 1967. The Korean war peak strength was 3,685,000.

## VIETNAM SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE FORMED IN DUNFERMLINE

from Jimmy Gibson

A committee supporting the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign has been formed in Dunfermline. The chairman is Les Wood who is chairman of the Dunfermline Burgh Labour Party, and among the committee members are Margaret Mellis, treasurer of the Burgh Labour Party and J. Reaston, secretary of Dunfermline Trades Council. The committee is very representative consisting of most of the leading members of the Burgh Labour Party and 3 members of the Communist Party. Among those supporting us are: Andrew Wilson (press officer and vice chairman); Patrick Denny of the young Socialists, Miss Jean Cairns, J. Hutton, D. Campbell, B. Davies and Miss Elizabeth Howe.

One of the first activities of the committee will be a public meeting on August 19th. The main speakers will be Lawrence Daly, secretary of the Scottish National Union of Mineworkers, and Iain Jordan of Edinburgh Workers Educational Association. There is to be a committee meeting in July to organise this public meeting. Anyone in the area should contact me: Jimmy Gibson, 351, Broomhead Drive, Dunfermline, Fife.

P.S. As a result of our letter to the local press we had a huge write-up in the People's Journal (a "black" Thomson-Leng publication which covers the east of Scotland).

## THE VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN PARTICIPATES IN LONDON DEMONSTRATIONS

Readers will have read of the demonstrations in London on July 3rd and 4th against America's war of aggression against Vietnam. The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign was active on both days, participating fully in the various demonstrations. As is well-known, the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign takes the position that one cannot be neutral in the struggle and shows its solidarity with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam by distributing N.L.F. flags. This was not to the liking of certain of the organisers, but the decision as to whether or not to carry flags was decided democratically by the demonstrators themselves. In the event, particularly on the Monday demonstration, a large number of flags were distributed and participants were enthusiastic about carrying them.

Supporters of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign seem prone to attract the attention of the police on such demonstrations. One of them, Eric Levy of Hampstead, is at time of writing detained for psychiatric treatment, thus having no recourse to being bailed out. Quite a number of people are convinced that this is a method of getting people out of the way in a period when mass demonstrations are expected. Eric Levy's "crime" was to make a speech in court denouncing the Vietnam war. Without being found guilty of anything he is detained in prison, without many of the rights accorded to prisoners, e.g., he cannot shave because the prison authorities refuse to give him a razor. Another supporter has been charged with having an offensive weapon - a poster! It seems that dangerous precedents are being established and because of this supporters of the campaign are taking the initiative in getting a special defence committee established, which will have the support of certain M.P.s. Apart from this the collection of funds to pay fines and legal expenses is most important.

The participation of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign in these demonstrations had the effect of pulling them to the left. The slogans of the campaign became the property of wide sections of the marches and were very sympathetically received. Large amounts of literature were distributed on both marches and it is certain that many people will join the campaign.

The seamen's strike in Scotland

Not having the protection of Parliamentary privilege, witch-hunters in Glasgow have resorted to anonymous leaflets in efforts to split the seamen's solidarity. The leaflet, addressed to the homes of Glasgow seamen, alleged that the strike was "a struggle by the left-wing element to take over your union", the aim being "to cripple the shipping industry first, then the country." The leaflet infuriated Mr. John Docherty, a Catholic member of the N.U.S. executive, who took legal advice but was told that that the statement was not actionable. While Wilson's own smear was being repudiated in Glasgow by James Jack, General Secretary of the S.T.U.C., seamen in Greenock demonstrated their militancy by promptly voting out of office the chairman of the local strike committee, Mr Malcolm Campbell, after he had publicly stated that "most of the Greenock seamen were fed-up with the strike."

On Saturday, July 2nd, Mr. William Hogarth was to have been in Glasgow leading west of Scotland seamen in a solidarity march. In the event he was there explaining the executive's decision to call off the strike. Earlier in the week the Glasgow branch of the union had passed a resolution calling on the executive to stand firm on all demands, after the announcement of the settlement the meeting in Glasgow broke up in confusion after much bitterness, but no resolutions were passed. It was in Leith, however, that the strongest reactions to the decision were felt, when the branch meeting passed votes of no-confidence in the three executive members from Leith who admitted having voted for the resumption of work. One seaman referred to them as the "three stooges".

A sour footnote to the Government's handling of the situation in the northern isles comes from Shetland where a tank landing craft was used to ferry supplies from Aberdeen. The Shetlanders warned repeatedly that such a vehicle was completely unsuitable for the heavy seas in this region but the advice was ignored. Sure enough when the supplies were landed they were found to have been water-logged and spoilt.

Glasgow Labour Party's ostriches

Against a background of further municipal losses and an individual membership less than that of the Communist Party, the Glasgow Labour Party held its A.G.M. On a procedural ruling the chairman refused to allow any discussion on the electoral defeats in May.

Housing

If the present trends in Scottish housing are continued there can be no doubt that the problem, the most unmanageable in Britain as it is, will worsen. Builders who have negotiated contracts with local authorities are now beginning to insist on an increase in the agreed price to cover the Selective Employments Tax. This has happened twice in Glasgow in the past two weeks.

Midlothian County Council has raised its rents under the threat of losing their equalisation grant. In Fife rents have been increased 25%, yet this, according to the County Finance Convenor, "scarcely keeps pace with the increase in loan charges on the housing deficit of £19 million. New subsidies were promised by the Housing (Financial Provisions) (Scotland) Bill, which lapsed with the General Election. This bill has not re-appeared and the subsidies are being paid. Needless to say, none of the above mentioned increases are being referred to the Prices and Incomes Board, nor is a 50% rail increase in the Glasgow area.

continued over/

### Teachers

The teaching profession in Scotland is split into three unions, the Educational Institute of Scotland, the biggest; the Scottish Secondary Teachers Association and the anti-feminist Scottish Schoolmasters Association. Last year, after an increase of 15% had been agreed in negotiation, the Scottish secretary, William Ross, unilaterally reduced the award to 13%. There has been some talk recently of joint action by the E.I.S. and the S.S.T.A. on this issue, but these plans collapsed when the E.I.S. refused to link the demand for the 15% directly with a demand for the exclusion of unqualified teachers from Scottish schools. The sectionalism and quarrels within the Scottish teachers' unions have rendered them helpless in the face of a Government that knows what it wants. The reactionary S.S.A. has been able to attract sympathy by putting forward an apparently militant policy on wages and open negotiations, while the E.I.S., suffering from severe bureaucratic sclerosis, has continually made vague threats of militant action, but seldom fulfilled any.

With the demise of the genuinely militant Young Teachers' Action Committee, the most hopeful development among Scottish teachers for a long time, there appears to be little prospect of the present prostration being overcome.

### Industry

Signs are beginning to appear that the Government's financial measures could play havoc with the fragile Scottish economy and the Scottish development plan (such as it is). Colvilles, the steel group, whose performance has been commonly regarded as a reliable indicator of general trends, has announced that due to falling orders and rising costs, it will, for the first time since denationalisation, be paying no interim dividend. The management has apparently decided that the labour force is to bear the brunt and has launched its attack at the weakest point as far as union organisation is concerned, the salaried staff, 200-300 of whom are to be sacked. John Brown's, the shipbuilders, have announced a loss of £2.23million in the past year, compared with a profit of £3.23million in the previous year. Nevertheless, the dividend is to continue at 11%. Meanwhile the process of rationalisation and the integration of unions with management continues in the Clyde shipyards. A meeting of shop stewards and branch officials of the Boilermakers' Society in the upper Clyde has agreed to accept interchangeability and end demarcation practices. At Fairfields a new apprenticeship training scheme has been introduced to assist interchangeability, and Alex McGuinness, the first full-time shop steward convenor in Britain, was appointed there.

Unemployment in Scotland provisionally reached the lowest June total (52,457) since 1957 according to the Ministry of Labour, and in 1965 Scotland overfulfilled the target for manufacturing output laid down in the National Plan, achieving 4.9% growth against a target of 4.6%, and an actual performance of 3% in the U.K. as a whole. However, the fall in unemployment could be dependent on a rising rate of emigration, and the recent promising industrial developments have to a large extent been due to moves by giant monopoly firms: Colvilles, B.M.C. and Rootes, Wigan Teape, I.C.I., A.E.I., etc., who are thus steadily expanding their control over the Scottish economy. Although Scotland receives 11% of public investment as against a population of 9½% of the U.K., the higher proportion is almost entirely accounted for by the greater level of council house building in Scotland. Unfortunately the Government seems to be determined to alter this situation - not by stepping up industrial investment - but by trying to change the balance of housing in favour of the private builders. J. Dickson-Mabon, Scottish Undersecretary of State, has been meeting their representatives, and a decision has been taken to set up a working party of the private builders' nominees and the Scottish Development Department. Meantime, local authorities are to lose their equalisation grants if they fail to raise rents.

## HUMBERSIDE VOICE WRITES TO FRANK COUSINS

The following letter was sent by Tony Topham to Frank Cousins on the 3rd of July:

"I am writing on behalf of the Editorial Board of Humberside Voice to convey our congratulations on your courageous and principled stand against the Early Warnings Bill, which you have expressed today by your resignation from the cabinet.

"Your action and the reason which has caused it, have our wholehearted support. We have no doubt whatsoever that they will command the respect and support of millions of trade unionists and members of the Labour Party. In our own journal, we have campaigned against the present incomes policy, arguing that its effects were those of an unjust and unsocialist attack on wages. This argument has been made plain for all to see in the Government's handling of the seamen's strike. We have warned, in our columns, of the profound dangers to our trade union and socialist movement contained in the proposed Early Warning legislation. We are immensely heartened and encouraged in our efforts by your brave and important decision, as will be so many others who believe in free trade unionism and in socialist principles.

"We believe that the Government's present policies in relation to wages and the trade unions follow with a terrible inevitability from its initial decisions of 1964 to "solve" the crisis of the outworn British economic system by purely orthodox methods, which respect privilege, property and the interests of international finance and capital to the point of servility.

"As trade unionists and members of the Labour Party, we believe that the stand you have taken will stiffen and rally support for a common search after genuine alternative policies which must be based on social justice, and upon socialist priorities.

Yours....."

## CALL FOR HULL LABOUR CONFERENCE

in

The following article appeared/the July issue of Humberside Voice:

"...it is astonishing that the Labour Party locally has no conference of its own, at which to lay down the broad lines of policy upon which our Labour councillors and group should operate in the government of the city. Apathy in local government, difficulties in finding suitable candidates to accept office, silent frustration amongst the loyal canvassers and envelope addressers in the constituency and ward parties, the feeling that "they" run everything for us - all these are well-known facts of local politics.

"....Humberside Voice therefore offers the idea in the hope and expectation that it will be taken up throughout the organisation, and that we shall see the first Hull Labour policy conference in March, 1967, in good time for it to form the basis of the party's election programmes for the May elections...The idea is a simple one, and need not get bogged down or delayed by technical objections...It should provide for: ward and affiliated body representation; an annual report from the Labour Group and City Party, for approval; debate and voting upon resolutions from wards and affiliated bodies; adopted resolutions becoming the policy basis for the Labour Group...;maximum time for rank and file speeches on resolutions and the annual report....."

The South East London Centre reports that the poor response to the initial bald announcement of its formation is being countered by a more widespread interest as its activities have become known. A series of informal discussion meetings has been initiated, the first being held in May, when Sean Gervasi introduced a discussion of the National Plan. Subsequent meetings will focus in the first instance on domestic issues, following through into the related issues of international policy and developments.

Increased interest has obviously been stimulated by the policy of going out to other organisations and to the public, rather than relying on attracting support to set meetings alone. Members of the local Centre have spoken on a number of occasions to local trade unions, and have also recently started to speak at street corners and other public places at week-ends, with an encouraging response. Contact is being sought, and in some instances has already been established, with other relevant organisations and groups on particular issues of a local nature, for examination of the possibilities of campaigning and other action.

As already announced in The Week, the Centre is holding, on Saturday July 9th from 3 pm onwards (at 7, The Glebe, Blackheath, SE.3) an "Event", with entertainments and refreshments, the object of which will be to collect money as a contribution to the acquisition of arms by the National Liberation Front of Vietnam. The entertainments will include live music (Indian and Western), poetry reading and an art exhibition. In its publicity for this "Event", the South East London CSE declares "its conviction that appeals for negotiations to resolve the conflict in Vietnam, through concessions by 'all parties', are neither realistic nor morally justified. Such appeals imply an equal allocation of responsibility for the conflict to victims and aggressors alike, and a moral equation of social revolution with unqualified reaction!"

HOW TO GET THERE - By train from Waterloo, Charing-X or London Bridge to Blackheath Station. Coming out of the station turn right and right again and walk down Lawn Terrace. Where the road curves to the left, continue walking straight ahead on the footpath leading to The Glebe.

### BOOK THIS DATE!

A very important Week readers' meeting is to be held later this month. It is at the Lucas Arms, 245a, Grays Inn Rd., (5 minutes from Kings Cross Tube Station) on Friday the 29th of July, starting at 7.30. The speaker will be Ken Coates, and he will be discussing his appeal against expulsion from the Labour Party.

We would ask all readers do do what they can to ensure that Labour Party activists know about this meeting and attend. The meeting can play an important part in the campaign leading up to the appeal at the Labour Party conference in October. Already several Labour Parties have gone on record for the reinstatement of Ken Coates, once people have heard the case there is no doubt that many more Labour Parties can be won for the position.

### CONFERENCE REPORT VIETNAM SOLIDARITY BULLETIN OUT

The July issue of the Vietnam Solidarity Bulletin is entirely devoted to the Vietnam Solidarity Conference proceedings. It contains all the important resolutions passed and credentials details. It also gives the texts of various messages of greetings received. It is invaluable in explaining exactly what the politics of The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign are. It can be obtained from: Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, 8, Roland Gardens, London S.W. 7, costing 9d post paid.

## PACKAGE DEALS & TRADE UNION POLICY (Workers' Control Conference Report)

by Tony Topham

The seminar group was agreed that package deals and productivity bargaining represented a new phenomenon, an employers' initiative which carried serious threats to existing workers' controls on the shop floor. The purpose of the package deal was closely linked with incomes policy, being an attempt to get wage movements at local level under tight managerial control. To achieve this managements were becoming more skilled in 'buying out' workers' control.

We distinguished two types of deal. (1) At plant level, particularly in continuous process industries, deals often included quite big wage concessions in return for increased labour intensity and the buying out of workers' controls. (2) Industry wide deals were often much more limited, and often included definitely anti-union clauses; e.g. those which penalised strike action, or put the onus of managerial discipline upon the unions. These latter type, we agreed, should be strenuously opposed. In the first type, however, the shop stewards were faced with a real dilemma, since genuine gains of pay and leisure were possible, and difficult to reject outright. The acceptance of management's terms, however, meant often increased speed-up, and loss of controls. Stewards would, in fact, (and there was evidence of this already happening) begin to rebuild their controls upon other levels and new issues, but we felt something more than this was required. Negative and anti-shop steward clauses in deals could be directly rejected, and a general strategy should be based upon the obtaining of maximum concessions for minimum sacrifice of controls. Some obsolete controls could in fact be 'sold' without real loss of shop steward positions.

Counter demands could and should be made. Increased productivity should be met with the demand for the shorter working week: the 35 hour week should be put on the agenda. A 'sliding scale of hours' could be demanded, implying that increased efficiency should result in automatic reductions of standard hours without loss of pay. In the U.S., for example, the slogan '30 for 40' (i.e. 30 hours work for 40 hours pay) had been injected into the workers' response to package deals. Accompanying this, workers should veto redundancies pending the finding of alternative employment. Speed-up leads to greater fatigue, and therefore greater safety hazards. Workers' control demands in the field of safety representatives and inspectors should therefore be raised in answering package deals. The introduction of new machinery by management should be treated as negotiable by workers' representatives at plant level. 'No new machinery without union consent' is the response to be aimed at.

Finally, package deals imply increased profits for the employer: shop stewards and union negotiators at present are completely in the dark about the profits being made out of package deals. They should demand the opening of the company's accounts to the scrutiny of themselves, before they can be satisfied on this score. Some of these demands could be enormously strengthened through the development of national trade union policies. We therefore examined the proposals of Jack Jones, and the criticisms made of them, which appeared as part of the Conference papers. We agreed that there were real dangers of the absorption of workers onto joint committees which would make workers responsible for managerial decisions in a context where they had no real control over those decisions. In rejecting committees of this kind, workers should emphasise that they would work with any institution which genuinely defended workers' interests, and should advance their own rules and constitutions for such committees. Workers' rules should include the demand that representatives be fully accountable to their members, should not be subject to rules of 'secrecy' regarding accounts and managerial decisions, and that there should be no limit set to pay increases by the movements of productivity, and that full and free access to accounts should be obtained.

## A PARTING OF THE WAYS ?

by Joseph Conlin

An alarming effect of recent events within the American Civil Rights movement is the apprehension that long-smouldering differences within the movement are about to erupt in an outright split. Some weeks ago, James Meredith, the idealistic almost mystical young negro who "integrated" the University of Mississippi several years ago, set out on a one-man march through his native state to show negroes there that they had nothing to fear. His mission looked rather absurd when, but a few miles into the state, he was ambushed and shotgunned. Meredith went back home to recuperate in "dangerous" New York City but the leaders of virtually every "Rights" organisation in the nation took up the march where he had fallen, followed by increasing hundreds of local supporters. Meredith showed signs of discontent with the way the march was going but the major division of opinion took place on Highway 51 itself. The principle involved may be illustrated by pointing to the leaders of the two persuasions. On the one side is Dr. Martin Luther King who continues to insist on "non-violence" and "integration" as the basis of the Negro Revolution. On the other is a recently changed Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee under its new president, a West Indian immigrant, Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael's SNCC is disillusioned with "integration" as a satisfactory solution to the American black man's problems. They talk of "black power", insisting upon the necessity of a solid base of political power under the direction of negro militants as the first step in the negro's redemption. It is easy to recognise in SNCC's tendency a combination of King's "Dream" for his people and the proud militance of radical black nationalism which once looked to Malcolm X as its mentor. Following Malcolm to a degree, for example, SNCC has implied that it is considering the efficacy and morality of retaliatory violence as a tactic. "Nonviolence is not dogma," a leader said recently, "it is a tactic."

Which way the movement will go is impossible to say. This was made quite clear at a marchers' rally when a SNCC representative told the crowd: "When they ask you what you want, don't say 'Integration' say 'Black Power!'. "Black Power" the crowd roared. A few minutes later King shouted "Don't say 'Black Power' say 'Freedom!'" "Freedom" the crowd replied. It is difficult to take a side in the dispute. Dr. King is a man of vast moral integrity and saintliness whose contribution to his people has earned him a permanent niche in American history. His speech to the marchers on the night of June 24th when he related domestic racial violence to United States intervention in Vietnam shows that he too has broadened his understanding of the black man's plight. But one fears that SNCC may be more "realistic" (awful word). A decade of nonviolence did result in Mississippi this June, after all, in President Johnson's refusal of protection on the grounds that Mississippi "assured him" that all protective measures were being taken. This after (1) Meredith's shooting; (2) Local police permitted white spectators to pelt the crowd repeatedly; (3) Speeding motorists almost ploughed into the line, in fact sideswiping a few marchers; (4) State police tear-gassed and scattered hundreds because they pitched their tents where the police did not approve. The tragedy is that, once again, American revolutionaries frustrated by "consensus politics" will split into warring sects while still in an embryonic stage. The Civil Rights movement is, despite many of its leaders, implicitly revolutionary. The negro problem in America cannot be solved without alteration of basic social structure. It would be catastrophic if the "liberal establishment" is aided in combatting its opponents by its opponents' own suicidal actions.

Mr. George H. Kerr has written a book\* which makes a complete mockery of the U.S. Government's attempt to dress up Chiang Kai-shek as one of the defenders of democracy; Formosa Betrayed, is as its title implies an angry book which is designed to expose one of the most monstrous regimes on the face of the earth today. Mr. Kerr knows his subject well - he lived and taught there from 1937-1940 and then he was at the American consulate in Taipei during the first years of the Chinese Nationalist occupation of that unhappy island. He watched the Nationalist soldiers being forced ashore in October 1945 because they were frightened of the surrendered Japanese soldiers on the island. He saw the massacres in 1947 when the Chiang Kai-shek forces killed over 10,000 of the inhabitants. He describes in detail a system of corruption so bad that the Formosan economy was reduced to a worse state than when China ceded the island to Japan in 1895. He traces the increasing disillusionment of the islanders, first with Chiang Kai-shek and then increasing so with America.

Of great interest is the way he documents the manner in which the United States and Chiang Kai-shek created the "Formosa" problem. As late as 1950, the legal status of Formosa had not been firmly settled; according to President Truman it had to "await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan or consideration by the United Nations." Some years before, Mao Tse-tung had told Edgar Snow that Formosa should be given independence, like Korea. But in the Cairo declaration President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill had promised it to Chiang Kai-shek, and at the end of the war the Chinese were given the signal to take over. The tone of the occupation was set in the first speech made the future Civil Commissioner, General Keh, when he referred to them as "a degraded people" beyond the pale of Chinese civilisation.

When Governor Ch'en Yi arrived in Taipei, he found that fifty years of Japanese occupation had produced a people more literate, and an economy more advanced and prosperous, than most of mainland China. So he and his men set out to milk it dry. Within months confiscated Japanese property and military supplies valued at \$1,000 million had disappeared. Food and fuel reserves were sold and shipped out by Chinese officers, which created shortages where they had been surpluses. Factories and public services ceased functioning under inexperienced Chinese administrators and were dismantled for quick sales in Shanghai. Prices rocketed as the Chinese set up monopolies of all major produce with mainland officials as private investors. Relief supplies from the United Nations were syphoned off into private stores. Native Formosan businesses, restricted in their use of credit and squeezed by licensing regulations and official monopolies, began to close down. Unemployment mounted and strikes and demonstrations occurred with increasing frequency.

On February 28th<sup>1947</sup> an incident began with the abuse of a cigarette vendor by monopoly bureau agents and developed overnight into demonstrations by Formosans and wild shooting by mainland soldiers. Within a week, the Formosans had effective control over most of the island and a 'settlement Committee' was negotiating with the Governor. Mr. Kerr remarks on the extraordinary restraint of the Formosans at this time, when they might have pushed the Nationalists into the sea. On March 7th the Committee presented the Governor with 32 demands for reform. On March 8th the Governor replied by landing 13,000 troops. For the next month terror reigned and 5,000-10,000 Formosans are estimated to have been hunted down and murdered- all leaders of the reform movement, government critics, students, anyone who had offended the mainland Chinese. A generation of leaders was eliminated.

\* Formosa Betrayed, by George H. Kerr, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 50 shillings.