

FEATHER ADMITS 'SECRET TALKS' WITH TORIES



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Socialist Labour League branches sent in:

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BY
ROYSTON
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I WASN'T THERE TO PLAY THE PIANO!

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Q: What was decided at the secret talks TUC leaders had with Heath recently?

FEATHER: There have been no secret talks.

Q: Did you and some senior colleagues not meet Heath once at Chequers and once at Downing Street?

FEATHER: I see different people from time to time and accompanied by different people from time to time. But to describe such meetings as a summit meeting is a nonsense.

'Nothing agreed'

Q: But what was agreed there?

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Q: So was it a social gathering?

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Q: So if it wasn't a social meeting, it must have been a business meeting?

FEATHER: I would say it was more of an anti-social meeting.

Q: I can well believe that.

FEATHER: You believe what you want to believe.

Q: Why was it necessary, at a Press conference two weeks ago, when you were asked if there were to be talks with Heath, for you to keep it a secret about the two sessions of talks that had already taken place?

FEATHER: No reason at all, really. There were no meetings; there were no negotiations. When I give an answer, I give an honest answer.

Q: Was it a kind of a reception then?

FEATHER: It was a kind of a reception, a kind of a discussion, a kind of an entertainment. My job is to know what is being said and what is being thought.

Q: How do you equate today's decision 'to explore whether a basis exists for continuing discussions' with the spirit of the March 5 Special Congress?

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Q: But that Congress voted not for discussions, but for a one-day stoppage and co-ordinated industrial action?

FEATHER: That was March 5. This is May 9.

Q: What has happened since then?

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Q: How do you think trade

unionists will react to today's decision to go back for more discussions with Heath?

FEATHER: The overwhelming majority of trade unionists will see it as consistent with our policies.

Going back

The decision to go back to Downing Street to help the Tories hold down wages under Phase Three, together with these exchanges about the secret talks, are consistent with a determination to defend at all costs the Tory government in Britain and prevent any drift towards all-out class confrontation.

It is consistent with a determination to conceal from the trade union movement the collaboration with the rotten capitalist system that is being carried through in the name of the trade unions.

Instead of exposing the weakness of the ruling class in this the biggest-ever crisis of their system, the TUC bureaucracy is going to any measure to conceal this fact and to help the Tories patch it up.

Only the day before, Feather attended the 'Financial Times' conference on the economy and denied that there was any economic crisis.

'It is wrong to talk about a crisis, or of overcoming crises. We are not in any crisis situation,' he said.

The contempt these TUC bureaucrats have for any serious analysis of the enormous crisis gripping the capitalist system places the working class in great danger.

At talks in Downing Street on Britain's economic problems, every last gain of the working class will be betrayed by men who only know how to serve the capitalist system.

The trade union movement must demand that these talks with the Tories be broken off.

Join our readers' discussion

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Since then we have launched our £100,000 Party Building Fund

And in every area the Socialist Labour League is holding meetings and conferences to discuss, amend and improve the resolution on the party.

The task is becoming more urgent every day. The TUC

Redundancy pay shock on Clyde

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This is the result of an industrial relations tribunal decision in Glasgow yesterday in a test case which could have cost the government £1m.

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The tribunal's chairman, Mr T. M. Strachan, referred to a letter from the UCS liquidators which stated that the shipyards would be taken over by Govan on September 11 last year.

Counsel for Mr McKinnon argued that this letter constituted a notice of dismissal, but the tribunal held that there was no dismissal and therefore there could be no redundancy pay.

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workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY MAY 10, 1973 ● No 1068 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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Officials join the attack on Benn

UNION OFFICIALS have joined the attack on Labour's Anthony Wedgwood Benn for threatening to nationalize Rolls-Royce Motors without compensation.

These same officials are part of a long reformist campaign by Rolls-Royce employees to save their jobs by making themselves 'model' workers.

Last week they emerged, apparently victorious, when the government announced the flotation of public shares in the company.

In fact, what happened was that the Tories threw the company to the stock market sharks.

The whole operation has been mounted—not for Rolls-Royce workers—but for the benefit of the company's creditors and shareholders.

Rolls-Royce employees are themselves being invited to put their money into shares which could plummet overnight, wiping out all their savings.

From now on the Rolls-Royce workers will once again be at the full mercy of the capricious and unpredictable twists and turns of the market.

But Crewe works chairman Mr Leslie Gallimore said yesterday: 'Personally I think Mr Benn should have kept his mouth shut.'

'Such statements could have an adverse effect on share flotation,' said Mr Keith Standing, executive secretary of the Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staffs.

The idea that in a time of severe economic crisis, with share prices more uncertain than ever and buying at a new low, Rolls-Royce can be made to succeed in its present form in the long term is pure illusion.

Nationalization, without compensation and under workers' control, is the only permanent way of achieving security of employment.

Hard day's night for housing councillors

SEVEN Notting Hill councillors—including council deputy chairman and planning committee chairman Peter Methuen—were freed yesterday after being locked in a church hall overnight by demonstrators.

Doors at the All Saints Church Hall in Notting Hill, West London, were guarded and barricaded by local residents demanding council action on two specific cases.

Mr Ned Gate, spokesman for the demonstrators, said they

Tenants lock them in

wanted written promises from the councillors on the cases of a Spanish family facing eviction and a woman who had been homeless for 18 months.

The Spanish family—which includes six children—has been evicted from a council flat due for demolition and offered a single room.

The locked-in councillors made

a verbal offer to give the family a two-week reprieve, but rejected the demonstrators' demands that one of them should go immediately to fix up the family's future with social service officials.

Local residents also want the council to take over by compulsory purchase order a whole area of Notting Hill to safeguard people's homes from developers.

Security tightens around 'Belfast 10' court

FOR THE third week running a tight security cordon was set up around Lambeth magistrates court, London, yesterday morning when the 'Belfast 10' were formally remanded until May 16 on a charge of conspiring to cause an explosion.

Police sealed off the street to vehicles and searched all pedestrians carrying shopping bags or wheeling prams. At least four policemen were posted on surrounding balconies and rooftops.

The vehicle carrying the ten was flanked by motor cyclists and the accused could be seen to wave and give victory signs through the windows.

The ten, all Irish, were arrested at Heathrow airport following the Old Bailey bombing incident in March.



Builders call for dispensation

SKELMERSDALE branch of the building workers' union UCATT has unanimously passed a resolution calling for dispensation for the Workers Press and 'Morning Star' during times of mass strike action.

The resolution stated:

'This branch considers that the important role played by working-class organs of information and publicity such as the "Morning Star" and Workers Press is all the more important in times of general working-class agitation and activity; e.g. as in the defence of the "Pentonville Five" last year, and more recently, during the action taken in response to the call from the Special Congress of the TUC in opposition to the Tory "anti-inflation" measures on May 1.

'The branch considers that in circumstances similar to those described above, special dispensation should be afforded these two papers, to enable them to publish when their coverage and comment is most needed by the trade unionists and members of the working class, who rely on them for accurate reporting of such important events.

'We therefore urge UCATT uses all the methods etc., at its disposal to bring this about.'

Raleigh man may resign

ONE OF three workers involved in a row for walking into Raleigh Industries, Radford, Nottingham, on May Day, has said he will resign from the metal mechanics' union. Packer Paul Jarvis (28) of Clifton, Nottingham, stayed away from work yesterday and lost £6 wages.

The two others involved, Mrs Dorothy Harrison and Mrs Betty Holborne, are refusing to pay the £4 they earned on May Day to charity.

Management will be meeting them to avert a possible all-out strike by the factory's 6,500 workers.

Swindon women sit-in over speed-up

WOMEN workers at a Swindon record-player factory are on sit-in strike against company attempts to force up their rate of working by up to 20 per cent.

The women, who reluctantly accepted a pay-and-productivity scheme after a strike last December, work in No. 103 building of the Plessey-Garrard factory on the Cheney Manor trading estate.

The way was paved in the scheme for introduction of the work-study scheme MTM-2.

Trouble over the scheme has been brewing at all three group factories in Swindon. At Cheney Manor last Friday it erupted into a strike.

The 1,200 women at Cheney Manor are sitting in through the working day against attempts to force up their work rate from around 64 units an hour to 76.

Official backing is expected soon from the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' district committee.

Stalinist supports man who crossed

A COMMUNIST PARTY parliamentary candidate has gone out of his way to defend a man who crossed the picket line during the recent Rubery Owen strike.

Harry Mountfield, a zone engineer, had been walking into work each day of the five-week strike at Darlaston, Staffordshire.

One can imagine the strikers' dismay when they learned Mountfield was the president of Walsall trades council.

Two Rubery Owen workers were delegated to go to the trade council meeting two weeks ago. They were ruled out of order by Mountfield before their protest was heard.

Mountfield told the men: 'You will not be allowed to make a communist speech here. You are against standing orders.' The men were evicted from the meeting.

Rubery Owen picket line

But on May Day it was Mountfield's turn. The Rubery Owen workers gathered at the front of the rally which he was to address.

They began to heckle that the trades council president was a strike-breaker. At first Mountfield attempted to shut them up, but other workers in the hall took up the cry and the president was forced to leave the stage.

It is possible that some of the workers who were justifiably incensed at Mountfield's behaviour were Communist Party members or supporters. If so, perhaps they should have a word with a certain Don Brayford.

For on April 28 the Wolverhampton 'Express and Star' reported:

'Mr Harry Mountfield said today he had received many messages of support for his action in crossing picket lines

at the strike-hit Rubery Owen plant.

'Mr Mountfield has also been defended by Mr Don Brayford, prospective parliamentary communist candidate for Walsall North.

This follows a clash between Mr Mountfield and Mr Brian Bennett, a delegate from the Transport and General Workers' Union at Wednesday's meeting of the trades council.

'Mr Bennett accused Mr Mountfield of being a strike-breaker, but he was told by the president that he would not be allowed to make a communist speech.

'Mr Brayford said Mr Bennett is not a member of the Communist Party and was not expounding communist policy.'

Brian Bennett is chairman of the shop stewards' committee at Rubery Owen and a T&GWU shop steward.

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Jack Gale examines the so-called 'Militant' group

The reason given for the Communist Party's switch from preparing a new leadership to uncritical support of the TUC General Council of 1926 was the formation of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee on May 14, 1925. A TUC delegation, led by the 'left' A. A. Purcell, (TUC President), had visited the Soviet Union in 1924. The chairman of the Central Council of the Russian Trade Unions, Tomsy, paid a return visit in 1925 and attended the Hull Trades Union Congress.

The General Council, faced with the rising militancy of their members, welcomed the protective colouring of apparent militancy which association with the Russian Revolution provided.

The Russians, on their side, found the Committee useful for focusing the attention of the advanced workers in Britain onto the Soviet Union. That was entirely permissible. What was *not* permissible was to present the Committee as a genuine leadership of the working class and to subordinate the independent work of the Communist Party to it.

But that is precisely what the Stalinists, in full tide of their rightward pro-Kulak 'socialism in one country' policy, proceeded to do.

The Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee was put forward by Stalin and his supporters as a genuine left-wing movement in opposition to the out and out rights, Thomas and Clyne.

Maintained

Tomsy, then a colleague of Stalin's, wrote in 'Practical Questions of the Trade Union Movement': 'Those who have entered into the agreement with us are maintaining themselves staunchly against bourgeois lies and slanders and against the former leaders of the English movement, Thomas, Clynes and MacDonald. The leaders of the British trade unions, the section that is furthest to the left—one can say with assurance, the majority—are working harmoniously with us.'

In this way, Stalin used the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee to turn the British Communist Party into the main support of the very forces which it is the first duty of revolutionaries to expose. The leaders of the British Communist Party dutifully followed Stalin's line.

Even after the strike had been betrayed, Stalin rejected the call of Trotsky and the Left Opposition for a break from the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee.

In July—two months after the strike—Stalin told the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party that 'the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee is a bloc between our trade unions and the reactionary trade unions of England . . . for the purpose of struggle against imperialist war.' ('Materials of the Plenum, 1926' page 71.)

Revision

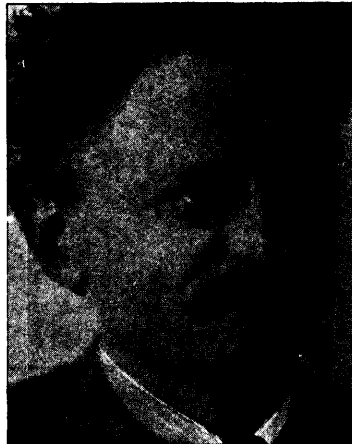
Only seven years after the formation of the Communist International, Stalin was revising Leninism on the inevitability of social democratic betrayal in imperialist war.

Yet Grant, who does not mention any of this, claims that Stalin's disciples in Britain were 'endeavouring to create a revolutionary party'!

After all his years in politics, Grant cannot possibly be unaware of this history.

He knows it very well, just as he knows that the British trade union leaders, including the 'lefts', remained silent when the Baldwin government bombed Nanking. He knows, too, that the TUC, 'left' and right, raised no protest when, in 1926, the Tory government launched the Arcos Raid—a police raid on the Russian trading mission in London.

No evidence of espionage was discovered, but the raid gave the Tories the flimsy excuse to break the diplomatic links with the Soviet Union which had been established by the Labour government of 1924. And the 'loyal' British TUC immediately fell into step behind their masters by walking out of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee!



'Centrism is incapable of an independent policy. Centrism cannot be the leading party in the working class'—Leon Trotsky

Centrist treachery in 1973

Part 2

existing groupings in the labour movement in different forms and with different slogans predispose them either towards direct treachery or towards compromise or else towards temporizing and passivity in relation to the compromisers.'

The Socialist Labour League will never temporize nor be passive in relation to centrism or Stalinism. That, of course, is why Grant reserves his venom for us. The 'lefts' must have 'friendliness'. The Stalinists must never be called by their real names. But the Trotskyists are 'ultra-lefts' (as the Stalinists also claim) and they 'infest' the movement.

It is no accident that similar gutter-language was used against our youth when they were fighting the Transport House bureaucracy in 1964—by Grant's friends around 'Tribune'. 'Tribune' called the youth 'lice on the body politic'.

Grant's group at that time was active in voting along with the right wing for the expulsion of the revolutionary youth—just as Grant had earlier voted for the expulsion of SLL Central Committee member Bill Hunter.

More than that, the Grant group was instrumental in calling the police to turn the youth out of Labour Party meetings.

Honesty

What Grant calls 'crude and hysterical mud-slinging' is really revolutionary honesty and intransigence. Nearly 50 years ago, Trotsky wrote of a similar critic:

'Ruthlessness' is caused by the necessity to reveal the reality behind a deliberate falsehood. Nowhere in Europe does canonized hypocrisy—'cant'—play such a role as in Great Britain. Different political groupings and even the most 'extreme' of them are, when fighting against each other, accustomed not to touch upon certain questions or to call certain things by their proper names. The reason is that from time immemorial the political struggle has been waged inside the ranks of the possessing classes who have never forgotten that a third party is listening in.

The system of conventions, implications and reservations has over the ages worked itself downwards and today finds its most reactionary expression in the liberal Labour Party including its radical opposition wing. Here it is not a question of literary style, but of politics.

Our polemic repels Brailsford because it lays the class contradictions absolutely bare. It is quite true that in those enlightened readers who have been brought up in the parliamentary tradition of political cant this polemic will produce not sympathy but annoyance. But Brailsford notwithstanding, this is just the effect that the author, rightly, intends. It is also quite true that politicians with such an education still form a dense stratum between the working class and the programme of communism.

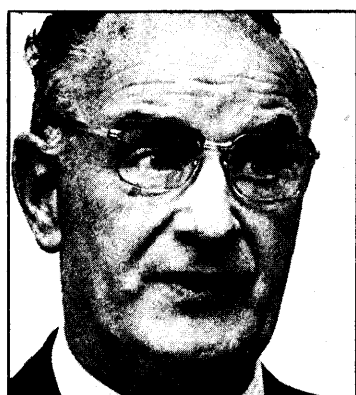
Nevertheless, in Britain too, class realities are more powerful than traditional hypocrisy. Once aroused, British workers blazing themselves a trail through the thicket of inherited prejudices—both those of Baldwin and Brailsford—will find in our polemic a particle of their own struggle. And this again will be the effect that we intend.



The British Communist Party dutifully followed Stalin's line on the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee and paved the way for the TUC to betray the 1926 General Strike. Grant chooses to ignore these facts in order to cover for the Stalinists in 1973.

Grant deliberately and lyingly distorts the role of Stalinism in 1926 for one very good reason—he wants to cover up the role of Stalinism in 1973.

For it is not enough to say today that the Communist Party does not criticize 'left' union leaders Jones and Scanlon because 'it has ceased to be Marxist'.



'Left' Hugh Scanlon not criticized by Stalinists . . .

Nowhere does Grant name the Communist Party for what it is—Stalinist. That is, a counter-revolutionary organization which does not merely omit to criticize the 'lefts', but deliberately sets out to preserve their leadership.

Hold back

By lies and deception, by covering up for and helping to organize blatant class-collaboration, it seeks to hold the working class back from revolutionary leadership and bring it to defeat, as it has done in the past in Germany, Spain, Italy, France, Greece and throughout the world.

Stalinism is not just a movement which 'fails to criticize', nor even one which has stopped at the abandonment of Marxism. It is the most counter-revolutionary force in the workers' movement on a world scale.

This has to be explained and fought for, again and again. What is required is not 'criticism', but

exposure. The working class is held back by the conservative organizational and ideological barriers within its own movement. We are dealing not with 'mistakes' or 'failure to understand', but with class-collaboration and treachery.

As Trotsky says: 'All the traditions, organizational habits and the ideas of all the already



. . . nor is his fellow 'left' on TUC, Jack Jones.

TRANSFORMING THE SOC INTO A REVOLUTIONARY

Extract from the policy resolution adopted unanimously by 2,200 delegates and visitors at the All Trades Unions Alliance conference, Birmingham, on October 22, 1972.

Fellow trade unionists, comrades and friends we address you with this urgent call to action:

In its place must be elected a Labour government which is pledged by the mass action of the working class to implement socialist policies.

We say 'pledged' to socialist policies knowing that the present leaders of the Labour movement have no intention of introducing such policies. Indeed, in the last analysis some of them will be prepared to join a coalition government with the Tories to head off the working class.

But if the working class is strong enough to force the Tories out, it is strong enough to deal with the traitors in its own midst. This can only be achieved by exposing them in the fight for an alternative socialist policy.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League calls upon the working class to support the following policies to unite the working class against the Tories and the present Wilson-Feather leadership of the Labour movement:

Here is the policy which the next Labour government must be forced to carry out.

1) A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act, Housing Finance Act, Immigration Acts, Fair Trading Act and all wage control. After the repeal of all Tory anti-working class measures, there must be legislation to implement the Charter of Basic Rights, along the following lines.

2) The right to work! Capitalism demands mass unemployment. The right to a job must be guaranteed. This can only be done by breaking the grip of capitalist ownership on the economy. Employed and unemployed must unite to insist on a Labour government nationalizing the main industries and banks, under workers' control and without compensation.

THE TORY government is relentlessly pursuing its plan for a confrontation with the working class. Each day new sections of workers are forced to become criminals — under Tory law — to defend their standard of living against government-inspired soaring cost of living.

Large sections of these workers openly acknowledge that the only answer to their fight to maintain a decent standard of living is a General Strike. That is, the creation of the industrial and political conditions which will force the government to resign.

3) The democratic right to strike and to organize in trade unions. Only the organized working class can lead mankind out of the historical crisis. Every right and every gain won by the working class, every democratic right in Britain, has been won because of the organized strength of the unions and the strike weapon.

A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act. This fight must begin now by forcing the TUC to break off all relations with the government and mobilize the working class to destroy state control of wages.

4) The right to defend rights won in the past and change the system. All the changes in legal procedures made by the Tory government must be repealed. All secret police and MI5 organizations must be disbanded and fully exposed. The secrets of the Tory administration in this sphere must be published. All rights to assembly, free speech and the Press must be guaranteed.

The struggle must begin now. No closures, no sackings, must be the policy of the trade unions. Occupation of factories threatened with closure,

as part of the fight to bring down the Tories.

5) The right to a higher standard of living. It is not the living standards of trade unionists, but the profit system, which causes the crisis. The first step must be to expropriate all the great fortunes of the rich, close down the Stock Exchange, place a state control over all movements of capital in and out of the country.

Nationalization of the basic industries and of all large companies, banks, building and insurance societies will provide the resources for a unified plan to improve the living standards of the whole people. Workers' control of these, as well as the present nationalized industries, will run them in the interests of the workers and consumers.

Again, the fight must begin now. State control of wages must be answered by the most widespread fight for wage increases to meet price rises and improve standards. This means a fight to remove the Tory government and change the union leadership.

6) The right to health and welfare benefits. Every Tory gov-

ernment cut in welfare benefits, in the health service and in all public spending must be revoked. On the basis of nationalization, a crash programme of expansion of services to the unemployed, the low-paid, the sick and the aged must be undertaken as an absolute priority. The working class and the Labour government must take immediate and absolute responsibility for these victims of the capitalist system.

7) The right to decent housing. Decent housing is not a luxury; it is a necessity. People have the basic right to decent accommodation at rents they can afford. Nationalization of the handful of building monopolies and building societies will provide the basis for a massive programme of new house building. The disgraceful problem of the homeless in the cities must be immediately solved by census and taking-over of all unoccupied property.

8) The international responsibilities of the working class. The working class is international. We fight for the unrestricted right of any worker of any nationality to move freely through the world.

Withdraw the troops from Ireland. Unite the Irish and British working class to throw out the Lynch and Heath governments.

Unite in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, the only alternative to the Common Market plans for dictatorship.

Withdraw all British troops from abroad and disband the present standing army.

Sign treaties with all ex-colonial countries for programmes of equal trade and mutual assistance.

Break from NATO and all imperialist alliances.

For the carrying out of such policies the SLL fights for the setting up of Councils of Action to lead the struggle against the Tory government in every area. These Councils unite trade unionists, tenants, unemployed, all political parties and tendencies of the working class (Labour Party, Communist Party, SLL, IS, IMG, etc.) to fight against the main enemy, the Tory government.

The SLL calls upon every socialist and class-conscious worker to consider this programme and manifesto very carefully, and to decide now to take up their inescapable responsibilities. The building of the revolutionary party is the burning question now, not in some remote future. The SLL is determined to carry through its transformation into a revolutionary party.

JOIN the Socialist Labour League and help transform it into a revolutionary party.
Central Committee
Socialist Labour League

THE DISCUSSION BEGINS

Alex Smith (36) from Renfrew is a shift steward at India Tyres, Inchinnan. He came into contact with the All Trades Unions Alliance two years ago. Now he has decided to take an active role in building the revolutionary party.

I think it is essential to build a revolutionary leadership for the working class. We only have to consider the times through which we are passing. All the rights workers have won are being taken away by the Tory government. The process will not stop at this. In the wings people on the right, like Powell, are waiting for their moment.

The situation is extremely serious. The real drift of the ruling class is towards fascism. They will not be satisfied until they have reduced the working class to the conditions that workers in countries like Spain and Greece exist under.

I came to socialism through reading authors like Jack London. For a long time I was more or less passive. I suppose it was the Tory government and its legislation that made

me think more seriously of my implications.

For a while I looked around at the political tendencies in the labour movement. I looked at the Communist Party—which has quite a grip in the Clydeside area. Many people still believe that the Communist Party is the party of revolutionary politics. They don't realize that under the Stalinist concept they are heading the working class away from the main issue—the issue of power itself.

A decisive event for me was the ATUA conference in the Digbeth Hall, Birmingham, in 1971. I went to this meeting mainly through the influence of the Workers Press which I had begun to read. For the first time I found that the questions I had been asking myself were answered. The paper and the movement it represented told the truth, no matter how hard this was to stomach.

Since then I have watched the movement develop—and watched the Tories prepare for war against the working class. There comes a time when you

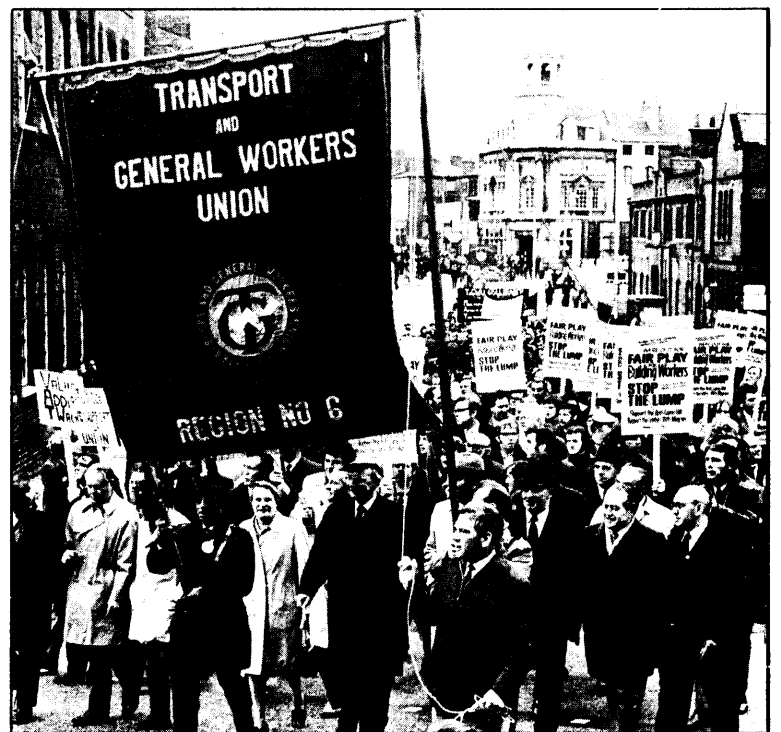
have to do something and become a part of that development. That was when I decided to play an active role.

I am a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union, which is a key union, organizing some of the most important workers in the country. In the union we have a position where the executive committee leaders abandoned their opposition to the Industrial Relations Act. They also joined in with the protests— one-day strikes and so on— against the Tory government. Now they are party to the talks coming up between the unions and the Tories.

This kind of leadership is no challenge to the Tories and demoralizes the members in many cases. The one-day strike strategy is useless. It allows all the weakness in the working class to get the upper hand—men don't want to waste one day's pay for nothing. We have to replace this leadership with people who will tackle the main issue— class action to bring this government down.

This is what our attention should be on. The building of this kind of leadership will be a hard struggle. No one has any illusions about that.

But I am optimistic. The Socialist Labour League is the only group that has made an analysis of the economic crisis



Banner of Transport and General Workers Union—a key union, where the leaders have abandoned opposition to the Industrial Relations Act.

that lies at the bottom of all the Tory attacks, and the profound disruption that this has caused in relations between the working class and the capitalist class.

We must go out and explain to workers everywhere the implications of this crisis and show them the necessity of a

revolutionary party to meet the challenge.

Councils of Action should also be formed in every area to unite the workers and housewives on the defence of basic rights—this is the real unity we should seek. A unity of the working class in struggle.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

TB is a Leicester worker:

It is correct to say: 'Today British capitalism like world capitalism is at the end of all compromise solutions to the class struggle.' We have seen just how far the government will go with anti-working class legislation, i.e. the Industrial Relations Act, 'fair rents' Act, the freeze, and Phase Two of their anti-inflation programme. We have also seen how the Labour Party and the TUC have helped the Tories with their plans to smash the working class.

The Tory government's attack on workers is no coincidence. The essence of their strategy is to destroy the trade unions, the standard of living and all democratic rights of the working class. This is caused by the economic crisis which faces world capitalism. The only way out of the crisis for the capitalists is to defeat and smash all working-class and labour movements.

Section 8: Why a Labour government?

I do not agree with this section, particularly paragraph 4: 'No one else can carry out these tasks. The more the working class fights, the more the reformist and Stalinist leaders run to the Tory enemy. All the time the crisis matures and there is no solution for the working class except the working-class conquest of state power and immediate socialist measures to break up capitalist ownership and power. The working class can be united on such a programme of measures to defend basic rights and to go forward to the throwing out of the Tories and the election of a Labour government on socialist policies.'

Sentence 2 of this paragraph: 'The more the working class fights the more the reformist and Stalinist leaders run to the Tory enemy' is, of course, correct. But we must ask what is meant by 'reformist and Stalinist leaders'. As I see it this can only mean the leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions.

If this is correct then we must also examine the last sentence of the paragraph: 'The working class can be united on such a programme of measures to defend basic rights and go forward to the throwing out of the Tories and the election of a Labour government on socialist policies.'

If we accept that the Labour Party is a reformist party, how can we ask for the support of workers to return a Labour government on socialist policies?

The world economic crisis is so deep that no Labour government will or can carry out socialist policies. We must understand that the Labour Party is caught up in capitalist policies and their system. Therefore it will only see its way out of the crisis in the same way as the Tory Party. This explains why there has been no real opposition from the Labour Party on the Tory anti-working class legislation.

Nowhere in the programme is this fact clearly put forward. The Labour Party can and will only carry on from the Tories if elected to government and we know that this means the Labour Party leading the fight against the working class.



The All Trades Unions Alliance conference at Birmingham, October 22, 1972 attended by 2,200 delegates who voted unanimously to proceed with the transformation of the SLL into the revolutionary party.

Steve Jakubowski from Dudley, Worcestershire, is a student teacher:

I was recently appointed to lecture in a college of further education. During the two-month appointment I was to teach (i) International Economics since 1944 and (ii) the Inter-War Years, 1918-1939.

Due to my links with the Socialist Labour League I was strongly advised that if I resorted to 'left-wing propaganda' I would be in serious trouble with the academic staff at the college. Of course this threat was couched in typical liberal phrases, i.e. 'I'm sure you realize that when we teach any subject in schools or colleges we must not be politically biased.'

The factual account of the international economic scene since 1944, however, can be analysed in terms of a series of major crises and the inter-war period can equally be presented factually as a period of economic boom and slump coupled with the betrayal of trade union leadership to the detriment of the whole of the working class.

It was no surprise, then, when in my concluding lecture a student in the class should comment: 'But surely isn't the same situation with us in 1973? Could we be on the verge of a revolution?'

Such an analysis was made on the facts alone—and therefore based entirely on truth so we must ourselves analyse why 1973 is such a crucial year in the history of the working class.

Needless to say, the Socialist Labour League's two pamphlets 'Perspectives for the Transformation of the SLL into a Revolutionary Party' and 'A Marxist Analysis of the Crisis' give one adequate scope for discussion and comment.

In my opinion, probably the most important paragraph in the 'Perspectives' document is to be found on page 11 in the section 'Why a Labour government?'

It reads:

'The SLL, transformed into a revolutionary party, will undertake a specific political task: to unite the working class behind a socialist programme to throw out the Tory government.'

The most important phrase here is 'to unite the working class', for, as Perry Anderson has pointed out in his book 'Towards Socialism', there is less political 'solidarity' among workers than among the middle class and the Labour Party would have been continually in office since 1945 if unionized votes had supported it with anything like the fidelity shown by salaried workers for the Conservative Party. Thus it is more statistically accurate to define the union worker as lacking in political solidarity and the middle class as solid for Conservatism.

One can only draw the conclusion from this that the treacherous leadership embodied within the ranks of the Labour Party has served not only to divide the working class by way of frustration and

confusion, but has also meant that the power of the Tories has increased.

Therefore, a new leadership is vital if the Tory government is to be defeated and this leadership can only be found within the ranks and policies of the SLL.

The need for a new leadership is particularly vital at this point in time when the economic crisis has nearly reached its climax. Thus it is at this point where we must relate the previous part of the discussion with the second pamphlet—'A Marxist Analysis of the Crisis'.

Again we must refer to the capitalist explanation of the current inflation. For years, and certainly since the end of World War II, the typical reason which was given for inflation was based around the concept of 'full employment' which led to higher wage demands and thus cost-push or wage inflation.

The capitalists' theory or such a cause of inflation was crystallized in 1958 when Professor A. W. Phillips of the London School of Economics published an article which claimed to show that there was a definite relationship between unemployment and the rate at which wages change, and indeed for many years wage increases were apparently related to the tightness of the labour market. Now, of course, they are not.

We must look further for an explanation as to the causes of the present inflationary situation and what we see is that

it's not the working class which holds the blame, but the rotten i.e. decayed, capitalist system itself—perhaps a closer look at this system will make this more apparent.

Of course, any discussion based on the international capitalist system must be based primarily on the US economy.

On August 15, 1971, President Nixon announced a number of economic measures designed to combat inflationary pressures, improve the balance of payments and strengthen the competitive position of American industry both at home and abroad.

Thus, with one 'economic bombshell', the US administration moved from a 'passive' stage to an 'activist' one.

Thus this new US policy represents a recognition of a new reality.

Ever since the end of World War II, the United States has played the part of the 'good guy'. US capital and know-how flowed to western Europe to assist in post-war reconstruction.

Economic aid contributed on an increasing scale to the economic development of emerging nations and support of international monetary arrangements provided a fairly firm foundation for the growth of trade and financial transaction. In essence it was a period of international boom.

Two important results/comments can be extracted from this:

(a) This political and economic leadership in international affairs had put great strain on the US economy and the time came when the US realized that even her tremendous economic resources and vitality were not inexhaustible.

(b) The balance-of-payments crisis of mid-1971 and the inability of the US to cope with inflation and unemployment occurring concurrently brought matters to a head and made the capitalists realize that market forces alone could not be relied on to achieve balanced economic growth at a satisfactory rate without inflation.

Thus we have the inevitable insoluble crisis of capitalism which Marx predicted.

One might think that this is simply a reiteration of the pamphlet, but I think not, for I have tried to enlarge some of the more important aspects of the crisis as I see them.

Once again I must refer to what I consider to be the most important part of the document. On page 9, column three, it is stated that 'There can be no middle-of-the-road solution to this crisis.'

Once again if I could remind the reader of my teaching practice, it became abundantly clear that the capitalists had tried to reform the system in every conceivable way and now, in 1973 there was no other solution to draw upon except, of course, by trying to resolve the crisis by counting upon 'nationalist economics' in preparation for a trade war.

Such a war, of course, can only be won by smashing the organized strength of the working class and so it is clear that the SLL must be transformed into the Revolutionary Party to defend the basic democratic rights of the working class which have been won in battle against the ruling class during the previous 200 years.



Left: Frank Chapple, electrician's general secretary. The Stalinists' opposition to him was nothing more than a pose. Above: Delegates leaving the Isle of Man conference.

STALINISM IN THE EEPTU

BY IAN YEATS

THOSE who think the Stalinists of the British Communist Party have changed their spots between the teachers' conference at Scarborough and the electricians' and plumbers' conference at the Isle of Man fall into a carefully-prepared trap.

At Scarborough their treacherous betrayal of the working class was out in the open for everyone to see.

They voted FOR the Tory state pay laws.

They ABSTAINED in a vote on the one-day strike on May Day.

At the Isle of Man their tactics seemed to be reversed, but their goal was the same.

They led a phoney 'fight' on the Tory anti-union law and set their faces against prices and incomes policies from any government.

What was the crucial difference between the two conferences?

It is that the Stalinists control the leadership of the teachers whereas they do not control the electricians.

In 'power' their men unscrupulously and unhesitatingly operate and collaborate in the Tory government's corporate state plans.

That is what they did at the electricians' conference.

Out of 'power' they pose as a bogus opposition.

That is what they did at the electricians' and plumbers' conference.

And there should be no mistake that when we say their opposition to Frank Chapple

was a pose, it was just that.

How real could a fight be which conspicuously FAILED to mention even ONCE the one issue which incenses all electricians—the Joint Industry Board.

Why didn't the Stalinists call for the break-up of this Board? Why didn't they call for the withdrawal of the EEPTU representatives?

Could it be they didn't raise the JIB because they intend to do a deal with the right wing aimed at pushing Mark Young into Frank Chapple's job?

An ex-CPer, the right feel they can rely on him to keep the 'extremists' in check while rallying the 'left'.

The CP see him as a man they can work with and who will rally the 'left' to policies which, while not their own, will, nine times out of ten, be closely similar.

Not only did the Stalinists consciously and deliberately refuse to raise the issue of burning concern to all electricians but their 'fight' on the Tory anti-union laws was a sham.

Their refusal to vote for a General Strike stripped bare the real face of their counter-revolutionary policies.

On the very first day of the electricians' and plumbers' conference their supporters sat tight-lipped when a bid by Southampton delegate Arthur Pearse to introduce a motion pledging all possible action to bring down the Tory government was defeated by the right wing.

Had the motion succeeded, Mr Pearse would have asked conference to recommend a one-day strike of electricians and plumbers on May Day.

On Tuesday instead of call-

ing for full support for the TUC's day of protest, the Stalinists were again silent, coming to life only to raise their arms in support of a harmless resolution urging conference to send telegrams to the TUC and the Scottish TUC.

After deliberately and consciously failing to back action against the Tories in the opening session, they equally deliberately failed to back a call for a General Strike at the end.

On Friday morning Southampton succeeded in getting their motion before conference. By failing to vote, the Stalinists lined up with the right wing.

Executive member Tom Breakell told conference: 'It is not a practical proposition to call the entire working population into industrial action to bring down the government.'

This is the impression the Stalinists want to build up. That is why their members sat silent.

It is why they sat silent while Frank Chapple and Shadow Chancellor Denis Healey 'warned' conference that the Tories were entitled to two more years in office and there was precious little to be done about it.

NO FIGHT

Instead of exposing this defeatist position the Stalinists pandered to it.

Instead of leading a political fight against a Tory government crashing down on working-class rights and living standards on every side, they concentrated their 'fire' on the Industrial Relations Act.

The Stalinists described as a great victory the hopeless reformist campaign which allowed the Bill to become an Act and the law to be used





against trade unions and their members.

Having betrayed the working class into being saddled with the legislation, the Stalinists persist in calling for still more policies to 'defeat the Act'.

But the anti-union laws cannot be separated from the state pay laws and all the rest of the Tory armoury for destroying working-class rights and living standards.

The Act and the whole gamut of repressive legislation cannot be defeated unless the Tories are defeated by being made to resign and a Labour government returned, pledged to socialist policies.

Stalinist speakers said working-class pressure had made the Tories afraid to use the anti-union law. Now, with a little more pressure from the TUC, they could be made to repeal it.

Under today's political conditions, singling out the Industrial Relations Act is even more cynical and treacherous than it was two years ago.

Some Tory MPs are already talking about repealing or amending the Act—not because they are afraid, but because the most vicious provisions of the Act are now incorporated in the state pay laws.

More likely, amendments to the Act will be given as a *quid pro quo* for TUC co-operation in Phase Three of the state pay laws.

The resolution the Stalinists backed on the Thursday merely called on the TUC to initiate a tougher policy to 'defeat the Act'. Feather may soon be in a position to deliver the goods.

In case he is not, it goes on to 'call on' the Parliamentary Labour Party to repeal the law when it becomes the government and to pledge not to interfere with any of the hard-won rights of the trade union movement.

But unlike the 1964-1970 Labour government, Wilson has already reached agreement with the leaders of the TUC to run the economy in virtual partner-

ship when he is elected to power.

In other words, the labour and trade union leaders are creating conditions under which wage restraint will be implemented by the union leaders and the Stalinists. Workers in Scotland have already had a foretaste of this scheme during the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' work-in.

Here, now is the full measure of the Stalinists' treachery. Their 'fight' against the Industrial Relations Act stands exposed as a cover for no fight at all.

Their 'defeat' of right-wing EEPTU leader Frank Chapple dissolves into a charade.

If and when the Tories come forward with amendments to the anti-union Act the Stalinists will hail this as a major victory for the labour movement—even though it will, in fact, be bound hand and foot to the government's corporate state.

Despite the simulated Stalinist opposition to Chapple, the real unity of both Chapple and the Stalinists on the basic question of secret talks with the government is clearly revealed in Chapple's incredible outburst in the 'Sunday Express':

'The TUC will not be betraying its principles by reaching an agreement by which we would fight for moderation in wage claims. For its part the government should agree to threshold payments added to the wage packet to match increases in the cost of living. It must also take effective action to hold down prices and rents.' ('The Red Wreckers Must be Stopped,' Frank Chapple, 'Sunday Express', May 6, 1973.)

Wasn't this after all what Scanlon admitted in the 'Daily Express' a month before (on April 6) and which the CP vigorously defends? Now listen to Scanlon:

'Our offer at the talks was, that for a period of 12 months, we would limit wage applications to an agreed figure. In return we said the government

should statutorily control prices, do something for the pensioners, take steps to control land and house speculation and postpone the future rent increases due under the Housing Finance Act.'

Commenting on the breakdown of the first round of talks, Scanlon continued:

'But let me now put the record straight . . . this does not prelude the resumption of talks on the economy with the government. **And the sooner the better.** These talks should be on the basis of the TUC's original proposals.' (Our emphasis. 'Where We Stand Now,' Hugh Scanlon, 'Daily Express', April 6, 1973.)

This is the policy which the British Stalinists—inside and outside the EEPTU—support. It is also Chapple's strategy.

It is very instructive to note that, despite Scanlon's reformist insistence on re-opening talks on the basis of the 'original proposals', Feather has already diluted these reformist demands by quietly dropping, in his Bridgend speech, all references to the Industrial Relations Act and price control! Not to worry, though. Scanlon and his Stalinist defenders will fall into line.

Without raising the demand to bring down the Tories and elect a Labour government pledged to the repeal of all anti-working-class legislation and to a programme based on socialist principles, the Stalinists are opening the door to corporatism.

Electricians' and plumbers' delegates at the Isle of Man had had their militancy driven up since the last conference in 1971 by the slashing effects of inflation on their pay.

This is what lay behind the massive 291 vote in favour of the Stalinist-backed motion against the Industrial Relations Act.

But the conscious silence and holding back of the Stalinists allowed the right wing to persistently suggest nothing more could be done immediately and that the best

course lay in letting the Labour Party know what was expected of them in government.

The Stalinists refusal to speak out allowed the right wing to stress that a General Strike would split and weaken the labour movement.

Thus in the crucial vote on Southampton's resolution demanding total opposition to the Tory pay laws, conference voted overwhelmingly against General Strike.

Not only did the Stalinists make no attempt to correct the confusion spread by the right wing, but they themselves abstained in the vote.

Once this mood had been allowed to develop among delegates, it was no real surprise that a Stalinist-backed motion calling for opposition to all incomes policies was thrown out.

But no one should fall into the trap of thinking that their support for this motion meant they actually wanted an all-out fight.

Their delegates spent the entire conference consciously heading off such a fight. The cynical aim of backing this resolution was purely and simply to retain their political credibility.

Instead of an all-out fight, conference approved a resolution calling on the next Labour government to control not only wages but prices and dividends—a favourite TUC theme.

The Stalinists did the same thing at the teachers' conference. They voted for the Tory pay laws but later put up a resolution from Brent branch calling for a new, vigorous, pay campaign.

SILENCE

The right-wing idea that everything can be made acceptable provided all parties are allowed a say in the discussions was really first introduced on Tuesday during the debate on branch mergers.

With perhaps one exception, the Stalinists were silent on a subject which threatens to

destroy democracy in the union and turn its branches into rubber stamps for the executive.

They consciously allowed the view to predominate that the re-organization was right by itself but the methods were wrong. Conference called for more consultations between the rank and file and the executive.

The Stalinists are not opposed to the re-organization nor to the appointment of officials. They hope that if CP members are appointed as officials the new structure will make it easy for them to carry on the same corrupt regime ended abruptly with the ballot-rigging case.

As the 'negotiations-not-confrontation' atmosphere developed throughout the week, conference inevitably settled for sniping at the Tories and drawing up recommendations for the next Labour government.

The EEPTU will not stage another policy conference until 1975—possibly after a General Election.

The Stalinists know that there is now no danger of the union leadership leading a fight against the government. They have seen to that.

Indeed, not only will they not fight the Tories, but the Stalinists tactics at the Isle of Man have left Chapple's hands free to continue pressing for collaboration in the anti-union laws and the state pay plan.

In two years, when the present inflationary boom goes bust and prices have shot up to barely believable levels, the employers will be engaged in mercilessly driving down workers' living standards.

That is the purpose of the corporate machinery the Tories are trying desperately to set up.

This inescapable challenge can only be met by building a new principled revolutionary leadership in the trade union and labour movement to expose the political cowardice of the reformists and the treachery of the Stalinists.

PAST CONDITIONS: SLAVERY OF THE 'LIVING-IN' SYSTEM

A series by Bernard Franks
Part Nine

The shopworkers have a history of militant action against long hours of work, low wages, living-in, appalling conditions and hazards at work.

For 50 years they fought continuously for legislation to improve their situation and give them rights on a par with other workers.

Between 1891 and 1939 there were 97 strikes and over 58,000 shop and warehouse workers ceased work or threatened to do so.

Up to the middle of the 19th century all shops were single premises; family affairs with bound apprentices, in theory, learning the trade like any other craftsmen. In the case of girls, they were often nothing more than unpaid skivvies.

Conditions ranged from sleeping under the counter and living on 'left-overs' to living and being treated as one of the family.

However, no part of capitalist society in Britain could stand for long separated from the regimented slavery of industrial production methods.

The great wealth amassed by systematic pillage of the colonial empire had enabled the rise of a well-off middle class and a section of skilled workmen in Britain, paid on a regular basis. Here was an outlet for the great mass-produced output of modern machines.

But better, speedier methods of distribution had to be found. Fortunes could be made by the sharp and the ruthless, who could put sales on a basis of mass production and mass exploitation.

Huge department stores, employing hundreds of workers and retail chains with tens of branches began to develop.

In place of lodging with a family there were cheap dwellings brought up in the poorer districts to house staff; sometimes in rooms, two to a bed, six and eight to a room, with a 'house guardian' in charge.

All pretence that instruction for future proprietorship was being given was now replaced with the sole prospect of perpetual wage slavery.

Slops and a dirty bed

The Truck Act of 1831, which required workers to be paid in coins of the realm and not in kind, actually strengthened the living-in system because it excluded shop workers.

Employers could allow them a dirty bed and a few slops and count this as part or in some cases, total payment.

Application of the Truck Act to shop workers was finally won in 1906.

Discipline was as strict in the living quarters as in the shop. Attendance at church and morning prayers was compulsory, marriage often forbidden. A series of rules governed time off—which was little enough—and regular fines and deductions taken out of an already pitifully small wage.

Workers in the upper-class shops were required to keep a

higher standard of dress, including top hats and frock coats. This style of clothing deceived many other workers into believing that shop staff were well paid.

One great advantage to employers of 'living-in' was that employees were immediately on call at all times. Up at 6 a.m. to dust displays, prepare wrappers before breakfast, then opening the shop at 8 a.m. After closing, perhaps at 7 p.m., there would be the scrubbing down of counters and floors, movement and replacement of stock, finishing maybe, at 10 p.m. Apprentices also had to continue delivering parcels to customers after hours.

Some employers had speaking tubes rigged between shop and dining room so that an assistant might be instantly called up for action even during the 15 to 20 minute dinner break.

H. G. Wells, the author, was apprenticed at a drapers' 'emporium' in Brighton in 1881 at an early age. After two years of it he fled home to mother. His experiences were reflected in some of his books, particularly 'Mr Kipps'.

In 'Tono Bungay', he pictured the rise and fall of a great business empire based on the manufacture of a quack medicine and various retail swindles.

P. C. Hoffman, once an official of the Shop Assistants' Union, gave many factual examples of bad conditions and the workers' struggles against them in his book 'They Also Serve—The Story of the Shop Worker.'

He recalls the conditions during his own apprenticeship working for Samuel Lewis's Silk Market, Holborn, in 1894, sharing a small, dirty room with six other apprentices:

'The gas was turned out at the main at 11.15 p.m. One of the boys lighted a piece of candle and they hunted for bugs on the wall, cracking them with slipper heels. They stuffed cracks in the wall with soap.'

Later, as a cashier, he earned 2s 6d a week from which was deducted 2d for boot cleaning: 'My boots were never cleaned.'; 2d for use of kitchen: '... charge for having extras cooked which I bought and paid for myself' and 2d library '... a few old books on the bookcase'.

He also paid 2d a week to an Early Closing Association—'forerunner of the union.'

Hoffman gives some examples from the long list of 'house rules' of another London store: 'Assistants sleeping out without permission will be cautioned twice and discharged at the third offence.'

'Any article cracked or broken must be paid for at once.'

'Bedrooms must be left tidy. No pictures, photos, etc. allowed to disfigure the walls. Anyone doing so will be charged with the repairs.'

'No flowers to be put in water glasses or bottles.'

He tells of secret marriages to avoid the sack, of an Islington shop walker discharged for marrying without leave, and of an employer who had no objection to employees get-



Members of the Shop Assistants Union protest against the living-in system. Above: Behind the counter at a large store in 1882.

ting married, but who added: 'I would rather they go elsewhere and get married; we do not want people in our employ like that.'

Hoffman explains the restrictions on voting rights for assistants; because living-in accommodation could be classed as sleeping quarters, but not a home.

In 1897, 170 shop assistants at Maple's in Tottenham Court Road, London, were struck off the register of voters. In 1912, assistants in Dublin were allowed the vote, but the decision was reversed on appeal.

In 1907, the managing director of Peter Robinson, on being asked about the rights of assistants sleeping three to a room, said: 'In the case of young men between 21 and 25—unmarried—have they the franchise? No, I think not. I believe that a man occupying a single room can have the lodger vote.'

'Fines' were separate and additional to 'deductions'. Hoffman gives examples of a few from a north London drapers.

'For exceeding time at meals

and at time of washing hands, 2d.

'A customer must not be allowed to leave the shop unserved unless the shop walker has been spoken to by the assistant, 6d.'

'Assistants must introduce at least two articles to each customer, 2d.'

Instant dismissal

After these, there would usually be 'till deficiencies' to be made up. Instant dismissal was the invariable rule for 'offenders'; for lateness, sickness and forgetting to call the boss or a customer 'Sir'.

Hoffman quotes one report from the Industrial Commissioner: 'An ex-assistant who occupies a good position in the City was discharged for leaving a second helping of pork. Another assistant was told he must pay a fine of 5s for leaving a piece of meat on a plate. He refused, and was thereupon discharged. His brother, who had been there three days as an apprentice in

the house, was packed off with him.'

John Lewis (Oxford Street, London) would sack at the slightest excuse.

'He would go up to a man or woman and say: "I did not engage you." Invariably the answer would be:

"No, Mr So-and-So did."

His reply was sometimes: "He had no right to do so" and often the person so engaged would be dismissed.'

Dismissal was a terrible sentence on shopworkers. It meant loss of home as well as job—sometimes by forcible eviction—and without a reference it meant no chance of similar employment.

Fire was the other constant fear of the shopworker, as it could mean the simultaneous loss of job, lodging and personal possessions.

Accidents and illness, particularly diseases of the legs and feet, could also mean loss of occupation, as these were all jobs which involved constant standing and miles of walking for 12 to 16 hours a day.

Hoffman himself was to suffer severely from the system which locked out employees during their time off. On Sundays, bedrooms had to be vacated at 10 a.m. and were not unlocked until 9 p.m.

One Sunday, he attended a massive demonstration for the eight-hour day, held in Hyde Park. It began to rain, but back in quarters the room was locked and he was unable to change out of wet clothes. He contracted rheumatic fever and was in hospital for ten weeks.

On returning to work he was called before the boss, who demanded: "Are you honest?" I was taken aback. I was not sure—for there were things...

"I think so, sir!"

"Then why don't you pay for those eggs we sent you when you were in hospital?"

CONTINUED TOMORROW.

THE PROFESSOR WAS A SPY

What's your idea of a university professor? If you tend to picture them as typically rather harmless old fellows absent-mindedly pottering about their studies, or discussing over their sherries who it might have been that Shakespeare had a soft spot for, you could be hopelessly wrong.

Over in the United States the groves of academe are currently sheltering some really colourful characters, with quite an adventurous, not to say nefarious, past behind them.

In California, for example, they have a real live GPU man teaching in one of the Sociology departments.

In universities all over the country there are professors who have worked, or are still working for the CIA.

At Michigan State University there are some real experts on how the Vietnam war started; a team of MSU 'academics' helped run a CIA operation in Vietnam, before America was officially involved out there, and they even provided the cover for gun-running.

Now a visiting professor has turned up at Columbia University, New York, who could, with his past career in espionage to boast about, make the other fellows look real tame.

Intelligence work by academics is really nothing new, of course, and if some staff in British universities are fairly quiet about some of their 'extra-curricular' activities, their American colleagues have been fairly well-publicised.

But Columbia's guest, Professor Klaus Mehnert, is something out of the ordinary run of 'gown-and-dagger' operatives.

His gimmick is that his claim to fame comes in a mention from Rear Admiral Zacharias, one-time head of US Naval Intelligence, who gives him credit for helping to plan the Pearl Harbour bombing raid that brought America into World War II.

In his book, 'Secret Missions', published in 1946, Zacharias writes: 'A number of Japanese agents watched developments both on the West Coast and in Hawaii. I would like to mention one in particular who was a German. His work was decisive, and his procedure typical of the methods at that time being employed by Axis agents. He was Klaus Mehnert, a young German intellectual fully imbued with the idea of Teutonic grandeur and working in his own clandestine way for its realization.'

Mehnert was born in Moscow in 1906. In 1931, in Germany, he became general secretary of the German Society for East European Studies, an academic body which produced some of the 'geopolitical' ideas for the expansionist policy of Nazi imperialism.

Zacharias says: 'He belonged to a group of German plotters who had their headquarters in Breslau and planned for a war against the Soviet Union. They called themselves the Osteuropa Gesellschaft or East Europe Society, and published a monthly journal in which they bared their imperialist dreams



Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, December 7, 1941—the problem of what happened is yet to be cleared up.

as does a patient before a psychoanalyst.'

Mehnert and his colleagues subsequently began working with a group of geopoliticians around General Haushofer, and, according to Zacharias: 'Mehnert himself became a member of a small group of freelancing geopolitical spies whom the Haushofer organization, with the aid received from Dr Alfred Rosenberg's Foreign Political Bureau, sent everywhere in the world.'

Mehnert succeeded in obtaining a post at the University of Hawaii at Honolulu, as professor of anthropology. Here he concentrated at first on researches on the Japanese population of the Hawaiian islands, and sent back reports to his Axis employers claiming that the Hawaii Japanese could provide a useful 'Fifth Column' in the event of war. (An estimate which proved incorrect.)

From this, he moved away from the 'anthropological' field, and began looking at American naval strength in the Pacific. According to Zacharias' book: 'In his work he provided valuable information to the Japanese and was indirectly responsible for some of the details of the great strategic plan of the Japanese naval high command. His greatest work was his report based on our 1937 fleet problem, which he sent to Germany. There its publication reached the Japanese listening posts in Berlin.'

Zacharias goes on to say: 'The conclusions which Mehnert reached, and which he communicated to his employers, provided an ingenious pattern. He deduced from published reports and discussions of the fleet problem that the United States had a life-line in the Pacific which it had to maintain if it wanted to survive as a Pacific power.'

'This life-line extended from Dutch Harbour in the north through Midway in the central Pacific down to Pago Pago in the south, behind which the United States could be contained regardless of what happened in the rest of the Pacific Ocean area. What we regarded as an essential defence line for our own safety, our opponents viewed as the prison fence behind which to lock us. The idea which this amateur strategist drew up with exceptional skill was simple enough:

'He concluded that an opponent could paralyse us, Mehnert calculated, by destroying our fleet, our only means of carrying the war west of Midway, and by occupying strategic spots just outside the crucial geographical line.'

Zacharias says that Mehnert's hand can be detected in the strategic plan the Japanese

made and that it was crucial in convincing them that the United States was vulnerable.

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese delivered their massive attack on Pearl Harbour.

By then, however, after the president of Hawaii University had said he would investigate what he had been told about Mehnert, the professor had left the island.

On June 10, 1941, he had boarded the 'Tatsuta Maru', a Japanese vessel, for China. In Japanese-occupied Shanghai, he became editor of an English-language Nazi propaganda magazine called 'The 20th Century'.

A document now in the Archives in Potsdam, East Germany, reveals that the German diplomatic mission in Shanghai had cabled Berlin to check on Mehnert's credentials. The document is a reply from Hilmar Bassler, of the Nazi foreign ministry, dated February 19, 1942, part of which reads:

'In 1934, . . . Klaus Mehnert went abroad, where he has done very valuable work for us. I am informed by the Information Department that the Gestapo has no objection to his employment in our mission . . .'

In March 1945, two months before the end of the war, Mehnert was awarded the War Service Cross on the recommendation of the Reich Foreign Minister.

He returned to West Germany after the war, and returned also to his original interest in eastern Europe. As director of the Institute of Political Science at Aachen, he became one of the new breed of academics that have replaced the old geopoliticians—that is; a 'Kremlinologist'—and edited a series of periodicals dealing with eastern Europe.

Now he is a guest professor at Columbia.

The problem of what actually happened in the Pearl Harbour attack has yet to be cleared up; that is to say, the question of whether or not the American commanders might actually have had enough knowledge of Japanese intentions to have known the raid was coming; and if so, how it was that the 'surprise' was allowed to go ahead.

Perhaps Professor Mehnert might be able to offer some interesting theories on that one. Certainly his being at Columbia should give American students the opportunity to ask all kinds of fascinating questions.

Among other things, they could also ask whether the Professor's outlook on the Soviet Union has changed all that much since the old days at Breslau.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

BANNED

Judge Charles Raymond Dean (50), of Davies Avenue, Roundhay, Leeds, was fined £50 and banned from driving for a year when he pleaded guilty at Halifax to driving with excess alcohol in his blood. He was fined a further £25 for driving without due care, which he also admitted, and he was ordered to pay £7.20 costs.

Mr J. T. Sleightholme, prosecuting, said that after a collision on April 1 a blood specimen from Dean was found to contain 215 milligrams of alcohol per 100 millilitres of blood.

Mr J. D. Ward, defending, said Dean and his wife had been to a private dinner dance and had just set out for home when the accident happened. He had been driving for 32 years with an unblemished record and was very conscious of an uncharacteristic lapse on his part.

ALTERCATION

Some people certainly take things to heart! Mr Gwilym Hughes, British vice-Consul in San Francisco since November last year, was involved in a minor traffic incident on March 19. As a result, he got into what was described as 'an altercation' with the local police.

And Mr Hughes was upset. So much so that he not only didn't turn up at his office the following week, but took off altogether—to Sydney, Australia.

There he was interviewed by a somewhat surprised British Consul-General who seemed to think Mr Hughes had come rather a long way. But, then, maybe they've just got tough cops in San Francisco.

PUBLIC GOOD

Many members of the Irish republican movement have their ingenuity sorely tried thinking of ways to get in and out of Northern Ireland from the south.

Mr Malachy McGurran, chairman of the Six County Republican Clubs, was refused entry into Britain when he landed at Birmingham airport at Easter.

He was travelling on a southern passport. Hours later he found himself walking

freely out of the gates of Belfast airport.

A Home Office statement said: 'The Secretary of State, having issued directions that Mr McGurran was not to be given entry into the United Kingdom on the grounds that his exclusion was conducive to the public good, he was inadvertently moved to Belfast instead of to the Republic of Ireland.'

MYSTICAL MAO



According to the weekly bulletin of the Vatican's 'Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples', Chairman Mao's thoughts contain 'Christian reflections'.

The bulletin—'Fides'—says that Mao's doctrine is 'a moral socialism of thought and conduct' because it 'looks toward the mystique of disinterested work for others, to inspiration to justice, to exaltation of a simple and frugal life, to rehabilitation of the rural masses, and to a mixing of social classes'.

The report reminds loyal Catholics that Pope John XXIII and Pope Paul had put forth 'a similar system of social thought' in their encyclicals *Pacem in terris* and *Populorum progressio*. These statements, says 'Fides', 'must have come to the notice of the Chinese leaders'.

Although forced to admit that there is one difficulty—namely, that Maoism is atheistic—the bulletin expresses the hope that 'the opening of China to the world' would provide 'a path to the Holy See'.

Relations between Pope Paul and Mao began to improve in 1970 when China released Missionary Bishop James Walsh, who had been jailed as an agent of imperialism.

BOOKS BY TROTSKY

Where is Britain Going?
Paperback 37½p

Problems of the British Revolution
Paperback 35p

Lessons of October
Paperback 60p

In Defence of the October Revolution
Pamphlet 15p

Marxism and the Trade Unions
Pamphlet 25p

Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International
Pamphlet 10p

Postage: 10p per book, 5p per pamphlet.
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186a Clapham High Street,
London SW4 7UG

BBC 1

9.42-11.20 Schools. 12.25 Disc a dawn. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Mr Benn. 1.45 Fanny Craddock invites . . . 2.05 Tennis and racing. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Blue Peter. 5.15 Robinson Crusoe. 5.40 Hector's house. 5.45 News. Weather. 6.00 NATIONWIDE. 6.45 VIRGINIAN. The Lady From Wichita. 8.00 CHAPLIN SUPERCLOWN: 'The Cure'. Charlie Chaplin goes to a health spa. 8.30 THAT MONDAY MORNING FEELING. The Undertakers. 9.00 NEWS. Weather. 9.25 MENACE: 'Boys and Girls Come out to Play'. By James MacTaggart. With Peter Jeffrey, Anne Kristen, Sarah Sutton. 10.40 MIDWEEK. 11.30 NEWS. 11.35 BEFORE THE ARK. Detective Story. 12.05 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.30 At your service (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.00 Cartoon. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Magic fountain. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Indoor league. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Royal Windsor Horse Show. 4.25 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.20 Barkleys. 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY. 6.30 CROSSROADS. 6.55 FILM: 'Town Tamer'. Dana Andrews. Western. 8.30 THIS WEEK. 9.00 JAMES PAUL McCARTNEY. And his group Wings. 10.00 NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 A EUROPEAN JOURNEY. 11.00 SOMETHING TO SAY. The Cult of the Fact. 12.00 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY. 12.15 IDEAS IN PRINT.

TODAY'S TV

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open University. 6.40 WORKING WITH YOUTH. 7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY. 7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather. 7.35 THEIR WORLD. The Social Cat. 8.00 EUROPA. 8.30 CHERI. 9.15 SCHOOLDAYS. Times remembered by Peter Cook. 9.25 HORIZON. The Life That Lives on Man. On safari on the human skin. 10.10 UP COUNTRY FESTIVAL. Fifth International Festival of Country Music. George Hamilton IV introduces Jack Greene and Jeannie Seely. Wally Whyton, Johnny Paycheck. Dotti West, Hank Thompson. 10.40 ABOUT A BOUT. With Peter Schofield, Hilary Mason, Ray Mort. 11.10 NEWS. Weather. 11.40 REAL TIME.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Film: 'Texas'. 4.10 Cartoon. 4.25 Rainbow country. 4.55 Osmonds. 5.20 Doris Day. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Lucy. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Belles on Their Toes'. 8.30 London. 10.30 Towards the year 2000. 11.02 Place in the country. 11.35 European journey. 12.00 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.00 London. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.58 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 10.30 Report. 10.59 News. 12.00 Epilogue.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 2.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.35 Doctor in charge. 7.05 Film: 'The Forgotten Man'. 8.30 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Guideline. 11.15 Name of the game. 12.40 Weather.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Sky's the limit. 7.05 Film: 'The Night Holds Terror'. 8.30 London. 10.30 See it while you can. 11.00 Journey to the unknown. 12.00 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.25 Miri mawr. 4.35 Cantamil. 4.50-5.20 Rainbow country. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd.

HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Sport West.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.00 Guide. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 London. 5.20 Elephant boy. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.05 Banacek. 8.30 London. 11.00 Angling. 11.30 Spyforce. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.33 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 4.25 News. 4.27 Primus. 4.50 Joe 90. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'West of Montana'. 8.30 London. 11.00 What's it all about. 11.20 Avengers.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 4.25 Houndcats. 4.50 Skippy. 5.20 Doris Day. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film:



Paul McCartney and his group Wings present a mixture of entertainment in an hour-long Independent programme starting at 9 p.m.

'Battle Stations'. 8.30 London. 10.30 Sport. 11.05 European journey. 11.35 Election special. 12.30 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 12.00 Songs. 12.05 London. 4.20 Tarzan. 5.15 Nature's window. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Put it in writing. 6.30 Partridge family. 7.00 Film: 'High Noon'. 8.30 London. 11.20 Election special.

TYNE TEES: 9.25 Yours faithfully. 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Let's face it. 3.00 London. 4.25 Rovers. 4.50 Stingray. 5.20 F troop. 5.50 London. 6.01 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Battle Stations'. 8.30 London. 10.30 Sport. 11.00 Police call. 11.05 European journey. 11.35 News.

11.50 Monty Nash. 12.20 Greatest fights. 12.35 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Date-line. 3.00 London. 4.25 Land of the giants. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Partners. 7.00 Film: 'Don't Panic, Chaps'. 8.30 London. 11.00 Angling. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Edgar Wallace.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.40 Cartoon. 2.55 News. 3.00 London. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Try for ten. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Old Dark House'. 8.30 London. 11.00 Conference report. 11.20 Police news. 11.25 Name of the game. 12.35 Meditation.

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ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

HOLLOWAY: Thursday May 10, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

KINGSTON: Thursday May 10, 8 p.m. Norbiton Hotel, Clifton Road. 'Forward from May Day —to remove the Tories.'

WILLESDEN: Thursday May 10, 8 p.m. Brent Labour and Trades Hall, Willesden High Road, NW10. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

DARLSTON: Thursday May 10, 7 p.m. 'The Nag's Head'. 'Fight the State Pay Laws and Measured-Day Work.'

LEEDS: Thursday May 10, 7.30 p.m. Peel Hotel, Boar Lane. 'Building the revolutionary party.'

EAST LONDON: Monday May 14, 8 p.m. Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road, E3.

WANDSWORTH: Monday May 14, 8 p.m. Kings Arms, High Street, SW18.

WATFORD: Monday May 14, 8 p.m. Watford Trade Union Hall, near Watford Junction Station. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

TOOTING: Tuesday May 15, 8 p.m. Tooting Baths, Tooting Broadway, SW17. 'Build the Revolutionary Party.'

SLOUGH: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'Forward to the Revolutionary Party.'

SOUTHALL: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

WALTHAMSTOW: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. 'The Crooked Billet', North Circular Road. 'Force the Tories to resign.'

WEMBLEY: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. Copland School, High Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

WOOLWICH: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. The Castle, Powis Street, SE18. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

SWANSEA: Thursday, May 17, 7.30 p.m. YMCA. 'Defend workers' basic rights. General Strike to Force the Tories to resign.'

BASILDON: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. Barnstaple Community Centre. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

CROYDON: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road, Croydon. 'Forward to the Revolutionary Party.'

FELTHAM: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. 'Three Horse Shoes', Feltham High Street. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights.'

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Germany's union chiefs launch witch-hunt on left

LEADERS of the 2 million strong metal workers' union in West Germany have launched an unprecedented attack on militants within its ranks.

A leading committee of IG Metall, has declared that membership of organizations which are part of the so-called 'Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition' (RGO) is incompatible with membership of the union.

This is the first time in the history of organizations affiliated to the DGB (the German TUC), that working-class organizations have been placed on the same footing as the neo-Nazi NPD party.

The union committee says: 'The aims and activities of the extreme left wing groups called the KPD [illegal German Communist Party], the KPD/ML [Maoist], KPD/AO, worker-basis groups, the Communist League, the Communist Workers' League, and Communist Workers' Press, and the so-called revolutionary trade union opposition, are against the interests of trades unionism.'

'These groups have been declared hostile organizations. Membership of these groups is incompatible with membership of the Metal Workers' Union. 'Members of the Metal Workers' Union who take part in their anti-trade union activities, or who support them, are acting against the interests of our union, and must expect to be expelled.'

This decision was preceded by a similar move by the Print and Paper Workers' Union. These rulings are closely linked with the 'Measures for Internal Security' introduced by Willy



IG Metall leader Loderer

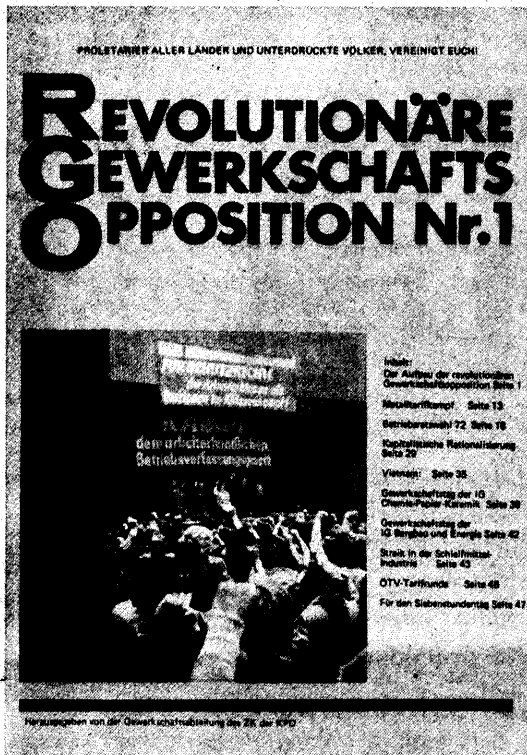
Brandt's 'social-liberal' coalition government. The Ministry of the Interior

gave the trade unions the Constitutional Defence Report about the activities of left-wing groups two years ago. Then the trade union leaders began to take measures against the members of these organizations.

The 'legal' German Communist Party (DKP) has completely supported the right-wing politics of the trade union leadership. It was the first to demand such expulsions openly in the trade unions and has provided the ideological cover for such bans and proscriptions.

The DKP Stalinists put forward resolutions at trade union congresses demanding the expulsion of Trotskyists and Maoists from the unions.

It is worth noting that the



The Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition puts out its own magazine, but membership of any affiliated organization means expulsion from the 'official' trade union movement.

DGB edict bans the Communist Party under its original name (KPD). By agreement with the social-democratic government the legal ban on the Communist Party was lifted some years ago, but the party was forced to drop its original name and reform as the DKP.

The DGB sent circulars to its district committees declaring the participation of political tendencies apart from the social-democratic leadership to be 'undesirable'.

In Lower Saxony, the DGB dissolved two youth commissions and there are more to follow. Instead of organizing their own trade union stewards, the DGB organizers asked for police protection for their May Day marches.

Labour help no-jury trial decision for Ulster

THE TORY government's proposal for abolition of trial by jury for certain offences in Ulster has been passed in a Commons Standing Committee—with the help of the Labour Opposition.

MPs on the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Bill defeated—but only on the casting vote of the chairman—an Opposition amendment to dispense with juries only when the defendant agreed.

The Labour Party opposition could have won the vote outright had it not been for the fact that their whip, Mr Don Concannon (Labour, Mansfield) abstained because of an agreement with Conservative, Mr Charles Fletcher-Cooke (Darwin) who was unable to attend the meeting.

The actual voting was 12-12.

Attorney-General Sir Peter Rawlinson justified the ending of jury trials on the basis of 'unexpected jury verdicts' which he said 'have increased with the growth of Loyalist violence'.

He quoted four cases of Loyalists charged with serious offences which had had 'surprising verdicts'.

This inference that Protestant

jurymen 'are not prepared to do their duty' was the reason for Mr Ian Paisley's vote against the government in the Committee.

Said Paisley: 'The Attorney-General's speech constitutes a slander on the Protestant section of the community and he has gone on record that the reason we must do away with jurymen in Northern Ireland is that Protestant members of juries are not prepared to do their duty—that is a very serious indictment.'

THE ATTACK on Professor Hans Eysenck at the London School of Economics on Tuesday has sparked off another major witch-hunt against students. Tory MP, Mr John Stokes, yesterday called for a group of students to be punished and sent down if it was proved they were responsible. The National Union of Students accused Stokes of 'grasping an easy headline' by attacking students.

Some LSE students will put down a motion at tonight's

● ALL POLICE leave has been cancelled for the week of local elections in Northern Ireland at the end of the month. A spokesman said yesterday that with rallies and meetings, almost 600 polling stations to be manned, and 26 counting centres to be protected, the force's 4,300 men and women would be working at full stretch. Training will be suspended. Considerable use will be made of the 700-strong Royal Ulster Constabulary reserve.

student union meeting condemning the incident and will put a censure motion against some LSE members of the Afro-Asian Society who, they claim, helped in the attack.

PAKISTAN leader president Zulfikar Ali Bhutto begins a state visit to Iran today where he will be welcomed by the Shah. Discussions are expected to range over Soviet influence in the area and Pak-Iranian relations generally.

BRIEFLY • BRIEFLY

CROSS-CHANNEL links were agreed yesterday by British, French and Belgian police delegates at a two-day conference at Eastbourne. A conference statement declared: 'Although each country represented was a member of Interpol, and Interpol representatives were present, it was considered that much could be done by a personal exchange of information by those forces separated by a narrow strip of water.'

ATHENS police have arrested seven university students alleged to have taken part in recent unrest. Together with an arrested professor and seven lawyers, they will be tried before a special court martial, according to a statement by the underground student organization 'Leonidas'. Five of the students are said to have demonstrated for academic freedom and the abolition of legislation which threatened them with conscription.

DR RAINER BARZEL yesterday announced his resignation as leader of the right-wing Christian Democratic parliamentary group. Bulk of the party voted against West Germany's continued membership of the United Nations following the admission of East Germany. Barzel favours UN membership and he saw the vote as a personal defeat. He has been under strong attack for failing to lead his party to a come-back in last November's national elections.

All Trades Unions Alliance

DOCKERS' MEETING

LIVERPOOL

No supplementary registers.
Defend the dock labour scheme!
Force the Tories to resign!
A Labour government must nationalize the docks and transport industries under workers' control

SUNDAY MAY 13, 7.30 p.m.

Mona Hotel
James Street
(near tube station)

All Trades Unions Alliance Public Meetings

What next after the miners' ballot? The fight against the Tory government

CASTLEFORD: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. Sagar St Rooms.

Speaker: G. Healy (National Secretary SLL).

BARNESLEY: Thursday May

10, 8 p.m. Red Lion Hotel, Worsborough, near Barnsley. (Please note change of venue.)

Speaker: Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee).

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE LECTURES

Merthyr Tydfil

Given by Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League

Wednesday May 16

Dialectical Materialism—a Marxist theory of knowledge

Wednesday May 23

Theory and Practice of Marxism

Wednesday May 30

Role of the revolutionary party at

St David's Church Hall, Church Street, Merthyr 7.30 p.m.

Jarrow

Given by Cliff Slaughter SLL Central Committee member

Civic Hall, Jarrow 7.30 p.m.

Mondays May 14 and 21

The Socialist Revolution in Britain:

2. The roots of capitalist crisis: Marxism and the contradictions of capitalism. Britain and the world crisis.

3. The state and revolution. Reformism and revolution in Britain. The fight for democratic rights today means preparing for working-class power.

Basic reading: Perspectives for transforming the SLL into a revolutionary party. Marxist Analysis of the Crisis. Problems of the British Revolution (Trotsky).

Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International, Communist Manifesto.

All Trades Unions Alliance meetings

TEACHERS' MEETING

The way forward after the NUT conference

Thursday, May 24, 7.30 p.m.

Conway Small Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn (admission 10p)

HOSPITAL WORKERS' MEETING

Hospital workers and the fight against the Tory government

Tuesday May 29, 7.30 p.m.

Norfolk Room Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, London SW1 (admission 10p)

BUILDING WORKERS' MEETING

TUC must break off talks with Tories! Build revolutionary party!

Wednesday, May 30, 7.30 p.m.

Tudor Room Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, London SW1 (admission 10p)

POSTAL WORKERS' MEETING

Break off secret talks with the Tories! Force the Tories to resign!

Sunday, June 3, 10.30 a.m.

Conway Small Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn (admission 10p)

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG. Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG. Newsdesk: 01-720 2000. Circulation: 01-623 7629.

Dayan acts out Zionists' gendarme role

Israeli troops threat to

Lebanese guerrillas

BY JOHN SPENCER

ISRAELI Defence Minister Moshe Dayan yesterday threatened to send troops into the Lebanon if the Syrian army should cross the border to protect Palestinian commandos.

He said that Israel had no intention of acting as policeman in an inter-Arab quarrel so long as its own security was not endangered. This is blatant hypocrisy on Dayan's part.

FLEET MOVES

His statement came only hours after President Nixon had placed the US Mediterranean fleet on a war footing in a gesture aimed at terrorizing the commandos and bolstering the Lebanese military chiefs.

Israel has appointed itself the gendarme of the entire area with the backing of the main imperialist powers. It was Israeli action—last month's commando

murder raid in the centre of Beirut—which provoked the outbreak of fighting in Lebanon.

The purpose of the Israeli raid was to spell out to Lebanon's conservative government that it must act against the guerrillas in line with the repeated demands of the Zionists.

In this aim the Israeli regime was successful: within three weeks of the Beirut attacks the Lebanese army had moved against Palestinians demanding the abolition of the 1969 Cairo agreement which awarded control of the refugee camps to the Palestinian organizations.

Since then hundreds have lost their lives as Lebanese planes and artillery (supplied partly by the USSR and Yugoslavia as well as by Britain and the United States) have bombarded the camps.

The massacre has created political convulsions in Beirut, where the prime minister has been forced to resign and the army has moved in to take control under cover of state of siege regulations.

It is the army, dominated by

the reactionary officer corps and politically servile towards Zionism, that is pushing most strongly for a repetition in the Lebanon of the Jordanian massacres of 1970.

Egypt has expressed strong support for the commandos and warned of the serious consequences that could result from the fighting in Lebanon. The Egyptian war minister Ahmed Ismail has returned to Cairo after a flying visit to Syria.

ANNIHILATION

The mass-circulation Cairo newspaper 'Al Akhbar' appeared yesterday under the banner headline 'A war of annihilation against the commandos'. It said 'there was no justification for the Lebanese army to carry out this bloody massacre'.

But rhetoric and threats apart, the commandos are again being left to stand alone against the combination of Lebanese tanks and artillery and the threat of Israeli intervention.

This is the US plan for a Mid-

dle East 'peace' being put into effect.

The imperialists know there can be no settlement on their terms in the area until the Palestinian fighters are systematically wiped off the face of the earth. This is the blood-thirsty reality of the present situation.

The counter-revolutionary massacre in the Lebanon is a direct consequence of the policy pursued by the Arab bourgeois rulers and by the Stalinists who uncritically support them.

These people have traded the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people for the prospect that the Zionists might deign to recognize them as subservient clients.

The bourgeois leaders plot behind the scenes with the imperialists to bring the infamous Rogers plan to fruition.

The Stalinists spread the illusion that 'peace' can be achieved in the Middle East on the basis of United Nations resolutions.

Between them they are combining to strangle the revolution in the Middle East and strengthen all the reactionary plans of imperialism and the Zionists.

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WE ARE now at the tenth day of the month and so far it is still much too slow for our May Fund. If we do not step up the fight today it will soon be too late to complete our target of £1,750.

We are confident that you, dear readers, will do everything possible to change the position. Never before has the political situation been so favourable for Workers Press. Our paper alone has maintained a firm stand against Phase Two and the Tories' corporatist measures. Only Workers Press has exposed the behind-the-scenes deals between this trade union leadership and the Tories.

Now, as the struggle breaks out against the introduction of Phase Three, workers everywhere will be looking to our paper for a lead. Let's not waste any time in this fight. Go into action today and help us change the situation. Raise everything you can and let's complete our Fund this month in good time. Post all donations to:

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Flare-up expected if docker is paid

A NEW flare-up among waterways workers in the port of London can be expected if Cory Lighterage decides to put a non-unionist back on full pay.

The firm's legal advisers are urging it to take this course following the refusal of the London Dock Labour Board to allow the sacking of the man, Andrew Shute.

Following the board's decision the firm went to the Appeal Court to re-argue its case for an injunction stopping a strike being called on the issue.

But three appeal judges ruled on Tuesday that there were no grounds for reversing a High Court decision not to grant an injunction against the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Cory will probably now recommence paying Shute, who up to three weeks ago had been suspended on full pay since last autumn. The firm is expected to give him three weeks' back pay.

T&GWU lightermen would be incensed by such a move.

A confrontation on this issue would throw into the centre of the stage the whole issue of registration under the 1947 Dock Labour Scheme, which is what prevents Shute being sacked.

It is thought that legal circles are well aware that this is the effect of the court moves. The Tory government, which is under big pressure from employers for an attack on the 1947 scheme, is also watching the situation closely.

Conference walk-out over block on pensions

ABOUT 300 delegates walked out of the Civil and Public Services Association conference at Margate yesterday morning over a decision which could mean withholding pension and Social Security increases due from October '1.

The walk-out—led by members of the union's post and telecommunications (P and T) group—occurred after CPSA president Len Lever refused calls for a vote to overturn the previous decision.

P and T group secretary Alistair Graham sent a telegram to Victor Feather, TUC general secretary, urging him to call off his visit to the conference planned for today.

Members of the group then picketed the rest of the morning session of the conference, returning to their seats in the afternoon.

Monday's decision on the October 1 increases was taken to press the CPSA's own claim for a rise over and above the £2.15-£4, Phase Two award just approved by the Civil Service Department. The P and T group was absent at its own section conference when this decision was taken.

It was heavily attacked in the Tory Press, and when P and T delegates came into the main conference yesterday morning three branches tried to table motions demanding a reversal of the decision.

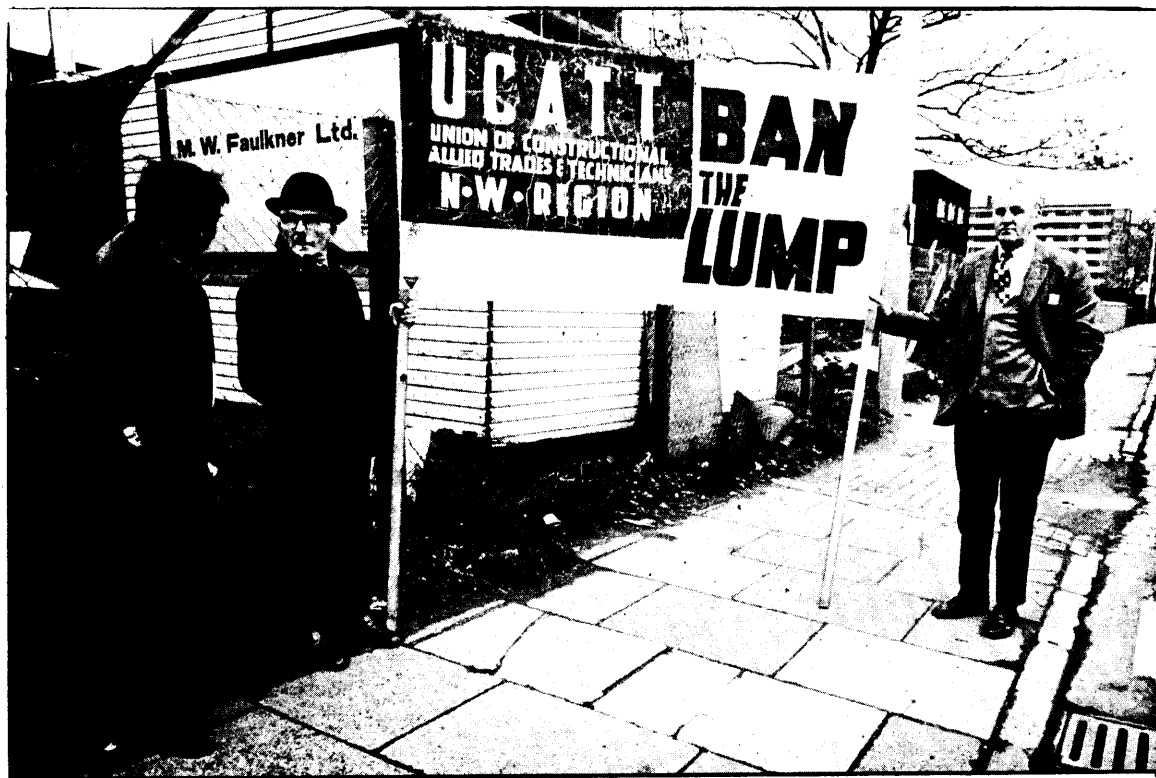
At its separate conference, which represents some 30,000 of the union's 207,000 members, the P and T group had itself decided on a breakaway move from the CPSA.

An emergency motion—originally ruled out of order but later reinstated on the agenda—called for an approach to the Post Office Engineering Union to see if it would absorb the group.

Some delegates suspected the group leadership's enthusiastic participation in yesterday's walk-out might have been connected with this move.

The walk-out was also backed by members of the 'Redder Tape' group, which includes supporters of the Communist Party and International Socialists.

Flying picket fighting north-west 'lump'



BUILDING workers in the Manchester area have launched a special campaign against lump labour in preparation for their mass lobby of parliament next week.

Yesterday their flying picket hit the Salford site of M. W. Faulkner's.

UCATT area official John

Brougham (left) alleged yesterday: 'This firm is working outside national building agreements. We have seen men arriving at 8.25 and others at 9.25.'

'The lump holds back social development in the industry. It undermines conditions and the union. But we are slowly winning the battle in this area.'

John Bloom, another UCATT

official (right) said: 'This firm is high on our list and we have already reported it to the town clerk.'

A special train will be leaving Manchester Piccadilly station at 8.45 a week tomorrow to take building workers to lobby parliament when Labour MP Eric Heffer will present his private members' bill to outlaw the lump.

Disaster pit to close—after 39 years

COAL BOARD officials in the north-west yesterday recommended closure of a north Wales colliery, employing 1,100 miners, after a meeting with union officials in Walkden, Lancashire.

The recommendation came on the eve of a key meeting of the National Union of Mineworkers' executive, which faces a call from north Yorkshire for a coal-field strike over closures.

It is certain to strengthen feeling in support of the ballot move.

The north Wales pit in question is Gresford colliery, near Wrexham.

According to Peter Tregelles, north-west area director of the NCB, financial results at the pit have been badly hit.

Geological faults have resulted in faces being stopped early, either during the development

stage or shortly after coming into production.

He conceded that the miners had co-operated fully in seeking a way out of the difficult mining conditions.

The NUM has a month to appeal to the Coal Board against closure, and area secretary Josiah Ellis yesterday said the union was bound to oppose the decision.

'The jobs of 1,100 men are at stake there', he said. 'This will be a big blow locally and particularly in Wrexham if the closure comes about.'

Gresford colliery was developed in 1912 and was the scene of a major disaster in 1934 when 265 men died.

Young Socialists Students Society

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