

The Week

AN
OPEN
LETTER
TO
Mr. WILSON

A NEWS ANALYSIS FOR SOCIALISTS
Vol. 5, No. 12. 24th March, 1966

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THE ELECTION AND THE MARCH

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Vol. 2, No. 13, July 1914

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THE ELECTION AND THE MARCH

No matter what result is achieved on March 31st, the slogans of this year's Easter March will remain the same. The only thing that will have to be altered will be the name of the Prime Minister. This simple fact, speaks far more than all the learned essays on the convergence, or continuity of Labour and Tory foreign policies. Also, it goes without saying, the need for the March will as great. Perhaps, the need will be slightly greater if, as seems now most likely, Labour is returned with a bigger majority. So the first message of this editorial is: do not allow the general election to hinder in any way the mobilisation for the maximum turn-out at Easter. To all those Labour activists who are working so hard in the election (this includes the bulk of the workers and readers of The Week): having gone through an exercise in sham democracy, you should recuperate and restore your spirits by participating in real democracy, the democracy of thousands of people in action for something they passionately believe in. After being choked up in the intricacies of getting people to put "X"s on paper get out into the fresh air of the fields and of real political discussion and action,

Our second message is to tell you what The Week will be doing on the March. We will be joining forces with the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign in their efforts to persuade all socialists and progressives in this country to take their stand with the Vietnamese revolution. You will see us marching under a banner with the N.L.F. flag on one end and "The Week" on the other.

Two great causes will dominate political action during the rest of this year: the struggle against trade union legislation, to stop the clock being turned back to pre-Taff Vale, and the struggle for solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, to try by all means to prevent this country from supporting genocide and Hitler-like crimes in Vietnam. The Week will be to the forefront in both these struggles - and many, many others - but the emphasis at Easter must be on Vietnam. The problems of linking these struggles, which have been discussed in our columns this year, stand more chance of being solved if it can be demonstrated that one can fight on all fronts within the framework of the Labour Party without making concessions on principle. This is a far more forceful argument than that of the written word, no/matter how eloquent.

There is no finer cause in the world than that of standing together with the heroic peasants of Vietnam. Left wingers will feel much cleaner if they do this after all the agonising - but necessary - canvassing for Labour, so the March comes at just the right time!

The following extract from Jack Jones's article on the Motor Industry, which appeared in the April issue of the Transport & General Workers' Union's journal, The Record, is an interesting comment on the extent to which the idea of workers' control is affecting trade unionists at all levels:

"Workers Control

Now we want to extend the control of motor workers over their own industry by consolidating trade union organisation. The T.G.W.U. played a pioneering role in organising workers in the motor manufacturing industry, and intends to remain as a major force, seeking at the same time to extend closer working with other unions, including the National Union of Vehicle Builders, with whom a number of discussions have taken place recently.

"The background of our talks with other unions is not a 'take-over' but unity of action and strength. Membership for membership's sake is not worth the effort, but in an expanding industry it is necessary to constantly develop the trade union position to control the industry where the members spend such a big part of their lives."

MR. DONNELLY'S ELECTION ADDRESS

from a Welsh correspondent

Let no Labour Party official dare attack those on the left wing who have felt obliged to make public criticism of the Labour Party during the election. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, if it is wrong for the left to qualify their call to vote Labour, then what can one make of this?(extracted from the Sunday Times of March 20th)

"Snub for Wilson

Mr. Desmond Donnelly, the Labour candidate at Pembroke, has dealt a handsome snub to Mr. Wilson and his Government. In his election address, there is a personal message from himself - repeated in Welsh - one from his wife, Rosemary, and a kick at militant, old-fashioned socialists. But never an allusion to the Labour Government, its record or its promises. And not a mention of Mr. Wilson himself."

MEETING ON "THE CASE FOR 'KWAME NKRUMAH"

Africa and the World has called a meeting for the Socialist Ghana Defence Committee this coming Sunday, March 27th. The meeting will be at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall, 41, Fitzroy Square, London W. 1. (Warren Street tube station) and will last from 2.00 to 5.00 p.m. The speakers will include Professor Thomas Hodgkin, Ekow Eshun (of the Convention Peoples Party of Ghana), Willie Lutterodt (also of the C.P.P.), and speakers from Nigeria and Guyana. It is to be hoped that readers of the Week will help to make this meeting widely known.

NOTTINGHAM AND LEICESTER C.S.E.

The April 1st meeting, which was part of a programme arranged before the general election was announced, has been cancelled. The regular public meetings will be resumed on Friday 15th April. Details to be announced. On Tuesday 5th April, a link will be forged between Nottingham CSE and the newly formed Leicester branch. Attending their inaugural meeting will be Peter Price, acting president of the Nottingham City Labour Party, and Geoff Coggan, Secretary Nottingham CSE. The subject will be; "Left wing unity". The venue has yet to be fixed, but Leicester readers can get details from Alec Acheson, telephone Leicester 75265.

We, on the other hand, are saying that the way to shift the burden of oppression which afflicts the world, is through engaging in a total global struggle, which regards the "domestic" fight against wage control, and for the advance of workers' control, as being complementary to the fight of our natural allies, Asian, African and Latin American social revolutions and liberation fighters. The "foreign policy field" is not therefore a separate arena which we can either "abdicate" (since our allies are actively engaged in it), or capture, in a meaningful autonomous way. Of course we should oppose the foreign policies of the British Government - but we should do it from a position of solidarity with the liberation movements.

To do this means that we have to engage in political activity at many levels. We do not think "industrial confrontation" is a substitute for opposition to the Vietnam war, but then neither is the reverse true. It is necessary for the Left to put forward policies that will attract the maximum support from many differing layers of the population. For this to be effective it is also necessary for the Left not to substitute its own preoccupations and preconceptions for those from whom it seeks support. For the Left to have a strategy, it must seek to combine the seemingly disparate struggles into a coherent opposition.

It is precisely by accepting the mystification of the bourgeois state that the struggles over Vietnam and incomes policy seem to be unrelated. It is our job to cut through this veil and expose the very real and intimate threads binding them (and many more). This is why we argue that the most practical way of assisting our allies overseas remains the domestic struggle for socialism.

Footnote: an example may serve to show foreign policy does reflect in broad outline the nature of the domestic state and of class relations therein. Yugoslav statements, from Government and Trade Unions, are increasingly sounding the note of solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle, increasingly firm in their characterisation of the American aggression. Its neighbour Greece, with a similar geographical situation, but bound by reasons of its internal class relations to international imperialism, of course "naturally" supports the United States. Accidental? Semi-autonomous?

SUPPORT THE AMERICAN ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT!

There are many meetings on Vietnam these days, but this coming Friday - the 25th of March at 7.30 at the London Welsh Centre, Grays Inn Rd., (nearest tube station, Kings Cross) - there will be one in which people in Britain can show their support for the American anti-Vietnam war movement. This will not be the only distinguishing feature of this demonstration: being organised by the Vietnam Solidarity Committee, it will also take the stand of support for the Vietnamese revolution. The speakers represent various aspects of the solidarity movement: Robin Blackburn of New Left Review, representing an important intellectual tendency; Ken Coates was the most outspoken spokesman for support for the Vietnamese revolution at the Labour Party Conference; and Raymond Williams, who illustrates that section of CND which has gone far beyond the single issue of unilateral disarmament. The chairman, David Horowitz, is a young American who has links with Berkeley. Plans for the conference and other details of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign will be announced.

The 1964 election result, narrow as it was, represented a quite remarkable achievement for Labour. It meant that in a relatively prosperous society, with a quarter-century of full employment behind it, and in circumstances of (very) relative international peace, the population was calling for change. It was a leftward swing. Whilst certainly some votes were won on the call for "modernisation", which appealed to the middle class managerial types, the result was also a token of the re-awakened trade union and working class support for Labour. This was a direct result of the wage-pauses of Thorneycroft and Lloyd, and the Rookes v. Barnard decision. The left swing was further reflected after the election in the new Parliamentary Labour Party, and in cabinet appointments. Wilsonism looked for a brief moment like an "opening to the left". Socialists' dismay at the subsequent furious swing to the right, (orthodox credit squeeze, Buccaneers for South Africa, the incomes policy turning into a wage freeze, 'voluntary' methods turned into anti-strike proposals, the sharp edge of Wilson's and Gunter's tongues reserved for strikers and not profiteers, the thoroughly Conservative nature of foreign policy, the Immigration White Paper) has been all the more complete and demoralising.

The changes which socialists sought have been checked and diluted under the pressure of the orthodox financial policies decided upon so early in response to the sterling crisis. This is true in the fields of welfare, education, housing. The planning for which the left looked has deteriorated into a market-dominated rationalisation of the existing trends - in fuel and transport particularly. Change we have had: but principally directed to curbing wages, attacking the basic strength upon which working class economic - and ultimately political - influence depends. Change in the direction of greater dependence upon, and subservience to, the United States Government and international finance. It was not a socialist journal, but the "Economist", which came out last year with the headline, "Labour Men, Tory Measures".

For the moment, this policy is certainly not going to lose Labour the election. It is important to understand why this is so. Labour's strength in working class votes has not yet been alienated by what has happened. Eighteen months is a short time, and working class loyalty to the Labour Party is tenacious: its post-war adherence has been extremely consistent. Meantime, the appeal of the Early Warnings Bill, Immigration policy, Vietnam obedience, and the whole style of the Government are coining in the votes of ex-Liberals, and some Tories, from the middle class, - from the right. It is very important that the left, in and out of Parliament, and the trade unionists, must be prepared for the likely consequences of this. It is sometimes assumed that the Government has been the unwilling prisoner of a small majority and a balance of payments crisis, and that if these restraints are removed they will show themselves in their true light, as left-wing socialists. But if their majority is enhanced by the present tactics, the Government will have actually strengthened the prison walls. If your electoral superiority depends upon having encouraged right-wing support, you are dependent on it. No voluntary, Cabinet inspired swing to the left can be expected. It has to be fought for, desperately hard. The fighting has to come from an illusion-free left in Parliament, from trade unionists at all levels, and from the rank and file in the Party.

The Lessons of Labour continued /

If we enter the new Parliament with a clear understanding of the size and nature of the task, and recognising the need for the closest contact with unions such as the five technicians', and the T&CWU, the political situation can become much more favourable for the socialist case. For union disillusionment and labour abstention is bound to grow if the Government continues its present course, and if we go with this, will make parliamentary protest really effective.

OPEN LETTER TO ANTHONY GREENWOOD

The following is the text of an Open Letter, published by 'Humber-side Voice' and Hull Youth Forum, and distributed at Anthony Greenwood's meeting during the recent Hull by-election.

Mr. Greenwood,

While the Tories were in office, you participated in many struggles against the official Labour Party policy. You spoke at public meetings against Britain's retaining the H-bomb, and for a foreign policy of friendship with the emerging ex-colonial countries.

Now that we have a Labour Government, not only have you abandoned the fight for a socialist foreign policy and the end of Imperialism. Until recently, you were Colonial Secretary! Isn't this the negation of everything you previously stood for? While you held this post, the Aden Constitution was suspended, robbing the workers in Aden of their trade union rights.

The white supremacist Rhodesian Front, under Ian Smith, was allowed to declare independence unilaterally, so that hopes of a peaceful transition to universal suffrage in Rhodesia recede even further.

Socialists cannot excuse imperialism because it is administered by a Labour Government. We must make a stand for the rights of all workers everywhere to organise themselves in trade unions, and to democratically elect Governments in the ex-colonial countries to carry out the tasks of industrialisation and agrarian reform which are so necessary there.

CENTRE FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION

ANNOUNCES ITS SUMMER SCHOOL FOR 1966.

This will be held on 10th to 17th September

at Woodlands Holiday Camp, Sevenoaks, Kent.

Topics will include: The Present Crisis,
Marxism in the Modern World.
Incomes Policy.
The role of the Labour Party and Socialist Strategy.

Speakers will include: Ralph Miliband, Ken Coates, Ernie Roberts, Perry Anderson, Robin Blackburn, Peter Sedgwick, Geoff. Carlsson.

Fee £10 per person for full week. Initial deposits of £2 to:
Ken Tarbuck, 53, Warwick Rd., Stratford, London E. 15.

FISHERMEN'S STRIKE: HULL FLEET AT A STANDSTILL

by Tony Topham

After the magnificent example set by the Hull dockers, the Hull fishermen, one of the most neglected sections of British workers, are showing remarkable solidarity in their struggle for 100% Trade Unionism on the trawlers. Two men have refused to join the T&GWU. The owners refuse to sign them off. The trawlermen's unofficial strike committee are determined to procure satisfaction. Behind the strike lies a steady build-up of union consciousness and militancy over the past few months. This week-end, after a mass meeting of 500 men, the decision to continue the strike was taken unanimously, and a further step to strengthen the strike was taken. The 500 marched from the meeting place to St. Andrew's Dock to "sign off" their trawlers, which means that the employers cannot now claim legal authority to call upon them to return to their ships. The committee want to see 100% unionism on all trawlers, and are sending a delegation to Grimsby to enlist the trawlermen there in sympathetic action. They are also calling on the T&GWU to make the strike an official one. If trawlers are diverted to Hull from other ports, to supply the Easter market, the question of Hull bobbers' support for the strike will arise too. The wives of several strikers have issued their own "press statement" saying: "we support the men in what they are doing".

The T&GWU has recently made great strides in the fishing industry here, and had reached the point where almost all trawlers were sailing with 100% membership. Owner's "runners" who take on the crews before voyages, have been coming to the Union office on the dock, asking for permission to sail, when crews have been shorthanded. This final explosion demonstrates a very deep determination to "close the ranks" for a united struggle against one of the most backward and ruthless set of employers to be found anywhere. Whether the strike is made official or not, there is no doubt of the impact which recent events have had upon the attitude of the union towards its members. Whilst the old guard of regional officials continue to deplore the actions of "irresponsible elements", the clear trend is towards closer understanding-the younger officials are much closer to their members. These young officials also find the present policy and leadership of the union- particularly its opposition to the Incomes Policy- very much to their taste.

Meanwhile, the negotiations on the revision of piece-rates in Hull docks, precipitated by the ten one-day strikes which are now "suspended", are producing major increases for dockers who were almost prepared to believe that nothing would shift the employers of Hull. 50% increases have been conceded: a new tough style towards employers is evident from the T&G, who have drafted a London docks officer, with London piece-rate standards, into Hull. "The employers are the opposition" is the new (for Hull's old guard officials) message. It is rapidly dawning on Hull's workers and unions that they are an isolated, backward, low-wage area. Unions which fail to respond to this new mood will probably feel the scourge of further unofficial strikers' impatience. The effect cannot but improve the whole tone of the Labour movement here. Hull's "Young Workers" Committee is adding its new voice to the movement; their first leaflet says "The bosses think that because Hull is isolated they can get away with poor wages, poor working conditions, exploitation of young workers".

Cont'd.....

Britain's entry into the Common Market will lead to sharp increases in food prices unless the Six agree to adjust their existing farm policy. This warning was given in the latest issue of the Confederation of British Industry's fortnightly journal. The author, whose views are not necessarily endorsed by the C.B.I. appears to doubt the wisdom of the Conservative Party's approach to membership of the six. He points out that, while Mr. Wilson has emphasised that British entry depends on the readiness of the Common Market countries to adjust their common farm policy to accommodate British and Commonwealth interests, Mr. Heath has "proposed that Britain should adopt the same farm financing system as is used by the Six."

The article continues: "It would appear that the Labour Party is demanding a greater flexibility on the part of the Six than the Conservatives expect. Considering the time and energy the Six expended in thrashing out their common policy, it may well be that the Conservatives estimate is the right one. What, however, would be the effects of British entry with little or no adjustment to allow for our interests? Food prices in the shops would rise...Estimates of how much this (Common Market) system would add to Britain's food bill vary from \$300 million to \$400 million - in fact it is impossible to set a ceiling, since the Six have still not settled the internal prices of all foodstuffs that might be affected.

"It is certain, however, that the housewife would pay more for her food purchases, and, if she realised how much, might become anxious about it." The article adds that British farmers are more aware of what entry would entail. They are worried and "surprised" that the Conservative Party should have apparently accepted the E.E.C. farm policy without conditions at this stage. It continues: "They feel that the Six have made big concessions to each other in evolving the farm policy and, if they really wished for British entry, they could be expected to make concessions to Britain. They ask also how British farming can be required to make the contribution expected of it in the National Plan if farmers have no guarantee which would enable them to plan ahead, as is possible under the present British system with its annual reviews."

FISHERMEN'S STRIKE Cont'd

It is important that it is the T&GWU which covers the workers concerned. With a combination of militancy and political radicalism, the possibility of shaping a genuine socialist alternative to the Incomes Policy and the Early Warning Bill is at the heart of the T&G's circumstances.

Predictably, the Conservative Party in Hull is exploiting the strikers for all they are worth. The left in Hull, and particularly Humber-side Voice, Young Socialists, Trades Council, etc., can be relied on to throw that stuff back in their teeth. What will the Labour candidates have to say? Any Gunter-like talk of "filth", and they will be taking one more step towards widening the gulf between workers and party. We await their comments, which should be nothing short of support for exploited, badly-neglected working-class constituents.

Postscript: Since this report was written the press has reported that the Salvation Army and Royal National Mission for Deep Sea Fishermen have refused credit to striking fishermen. The strikers' spokesman who announced this said that in view of the hardship caused a fund was being set up; donations should go to Fishermen's strike fund, 1, Plantation Dr., Anlaby Pk Hull

The Union's General Conference"(the Tailor & Garment Workers' Union) "in June last year accepted the Government's Prices and Incomes Policy with reservations. I have now to say that there are developments in the implementation of this policy which in my opinion are inimical to the progressive development of an equitable incomes policy. I have recognised that there is a case for a wages policy, and if reference is made to the records of the Trade Union Congress, it will show that I was requesting many years ago that the T.U.C. should accept a bigger involvement in the wages field.

I strongly object to provisions now included in the Bill on Prices and Incomes, particularly the punitive provisions. I am convinced that a Voluntary incomes policy cannot survive by the side of legislation which constitutes a threat to the voluntary system. What is more, I am convinced that legislation will wreck the possibilities of the progressive development of a sound and equitable voluntary wages policy, and therefore, a sound prices policy.

There are a number of questions that now need to be asked. Will it be possible to enforce the law? Is it possible that enforcement will achieve nothing but an increase in Government expenditure? I am convinced that enforcement will destroy the possibilities of a rational wages policy. How will it be decided whether a wages increase in a period of standstill is within the terms of a negotiated increase subject to the standstill, or awarded for other considerations? This is a question of attachment and could open a wide field of confusion and friction.

Fining trade unionists in these or other circumstances on summary conviction or indictment will open the door for other repressive legislation. If the Act is used there is the possibility that trade unionists will be forced back to a form of tacit understanding that characterised the activities of workmen's combinations before the passing of the 1824 Trade Union Act. Large numbers of workers might combine in an endeavour to cover themselves as individuals. This might promote unofficial strikes. Legislation would favour the worst type of employer against the decent and the better. The anti-trade union employer would have a pretext for avoiding legitimate wages and other adjustments. This in itself would increase and not reduce unofficial strikes.

Whatever legal advantage trade unions have, there are other disadvantages where there is no legal recognition. The struggle to modify the intolerable doctrine of "in restraint of trade" was carried on for years with the threats of criminal conviction hanging over the heads of trade unionists. The Bill on Prices and Incomes is no small step back to that era. I tremble to think of what will happen in the future if the momentum in this direction is maintained. Totalitarianism is a strong word, but it is not yet obsolete.

+ The General Secretary of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, the article is reprinted from his union's official journal, The Garment Worker.

NEW EDITORIAL ADDRESS: Please note that all articles, letters to editor, suggestions about possible coverage, etc, but NOT money or details about subscription, should go to The Week, 74, Mansfield Rd., Nottingham.

Vietnam, the cold war and Labour continued/ from last week/

Bombing began:

"a few weeks ago, people laughed when Presidential candidate Barry Goldwater talked blithely of 'interdicting' the routes from North Vietnam into South Vietnam.....But today there is every evidence that the American Ambassador has returned to Saigon from Washington with something very similiar to the Goldwater prescription for the civil war in South Vietnam. A traditional signpost that points to this conclusion is the increased emphasis upon infiltration of men and supplies from North Vietnam through Laos into South Vietnam. This new emphasis is in total contrast to the previous official testimony on this point presented to the Foreign Relations Committee. In fact, no new evidence has been offered to change assessment that the great bulk of the Vietcong rebels were local residents, that close to 90% of their weapons were captured from government sources, and that their civil war would continue whether or not it received aid or leadership from North Vietnam.

"But the 100% expansion of the South Vietnamese Air Force and the drumbeating in both Washington and Saigon about alleged infiltration from North Vietnam, suggest to these experienced ears that air attacks by U.S. jets flown by U.S. Vietnamese pilots will soon commence in Laos, as they may already have begun in the de-nilit arised zone of North Vietnam." Two months after Morse's prophetic speech, U.S. bombing of the North began.

The facts are clear and the moral judgement which must be placed upon them self-evident. In Vietnam, the United States has violated the most fundamental principles of the United Nations charter. It has acted to destroy the very basis of international law. It has even violated one of the sacred pillars of its own constitution, article 8 section i, which reserves to Congress the power to make war. Finally, in obstructing the Geneva agreements and making war of aggression it has committed an international crime, as defined under article 6(a) of the Charter of the Int'l Military Tribunal at Nurenburg. In the words of Senator Morse, "For more than ten years, we have written on the pages of history with the indelible ink of U.S. violations of the Geneva Accords of 1954, as well as article after article of the U.N. Charter, and even article 1, section 8 of the Constitution of the United States, a bad and shocking repudiation of the rule of law in our foreign policy..."

Perhaps I can make clear the larger significance of American aggression in Vietnam by comparing it to the situation in post-war Europe. Nothing that the official West has said about Stalin's policies in East Europe after Yalta does not apply, and with much greater force, to American policies in Vietnam. The Saigon governments have all been far less legitimate than even the most artificial of the East European regimes, namely the Ulbricht regime in East Germany. The terror visited upon the South Vietnamese by the American satellite government in Saigon has been worse than the worst repression in East Europe, including that in Hungary between 1949 and 1953. The massacre of Vietnamese peasants, women and children alike by the American bombers has been on a scale incomparably greater and more brutal than that of the Hungarians by Russian tanks in Budapest in 1956. Thirty thousand Hungarian dead blots the Soviet regime as subhuman and criminal, but more than a million dead in Vietnam brings praise and support for America's actions from Western leaders.

continued over/

Nothing indicates so clearly the moral bankruptcy of the Western position in Vietnam. The Vietnamese people are the victims of one of the most wanton and brutal aggressions ever recorded. The only moral position possible is to stand with the Vietnamese people, to condemn the American aggression and to call for the unconditional withdrawal of American troops. Those who take other positions, who urge negotiations on the invaded people, who speak of "atrocities" committed by the defenders of their own soil, who make allowance for the "difficulties" of the aggressor in stopping his aggression, those people have no right to raise the finger of criticism at the defenders of Russian intervention in Hungary or at the German people for following Hitler. For America's actions in Vietnam and Southeast Asia today are no different.

Opposition to American aggression in Vietnam is thus the acid test for those who claim to be guided by moral principles and by the rule of law. The U.S. leaders have of course already failed this test, and have made clear to all those who have the courage and honesty to see, that the cold war is not about freedom and morality; it is rather an aspect of the conflict between the forces of revolutionary change in the twentieth century world, and the reactionary forces of the status quo.

SUPPORT THE VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN a message from the secretary

Every reader can help the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign in some way or another. We urgently need people to:

- (1) Get their organisation to officially sponsor the campaign;
- (2) Arrange for their organisation have a speaker on the campaign;
- (3) Help to organise a meeting on the campaign in their locality, university, etc.;
- (4) Send us the names of organisations and individuals that we should contact about the campaign;
- (5) Set up an Ad Hoc Committee in their locality, factory, university, college, etc.
- (6) Send us a donation towards the very heavy expenses involved in this campaign.

If you think you can help in any of the ways mentioned above please contact the secretary of the preparatory committee immediately, at Basement Flat, 6, Roland Gardens, London S.W. 7.

In particular we want supporters of the campaign to start preparing now for the solidarity conference to be held on the week end of June 4/5. First of all supporters should book this week-end themselves. Then, secondly, they should examine all the possible ways they can assist in getting other delegates to attend. Three categories of delegate will be catered for:

- (1) representatives from supporting organisations;
- (2) representatives from solidarity committees; and
- (3) individual delegates from places where no solidarity committee exists.

In addition, we will be very pleased to have observers. During the course of the week-end we plan to hold a public meeting of a wider character as a protest against American aggression in Vietnam. Bertrand Russell will be the main speaker.

VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN ISSUES AN APPEAL

The following letter has been sent to a number of organisations in the peace movement, at universities and in the Labour movement:

"Dear Friend,

On the initiative of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, a number of organisations and journals have decided to launch a Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

"We take our stand on the need to develop a movement in this country which will champion the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination, peace and the unification of their country.

"Concretely, this means struggling for:

- (1) the immediate end of U.S. aggression in Vietnam;
- (2) the withdrawal of all American forces, bases and weapons from Vietnam (including those of her satellites);
- (3) an end to the British Government's collusion with American aggression in Vietnam; and
- (4) full support for the National Liberation Front in its leadership of the South Vietnamese liberation movement against American aggression.

"The campaign will culminate in a national conference in London the week-end of June 4/5 where all necessary steps will be taken to formalise a movement dedicated to struggling for these ends.

"We naturally want this movement to be broad as possible and to involve as many organisations and journals as support our aims. We are beginning the process of contacting organisations and have found the response encouraging.

"We are of the opinion that your organisation is likely to support this campaign. Could you please raise this matter on your committee? Should you require a speaker on the campaign we will be very happy to arrange this.

"If your organisation does decided to support the campaign we will invite you to appoint a representative on to the Preparatory Committee, and you will be informed of all the steps we are taking.....

"Supporting organisations and journals

Asian Tide, Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Bradford Hands Off Vietnam Committee, British Vietnam Committee, Committee of African Organisations, Coventry Vietnam Solidarity Ad Hoc Committee, Enfield T.C. Socialist Society, Hampstead Young Socialists, Hull Vietnam Solidarity Ad Hoc Committee, Iraqi Students Union, Indian Workers Association (U.K.), National Awami Party (U.K.), Nottingham Vietnam Solidarity Ad Hoc Committee, The Week., Pakistan Socialist Students Society, Hammer or Anvil."

If you know of organisation to which this appeal should be sent please inform: the Secretary, Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, Basement Flat, 8, Roland Gardens, London S.W. 7. The Campaign would also like to hear from individuals who think they could form an Ad Hoc Committee in their town, factory, university, etc.

I am writing to you on behalf of CARD (Campaign against Racial Discrimination) to enclose a copy of the questionnaire which CARD is sending out to all the immigrant organisations with which it is in contact. CARD feels that up to now a small and unrepresentative minority of vocal racialists have made the running on the question of immigration and race relations. This questionnaire, which we hope will be widely used during the election campaign, is intended to suggest to candidates and parties that there is a sizeable anti-racialist vote to be won.

IMMIGRANTS AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

All the signs are that the racial issue will be exploited even more widely in the next few weeks than in 1964. The Conservative Party election manifesto has set the pace, and the racialists are gathering their forces. Oswald Mosley is standing in Shoreditch & Finsbury, the British National Party in Southall and Snetterton, and the English Rights Association is active in West Bromwich. And there will be more to follow. CARD suggests that the following questions be put to candidates.

1. During the Third Reading of the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill, did you support or oppose the Bill?
2. Do you support the present controls on immigration from the Commonwealth?
3. Did you vote for or against Sir Cyril Osborne's Private Member's Bill of 2nd March 1965 on further controls on immigration?
4. Do you think that the present controls should be removed or made more severe?
5. If you want to restrict immigration, are you prepared to control immigration from Ireland and Europe?
6. Do you support the restrictions placed on the families and dependents of immigrants?
7. Do you want to see these restrictions increased?
8. Do you support the powers given to Immigration Officers to refuse entry to immigrants without right of appeal?
9. Do you support the powers given to the Home Secretary to deport people without right of appeal?
10. Did you support or oppose the Race Relations Bill in Parliament?
11. Do you want to see the Race Relations Act widened to deal with discrimination in housing and employment?
12. Do you approve of the 30% quota of children of immigrants in schools?
13. Are you prepared to vote against racialist and anti-immigrant policies if you are elected?
14. Do you think more could be done to remove racial discrimination and help integration?
15. What policies do you think are necessary?

CARD cannot tell its members who to vote for. But we do ask you to vote for the candidate who has the best approach on the racial issue.

COMMONWEALTH IMMIGRANTS ARE HERE TO STAY- MAKE YOUR PRESENCE FELT

EDITORIAL NOTE: The attached leaflet, "Open Letter to Harold Wilson" was distributed at a Labour Party election rally in Nottingham on Monday, 21st March. As can be expected, the local press took up the question (but in so doing was a little too accurate) and thus a whole new dimension was added to the election discussion. The effort confirmed the advice given to the left by Hull socialists - it is not too late for other groups to follow. suit.

OPEN LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Dear Mr. Wilson,

We are a few of the people who were among your warmest supporters in 1963, before you were elected to the Party leadership. We followed your speeches attacking the Tories with enthusiasm, and worked hard to ensure that you were elected.

Today we are keenly disappointed. We appreciate that the crisis of the economy, which you inherited when you assumed office, meant that it was necessary to ask for sacrifices. British working people have always been willing to make such sacrifices, provided only that they were accompanied by serious attacks on inequality and arbitrary power. What troubles us is not that you have had to call upon the workers for additional efforts, but rather that you seem to have seen trade union rights as obstacles to your policies, so that you have begun to attack the very people whose work is vital to our movement if we are ever to advance towards socialism. In your complaints about "restrictive practices", for instance, you ignore the fact that such practices have usually grown up mainly in order to restrict the powers of management, not simply to curtail output. This means instead of seeing the working population as the most important productive force in the economy, and giving it more power to control production, reining in on arbitrary employers and dictatorial managers, you have done the opposite: that is to say, you have worked to restore management prerogatives and control trade union freedoms.

The most serious measure you have introduced is the new legislation on the incomes policy, the Bill to compel early warning about wage claims. This will have a fiercely adverse effect upon the trade unions, above all at workshop level. Instead of helping forward the idea of workers' control, which depends on consolidating the strength of shop stewards, the new Bill is scientifically calculated to damp down that strength, by freezing concessions at local level. As soon as its meaning becomes clear, millions of trade unionists will be compelled to take a strong stand against it.

The alternative incomes policy of the Transport and General Workers' Union, which would extend shop stewards' powers by opening the books of every firm to their inspection, and allowing them to take effective action against backward and inefficient managements, is the sort of policy we should have expected from you in the old days. We wish to persuade you to take it up again today.

In the same way, the Government's record of support for the American war in Vietnam dismays us. We know that you told us at the 1964 TUC that if we got into pawn we could not afford an independent foreign policy. But if you had defied the bankers and taken the stand you took in 1951, in favour of the colonial people, can you deny that President Johnson might have been forced to back down?

In "One Way Only", which you signed with Nye Bevan, you wrote that the colonial revolution was "as natural as the revolt of Englishmen in the 17th century against the claims of Charles I, or the revolt of Frenchmen in the 18th century against the luxury of King Louis' court, or the revolt of the American colonists against the blind tyranny of George III. It was born of the same spirit which inspired the Chartists and the early socialist movement in Britain. It will not be put down."

We hope you still believe those words. For this reason we are fighting to get you a working majority, so that you will be able to act according to your conscience, and not give way to economic expediency.

But although we are trying to help ensure that Labour wins with a majority of a hundred, we want you to understand very clearly that we cannot support the continuation of these policies, and that we are very much concerned to hope that you will be able to reverse them, thus reverting to the traditions of Nye Bevan, and the policies which gained you the respect of the left.

yours sincerely,

David Ablitt, West Nottm.	Terry Murphy, West Nottm.
Keith Bloor, Vice Chmn. Forest Ward.	Stella Murphy, West Nottm.
Ken Coates, Elected President, Nottm. City Party.	Douglas Pitt, former Secretary, West Bridgford L.P.
Marina Coates, West Nottm.	Peter Price, Acting President, Nottm. City Party.
Geoff Coggan, EC Nottm. City Party.	Margaret Price, South Nottingham
George Cornes, Arnold L.P.	Sylvia Riley, West Nottm.
Dr. John Daniels, Socialist Education Assn.	Andrew Rigby, Rushcliffe.
Norman Dodsworth, Vice Pres. Nottm. Trades Council.	Alan Sillitoe.
Alf Gardner, South Nottm.	Mike Sillitoe, Central Nottm.
Zoe Gardner, South Nottm.	John Sinblett, North Nottm.
Bob Gregory, Labour candidate, Mapperley Ward.	Brian Simister, South Nottm.
Alan Hall, West Nottm.	Trevor Spooner, South Nottm.
Rosie Hall, West Nottm.	Prof. E.A. Thompson.
Jean Holman, Co-op I.N.S.	Jill Westby, Secretary, Abbey Ward.
Pat Jordan, Central Nottm.	Mrs. S. Whawell, West Nottm.
Leo Keely, Treasurer, West Nottm.	J.P. Whawell, West Nottm.
Rene Keely, West Nottm.	* David Wood, Central Nottm.
	* Jocelyn Wood, Central Nottm.

*in respect of Vietnam, excluding the rest of the letter.

This is a short list of signatories, many other people will be signing during the next week.

Offices and Constituency Labour Parties are listed purely for purposes of identification. All signatories are acting in their private capacity.

19 Greenfield Street, Dunkirk, Nottingham.