

What
we
think

Tory press scream for union laws

THE TORY press barons lost no time yesterday in pressing home their advantage from the union leaders' monumental retreat on the docks.

Far from appealing the Tories, the vote at Wednesday's docks delegate conference to accept the Pearson recommendations has strengthened their hand.

Just as Hugh Scanlon's acceptance of the three-year Measured-Day Work productivity package in engineering opened the door to Wilson's attempt to bring in anti-union laws, the Tories and their press see the docks' leaders' retreat as their opportunity. The 'Daily Mail', for example, screamed across its front page yesterday that 'Strike madness puts car giant in the red'.

Alongside a witch-hunting attack on one of the Royal Group docks shop stewards, it carried the news that Vauxhall Motors has lost £3,280,000 in the first six months of the year.

It links this with the rise in working days lost through strikes—according to the Department of Employment and Productivity—from 2,668,000 in the first six months of last year to 5,008,000 in the first six months of 1970.

Its conclusion: 'The public is impatient for action. Mr Robert Carr, the Minister for Employment and Productivity, will never have a stronger mandate for his reforms.'

The word 'reforms' in this context refers to the Tory programme for shackling the trade unions: anti-strike provisions, legal restrictions on shop stewards, enforceable contracts and the whole gamut of anti-working-class corporatism.

Heath himself spelled out the Tory plan when he announced at a Northumberland Tory garden party on Wednesday that the government would be preparing legislation to 'reform the jungle of industrial relations'. 'Is it not time,' he asked, 'that we found a better way to settle industrial differences and disputes than the costly and wasteful form we have been enduring this last fortnight on the docks?'

Jones' retreat on the docks is now being turned against the carworkers, who face major struggles in the coming period.

The motor manufacturers, faced with falling profit rates—and in many cases enormous losses—round the world, are determined to recoup by driving their workers harder for less wages.

Like the dock employers they are tightening the productivity screws against car workers and hope, with the aid of unemployment and the treachery of the trade union leaders, to break carworkers' resistance to their plans.

That is the vital importance for all workers of the dockers' struggle for the £20 basic wage and against the Devlin plan—a struggle which is not yet over despite the union chiefs' agreement to the Tory-sponsored Pearson-Paynter proposals.

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AGREED damages totalling £485,528 were awarded in the High Court yesterday to 28 deformed 'thalidomide children' and their parents.

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Prepare to fight Devlin

WEDNESDAY'S retreat by docks delegates on the Pearson Report face dockers with an even greater danger—a complete rout over the Devlin Phase Two modernization plans.

With the militant Merseyside and London dockers still to meet, the Pearson question is certainly not resolved for the Tories. But the spectre of Devlin still hovers over their decision.

This is the harsh logic of compromise which cannot be disguised by any amount of bureaucratic rhetoric or effaced by rank-and-file threats to leave the 'White' T&GWU and join the 'Blue' NAS&D.

Dockers must not allow their frustration and hatred of the full-time officials—and there is plenty of both in dockland now—to get the better of them.

This is no time for histrionics, but for serious and objective analysis and judgement on the history of Wednesday's compromise and its implications for all dockers.

This was first of all a political dispute because it involved the security and stability of the Tory government and its plans to cripple the trade union movement by unemployment and legislation.

The Tories treated it as a political dispute from the start.

'Not enough' cry as Tilbury returns

TILBURY DOCKERS voted for a return to work yesterday after a report-back from Wednesday's delegate conference which painted the Pearson Report in glowing colours and contained not one single word on Devlin Phase Two.

To shouts of 'not enough' and reminders from the floor that the implementation of Devlin was central to Lord Pearson's proposals, Transport and General Workers' divisional chairman Harry Battie told the meeting:

'Don't confuse this issue with Devlin Phase Two.'

Confusion over the meaning of Pearson was very much in evidence.

T&GWU shop steward Les Tite said: 'I think Jones was correct and I accept the democratic decision of the delegate conference.'

'It was a compromise. This will set Phase Two back and it will have to be renegotiated on the basis of the £20.'

'However, if they took another vote on it, I don't think it would be accepted.'

T&GWU steward P. Davies told Workers Press:

'It stinks. They're dangling a carrot in front of the men in the form of overtime.'

'It's just a few crumbs in order to get through Devlin Phase Two.'

'Blue' union steward Harry Sage reiterated that the main fight was against Devlin.

'If men are out of work, that's not modernization,' he said.

'We had a container ban here for nearly 18 months until it was lifted two months ago when the assurance was given that Devlin Phase Two would not be implemented on June 29.'

'Then the employers said

Heath in his address to the 1922 Committee called on the whole ruling class to prepare to take on the dockers, and, to show he wasn't fooling, he prepared to mobilize the troops.

The trade union leaders and the delegates on the other hand, haunted by the spectre of 1926, did nothing to warn the dockers about the prospects of the strike or even to prepare for a long drawn-out battle which would have involved bitter clashes with the capitalist state and its agencies.

'Solution'

The philosophy of the trade union bureaucracy was succinctly summarized by Transport Union secretary Mr Jones on the day of the strike call:

'The fact that we shall concentrate on an effective and total stoppage does not mean that we shall lessen our efforts to find a solution. We hope it will not be a long strike... ('Morning Star', July 10.)

He was supported in this attitude not only by the Trades Union Congress but by the Communist Party, which refused consistently to demand that the wages struggle be integrated into a campaign to force the Tories to resign.

When a resolution to this effect was moved in the Liverpool Trades Council the Stalinists demonstratively opposed it.

The CP, because of its virtual control of the national docks shop stewards' movement, could have effectively spiked the guns of the union leaders and prevented the compromise from taking place.

This did not happen because the CP, which had already offered the olive branch to the union leaders by winding up its Liaison Committee after the 1967 strike, was, and is, completely dedicated to the peaceful and 'evolutionary' road to socialism.

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T&GWU steward George Cox told the Workers Press afterwards:

'I personally am very disappointed with the whole thing. Jack Jones at Liverpool showed his clenched fist and said he'll fight and he received tremendous support. But now he's somersaulted on us.'

Another steward said: 'I didn't really want to see a return to work. We've been out for two weeks, like we have in the past, and we've got nothing.'

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The big danger now facing the Southampton men is the talk by some stewards of 'getting the best out of the

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Unions challenge BUA liquidation threat

UNION chiefs have challenged British United Airways over their threat to liquidate the airline if the dispute over pay parity with state airline workers was not settled by midnight last night.

They announced that a mass meeting due to take place yesterday will be held tonight.

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London meetings could stem retreat

MASS meetings at London's main docks this morning will be considering delegates' recommendations to return to work on the basis of the Pearson inquiry terms.

And, as thousands of dockers digest the fact of the huge official retreat carried through by the Transport and General Union leadership, many are adamantly opposed to going back on the present terms.

'Let's wait and see what happens tomorrow,' was the reaction of many dockers yesterday. They hope that a lead will be forthcoming to continue the strike in conjunction with Liverpool and other ports.

Others, particularly older dockers on the Riverside wharves where Phase Two of the Devlin speed-up scheme is already in operation, are

less dissatisfied with the Pearson recommendations.

As they see it, it doesn't affect them anyway. The great majority of dockers, however, are deeply hostile to the Pearson deal.

One docker at the Victoria Dock said:

'We've got nothing out of it. I don't think Jones should have called it off. But now no one can tell what will happen. It all depends on tomorrow's meeting.'

'Unless we make it official we will be back on £11 8d whenever the employers want it like that,' said another docker.

'I think Jack Jones should have accepted this present offer—I don't think it could have been changed without a long strike—but he should also have cancelled all negotiations on Phase Two of Devlin.'

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'We came out for £20 basic, Pearson doesn't give us a penny, so we go back after two weeks for nothing. We should stay out.'

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- Seek a meeting with the employers to clarify local application of the Pearson proposals, and
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MEETING

'No recommendations will be decided until we have a further stewards' meeting tomorrow morning,' said the port's stewards' chairman Jim Symes after yesterday's meeting.

'What we have done is accept the decision of the delegates conference—which we voted against—not the Pearson recommendation,' he claimed.

'Modernization discussions will continue as before.'

However, many rank-and-file union members and some stewards were disgusted by what they described as 'just a delaying tactic'.

'I've lost all faith in Jack Jones—he's just a paper tiger now,' commented one left-wing steward.

'I can tell you a lot of stewards—including Party men—want to go back,' another steward told the Workers Press.

Hostility to the T&GWU leadership was echoed by rank-and-file Danny Hopwood:

'Jones wanted to retreat right from the beginning. He said we wouldn't go back without an increase on the basic, so we shouldn't go back. How does Jones reckon we've got anything? He's gone back on his own statements.'

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'I'm not in favour of going back. Nobody will go back in Liverpool but we'll have to bring the other ports out as well.'

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His aim is to rally support for Nasser's acceptance of the Washington initiative in the Middle East.

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RESPONSE to the treachery of Nasser's 'unconditional acceptance' of the Rogers 'peace plan' is a wave of protest by the Arab masses.

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DISCUSSIONS

An Al-Fatah representative is still engaged in discussions in Cairo with the Egyptian government.

Meanwhile, the final agreement to begin negotiations on the Rogers plan are held up while the Israeli cabinet tries to find a united formula for acceptance of the US proposals.

The most likely outcome seems to be a split, in which the right-wing Gahal party refuses to accept the deal, but the majority of Meir's cabinet agrees to it.

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Busworkers were considering sympathetic strike action when the Spanish Cabinet decided at an emergency session on Wednesday night to place all strikers under military discipline.

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By Larry Cavanagh (Mersey dockworker)

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AN ITEM in Workers Press recently described how big business in America was encouraging the development of black capitalism ('When Black is Bountiful', Workers Press, July 10).

The Ford Motor Company had deposited 500,000 dollars in the new First Independence National Bank, opened in Detroit this month.

The president of this bank, Mr David B. Harper, was quoted as declaring:

'A Black bank is able to make money available to black people. This is what the bank is all about.'

A number of big corporations have set up black subsidiaries in the ghetto areas.

Two out of every five businesses in Harlem are black-owned these days.

The Nixon Administration has been encouraging this development through the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, established in March 1969.

The 'US News and World Report' has noted:

'Black capitalism is turning out to be a form of "Black Power" with wide appeal to members of both races, and one which is gaining backers — and financial assistance — among white businessmen, bankers and industrialists.'

Some of the thinking behind this policy is quite simple and can be illustrated by remarks such as that made by Ralph T. McElvenny of the American National Gas Company:

'The Negro must have a stake in the economy that gives him more to lose than to gain by rioting and insurrection.'

Community

Or, as Mr Thomas H. Burress of Philadelphia who is active in the city's black business community explained:

'If people in the neighbourhood own a share of the business, when someone with a Molotov cocktail approaches the place, windows will fly open and residents will say "Don't you dare burn my dollar's worth".'

Of course, the encouragement of 'black capitalism' does not change the position of the black worker in American society any more than the employment of black policemen does away with police brutality.

The problems remain. The youth are still unemployed, the slums are still slums, there are still rats in the tenements. The power remains in the hands of the ruling class which is responsible for these problems.

In fact, in a period when US capitalism is in decline, there is little real future for black capitalism anyway.

This was pointed out in January of this year by a former Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and governor of the Federal Reserve System, the black economist Andrew Brimmer.

In a paper presented to the American Economic Association Brimmer argued that black-owned businesses tend to be small, insecure, service industries—food stores, laundries, beauty parlours and so forth.

Ghettos

Most of them owed their existence to residential segregation and catered for a poor market in the ghettos.

They stood little chance of competing successfully with big business.

'Self-employment is a rather rapidly declining factor in our modern economy', said Brimmer. 'For the great majority of the Negro population it offers a low and rather risky pay off.'

He went on to warn that if more businesses were started they 'would certainly be more prone to failure than already established firms, and their failure would leave a lasting burden on the individuals starting these firms'.

Furthermore... the pursuit of black capitalism may

IN TWO PARTS
PART TWO
PART ONE IN
YESTERDAY'S
WORKERS PRESS



Black 'Panther' Nationalists demonstrate against imprisonment of one of their leaders.

BLACK NATIONALISM: THE BIG DIVERSION

by CHARLES PARKINS

retard the Negro's economic advancement', by diverting attention from schemes that would really help.

Of course the 'black capitalism' programme will not really bring economic advancement for the black masses and it isn't really intended to.

The aim is political — to encourage and maintain a layer of people in the black ghettos who have a stake, or believe they have a stake, in the continuance of capitalism. These are the allies which the American ruling class has found, to help it maintain the oppression of the black masses.

If these new 'Uncle Toms' can talk 'black', if they can hide their ambitions behind militant-sounding 'black power' slogans, then they are so much more useful as allies. They can be used to divert

States might say "we shall overcome" over national television, but would never call for Black Power, has also been disapproved—by Richard Nixon, seemingly the most unlikely of men. The country needs "more black ownership", Nixon said during his campaign, "for from this can flow the rest: black pride, black jobs, and, yes, Black Power".

In the past in Workers Press and in 'The Newsletter' we have insisted on drawing attention to the potentially reactionary aspects of the 'Black Power' movement.

While defending the rights of persecuted groups, such as the Black Panthers, our comrades in the Workers League in America have opposed Black nationalism as a diversion and have stood for the view that the black masses can only be

press the universal uncertainty and fear of the petty bourgeoisie—the fear of being proletarianized. It is reformist and reactionary. There is a world of difference between these two concepts of "Black Power".

Purdie thought it was wrong for Marxists to make the careful distinction which Mike Banda was making. He insisted on ignoring the petty-bourgeois aspect of 'Black Power' ideology and asserted that it didn't exist.

According to Purdie, the Black Power movement was undeniably revolutionary, the petty-bourgeoisie were all integrationists and 'This is the reason for the most virulent opponents of Black Power being, precisely, the Negro petty-bourgeoisie'. The simple, short answer to

alists, this does not alter the petty-bourgeois character of the nationalist ideology.

Nor does it provide any excuse for people who claim to be Marxists helping to spread nationalist illusions, as the revisionists have been doing.

I would strongly recommend Tim Wohlforth's pamphlet 'The New Nationalism and the Negro Struggle' for an analysis on this subject and an able exposure of the revisionism of the Socialist Workers Party.

As for our own local revisionists, they can usually be counted on to expose themselves.

On the question of nationalism, Mr Purdie says:

'Banda remarks that the US Negroes do not constitute a nation. By all conventional standards of nationhood this may not be so, but the concept of nationhood... is mobilizing the black masses against the bourgeois state.'

Myth

In other words, never mind whether black nationalism is based on a myth, or whether it is true, so long as it serves to mobilize the masses!

This remark betrays an opportunist, petty-bourgeois contempt for truth which is completely alien to Marxism.

As for nationalism mobilizing the masses against the bourgeois state, this must surely make the American ruling class very peculiar people; they are, as we have seen, evidently supporting a movement against themselves!

The real role of nationalism in this situation is to enlist the black youth and workers behind the leadership of their 'own' middle class and to divert their movement so that it does not threaten the bourgeois state.

Unlike the revisionists, the American ruling class has realized this.

If black youth are attacking a store in the ghetto, the nationalists can tell them that the problem is that the store is white-owned, not that it is capitalist.

Rats

If there are rats in the tenement, and the schools are overcrowded and dilapidated, the ghetto people can be diverted into a movement for 'community control' of schools, etc. instead of attacking capitalist landlordism and corrupt city government.

The black nationalists showed their usefulness to the US ruling class when they encouraged scabbing during the New York teachers' strike, instead of working to unite teachers, pupils and parents into a movement to demand better education.

And the revisionists in the SWP tried to apologise for and cover-up this reactionary stand, which was splitting the working class.

The capitalist system offers no future to the black youth.

To overthrow this system they need, not nationalist myths, but a real understanding of the social situation and a revolutionary movement of black and white workers to achieve workers' power.

'Black Nationalism' by the Nigerian writer Essien Udorn, gives a very useful account of the Black Muslim movement, which indicates some inter-connections between it and black capitalism.

Police provoke black workers in Philadelphia.



the militancy of the black masses and the youth into nationalist channels where it will not threaten the system.

So the Ford Foundation puts money into conferences on 'community control' and similar 'black power' causes.

The Central Intelligence Agency, long experienced in the selection of suitable friendly African nationalists to help US imperialist penetration, now looks for similar recruits in the United States itself, working as usual through the anonymity of various benevolent foundations with lots of funds. As an article on this topic in 'Ramparts' magazine commented:

Slogan

'... Black Power hardly seems a revolutionary slogan today. It has been refined and domesticated, awarded a prominent niche in the American dream. And Carmichael's statement of a few years ago, that the President of the United

'The CIA as an Equal Opportunity Employer', 'Ramparts', June, 1969.

this statement is that it simply isn't true. Although in the past the Negro middle-class leadership was integrationist, doing its best to assimilate into American bourgeois society, there is a whole layer of ghetto petty-bourgeois who can't make it.

They run shops and laundries in the ghettos.

Their sons may be teachers, or in other professions. These people are also affected by discrimination and other problems which affect the black proletariat, and they feel very



Stokely Carmichael

sensitively the humiliations imposed on blacks as an oppressed people. But unlike the black proletariat, they also feel, as property owners, an instinctive fear of revolution and hostility to socialism.

It is these people who have turned to black nationalism and whose petty-bourgeois aspirations are contained in calls for 'black pride'.

If the support of white trade union leaders for the system of oppression and the failure of liberal civil rights movements have led some black workers and youth, in the absence of a real revolutionary alternative, to be attracted to the superficial militancy of the black nation-

'A Marxist Debates the Socialist Labour League', Pioneer Book Service, 1968.

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CISSY LODGE VISITS AN EXHIBITION OF RUSSIAN ART

ARTISTS WHO REFLECTED SWEEPING SOCIAL CHANGES

ART



Malevitch
Pencil Drawing No. 1

'THE NON-OBJECTIVE WORLD. 1914-1924'

Annelly-Juda Fine Art
11-12 Tottenham Mews, London W.1.
Until September 30

Review by Cissy Lodge

THE RUSSIAN painter Kasimir Malevitch wrote in 1916 that 'no torture chamber of the Academies can withstand the passage of time.

'Forms move and are born and we make newer and newer discoveries. And it is absurd to force our age into the old forms of the past.

'The hollow of the past cannot contain the gigantic constructions and tempo of our life.'

With these words, he expresses some of the almost fanatical enthusiasm and partisan feeling with which the artists in this exhibition embraced the changes

sweeping Russia and Europe between 1914 and 1924.

The new style of 'non-objective painting' born at this time must be understood above all as the desire to express a new epoch in man's history.

Behind this upheaval and change lay the force of the international working class moving into history and forcing change to come about, sweeping away in practice the old conceptions.

Cubism

As capitalist production destroyed the old barriers between nations through trade and production, the concentration of capital in fewer and fewer hands, so it created an international working class.

The change begun by the impressionists in the last century,

of a rejection and escape from the dead hand of a Philistine ruling class, reached a new stage.

As the exhibition shows, the break with the old forms of art was not confined to Russia, but occurred simultaneously throughout Europe.

Cubism, through the works of Picasso and others, hit an already seething artistic world in Russia like wildfire, and was immediately carried forward to a new stage, which the Cubist painters themselves had not envisaged.

The atmosphere produced by the collision of the developments of modern art in Europe with a Russia that had been dominated by the Tsarist authorities and the 'high priests of bourgeois taste' was electrifying.

Out of this conflict was born non-objective painting. Kandinsky described this fertile movement of forces in 1913:

'Moscow, with its duality, complexity, its fluid external mobility; the clash and struggle and confusion of its different external elements . . . this Moscow, I consider to be the inspiration and starting point of all my endeavours.'

And yet, when you look at the work of these painters, you may think what is the meaning of these scattered squares and rectangles? What has he got to do with revolution or the working class, or with life at all?

On laws

The most important thing to remember is that art must develop from its own laws, and although these artists talk of making a complete break with the old traditions, they cannot express a new society when that society has yet to be created.

These artists, who were partisans of October, although many in an idealist way, had to change the whole language of artistic production before they could create the art of which they spoke.

So the effect of the revolutionary upsurge of the working class on them took a philosophical form. They began to understand themselves as part of a period of great contradiction. They sought to express in their art the movement produced by the conflict of opposing forces.

In Malevitch's 'pencil drawing', he produces through the juxtaposition of differently shaped and sized rectangles, a sensation of movement through space.

In Kandinsky's painting 'Floating, no. 118', this movement reaches a great complexity. The forms are reminiscent of boats and aeroplanes, of bio-

logical shapes seen through a microscope.

Artists drew on the most recent developments in science and technology for their inspiration, to express a new understanding of space and movement.

New World

They called this art non-objective because they wanted to free creation from imitation and reproduction of objects.

They wanted to express an objective world of space and energy independent of man. The first aeroplane flights, radiography revealed to them 'an absolutely new world'.

But as Kandinsky himself realized, the time in which he lived was made up of both a blind alley and a threshold, with a great preponderance of the first.

BOOKS

GIANTS IGNORED

REVIEWED BY N. MAKANDA



'STUDIES IN RURAL CAPITALISM IN WEST AFRICA'

By Polly Hill
Cambridge University Press, 1970. 70s.

The study covers *inter alia* Ghanaian cocoa farmers, without paying adequate attention, however, to the role of the giant British buying and marketing 'monopolies' to whom the farming capitalists are strictly subservient.

The Ewe fishermen are described and there is a detailed account of cattle-owning local capitalists on the Accra plains, and of 'Fulani' herders.

The Katsina tobacco trade is examined and the book concludes with a chapter on farmers in a 'Hausa' village.

The statistical tables, maps, graphs and bibliography are useful, although incomplete

and inadequate once more in their failure to relate the local capitalists to the imperialist masters whose role Polly Hill fails to comprehend in the detailed study of specific areas of rural production.

The study of the *status quo* can always be misleading, especially in a semi-colonial region where industry has been starved deliberately by imperialism for such a long time and where its relative absence seems reasonable justification for not treating this sphere of the economy.

But it is precisely manufacture and heavy industry which are the main needs of W African production, even in relation to farming production.

Farming and pastoral production have been emphasized by colonialism, in its own interests. The same emphasis need not be preserved in a serious economic study of a region. What has not been discussed in this book is a more serious defect than what is discussed—namely a close examination into the causes and reasons for the industrial and rural starvation of the area only partially covered by Polly Hill's study.

Many of the works of these artists are like blueprints or sketches for something much greater.

Malevitch, Lissitsky, and many others produced works which were really the beginnings of a whole new environment—plans for the architecture of the new society.

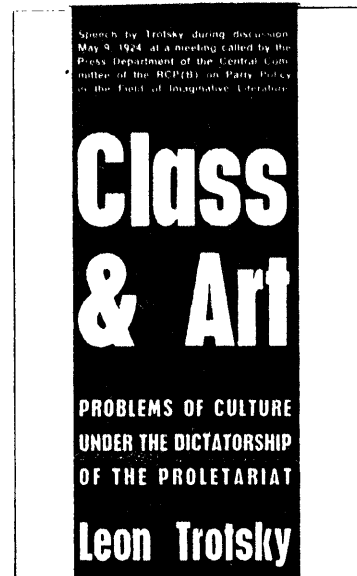
These never came to fruition. Their imagination was dragged into a blind alley, because the possibilities of socialist development and the unresolved crisis of leadership created contradictions that could not be resolved by art itself.

This was not because 'Lenin ended the discussions and development, and replaced constructivist art by social realism', as the author of the catalogue of the exhibition claims.

Bauhaus

The period after the revolution was one of difficulties and hardship. The revolution could not go forward to socialism in the most backward country of Europe without the aid of the working class internationally.

As the exhibition shows, the seeds born in Russia were carried first of all to Germany by Lissitsky, Tatlin and others, and were able to develop to a further stage in the Bauhaus experiment.



Lissitsky Proun 1D (Lithograph)

But the Bauhaus itself was destroyed in 1933 after the defeat of the German working class.

If these tremendous changes in art were made possible by the revolutionary upsurge of October and the German working class, then the period that we are now in, with a working class far more powerful and confident, must be of even greater implications for art.

Nixon plans police state

EIGHT days ago, the United States Senate passed what has been described as the most controversial and repressive laws seen in Washington in years.

The District of Columbia Crime Bill authorizes preventive detention of suspected criminals, even though the local police force and the justice department admit that there is no way yet to tell whether a particular suspect will commit a crime if released before trial.

Model Bill

The importance of the Bill goes far beyond the District of Columbia, for the Nixon Administration considers it a model case he may commit another—there is the long-sought authority to tap conversations, whether on the telephone or any other way.

All the controversial provisions infringe personal liberties.

Quite apart from the preventive detention—which amounts to putting a man who may have committed a crime in prison in case he may commit another—there is the long-sought authority to tap conversations, whether on the telephone or any other way.

The Nixon Administration asked for and got the authority to listen in to any conversation and not just to those that might relate to national security, which had been the guide until now.

The debate in Congress specifically referred to authority to tune in on doctors talking to their



Fred Hampton: Shot dead by Chicago police.

patients, on lawyers talking to their clients, and even to bug the confessional and listen to the priest sorting out the sinner.

Finally, the Bill authorizes the police to break and enter a house without announcing themselves.

The powers which this law now places in the hands of the custodians of the US capitalist state are staggering.

It gives the police a virtual *carte blanche* in dealing with militants—first, by recording some ambiguous phrase which may be uttered on the telephone and then by locking them up without bail.

Legal seal

As for police breaking and entering without announcement, the Bill puts the legal seal on what was virtually the case anyway.

In the Chicago massacre, in which Black Panther Fred Hampton was shot dead, the police knocked politely and patiently waited for the door to be opened before riddling the room and its occupants with bullets.

Now they won't have to knock.

US Round-up

AS THIS week opened with a report that the US balance of payments deficit in the second quarter will be between a swingeing \$1,000 million and \$1,500 million, Congress is engaged in pushing through a bill which is a declaration of trade war.

It would impose quota restrictions on a wide range of imported goods thus allowing US prices to rise.

Nixon, who knows that protection is a double-edged weapon—every import curb must provoke retaliatory action against US exports—was an advocate of 'freer trade' until recently.

His only lapse was on the question of textiles, which he promised to protect in the course of his election campaign.

Then, last month, the talks between US officials and a high-powered Japanese delegation Foreign Minister Sato was part of the team—failed to reach agreement on voluntary control of non-cotton textile imports from Japan.

Nixon had to give in to the textile lobby and agree to import quotas being set. Next to textiles shoes are the commodity for

'PROTECTION RACKET'

which protection from foreign competition seemed a vote-winner. So the Bill was amended to include shoes.

At this point, every lobbyist began putting on the pressure, and the House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee, whose chairman Wilbur Mills is nowadays an ardent protectionist, brought other commodities into the Bill.

A recent version of the Bill gave the President powers to cut back imports to the average value for 1967-1969 on any commodity where imports made up 15 per cent of the US market.

The Bill has to be voted on by both Houses of Congress.

If it were adopted in its present form, Nixon would then be faced with the question of whether to veto what was originally his own Bill. It would then have to get a two-thirds majority in both Houses to become law.

Of course, it is the recession which set off the current wave of protectionist sentiment among US politicians. Among exporters, however, the idea is rather less popular.

The Emergency Committee for American Trade, representing companies like Ford's, Boeing,

Heinz, IBM and Pepsi-Cola, has been set up. It put a full-page advert in a recent issue of the 'Washington Post' headed: 'Congress—Please don't declare a world trade war'.

The more far-sighted representatives of the ruling class are strongly opposed to the rise of protectionism.

Treasury secretary David M. Kennedy told a Congress committee last week:

'In our efforts to achieve such a surplus (in the US trade balance) we must not follow the self-defeating course of widespread barriers to imports. Such a course invites foreign retaliation, fosters inefficiency at home, and retards the growth of real income.'

While it is one thing for Congressmen to please their electors, and generous businessmen too, by promising to stop foreign competition, the leaders of US imperialism must find other ways to force the effects of the world crisis onto the shoulders of European capital.

The main issue for them is not the import of foreign commodities but the export of US capital.

They have to worry, not only about the health of the relatively light industries involved in Wilbur Mills' proposals, but also about the future of the dollar as the basis of the world financial structure.

However, it could well turn out that the Congress protectionist lobby will soon deliver a nasty jolt to the export figures of British and European capital.

The bigger they are, the harder they fall

SENATE deliberations now taking place will decide whether the giant Lockheed corporation—the capitalist world's largest defence contractor—is to teeter over the financial brink into bankruptcy.

Lockheed has written to the Pentagon revealing such deep financial problems that unless hundreds of millions of dollars are immediately injected, the Corporation has threatened to close up shop at the end of the year.

A 24-bank syndicate has come up with a \$400 million rescue plan.

But—and this is a really big 'but'—Senate could well balk at guaranteeing half of this sum under military spending because of opposition to the unprecedented cost over-runs on defence projects which have dragged Lockheed into the mire.

If the Senate hesitates at the fence the banks are certainly unlikely to step in and make up the difference.

There is much here in common with the Penn Central bankruptcy, where the government also had earlier made money available but then hung fire on a guaranteed loan which could have prevented the filing of the bankruptcy petition.

Lockheed has been locked in argument with the administration for some months.

As the quarrel is over \$1,000 million it may last not a little longer.

The villain of the piece is the huge Galaxy jet cargo aircraft, the C-5A, whose cost over-runs now amount to an unprecedented \$2,000 million.

The reduction of the C-5A order by a third is responsible for pushing up the cost of each plane.

Litigation between the two parties is expected to take at least two years to produce any decision.

But Lockheed's creditors just can't wait that long.

There are rumours concerning this apparent stalemate that indicate that if the Pentagon's strategists fail in Vietnam they may win a victory of financial chicanery.

The story goes that the Pentagon would not be too unhappy to see Lockheed go bankrupt, then to continue production of key aircraft under a court-appointed management.

There have been reports recently that Lockheed has diverted much of last summer's 'rescue' loan of \$400 million not into the L-1101 civilian air-bus for which the money was specifically provided, but into the voracious C-5A project.

This adds weight to the story about the Pentagon's thinking.

The Pentagon's fingers are very deep in this particular pie. As 90 per cent of Lockheed's sales are for military contracts the Pentagon calls Lockheed's tune.

The banks not only have the fate of their loans to worry about. Should the Pentagon adopt this loser-takes-all strategy, and the L-1101 be scrapped then several major airlines may be thrown into dire straits.

The airlines have borrowed heavily from the banks in order to pay Lockheed deposits of \$100 million for 170 L-1101 air buses.

The banks are caught in a heads-you-win, tails-I-lose situation.

The L-1101 air bus is to be powered by Rolls-Royce engines. The crisis-racked Rolls-Royce combine is considerably dependent on this contract.

JUST OUT

64 pages

Fourth International

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Volume 5 No. 3 Price 5 Shillings Summer 1970

1970 THE YEAR OF LENIN AND TROTSKY

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'Whiz-kids' are ailing at GEC-AEI

IF ONE point emerges from the latest report to the shareholders of the giant GEC-AEI-EE corporation, it is that no amount of 'whizz-kid'-ing from Arnold Weinstock or anyone else has been able to bypass the capitalist economic crisis.

Announcing a 1969-1970 profit before tax of £64 million—over £1 million below directors' December forecast—chairman Lord Nelson says:

'The profit is not as high as we had expected, even six months ago, due to production difficulties which affected output and to some heavier than anticipated cost increases. Looking to the future, it is not possible, in the present uncertain environment, to predict with any meaningful degree of certainty or accuracy specific figures of future earnings.'

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

However, faced with this 'uncertain' and 'very competitive environment' the company's plans for speed-up and redundancies are to proceed at top speed:

'[Rising prices have] imposed both a challenge and a threat, especially to manufacturers seeking to secure major long-term contracts overseas. Against this background we must continue to improve our efficiency... to support... the continuous modernization of our manufacturing plant.

'This is an essential part of management by which we will keep intact the real value of the capital entrusted to us and at the same time by satisfactorily meeting our customers' needs achieve greater rewards and security for employees and shareholders.'

Rewards for shareholders—of course—but since the initiation of Weinstock's rationalization plans, 'security for employees' has meant the

sacking of 5,000 workers at AEI Woolwich and 3,000 at the company's Merseyside plants.

CUT-BACK

In March, a report from the industry's 'little Neddy' revealed that 30,000 jobs were cut out between 1967 and June last year and predicted a further 48,000 by 1972—a 15 per cent cutback over the five-year period.

This could well be an under-estimation of the position should the Tory government agree on Common Market entry.

As on the docks, the Tories undoubtedly endorse every move made by the employers to increase unemployment.

The fight against redundancies in the combine must be continued in the face of the demand for the nationalization of GEC-AEI-EE and for the rejection of the Tory government and its proposed anti-union legislation.



Arab guerrillas in training

'Star' backs US - Nasser deal

IN US imperialism's attempt to impose its will on the Arab people through the Rogers plan, the role of Stalinism is crucial. It was in his Moscow visit that Nasser was persuaded to agree to the ceasefire and negotiations with the Zionists.

The 'Morning Star' for several weeks has avoided any direct comment on these moves. Yesterday, however, the lead story by its Foreign Editor came out in the open.

The article concentrates on the Israel cabinet crisis as the factor holding up the Middle-East negotiations. 'Israel's government yesterday... in closing... tactics over the US proposals for a Middle-East settlement already accepted by President Nasser and King Hussein of Jordan,' it begins.

'Support' explains the conflict between Mrs Golda Meir and the right-wing Gahal party and, then describes Nasser's position:

Not new

'In his acceptance of the plan, President Nasser has made it clear that it contained nothing new, that the details were already provided for in the Security Council resolution of November 1967, and that the US, by its policy of support for Israel, had hitherto prevented application of the resolution.'

The article ends by reporting that the Sudan has followed Egypt in closing its borders to Israeli broadcasts from Khartoum, and that Libya has also accepted the US proposals.

So the 'Star' leads its readers to look at the question of Egypt in an attempt to achieve 'peace'. The struggle of the Arab workers and peasants against Zionist occupation of Palestine as a base for imperialism is completely ignored.

This is in line with the role played by Stalinism, not only in the present Middle-East deal, but ever since the war.

'Support' for the nationalist workers by Moscow has at each crucial stage been used as a means to control the masses and facilitate the moves of imperialism.

Parallel

There is a striking parallel between this and the position of the 'Star' in the dock strike.

Stalinist 'backing' for the dockers has been solely aimed at preparing them for Wednesday's 'been national ones before 1970'.

It is no accident that right next to yesterday's Middle-East story, the 'Star' carries the headline: 'Dockers going back to work on Monday.'

Mersey and London not for several weeks that the Soviet arms build-up on the Suez Canal was designed to open the way for a deal with the Americans, in which Egyptian dependence on Moscow would force Nasser to agree.

Nasser's Moscow trip, prolonged for three weeks, that the London £20 holiday-pay settlement would, in fact, threaten their own local arrangements of £24 a week.

This was denied by T&GWU district secretary Lew Lloyd who claimed that this was 'a silly question'—despite the fact that many of his members were asking it. He said that 'local agreements will remain the same'.

But the bitterness remains and many dockers—despite Lloyd's appeal yesterday to their 'good sense'—will be pressing at tomorrow's meeting for the strike to continue unofficially.



Guerrilla fighters trek through rough country

coincided with great diplomatic activity between the Russians and the imperialists.

Now comes the pay-off. The Arab guerrillas, who had been backed by Nasser as a way of bargaining with imperialism, are now faced with liquidation as the Egyptian leader prepares to guarantee the right of the Zionist state to remain in Palestine.

The setting up of the State of Israel in 1948, it must be remembered, was only possible because of Soviet agreement in the United Nations.

Opened way

Even clearer was the part played by Moscow in opening the way for the Israeli victory in 1967.

The Soviet leaders warned Nasser of Israeli preparations for war—and refused him sufficient arms to meet it.

While the Israelis destroyed the Egyptian air force and burned Jordanian and Egyptian troops with napalm, the Russians denied Nasser supplies of planes.

On June 6, as the Zionist armies captured the Sinai area, Moscow forced Nasser to stop all resistance.

In November, the Stalinists supported the Security Council resolution on which the present deal is based.

Only Trotskyism has consistently given principled support to the Arab revolution, of which the struggle against Zionism forms the major issue today.

Mersey

FROM PAGE ONE

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Tilbury

FROM PAGE ONE

that they would go ahead. Devlin didn't come in on the 29th but the T&GWU didn't reimpose the ban. Why?

'We should have a complete ban. That means all OCL containers and feeder vessels. No one more than me would like to see a 100 per cent unofficial strike on Monday, but we should reserve our strength for the fight against Phase Two.'

Such conceptions are dangerous. If the dockers are defeated now, the struggle against the Tories will be weakened as the employers and the Tories well know. That was precisely the purpose of the Pearson Report.

Plateau battle rages in Cambodia

A BIG BATTLE for the Kirirom plateau is in progress some 70 miles SW of Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital.

The Lon Nol puppet army has committed 3,000 troops against strongly-defended guerrilla positions in the area, and has requested air support from the US command.

The behaviour of Saigon-based troops who moved into Cambodia with Nixon's May 1 invasion has been attacked even by a Phnom Penh commander.

Asked if he intended to request the return of Saigon forces to relieve the siege of Phnom Penh, Lt-Col Ngim Saroeung replied:

'We don't want the S Vietnamese to return. The discipline is no good. They did not go into the forest after the Vietcong. They broke into the homes of military dependents, broke down the doors, and took gold and belongings.'

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

in the hands of forces loyal to Prince Sihanouk's exile government in Peking, the Kremlin still recognizes the Lon Nol regime in Phnom Penh as the legal Cambodian government and maintains its embassy there.

In a broadcast message to the Cambodian people earlier this week, Sihanouk lashed the Lon Nol regime and those who lent it diplomatic support:

'Look carefully at the policy of the Lon Nol regime. The friendship it seeks is with the traitorous anti-popular and fascist regimes of Bangkok, Seoul, Taipei and Saigon, which send their healthiest sons to US war-mongers as cannon fodder...'

Proud

Sihanouk pointedly omitted the Kremlin when he paid tribute to those governments supporting his struggles against Lon Nol and his US backers:

'I am very proud to have Mao Tse-tung, Kim Il-sung [of N Korea], Ton Duc Thang, Nguyen Huu Tho [both of Vietnam] and Lin Biao, Chou En-Lai... as comrades-in-arms in opposing US imperialism and Asian and Indo-Chinese renegades.'

Bombing

North of Phnom Penh, near Siem Reap, heavy bombing raids were mounted against guerrillas.

Similar US air cover was given to puppet troops in a clash with liberation forces near Kompong Thom. With over half Cambodia

Discipline threat to Polish youth

CHAIRMAN of the Polish Radio and Television Committee, W. Sokorski read the riot act to the country's workers and youth in a Warsaw Home Service talk earlier this week.

'A problem to which we must devote more attention than hitherto is the introduction of social discipline in the widest sense of the word... In the socialist countries, where the law of merciless competition has been replaced by social duty, discipline has been considerably shaken... we have witnessed a gradual weakening of the need for discipline both in schools and in work establishments...'

'... we must fight more vigorously against individual phenomena of disintegration which, though isolated and far from being universal, contribute appreciably to an atmosphere of irresponsibility and slackness.'

Party and State must be accompanied by joint efforts on the part of schools, polytechnics and universities to inspire young people with a sense of responsibility and discipline...'

The seriousness of the situation, which first exploded with the Warsaw student demonstrations in the spring of 1968, is reflected in Sokorski's final remarks:

'... we must fight more vigorously against individual phenomena of disintegration which, though isolated and far from being universal, contribute appreciably to an atmosphere of irresponsibility and slackness.'

Incentives

'We must state that these conditions can no longer be tolerated, and that former law of competition must be replaced by socialist labour discipline, regulated and controlled by a proper system of material incentives.'

To counter these unspecified acts of 'indiscipline' by Polish youth, Sokorski recommended 'the efforts of the

Productivity

'Unless we overcome them we shall not be able to step up productivity and social discipline... the efforts by parents, schools, the Party and vocational organizations must not only be universal in this respect, but characterized by full solidarity, since only then shall we be able to reach a turning point in the shortest possible time.'

NASA chief resigns as new plans are announced

THE RESIGNATION of Dr Thomas Paine as administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has come at an embarrassing moment for President Nixon.

Despite Paine's assurances that his unexpected decision has nothing to do with the virtual collapse of any planned American space programme, the point remains that he is returning to an executive post at General Electric in the midst of negotiations with European governments for the additional funds refused by Congress.

Since Paine's accession to the post as NASA chief in October 1968, he has seen the space programme's budget pared to the bone and it is possible that a luke-warm European response to his pleas for cash was the final straw.

Yet despite NASA's financial position, the agency is to persist with expensive, 'one-shot' projects.

On Tuesday, NASA announced plans for an unmanned flight to Venus and Mercury in 1974.

A spokesman said it would be the first space vehicle to fly past Mercury, the closest planet to the Sun. Originally—in addition to

the full range of over 20 Apollo missions—the programme involved the early development of a space shuttle system and a 50-man space station by 1980, the establishment of a lunar base in the next decade and a manned Mars landing expedition in the next two decades.

Most of this programme is now financially out of the

SPEAKING in Washington on Wednesday, Dr Paine predicted substantial Soviet advances in space within the next year.

He hoped that the American Agency's budget would be built up to its former level.

question and even the space shuttle system is unlikely to be functioning before 1980.

The Venus-Mercury project, as well as the so-called Grand Tour of all the outer planets—which must begin in September 1977 if it is to be successful—are very much of a sop to remaining NASA scientists extremely critical of cut-backs and their demoralizing effects on the shrinking scientific teams.

WEATHER

London Area, SE central southern England, E and W Midlands, Channel Islands: Dry with sunny periods. Fog patches in places at first. Light or moderate winds. Warm. Max. 25C (77F).

SW England: Rather cloudy with occasional drizzle and fog patches early and late. Moderate SW winds. Normal. Max. 19C (66F). NW and central northern England: Mainly cloudy with occasional rain later. Fresh SW winds, increasing strong for a time. Normal. Max. 18C (64F).

Edinburgh and E Scotland, Glasgow area, Ireland: Rain at first, heavy in places, tending to become brighter and mainly dry. Fresh or strong SW wind, veering NW moderate. Rather cool. Max. 16C (61F).

Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Rain at times in the North. Dry and sunny in the South. Temperatures normal in the North. Warm in the South.

Southampton

FROM PAGE ONE

Devlin Phase Two package deal.'

As dockers Kevin Hayes put it: 'The package deal raises the whole question of redundancy—I'm extremely dubious about it. I don't believe all this talk of £38.'

'I really thought we would still be out.'

New attack soon on Post Office jobs?

IT IS CERTAIN that the 400,000 workers in the Post Office industries are to face a big onslaught from the employers on jobs and conditions in the near future.

While the Report and Accounts published this week shows a £30,079,000 profit on total services in the April 1-September 30 1969 period, the employers continue to emphasize the £9.4 million loss in the postal section.

It insists that the telecommunications section (profit

BY BERNARD FRANKS

£39.5 million) must be looked at separately.

Many Post Office workers are convinced that this division is a preparation for de-nationalization of the more profitable sections of the Post Office. This is a process, begun by the Labour government with their reorganization of the Post Office from a Department of State to a public corporation, with the main aim of making what the Tories are not slow to continue it.

The 'productivity' merchants have looked with increasing concern at the intensity of labour within the Post Office.

Replacement

Huge sums have been spent on finding ways of replacing workers by machines and to rationalize working operations.

The Post Office Corporation expects to spend £2,700 million over the next five years on the introduction of mechanization and automation. One of the major innovations in the postal sector is that of automated sorting. Machines exist which can size, grade and postmark a letter, and scan stamps optically for stamp value.

One operator is required to manipulate a keyboard machine which prints on each envelope a set of phosphorescent dots, equivalent to the postal code.

From this point, the envelope's destination can be read automatically by photo-electric systems in all subsequent sorting.

Modern sorting equipment has been installed at Croynod and is being installed at Southampton and Newport (Mon).

Standard

The Post Office Corporation has also decided recently on a standard container for parcel handling, which can be used on road or rail, local or trunk routes.

For the telecommunications sector, the work of automating exchanges is proceeding rapidly.

The current report states that a further 27 manual exchanges have been converted to automatic workings, leaving 111 to be replaced.

Orders have also been placed for prefabricated man-holes and joint boxes and a variety of new equipment for handling jointing cables.

It is expected that eventually computers will take over the control of a large variety of Post Office operations.

Job evaluation

Along with these systems job evaluation is to be introduced to break down demarcation between jobs.

Workers will be expected to undertake any task as directed. Also, method study and time study will rationalize all work operations and relate them to a form of productivity payment. The development of these systems, together with rocketing postal charges and the possibility of further deteriorations in the service, means that neither workers who use the service nor those who work in it are intended to benefit.

Prepare now

FROM PAGE ONE

cracy in the hope that it will change and express the interests of the workers.

Adaptation to bureaucracy is adaptation to imperialism.

That is why the CP today remains inscrutably silent on the union officials' role and, instead, equivocates about the need for dockers to unite to resist the employers' attempts to get more work out of fewer men.' (Morning Star, July 30.)

Masquerade

Following closely behind the Stalinists, as usual, are the revisionists of the International Marxist Group-Spartacus League, who masquerade as Marxists and even as ex-organizers of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, which they never were.

These opportunists, who did nothing to prepare the dockers for a fight on Devlin Phase Two, now come out for a united return to work on Monday.

Exploiting the confusion on the docks—and without once mentioning Stalinism—these revisionists openly oppose an official strike because such a strike would mean a national one and 'to continue the strike unofficially will in a number of ways weaken resistance to Devlin Phase Two'.

Here is the authentic voice of petty-bourgeois scepticism and defeatist speaking. 'Don't fight—you might lose' is their motto.

This is really not surprising since in their first address to dockers ('Their fight is our fight'), these illustrious 'advisers' had nothing at all to say about Devlin or about Stalinism on the docks.

We ask these people: since when has any dock strike been official before this one? And when have any important strikes been national ones before 1970?

Whose interests, if not the bureaucracy and the employers are you serving by advocating a return to work on Monday?

Support

Unlike these traitors to Marxism, the Socialist Labour League and the Workers Press unequivocally support all struggles—national or local, official or unofficial—of the dockers against the employers, the union leaders and this government.

Here Stalinism and revisionism join hands to betray the dockers and ensure the perpetuation of bureaucracy and Toryism.

We are opposed to a return to work on Monday under the prevailing conditions and we urge all dockers in Liverpool and London not only to stay out, but to break from the Stalinist and 'left' trade unionists in the unions and construct a new leadership on revolutionary socialist lines.

That is the only way to prepare to defeat Devlin, force the Tories to resign and nationalize the docks without compensation and under workers' control.

Down with bureaucracy and Stalinism!

Forward to the construction of a Marxist leadership on the docks!

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SUEZ PLANE CLASH

Israeli and Egyptian jets clashed over the Suez Canal yesterday as the Meir Cabinet met once again to resolve the deadlock over the US 'peace plan' already accepted by Nasser and other Arab leaders.

LATE NEWS

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