

# The Week

**FREE  
BLANCO  
NOW**

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS  
Vol.6 No.21. 8th Dec 1966

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**OIL**  
**The**  
**fight**  
**goes on**

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MR. WILSON FAILS TO WOO MR. SMITH

Not even the temptation of becoming part of the "Mother Country" could persuade Ian Smith to make any concessions to Mr. Wilson. His rejection of the working paper arrived at on HMS Tiger shows the complete bankruptcy of Wilson's pussyfooting policy. Not only has the Cabinet abandoned principle on this question: it has also failed to deliver the goods from a capitalist point of view. But there is no sign that there is to be a change in policy. On the contrary, as the Daily Express put it, Mr. Wilson is at pains to avoid any trouble with South Africa at all costs.

Ambivalence about even the application of oil sanctions is apparent. The Government is saying, in effect: Never mind the rights of the overwhelming majority of Rhodesians - How can we save face without effecting our balance of payments?

There is only one honorable course open: to rigidly apply all sanctions, to give arms and encouragement to the Governments of Zambia and Tanzania for the promotion of the national liberation struggle in Rhodesia. If these last 12 months of manoeuvring have proved anything, it is that the white settlers will not give up voluntarily. That there will have to be a mass struggle will not be to everyone's liking, but the issues cannot be avoided. Above all, the left should avoid any confusion about the role of British troops. Experience has shown that the most likely variant in the case of British troops going to Rhodesia is that they will be used to put down the African national liberation struggle. The left must begin to think now about forming a solidarity movement with the Rhodesian people, to swing into action as they take up the struggle against the white settlers and imperialism.

FREE SPEECH OR LAW SUITS ?

We understand that a number of individuals and journals have received a solicitor's letter because they published a letter on the question of the beating up of a seller of literature. Indeed, this week's Newsletter carries an item saying that it is unable to comment upon the incident for legal reasons. This is really astounding ! Week after week, the Newsletter carries strident articles condemning in the most savage terms the Communist Party, the "Pabloites", the social democrats, et al, for allegedly setting the police on to members of the SLL. It accompanies these attacks with characterisations reminiscent of the worst days of Stalinism: imperialist agents, etc., etc. Now we learn that this same organisation is to use the law courts of the capitalist machine to suppress criticism of alleged actions by its members. It has been a saying for a long time that if you scratch a sectarian, underneath the paint you will find an opportunist. The Newsletter seems keen to prove the point !

Brian Abel-Smith's latest Fabian tract, Labour's Social Plans\* is one of the most effective bulls-eyes to have been scored by the society for a long time. Taking as his point of departure the (oppositional) views of C.A.R. Crossland and Douglas Jay, who once identified socialism as a willingness to give "an exceptional priority" to "overcoming poverty, distress and social squalor", Mr. Abel-Smith carefully documents the complete failure of the Labour Government to act upon these sentiments.

Two-fifths of the schools for 13-16 year-olds are seriously inadequate; university expansion has not even kept up with the population 'bulge', never mind the increased demand from qualified but rejected students; there is a famine of doctors in the health service; home helps, district nurses and health visitors are mal-distributed between one area and another to an extent which leaves some areas scandalously deprived; in the hospitals money problems are acute, with growing problems of cross-infection in operating theatres, appalling conditions in psychiatric wards, and increasingly depressed and hopeless conditions for the staffs. About a million people live below the standards set by national assistance, but do not apply for help; about a third of the unemployed workers on national assistance had their benefits cut back by the infamous 'wage-stop' ruling;  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million people,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  million of them children, live at or around the levels set by national assistance, while 2 million, including 700,000 children, live below this standard.

Far from introducing a crash programme to improve the woefully neglected public services which caters for all the people deprived in this manner, the freeze is obviously making matters worse. But Abel-Smith shows that even the plans of the Government will not improve things. Between 1958/64 public services' expenditure went up by  $34\frac{1}{2}\%$ . The National Plan, based on pre-freeze projections, budgets for an increase, between 1964/70, of only 28%. Even though Britain now lags behind all the Common Market countries in provision for social security; though housing expenditure as a proportion of the Gross National Product is budgeted in the plan for 3.9% as against 5% in the recent past in New Zealand, Greece and Switzerland,  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  in Italy and Sweden, and  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  in Israel; though on the most ambitious projection of the plan it will still in 1970 take 60 years to replace our antiquated and grossly inadequate old hospitals; and though the hesitant and botched movement to comprehensive schooling will be lubricated by the very minimum of capital outlay: with all these gross defects in the plan, in fact its targets will manifestly not be realised, and conditions will have worsened both relatively and absolutely in a number of key sectors. As Abel-Smith wryly exclaims: "I would conclude that a man from Mars given Crosland's definition of socialism and official statistics might easily make a mistake in his efforts to identify the socialist party."

This indictment is a scarifying support to the argument of Professor Townsend, chairman of the Fabian Society, who launched, the other week, an all-round blitz on the Government's abdication of responsibility in this field. When it comes to prescriptions, however, Mr. Abel-Smith is not so firmly grounded. His proposals that motor insurance companies should be billed for the cost of road accident cases, and that employers should pay for the treatment of industrial accidents, are fair enough, but meagre. A shrewder move would be the implementation of his suggestion that employers should be forced to pay as much to the National Health Service as their workpeople: this could allow the hospital building programme to be doubled. But while many of his proposals for alterations in taxation are very interesting, the key problem remains the achievement of an explosive economic growth on a basis acceptable to

the working people: which implies, with a force which becomes daily more imperative, a whole series of thorough-going socialist structural reforms in the economy: a great expansion of planning under workers' control, of public ownership and democratic control of industry, and a sharp realignment of British trade and political influence within the world as a whole. In assuming that the crisis will soon go away, and then Labour can evolve a new, more proper National Plan, Mr. Abel-Smith is being hyper-optimistic. Even if the crisis is temporarily eased, the bankers will still be cracking the whip, and Mr. Wilson will be most unlikely to provoke them by too precipitously feeding the hungry or housing the homeless.

The kind of welfare programme so rightly demanded in this excellent pamphlet requires a government which will mobilise the enthusiasm of trade unionists and put recalcitrant bankers in gaol. At the moment, we are saddled with an administration which does the opposite. Mr. Abel-Smith, who comes from a famous banking family, might reasonably, in filial respect, be rather reluctant to pose the alternatives in this stark way, but nevertheless his pamphlet is of immense help to those of us who do.

#### "AGAINST THE WAGE FREEZE" CONFERENCE A SUCCESS by Mike Martin

Considered from the point of view of registering opposition to Government's policy, last Saturday's conference "Against the Freeze"; held at the Beaver Hall, London was encouraging. At the conference, which had been called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, were some 850 delegates and visitors representing militant sections of the labour movement from many parts of the country.

One of the many speeches which sharply attacked the Government was that of Mike Cooley (DATA) who brought a message of support to the conference from 19 members of the DATA executive. He referred to the fact that Wilson had reverted to the old style incomes policy: a queue at the factory gate. Later a "Declaration of Purpose" was overwhelmingly adopted which called for a campaign of opposition to the freeze, unemployment and state interference with the rights of workers and their unions. The Declaration was calculated to win the widest possible assent; indeed, opposition was confined to a tiny but noisy section - thought to be supporters of the Socialist Labour League.

Earlier, some of these self-same people had received enthusiastic support when they correctly called for Wilson to be replaced and a campaign to force MPs to fight for socialist principles. However, they showed their sectarian nature when they howled down a speaker who emphasised that we should reject the idea that Cousins and the left MPs were the main enemy. Not surprisingly this led to their complete isolation and lessened the impact of the many correct points they made. By this incorrect political position they assisted those who, in the name of unity, want to avoid criticising left leaders at all. In the end they themselves were shouted down by the body of the conference.

Another tragic result of this sectarian behaviour was that legitimate points of criticism about the conference were neglected. For instance, one impression that gained ground was that there was not enough emphasis on practical steps to promote solidarity action with strikers and trade unions engaged in struggle. Also the declaration, which had been drafted in advance, was mild compared with the militant mood of the conference. Nevertheless, the event was useful in getting across the need for liaison, solidarity and co-ordination. Local conferences, leading to local committees, should be organised everywhere.

## ECONOMIC REVIEW FORECASTS RISING UNEMPLOYMENT WELL INTO 1968

An increase in unemployment to between 2.3 per cent, and 2.5 per cent by the end of 1967 is forecast by the National Institute in its latest Economic Review. The actual figure for the final quarter of next year is expected to average between 578,000 and 615,000 depending on how quickly employers adjust to the latest output trends. This would compare with an estimate of 584,000-602,000 for the coming winter which many would argue errs on the low side.

More significantly, on the assumption of no change in present Government policies, there will be a further substantial rise in unemployment in the first half of 1968. Owing to time lags this would probably happen even if output were by then rising fairly rapidly. On the other hand the National Institute forecasts a balance of payments surplus of £250m. on current account alone next year (compared with a deficit of £173m. this year) and an overall "basis balance" of £200m. The Institute believes that by the middle of next year the Government will be in a difficult dilemma, as it will have to choose between allowing unemployment to rise further in 1968 or allowing the balance of payments surplus to fall off.

The only other alternative would be to do something to "change export competitiveness or import propensities." But it is not optimistic on this score. It points out that Britain's share in world trade in manufactures has probably fallen by 0.6-0.7 per cent, this year, which is no better than the average of the last decade.

The National Institute obviously believes the Government has left itself few options to prolonged deflation or another foreign exchange crisis; it suggests more resources for export promotion and adds that "even propaganda is better than nothing."

The authors of the review pose the Government's dilemma in arithmetical form by stating that balance of payments considerations would probably only allow for an increase of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in national output in 1968, and this will not be sufficient to bring the rise in unemployment to an end.

National output, according to the Institute, has been falling since the peak it reached in the first quarter of 1966; but it is likely to increase slightly - 1.4 per cent is the suggested rate - in the course of 1967. There could on the other hand be a further small fall in industrial production in the New Year.

The National Institute has revised downwards its export forecasts for 1966 by £75m. After making adjustments for the seamen's strike it comes to the conclusion that there was no upward trend at all in exports during 1966 until the October upsurge. On the other hand, the volume of imports of goods and services looks like being  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent higher this year than last, compared with a rise in national output of only  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. This is partly due to exceptionally high expenditure on foreign shipping as a result of the strike and progress payments on American military aircraft.

from an Economics correspondent.

## SUCCESSFUL HUGO BLANCO DEMONSTRATION

The protest picket called last Saturday 3rd December, outside the Peruvian Embassy was a modestly successful demonstration. Nearly thirty people participated. For over an hour the picket paraded outside the Embassy, carrying colourful picket boards with such slogans as "Three Years in Jail Before Trial", "Free Hugo Blanco", "Demand No Death Sentence For Hugo Blanco". These attracted considerable attention from people passing by, many of whom stopped to ask about Hugo Blanco. Several of those who stopped signed the letter of protest (see below) which was handed into the Embassy at the conclusion of the picket.

The fact that this demonstration clashed with a number of other events in London meant that many people who would have supported it were not able to attend. The organiser had had many messages of support from people not able to attend. Despite the short notice, and the other difficulties, the demonstration was supported by a wide strata of the labour movement. Supporters of "Labour Worker", "Militant", "Irish Militant" and "The Week" all came along, and so did students from LSE. This made it a real united front protest of the left.

This demonstration must be the start of a full campaign within the Labour movement to protest at the sentence on Hugo Blanco, and the threat of death now hanging over him.

### TEXT OF THE LETTER HANDED INTO THE PERUVIAN EMBASSY

We, the undersigned, wish to protest at the illegal trial of Hugo Blanco and his co-defendants, held at Tacna, which concluded on September 8th, 1966. Secondly, we wish to condemn as savage and inhuman the sentence of twenty-five years imposed on Hugo Blanco by the Military Tribunal. We further condemn the most recent attempts by the Military prosecutor to impose the death sentence. We consider it scandalous and immoral that a man such as Hugo Blanco, who has helped and encouraged many thousands of peasants in Cuzco to engage in self-help and defence against the rapacious landlords of that area should be imprisoned and have the sentence of death hanging over his head.

Held incommunicado for three years before the trial, Hugo Blanco has shown great courage and fortitude. We therefore call upon the Government of Peru to immediately release Hugo Blanco and all the defendants.

### PUBLIC MEETING: THE CASE OF HUGO BLANCO

Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader, already under a savage 25 years sentence, is now threatened with execution by the reactionary Peruvian military regime.

There will be a public meeting to protest at this threat on -

FRIDAY 9th DECEMBER - 8 p.m.

at THE BLOOMSBURY WINE LODGE, NEW OXFORD ST.

(five minutes from Tottenham Court Rd. Tube)

Speaker : Ken Tarbuck

All WEEK readers will be welcome and there will be ample time for discussion.

India, Pakistan, Kenya, Nigeria and Tanzania - which together account for 90% of the population of the overseas sterling area - all had average incomes of less than £30 in 1960. This fact emerges from a study which is published in the latest issue of National Institute Economic Review. The article giving this information takes the form of a statistical model of the export performances of sterling area countries, it was produced by A. Maizels.

Nor is the situation likely to improve much. Indeed, on the basis of the figures Maizels produces, the average yearly income of these poorer members of the overseas sterling area bloc is unlikely to reach £50 by 1975 unless there is a considerable increase in aid. On the most optimistic growth assumptions, derived from studies of export demand for their products, none would reach £50 by 1975 without roughly five times the aid currently provided. The study is based on the assumed rate of growth of Western imports for the commodity exports of sterling area countries, and a more tentative projection of possible manufactured exports.

Prices, except for copper and tin (which would rise relative to aluminium) and raw cocoa and natural rubber (which may be expected to fall) are assumed to retain the same relationship as in 1960. For each country an index figure for the likely growth of its exports has been calculated. This ranges from the 8% of Nigeria and the 5 to 6% of Jamaica, Ghana and Zambia, to about 2% for Ceylon and New Zealand. From the expected growth of exports, and an assumption that foreign aid will be distributed more towards the poorer countries than it has been in the past, growth rates of each area can be calculated.

The National Institute economists made two assumptions about total foreign aid; that it would remain at the 1962 level of \$6,500m., and that it would rise to \$12,000m. by 1975. On the two bases, and with either pessimistic or optimistic assumptions about the growth of Western economies, four growth rates for each country are calculated. The projected rates range between about 7% for Zambia and 5% for Tanzania, Trinidad and Jamaica, to less than 4% for Ceylon. India lies between 4 and 4.7%, depending on aid, and Pakistan and Kenya are at 4%.

The implications drawn by this study are that if growth in the overseas sterling area is to reach more acceptable levels, in view of the  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  population increase, the foreign aid target of the United Nations of 1% of the national income of Western countries will have to be increased or at least achieved. In 1964, only just over half this target was achieved and aid has not increased for three years. This figures show that there is absolutely no hope whatsoever, on the present basis, for the end of the terrible poverty in these countries in the foreseeable future. No wonder all over the third world people are rising in revolt.

#### PORTUGUESE BUSINESSMEN TO VISIT RHODESIA by a special correspondent

Britain's oldest ally is letting down Mr. Wilson! According to the latest issue of Rhodesian Commentary, published in Salisbury by the Ministry of Information, and distributed in Portugal, a Portuguese trade mission will visit Rhodesia soon. It will go under the auspices of the Rhodesian Promotion Council and will include representatives of the Portuguese Government and Portugal's two leading commercial centres, Lisbon and Oporto. As is well known British capital is dominant in Portugal, so maybe it is forces nearer at home which are helping to prop up the Smith regime.

The aggregate membership of trade unions in the United Kingdom at the end of 1965 was about 10,180,000. This was about 101,000 more than at the end of 1964, and about 246,000 more than at the end of 1963. The total of 580 trade unions at the end of 1965, which included 16 unions with headquarters in Northern Ireland, showed a reduction of 16 compared with 1964. This reduction was due to unions being merged in other unions or otherwise ceasing to function.

The number of males at the end of 1965 was 7,972,000, an increase of 36,000 or 0.5 per cent, compared with the previous year; and the number of females was 2,208,000, an increase of 65,000 or 3.0 per cent. The total membership at the end of 1965 included 51,000 members in branches in the Irish Republic and 91,000 in other branches outside the United Kingdom. Excluding the members of these overseas branches, the total membership in the United Kingdom and with HM Forces was thus about 10,038,000. Of this total, the membership in Northern Ireland accounted for 230,000.

At the end of 1965 there were 304 unions with fewer than 1,000 members each, including 247 with under 500 members each. These 304 smaller unions together accounted for under one per cent. of the total membership of all unions. In contrast, the 18 largest unions, each with 100,000 or more members, together accounted for rather more than two-thirds of the total membership of all unions.

The main changes were increases in general labour organisations (+28,200), metal manufacture, engineering etc. (+74,200), educational services (+25,800), and local government service (+16,400). These increases were partly offset by decreases in coal mining (-35,500) and railways (-15,200).

The number of trade unions and their aggregate membership at the end of each of the past eleven years were:

YEAR	NO. OF UNIONS	MEMBERSHIP			PERCENTAGE CHANGE
		Males 000's	Females 000's	Total 000's	
1955	704	7,874	1,867	9,741	(+ 1.8)
1956	685	7,871	1,907	9,778	+ 0.4
1957	685	7,935	1,894	9,829	+ 0.5
1958	675	7,789	1,850	9,639	- 1.9
1959	668	7,756	1,868	9,623	- 0.2
1960	664	7,884	1,951	9,835	+ 2.2
1961	646	7,905	1,992	9,897	+ 0.6
1962	626	7,860	2,027	9,887	- 0.1
1963	607	7,859	2,075	9,934	+ 0.5
1964	596	7,936	2,143	10,078	+ 1.4
1965	580	7,976	2,208	10,180	+ 1.0

While over the last ten years membership has increased by about 4½ per cent., the number of unions has declined by about 17½%. Over these years men's membership increased by a mere 1.27% but that of women by nearly 15% - more than ten as great.

CRISIS IN THE PRINT UNIONS \* By John Lawrence (S.O.G.A.T.)

Printworkers have been among the first to feel the Government's whip of compulsory legislation. Payment of a cost of living increase, agreed between the Newspaper Proprietors and the Print Unions in 1964, has now been stopped by Order in Council. 27,000 London employees will have their wages reduced by 2s. a week, and 2,000 provincial printers by 6s. a week. Encouraged by the Government's intervention, the employers are refusing to sign new wage agreements although the old ones have expired. The big test will come in December when the agreement covering workers in General Print expires.

All this - plus the threat of "rationalisation" which is hanging over the industry - is leading to considerable anxiety which has already found expression in a number of stoppages in national papers. But no clear-cut policy for resisting these attacks has yet emerged. The two main print Unions (S.O.G.A.T. and N.G.A.) are divided. S.O.G.A.T., a fusion of the old N.A.T.S.O.P.A. and the Paperworkers', is opposed to the freeze and is insisting (on paper) that all agreements must be honoured. N.G.A., a fusion of the compositors, machine minders, and printing telegraphists, officially supports the freeze and has decided not to oppose the Order in Council stopping the cost of living increase.

The last Delegate meeting of the London Machine Branch of S.O.G.A.T., which some 400 delegates attended, debated a motion which called upon chapels to take industrial action to defeat the freeze and pledged the branch to take immediate action if anyone was penalised under the Prices and Incomes Act. This resolution was narrowly defeated in favour of a motion which, in effect, supported industrial action provided the initiative came from the Executive Council. Growing hostility to the Labour Government is reflected in large numbers "contracting out" of paying the political levy and one whole machine chapel has done this in protest at the wage freeze. This sort of opposition also found expression at the Annual Meeting last month of the London Clerical Branch of S.O.G.A.T. (10,000 members and 150 chapel delegates) which carried almost unanimously the following motion:

"This delegate meeting ... is opposed to the use of the Law and the State machine to hold back or limit wage increases and therefore opposes the Labour Government's Prices and Incomes Act, its Wages Freeze, as well as the Tory Party's threat to reform the Trade Unions. All these policies will require anti-Trade Union legislation. The Executive Council is therefore urged to prepare the Union for a policy of independence from all Governments and political parties and, to this end, suggests that Executive Council ballot all those members who pay the political levy as to whether our present affiliation to the Labour Party should continue."

Meanwhile, S.O.G.A.T.'s Executive Council has itself come very near to advocating disaffiliation from the Labour Party in an official Statement entitled "S.O.G.A.T. and the Wage Freeze". They declare that the Labour Government is "pursuing Tory policies", is making the rich richer at the expense of the workers, and is using compulsion to prevent wage increases and stop trade union activity. They state that unless this policy is changed Labour "must forfeit our support". In this rather confused situation an Association of Rank and File Printworkers has been set up and

\* From Resistance

continued /

embraces on its working committee members of nearly all the print unions. It is hoped that this association will help to overcome the present isolation among chapels and Unions and assist in the co-ordination of views and activities on how printworkers can fight the wage freeze and anti-Trade Union legislation. The objects of the Association have been agreed as follows:

1. To fight the Wage Freeze, the Prices and Incomes Act, and all anti-Trade Union legislation.
2. To promote sympathetic industrial action should the penal clauses of the Prices and Incomes Act be invoked against anyone trying to improve wages and working conditions.
3. To campaign within the printing unions for a ballot of the membership on the question of continued affiliation to the Labour Party.
4. To propagate the idea of One Union for the Printing Industry.
5. To associate with rank and file associations in other industries which have similar aims.

#### SHOP STEWARDS' DEFENCE COMMITTEE STARTS JOURNAL from a London reader

The first issue of a new journal, Resistance, has just appeared. It is published by the London Shop Stewards' Defence Committee, which was set up about a year ago on the initiative of the E.N.V. shop stewards following their appeal in support of their convenor who had been involved in a libel case. Since then it has called a number of meetings in opposition to the wage freeze and anti-trade union legislation, and has published two pamphlets, one on the strike at Woolf's in Southall, and the other on the incomes policy: Incomes Policy, Legislation and Shop Stewards, by T. Cliff and C. Barker, with an introduction by Reg Birch. This pamphlet has now sold over 9,000 copies.

The editorial explaining the purpose of the new journal states: "...we hope to provide a means of contact between militants in different factories and different industries; to keep them informed of important developments in other industries so that we may all benefit from the experience of others; and to discuss problems that common to all. We will welcome comment and contributions from any trade unionist...."

This first issue contains articles on the London Joint Sites Shop Stewards Committee, on the Hull bus strike, on work sharing, the recent BMC strike, the struggle at E.N.V., print unions\*, etc. These articles vary in quality but are all written with an intimate knowledge of the industry concerned. I was somewhat disturbed by the article on the print unions because it seemed to welcome moves towards contracting out of paying the political levy. This seems to me to be about the worst advice that could be given in present circumstances. In the absence of any real alternative to the Labour Party for the allegiance of workers, to stop paying the political levy becomes a gesture of despair - called for by both the Tory and Liberal parties.

You can get Resistance by writing to C. Davidson, 83, Greyhound Rd., London N. 17, rates: single copy 6d (plus 3d post), bulk orders 6/- per dozen, sale or return. The editors will also welcome letters, comments, and suggestions about contents, past, present and future. These should also be sent to C. Davidson.

\* Editorial note: see elsewhere in this issue.

# VIETNAM

## APPEAL TO TRADE UNIONISTS

British trade unionists are faced with very difficult problems: the wage freeze, increasing unemployment and anti-trade union legislation. There is a growing movement of struggle on these questions. Although the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign was formed to oppose the aggressive war against Vietnam, it is not indifferent to these struggles. It regards them as part of a joint fight against the Labour Government's abandonment of Socialist principles. It is no accident that the men who have initiated legislation against trade unionists for fighting for higher wages have also sided with the American Government in its efforts to prop up a viciously anti-working class regime in South Vietnam. In fact these two aspects of the Labour Government's policy are inseparable - both have their origin in the fact that Mr. Wilson and his Cabinet have decided to do Johnson's bidding in both foreign and domestic policy.

### Value of Solidarity

Our appeal to you is for solidarity with the people in Vietnam. Nobody is more aware than the active trade unionist of the importance of solidarity in struggle. It is, indeed, the one thing that employers and other reactionaries fear and hate more than anything else. When workers are isolated they are easy to defeat; and every trade unionist knows the value of such solidarity action as blacking, collection of strike funds and supporting publicity. He also knows that the people who call upon him to return to work so that negotiations can begin are not friends.

### Vietnam's Struggle is Just

The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign takes a similar attitude towards the Vietnam war. Because we are convinced that the Vietnamese people's struggle against foreign domination and domestic reaction (typified by Hitler-loving Marshal Ky) is a just one, we want them to win. We do not call upon them to abandon their struggle in order to negotiate any more than we would call upon strikers to abandon their struggle. The decision as to when to negotiate or make concessions, when to start a fight or to close it, is for those concerned to make.

But there is another aspect to solidarity: just as every victory by a particular section of workers is a victory for all workers, so every

victory against oppression and foreign domination anywhere in the world is a victory for all the ordinary people of the world. The reverse is also true: every defeat suffered by one section is a defeat for all.

## How to Avoid World War

Everyone in his right mind wants to do all he can to prevent the outbreak of another world war. Just how to prevent this from taking place is the great question facing us all. Again we can learn from the experience of trade unionists. We all know that having inflicted a defeat on one set of workers an employer will be encouraged to tackle others. The analogy is obvious: can we doubt that if the United States is successful in putting down the Vietnamese people it will go on to attack others? Isn't it clear that the most likely outcome of an American victory in Vietnam would be an attack on China? All our experience of aggressors - Hitler, Hirohito, Mussolini etc. - confirms this thesis. Support for the national liberation forces in Vietnam is a blow for peace.

## Your Support is Needed

Even here at home, there are very good reasons why trade unionists should support the struggle of the Vietnamese people. Until the whole pattern of the Labour Government's policy is reversed there is no hope of ending its policy of wage freeze. Forcing the Government to change its Vietnam policy would not just have an isolated effect. A victory on this front would bring to the fore those people who are also against the wage freeze. An ending of the American alliance would mean that a whole alternative domestic policy would be necessary. Today there are only two policies: one is for Socialism, the other for backward-looking capitalism. Solidarity with the people of Vietnam is directly linked with the fight for Socialist policies in this country.

The workers and peasants of Vietnam are being bombed every day. The engineers, builders, dockers, construction workers, farmers, etc., have built up their country through 25 years of war, more bitter than anything we have suffered. They deserve our support and solidarity. Fight in your trade union and political party for solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

If you wish to support the Vietnamese people's struggle, your place is in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. Please join us in this work.

To VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN, 11A Wormwood St., London, E.C.

- \* I support the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and wish to join it. I enclose 10/- subscription for one year.
- \* I would like further information about the Campaign.

Name.....

Address.....

\*Delete as applicable. (Please use block capitals).

AIRCRAFT: STATE SHAREHOLDING OR WORKERS' CONTROL? by Alan Rooney

The Labour Government's recently announced plan for the re-organisation of the airframe section of the aircraft industry simply re-affirms Labour's belief in corporate state 'solutions' to capitalist problems. Mulley is simply acting on the reactionary Plowden Report which opposed the outright nationalisation of either airframes or aero-engines. Since then Rolls Royce has taken over the entire engines side of the industry, but the Government has not intervened in this section of the industry at all - the Plowden Committee recommended that it didn't. Plowden suggested that the Government should only take up some shares in the two main airframe firms - Hawker-Siddeley and B.A.C. As a result of such a change, the Plowden Report said that a single merged firm with Government and private shareholders - "would have the same general interest in the success of the industry and this should enable the arrangement to work efficiently". (my emphasis).

It looks as though the Labour Government actually believes this. We need only turn to the 'Insiders' article of the University & Left Review (Winter 1958 issue) to find the vital socialist arguments against this:-

"Even as a large shareholder" (and the Government will have an unknown minority of the shares in the merged airframes firm) "the State could not itself propose dividend limitation, since to do this would in fact be to decrease the rewards which it is so anxious to share. The State could not object to a high level of retained profits, because in that way the concealed property of the State would naturally appreciate. As an investor, the State would share with other groups an interest in the profitable pricing of goods... The State would become - as private industry is, to some extent today - the servants of those financial institutions (banks and private trusts and investment companies) which provide the institutional capital necessary for expansion."

"In sum, as a private shareholder, the State would legitimise the most anti-social behaviour of the modern oligopolies. It would help to maximise the wealth of the private shareholder. It would underwrite the present hierarchical structure of British society - it would swell the power and increase the status of the property-rich. It would have, by default, a vested interest in maintaining the disproportionate distribution of wealth and power which, even at present, makes Britain one of the most class-bound and stratified of modern states."

Fortunately, the national combine of Bristol-Siddeley Engines shop stewards has set up a study-group to produce an aircraft workers' plan for the industry. It is a plan for nationalisation and workers' control.

Editorial note: We still have copies of a back issue of The Week which contains a longer article by Alan Rooney on the question of workers' control in the aircraft industry. Copies can be obtained for 9d post paid from 8, Roland Gardens, London S.W. or bulk copies (over 6) 6d post free.