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FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

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● The Tories have to establish the supremacy of their Industrial Relations Act and its legal Frankenstein, the National Industrial Relations Court.

The Court has decreed blacking is illegal. Those who oppose this will be fined and, if necessary, jailed. There is no compromise possible with a High Court—as Sir John Donaldson, the Court president, has made abundantly clear.

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When a vote was taken after only 20 minutes, two hands were raised in support of the union leadership.

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Next week will be a flashpoint in the trade union movement: the docks strike will be on the agenda and so will the result of the railwaymen's ballot. The result is certain to be overwhelmingly for industrial action.

The government has deliberately engineered this confrontation with the unions. And that is what formed the central discussion at last Monday's secret summit talks at Chequers, the Prime Minister's country residence.

Although no official communiqué was released, it is known that the ministers and their advisers discussed the introduction of a state of emergency to beat the strikers.

Jobs alarm

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These 55 clerks are on top of the 175 from Southern Stevedores who will be returned to the unattached docks register when the company closes on June 2.

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'The Southern clerks chances of new employment when their present work ceases has been looking difficult, but now with a further 55 men added to this total the situation must appear alarming.'

workers press

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● SEE SPEECHES p. 12.

Pearce is a set-back for Tories

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE REPORT of the Pearce Commission into the proposed settlement with Rhodesia is a major setback for the Tory Party and Sir Alec Douglas Home.

Despite all the 'sweeteners' offered them as part of the deal between Home and Ian Smith, Rhodesia's 5 million-strong black majority defied the racist regime's police and army to register unmistakably their contempt for the settlement.

Support

The Tories will now seek a new settlement with the Smith regime, after allowing a decent interval to elapse in the hopes that Pearce will be forgotten—or rather that Smith's police can terrorize the Africans into silence about the deal.

Smith has already called up his reserves and mobilized his entire security forces with this end in view.

His government has rejected the Pearce report and made it clear that the Tory government undertook the 'test of opinion' against Rhodesian government advice.

Smith, however, has the last laugh on the liberals who hailed the Pearce report. Whatever the outcome of the report he was always assured of maintaining power and he is also sure of covert but continued support from the Tories in Westminster.

Arms deal a fraud

PROPOSALS for nuclear disarmament under discussion in Moscow between the Soviet leaders and President Nixon are a cynical fraud.

US and Soviet negotiators at the strategic arms limitation talks in Helsinki are due to fly to Moscow and present the results of their 30-month deliberations for signature by the respective leaders.

But while Nixon talks peace with the Soviet leaders, his forces are waging the most barbarous counter-revolutionary war history has seen.

Yesterday American planes again attacked North Vietnamese power stations following an official announcement that there are now less restrictions on US bombing than at any time since the war began.

The US is systematically testing its most advanced weaponry on the workers and peasants of Indo-China, exposing the complete hypocrisy of the Kremlin negotiations.

All disarmament talks in this situation can only serve to hoodwink the international working class and camouflage the imperialists' real intentions.

WHAT WE THINK

'FROM THE Papal Bull issued in the eternal city to the intrigues of the country priests, all ecclesiastical power was lined up against Fenianism and the nationalists.'

Thus wrote 'The Times' correspondent in 1870 when the reverend fathers in one month spent £3,500 on plying Irish voters with whiskey to make them vote for the clerical candidate.

Judging by recent events in the Longford election in the Creggan and Bogside this ageless and medieval institution has lost none of its capacity for intrigue against the nationalist cause, despite the passage of 100 years.

When it suits its purpose, the Catholic Church is never slow to exploit nationalist feelings to protect its ill-gotten property and wealth—but the moment it senses trouble and danger to its temporal power, it moves with incomparable deftness and agility.

Under cover of a crusade against 'violence' and 'brutality', the Catholic hierarchy have now successfully manoeuvred a good section of Bogside and Creggan opinion against the Republican nationalists in preparation for the isolation and eventual disarming of IRA—Official and Provisional. Ever since direct rule was proclaimed the Church has worked energetically and consistently toward this aim. From Cardinal Conway down to the lowliest parish priest, all ecclesiastical power has been bent to this reactionary task.

In this they have been unwittingly helped by the bankrupt policies of the Republicans who by their equivocal attitude to the church and their acceptance of 'christian morality', as well as by the senseless bombing of factories and other places of employment, have embittered their own supporters and strengthened the grip of the church.

This is particularly true of the women who are the biggest bread-winners in Derry and who suffer most by the bombings. Being workers they instinctively

PRIESTS AT WORK ON THE CREGGAN

reject the prospect of a sectarian conflict in Ulster and being Republicans they hate the violence of British imperialism. But, unfortunately because of the absence of a revolutionary socialist alternative, these very healthy sentiments are being cynically manipulated by the church and turned against both wings of the IRA.

The Church's phoney crusade is now being supported—not surprisingly—by the reformist leaders of the Civil Rights Association, who, when not running with the Republican hare are more usually found hunting with Whitelaw's hounds.

Gerry Fitt, Social Democratic Labour Party MP, has also leapt back on the 'peace' bandwagon dutifully offering his services to the Westminster masters: 'We in the SDLP will do everything in our power to ensure that if a truce is arrived at, it would not be just for one week but would be indefinitely.'

Instructively the same meeting which adopted the six-point peace plan also refused to allow John White, Derry IRA leader, to speak. This bureaucratic manoeuvre fits in well with the church's intrigue. Whatever the political mistakes of the Officials, they have every right to speak and be heard.

The six-point plan will solve none of the outstanding problems which led to the Ulster crisis. They only allow the Tories a breathing space to effect a political carve-up, the perpetuation of the border and mass unemployment. Thanks to the Catholic Church, direct rule is working.



A LONG WAY AFTER THE FAMOUS LOW CARTOON

As the Hanoi army newspaper 'Quan Doi Nhan Dan' wrote earlier this week: 'By ignoring and tolerating the US imperialists' crimes, one cannot repel their aggression. By showing weakness one cannot punish their aggressiveness.'

The Vietnamese workers and peasants are being forced to pay in blood for the Moscow talks.

Since they entered the war seven years ago, the US forces have used 584 pounds of explosives for every man, woman and child in Indo-China.

While Nixon and Brezhnev toast one another behind the Kremlin walls, the rain of death

from America's aerial armada continues unabated.

The most ominous feature of the Nixon visit is that the Soviet press and radio has dropped all mention of its implications for Vietnam.

The Stalinist policy of 'peaceful co-existence' defended by the Soviet leaders involves the subordination of the Vietnamese revolution to the requirements of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Secret diplomacy is at the centre of this counter-revolutionary policy. What kind of deal is being cooked up within the Kremlin behind the backs of the Vietnamese fighters? The Viet-

namese leaders themselves are showing signs of serious concern, as their sharp attack on Nixon earlier this week demonstrates.

This week's session of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front reiterated the Vietnamese determination to fight to a finish against the Americans and their puppet Saigon regime.

Presidium member Hoang Quoc Viet said: 'The Vietnamese people, with a tradition of valiant struggle against foreign aggression, have fought relentlessly for more than three decades now for independence and freedom, and will never knuckle down.'

A la carte

THE MENU at Tuesday's six-course banquet for President Nixon at the Kremlin was as follows:

- Blinis with fresh black and red caviar and salmon.
- Venison baked with fruit and fresh salted cucumbers.
- Fish soup and borscht with salted rusk.
- Sterlet (small sturgeon) in champagne and roast pheasant.
- Strawberry ice-cream.
- Coffee or tea, fruit and petit fours.

Plane routes hived-off

THE TORY government has broken its promise to limit the transfer of airline routes from the state-controlled BEA and BOAC to British Caledonian Airways, says the TUC.

They say they were assured in August 1970 by the Board of Trade that the re-allocation of routes was a once-and-for-all operation, which would cost BOAC £6m in hived-off routes.

Surprised at the Tories' intensity of attack on nationalized concerns, the TUC says the figure is nearer £7.4m plus a further £2m from BEA.

In addition to this, British Caledonian has been awarded some North Atlantic routes which could cost BOAC a further £11m over the next five years.

The White Paper guidelines for the new Civil Aviation Authority explicitly instruct the giving of preference to British Caledonian over the public airlines and other private operators when awarding route licences.

Engineers' pay sit-in collapsing

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE SIT-IN strikes in the Manchester area have dwindled to 13 as more workers settle their three-point claim without the key concession on shorter hours.

Employers are pressing their advantage and in three plants talks on redundancies have begun.

At the British Steel Corporation's special steels division in Openshaw, 400 men have accepted a £2-a-week increase, plus one day's extra holiday this year after a nine-week sit in.

This follows the return of 280 BSC workers at Trafford Park (Redpath Pearson) on a cash and holidays basis only. Management

there have warned that 50 or 60 men will have to go because of a slump in orders.

Similar settlements have been made at BSC Warrington and T. C. Thompson's Ardwick. At AEI Scientific Apparatus, Barton, 200 men have returned to work pending negotiations.

At GKN's steel works in Bredbury, Stockport, talks over redundancies are going on after workers ended their ten-week

sit-in strike and accepted a £3.50 wage increase and one day's extra holiday.

Maurice Burdon, secretary of the local employers' federation, has declared the number of settlements 'extremely pleasing'.

This collapse of the claim—which was originally for a £4-a-week increase, a 35-hour week and an extra week's holiday a year—began two weeks ago and was initiated by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' executive.

AUEW president Hugh Scanlon and secretary Jim Conway signed a circular which made it clear the demand on hours was not a top priority.

This played right into the hands of the employers who were offering money but holding firm on the hours demand.

Scanlon is going round the country now advising meetings of engineers on how to fight their claim.

The abysmal record of his executive—who were the first to abandon the claim at national level for fear of a major union-government confrontation—should be a grave warning to his union members.

Leicester call for Council of Action

A BRANCH of Leicester trade unionists has passed a resolution calling for the organization of Councils of Action to defeat the Tory government.

The decision was reached by the Leicester No. 17 branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

Copies of the resolution have been sent to the local trades council and also to the AUEW national executive. It reads:

'This branch demands the recall of the TUC to prepare the General Strike to force the Tories to resign. Those leaders who collaborate with the Tory government in any way must be forced out of office.'

'Organize Councils of Action consisting of all political tendencies in the labour movement to draw millions of trade unionists, tenants and the unemployed into action against the government.'



Sacked Boeing workers join the queues for food tickets.

Will Seattle food queues come to Rolls-Royce towns?

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE MERGING of Rolls-Royce's two engine divisions at Bristol and Derby is a sign of the continuing weakness of the British aero industry.

This is clear from the statement by Rolls' chairman Lord Cole, issued to employees on the first anniversary of Rolls-Royce (1971) Ltd.

He said: 'These moves will put us in much better shape to compete... with other engine companies in world markets.'

Cole went on to say: 'Everyone in the company must be prepared to work together, give of their best, and to accept change.' (Our emphasis.)

In other words for Rolls to stay in capitalist business, the company's 80,000 workers must be prepared to accept changes in wages and conditions.

The original concept of two divisions in Rolls-Royce was that the Bristol business would develop and build the engines for the Concorde (Olympus 593) and the Derby division would do the same for the TriStar (RB211).

With the commercial prospects for these two aircraft fading, Rolls has decided to make a reappraisal of its manufacturing facilities.

The determination of Rolls-Royce management to re-establish the profitability of the company after its crash in 1971 was outlined by R. G. Hooker, managing director of the then Bristol Engine Division:

'We have to show a good commercial return on the money used in this operation. Views as to the level this should be will vary but in our class of engineering it should not be less than 20 per cent. To achieve this level in 1972 will require a profit of £12m.'

So profitability is in the forefront of the Rolls-Royce board's thinking.

But the shop stewards' organization is living in the past.

At the last full combine meeting in Bristol, the change of the wage system in Rolls-Royce to Measured-Day Work-type structures was more or less accepted.

The Communist Party Stalinists from the Scottish factories blamed AUEW right winger John Boyd for the deals being accepted there and the Coventry Stalinists justified their acceptance on the basis that it provided higher wages than were earned anywhere else in the Rolls-Royce combine.

But it is through the introduction of these deals that Rolls expect to achieve their profitability.

Hooker's statement makes this clear when he says '...attention is being turned to reducing costs. All current trends indicate that our prices are becoming uncompetitive. The reasons are twofold 1) escalation in wages and salaries... 2) overheads too high. We can reduce our costs by a) reducing stocks, b) by higher utilization of capacity and plant.'

'The business must generate enough cash to pay all the expenses and provide an attractive enough return on the money invested to ensure that our investors, be they government or private sources, do not divert their money elsewhere.'

An insight into how this might be done may be gained from a recent 'Flight International' interview with Boeing's vice-chairman and general manager, John Steiner.

He explained how, due to a sudden cut in production of 747s and 727s from ten aircraft a month to two, Boeing went into action to maintain its profits.

'Factories in the Seattle area

were closed, employees transferred from new and modern offices to old and dismal ones. Salaries were cut. Stocks of tools and equipment were sold. Factory maintenance was stopped.

'Flower beds were not weeded and factory lawns were not cut. It was not until a jammed hanger door held up the movement of assemblies that we decided we had found rock bottom.'

According to the financial pundits, the finding of rock bottom in this way shows how a determined management can maintain profitability on reduced production.

But what did the finding of rock bottom mean for Boeing's employees?

'The Bulletin', weekly organ of the Workers League in the United States, says:

'Within months over 50,000 workers at Boeing's were laid off [leaving]... only 40,000 working, about 6,000 [of whom were] working on commercial planes.'

'They are thinking of going over to a 20-day cycle which will mean that over half of those men will be laid off. In 1968 Seattle had one of the lowest unemployment figures in the nation with less than 3 per cent of the workforce unemployed.'

'Today over 16 per cent of Seattle's 1 million population are unemployed. Unemployment in Seattle is so widespread that food lines reminiscent of the soup lines of the 1930s have been set up.'

Seattle is an expression of the end of the post-war boom. Boeing is the expression of a capitalist firm with its back to the wall.

As the economic crisis develops, what is the future of the TriStar and the Concorde? Will the ghost of Boeing walk the streets of Bristol and Derby and their satellites Coventry and Glasgow?

Bentley plants give strike notice

A 14-DAY strike notice has been lodged with the various plants in the Bentley Engineering Group in the Leicester area.

The 4,000 workers in the group have put forward an 11-point pay and conditions claim.

It includes a £3 across-the-board pay increase, three weeks' annual holiday, plus four more statutory days, average pay for holidays, equal pay for women, lay off pay, double time for all

overtime, a 35-hour week and improved night shift premiums.

The strike notice has been presented simultaneously at William Cottons and John Jones of Loughborough; Grieves of Coalville; Wildt, Mellor Bromley, Bentley Engineering, Samuel Pegg, Economic Stampings and Parmeko, all of Leicester; Bentley Engineering, Nottingham; and Wildt, Mellor Bromley of Buckham in Surrey.

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ALL TRADES UNIONS

ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Fight the Tories' 'fair rents' Bill

ABERDEEN: Thursday, May 25, 8 p.m. Trades Hall, 21 Adelphi, 'The General Strike and Councils of Action.'

DONCASTER: Thursday May 25, 7.30 p.m. 'Spread Eagle' (by the Co-op). 'The Industrial Relations Act and the Tory government.'

LIVERPOOL: Thursday, May 25, 8 p.m. YMCA, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool 1.

MANCHESTER: Thursday, May 25, 8 p.m. Wheat Sheaf, High Street.

SOUTHALL: Thursday May 25, 8 p.m. Parkway Rooms (Rent office), Racecourse Estate, Northolt (next to swimming pool).

NORTH LONDON: Thursday May 25, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayer's Arms', Tottenham High Rd (nr White Hart Lane)

CROYDON: Thursday May 25, 8 p.m. 'The Anchor' (corner of Southbridge Rd and South End).

LUTON: Thursday May 25, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Hall, Lea Rd.

SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday May 25, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club (opposite New Cross Station).

EAST LONDON: Tuesday May 30, 8 p.m. 'Aberfeldy', Aberfeldy St, E.14.

COALVILLE, Thursday, June 1, 8 p.m. Miners' Welfare. 'Organize Councils of Action—Force the Tories to Resign'.

AYLESHAM: Thursday June 1, 8 p.m. The Legion (Old Working Men's Club), Burgess Rd.

ACTON: Monday June 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Rd.

MONTY JOHNSTONE

Michael Banda replies to an article by Monty Johnstone in the 'Morning Star' of April 18, 1972.



THE CASE HISTORY OF A STALINIST HUMBUG

PART 3

Trotskyism has registered some of its most important gains in the trade unions through conflict with Stalinism. It is just as essential for Johnstone to falsify the history of the All Trades Unions Alliance and misrepresent its policies in order to preserve the fast-vanishing credibility of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

The audacity of this man's distortions must surely offend the conscience of every militant trade unionist.

DISTORTION ONE: The All Trades Unions Alliance, alleges Johnstone, was formed in opposition to the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions 'of which it was unable to capture control'.

This is too ridiculous to need substantial comment. It is equivalent to the accusation that the Socialist Labour League was formed because the Trotskyists could not take over control of the Fabian Society!

DISTORTION TWO: The Liaison Committee, according to this virtuoso of Stalinism, 'brought hundreds of thousands of workers into militant class action against the Tory Industrial Relations Bill'.

This is patent nonsense. What the Liaison Committee did do—and subsequent events corroborate this judgement—was to persuade thousands of workers that the Bill would be defeated by the pressure of one-day protest actions which would supplement the opposition of the parliamentary reformists.

If the Liaison Committee—controlled by the Communist Party—is ever remembered by posterity it will be for its undying opposition to the demand of the SLL and the

ATUA for the TUC to call a General Strike to force the Tories to resign.

The Liaison Committee all along refused to translate the enormous hatred of the working class for the Tories into a political struggle to expose the right-wing traitors and force the Tories to resign.

This was its hallmark. It followed logically and cynically from the Communist Party's policy which, at that time, was to force the Tories to implement their election promises to bring down the cost of living and reflate the economy.

The political struggle against the Tories was subordinated to the fatuously Utopian and reformist aim of a 'high-wage economy'.

How the CP tries to hoodwink militant workers with its anti-Tory double talk is seen pretty clearly from the following extract from a Party leaflet outlining the policy decisions of the EC meeting of September 12 and 13, 1970: 'Communist Call for United Anti-Tory drive...'

'The left must now give clear leadership for a united mass struggle by the widest sections of the Labour and progressive movement, the youth and students, to defeat the Tory offensive and create conditions for bringing down this government.'

From all this it would seem that the CP leaders want to force the Tories to resign by mass struggle. Nothing could be further from the truth. Read on and you will find that the CP wants its Tory cake and to eat it too:

'The Communist Party suggests the following immediate proposals as a basis for rallying the widest movement against the Tories:

- Higher wages at the expense of profits; a price, rent and fares freeze; expansion of the economy; take over the monopolies and strengthen the nationalized industries.

- Higher pensions and social payments; expand, not cut, social services and the housing programme; a wealth tax and



Workers watch the December 8, 1970 protest march against the Industrial Relations Bill.

cuts in military spending.

- End US aggression in Indo-China; begin negotiations for an All-European security conference.

- Keep out of the 'Common Market.'

- No arms for South Africa.

'The forces capable of realizing these proposals exist: the task of the left and militant forces is to rally and unite them to fight.' (Our emphasis.)

Nowhere does the leaflet mention an alternative government to the Tories to realize even these reformist tasks. On the contrary it is obvious from this rigmarole that they can be realized in and through a Tory government—the forces capable of realizing these proposals exist'. Incredible as it may seem to those not acquainted with the tortuous twists and turns of the CP leaders, the 'forces' they refer to are not the working class but in fact a combination of Tory 'goodwill' and 'mass pressure'. The unstated assumption of this line of policy is that Toryism can be made to work in the interests of the workers.

This is where the British Road to Socialism leads. This, incidentally, explains Johnstone's pathological hostility to any expression of Marxism and the political independence of the working class.

It was for this reason that ATUA members were denied representation and even prevented from speaking at the November 14, 1970 conference organized by the Liaison Committee.

As a member of the illustrious jury of the Isaac Deutscher Memorial Prize Johnstone would no doubt like some concrete evidence. Well

here are a few facts he could add to the ever-mounting pile of evidence:

This, for example, is what Mick Costello of the 'Star' wrote under the blazing headline 'Everybody out for action day' ('Star', November 16, 1970) when he reported the November 14 conference of the Liaison Committee:

'All out on December 8—that's the call from the largest, most comprehensive, most militant rank and file trade union conference in British history.'

'It was made by the conference, organized by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, as the first big step in building up industrial action to defeat Employment Secretary Robert Carr's anti-union Bill...'

'The delegates adopted a programme of action to win the trade union movement for a militant line to beat the Industrial Relations Bill. Only a few "super militants" voted against.'

'A conference declaration called on the Labour and trade union movement to make December 8 "the first day of industrial action and protest in a mounting campaign".'

'... The delegates called on all unions to campaign against the legislation and for the Trades Union Congress General Council to recall Congress not later than January to make militant plans against the Tory laws.' (Our emphasis.)

The statement is notable for three things: a complete evasion of the political responsibility to make the government resign and to call on the TUC to organize a General Strike; a calculated attempt to convince workers that protest action could make the Tories retreat, and lastly a venomous

hatred of the Trotskyist opposition — i.e. the 'super militants' who fought for a revolutionary and principled opposition to the government and the Bill.

By separating the struggle against the government from the struggle against the Bill and the struggle against the Bill from the struggle to expose the compromiser leaders of the TUC, the Liaison Committee paved the way for the present dangerous situation.

One of the most prominent representatives of the Liaison Committee in the provinces and one of its main speakers at the November 14 conference was Terry Devey, secretary of the Liaison Committee in Sheffield—Devey, only a few weeks after the conference, anticipated an important principle of the Industrial Relations Act by accepting £3,000 from his firm, Batchelor's Ltd, in the course of an important reinstatement strike.

The Liaison Committee has remained silent on this sordid episode in its history and so, of course, has Johnstone. But then how could Halpin and Hiles, the Stalinist leaders of the Liaison Committee, fight Devey when their policies and tactics are determined by the professional leaders of 'peaceful co-existence' like CP industrial organizer Bert Ramelson and AUEW Sheffield district secretary George Caborn in the Communist Party?

If Devey could compromise with the Industrial Relations Act before it became law, what is there to prevent other Liaison Committee members acquiescing to the Act now that it is the law of the land?

Ramelson, on behalf of King Street, tried to dissociate the party from Devey—also a Communist Party member at



Mick Costello: an attempt to convince workers that protest action could make the Tories retreat

the time but subsequently resigned — by stating that 'Devey knew he couldn't be a member of the Communist Party and sell out... We don't tell our trade union members what to do. The party lays down the principles'. (Workers Press, January 13, 1971.)

Neither Ramelson nor Johnstone can explain to anybody's satisfaction how 12 leading Communist Party members in Sheffield knew what Devey was doing and agreed with him.

For the Communist Party leaders to say too much about Devey would be inexpedient—to say too little would be impossible. Ramelson's wretched explanation is no different in this sense from the double-talk used by his predecessor, Peter Kerrigan, to 'explain' the scandal of ballot-rigging in the Electrical Trades Union under Stalinist domination.

Another edifying example of the kind of leadership provided by the Liaison Committee was the conduct of Sid Harraway—a leading Liaison Committee spokesman—in the Ford strike.

Harraway — following the Communist Party line and helped by the International Socialist group — refused to take a principled stand on the secret ballot (another provision in the Industrial Relations Act) organized by Jones and Scanlon to terminate the ten-week 1971 strike.

For his equivocal stand Harraway was replaced as the chairman of the Ford's national convenors' committee.

Another speaker at the November 14 Conference was Norman Atkinson, MP, who insulted his audience by saying

that the December 8 strike was 'not a strike against the government at this stage... that has to come later'.

For this matchless profundity Atkinson was booed off the stage, but the 'Morning Star' made every attempt, up to and including conscious distortion, to preserve his credibility. This is how the 'Star' reported Atkinson.

'Mass action on December 8 would show the employers that they hadn't found an easy way of controlling workers. The campaign was not just directed against the government, it was also directed against the employers.'

The same edition of the 'Star' lived up to its tradition by consciously omitting the remarks of Janet Harkness—TUC Youth Award Winner and member of the SOGAT executive:

'I can't see the Joneses and Scanlons and the Dalys on this platform, giving the message on your behalf... When you come out on December 8 you are going to come out unofficially because your leaders have not given the right to strike officially. It's up to you to demand it from them!'

The method and outlook of Devey and his erstwhile friends on the Liaison Committee was aptly summed up in the editorial of the 'Morning Star' on the morning of the November 14 conference. We reproduce the relevant text:

'There is only one language that the Tories will listen to—the language of working-class strength.

'If that strength is fully used, it can force the government to retreat. This has been shown throughout the history of the trade union movement.'

'It was shown before the war, when in 1935 action on a

massive scale compelled the Baldwin government to cancel proposed cuts in unemployment benefit.

It was shown last year when the movement defeated "In Place of Strife". It was shown this year when the council workers achieved big advances by going on strike.

'This is why the call for industrial action on December 8 was made...' (Our emphasis.)

Nothing could be plainer than this reformist twaddle which ignores completely the gravity of the crisis and the magnitude of the Tories' dictatorial measures.

It is no accident that those who set out to show that the Tory government could 'be forced to retreat' by protest are today in headlong retreat before the Industrial Relations Act. It is no accident either that prominent Stalinists like Maurice Styles of the Union of Post Workers' executive, who appeared on Liaison Committee platforms, are thoroughly compromised by the actions of Tom Jackson in appearing before the National Industrial Relations Court.

Such is the dialectic of protest politics and peaceful co-existence!

This line was carried consistently and unashamedly by the Liaison Committee, although with a few variations, to lull their more critical supporters.

Thus on December 8 the Liaison Committee issued the following statement which was aimed at disarming its critics:

'Only determined action on a massive scale can be effective in forcing the Tory government to retreat...'

'1) We call on all workers to make January 12 an even more widespread and powerful Day

of National Industrial Action than today.

'2) We call on all trade union organizations to demand that the General Council recall Congress immediately...'

'To be effective Congress must meet as soon as possible to plan a campaign of all forms of industrial action including nationwide action of General Strike dimensions [sic].'

'On the day of the Special Congress:

'3) We call for a nationwide day of industrial action and demonstrations.

'We also call for a mass lobby including representative delegations from all parts of the country to lobby Special Congress.

'4) We call for every job, branch, district and executive committee to take all forms of action to intensify the campaign to defeat the Bill.'

This statement was followed a few months later by another call which gave no policy at all on how to fight the Bill.

Ignoring the euphoria of this leaflet we come to the relevant part:

'The tremendous response of more than 2 million trade unionists to the call of the engineering, boilermakers' and sheet metal workers' unions for a 24-hour strike (March 1, 1971) against the infamous Industrial Relations Bill shows the will and determination of Britain's workers to, given leadership, come into action to kill the Bill...'

'At all these magnificent demonstrations and hundreds of others, the call rings out to the General Council of the TUC "Mobilize the unions for national industrial action to defeat the Bill".'

'The next major step in the campaign will be on Thursday, March 18 when the recall of the Trades Union Congress will be held...'

'The Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trades Unions have again called for this day to be made, as was December 8 and January 12 a further day of industrial action, protest and demonstration...'

The leaflet concluded on a note of reformist hopelessness: 'Our united fight back is our safeguard! And March 18 is the day.'

'Strike a hammer blow against the Bill!'

(No reference here to a General Strike at all.)

The same refrain was echoed by Kevin Halpin, chairman of the Liaison Committee, in a statement to the 'Morning Star' before December 8. He said:

'I agree with Mr Feather that we need much more than a one-day token stoppage, and would welcome the TUC doing something bigger.'

The same Halpin told reporters on December 6 that the committee thought the mere threat of large-scale industrial action would be 'enough to push the Tories back'.

So in order to restrict the scope and divert the movement of millions of workers who instinctively realized the threat of democratic rights contained in the Bill, the Liaison Committee resorted to the most contemptible form of demagogic chicanery: 'Determined action', 'language of working-class strength', 'massive industrial action', 'action of General Strike dimensions' and 'something bigger than a one-day strike'.

However much the crime changed, the theme remained the same: don't fight the right, don't expose the lefts on the TUC and don't fight to replace the Tories with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies through a General Strike.

When the TUC sold out after the Special Conference on March 18 the Liaison Committee remained predictably silent.

They remained silent even when Jones and Scanlon

intimated that they might register if the Bill became law. They said nothing when the same leaders proposed a no-strike agreement and a secret ballot to end the Ford strike in 1971. The wheel of protest had turned a full circle.

The Workers Press attitude to the Liaison Committee was made crystal clear in a series of articles and editorials and it is sheer Stalinist humbug for Johnstone to argue that Workers Press did not give critical support to the activities of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

Here is but one example of the principled stand of Workers Press which exposes these lying allegations:

'The Tories Must Be Defeated': 'The anti-union laws of the Tory government are an unprecedented threat to the living standards and basic rights of all workers and their families.'

'The Tories intend to break up workers' organizations, leave them defenceless, then quickly reduce them to 1930s style unemployment and poverty.'

'For this reason, the Socialist Labour League is in support of today's conference called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.'

'...The one-day strike against the anti-union laws on December 8 can be an important stage in the mobilization of the mass movement.'

'Every single action against the laws, every expression of militant opposition to the Tories' plans must be encouraged; and every section of the workers' movement must be won over to the fight against the government.'

'...The Tory offensive will not go away, nor will it cease because of a series of token stoppages. They expect such protest.'

'...The most urgent question before the whole movement is to force the trade union leaders to mobilize their members for this fight against the anti-union laws and against the government.'

'Call an emergency TUC conference now to plan the mobilization of the whole trade union movement against the government.'

'The December 8 strike must therefore be seen as one stage in the building up of this mass movement, one stage in the preparation of the General Strike against the Tories. They can be forced to resign.'

This lead article concluded with the following demands:

● Defeat the anti-union laws!

● All out on December 8!

'Not a "protest" but the first step towards a General Strike to force the Tories to resign.'

'... Lobby every trade union executive and force them to mobilize the entire working class movement against the Tories! (Workers Press, November 14, 1970. Emphasis in original.)'

Subsequent events have proved conclusively the correctness of the Workers Press stand on December 8 and the other protest demonstrations of the Liaison Committee.

The history of the reformist struggle against the Bill by the Stalinists in the Liaison Committee is the most eloquent refutation of Johnstone's argument that the 'SLL's super-revolutionary tactics consist in proposing a more advanced form of action than the one on which it has proved possible to win the maximum militant unity at a given stage'.

What does Johnstone propose now? More one-day stoppages, more protest?

It was for these criticisms that the Stalinists, led by Ramelson, publicly spread the slander that Workers Press was a 'scab paper' which defied the call of SOGAT Division A on December 8. Readers will be glad to know that this slander has been dismissed and Plough Press SOGAT chapel exonerated of the charge by the SOGAT executive.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JAMES REID

James Reid, leader of the work-in at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, is the most remarkable product of modern Stalinism.

He is the first member in the history of the British Communist Party to win approval from the entire capitalist media.

Praise ranges from the ultra-right-wing 'Scottish Daily Express'—which describes him as the 'big swarthy communist who exudes the warmth of a teddy bear'—to a formidable leader of men who is mainly responsible for keeping all four Clyde yards working—to the 'liberal' 'Guardian', which is impressed by his lack of revolutionary fervour and says it's a shame he's not a Labour MP.

The television has been equally solicitous. There have been Reid profiles, Reid discussions on programmes like 'Late Night Line-Up' and 'live' confrontation shows with Reid in the studio audience. A far, far, cry from the Clydesiders of old like John McLean who was jailed for his agitation during times of crisis and industrial unrest in Glasgow.

MORAL CHANGES AND STRUCTURAL REFORMS

Not for Reid the wrath that descended on these socialists. Instead this 40-year-old member of the Communist Party's national executive is welcomed as some new type of workers' leader. The media like his style and philosophy.

The attraction is not difficult to fathom. The moral bromides that Reid preaches on the television, or from the Rectorial pulpit at Glasgow university, are the quintessence of reaction.

The essence of Reid's philosophy—if it can be called that—is to view society in abstract and make a plea for certain moral changes and structural reforms.

He said, for example, on a recent ITV profile:

... I want advancement and technology. I want all those things but I want it associated with certain moral principles and precepts—not abstractions—that say: "Your role in life is to develop your talents to the full in service for human beings"—out of the rat race into the human race.

Because we are part of the human race aren't we?"

Clergymen welcome this appeal. One Plymouth vicar even suggested in the letter columns of 'The Guardian' that Reid was speaking for the 'Holy Ghost'. Their support is not surprising.

Reid borrows the platitudes of Christianity and attempts to weave them into his vision of the good life. He attempts to bring down religion from heaven and give to it new vigour by making it 'secular'.

In his interview to the 'Scottish Daily Express' he was quite specific about this. He was asked, what were the major influences on his life?

"For a start," replied Reid, "I am interested in the social teaching of Christ, as expressed in the Sermon on the Mount and the Beatitudes [blessed are the poor for they shall see God]. They amount to a social ethic to which I subscribe."

"Yes I am a Christian. I believe that Christianity, like all major religions, can only last on the basis of its humanism—with a small "h" of course."

Here in a crude fashion Reid echoes the German idealist philosopher Feuerbach, against whom Marx developed his profound ideas on dialectical materialism.

Like Reid, Feuerbach brought God to earth. He developed a materialist approach and argued that man's thoughts—including those of God—had to be explained from the world in which he lives.

But he conceived man as an abstract being inhabiting an equally abstract natural surrounding. He ignored that man lived, produced and thought, under certain social conditions—capitalism, feudalism, slavery and so on.

Because of this Feuerbach developed an abstract outlook, materialist in its foundation, but one which viewed man as he should be according to the universal and timeless nature of his species, rather than how he was under certain conditions of class oppression.

The effect of such reasoning is to replace the need for revolutionary change with a reformist desire to alter society to correspond to certain 'moral' principles that reflect man's 'true' nature.

Reid argues this way and it is the core of his reaction. This outlook is all the more potent and dangerous since it is the foundation of his politics and strategy at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, as we shall see.

Lenin launched an attack against this kind of God-building and un-historic outlook in the socialist movement.

In a letter to the Russian writer Maxim Gorky he took issue with those like Reid who try to 'socialize' God and religion. These kind of ideas, he wrote, "go(es) out among the masses, and [their] sig-

nificance is determined not by your good wishes, but by the relationship of objective social forces, the objective relationship of classes.

"By virtue of that relationship it turns out [irrespective of your will and independently of your consciousness] that you have put a good colour and a sugary coating on the idea of the clericals... in practice the idea of God helps them to keep the people in slavery. By beautifying the idea of God, you have beautified the chains with which they fetter ignorant workers and peasants."

The words could be applied to Reid, but with one big difference.

Reid does not eulogize the teachings of Christ to create a 'people's religion', but as part of the Communist Party's own drive to smuggle up to the 'progressive' churchmen and the middle class. Indeed Reid, throughout the UCS struggle, continually praised and featured the support of the church in the fight for the right to work.

It is in the more popular Communist Party literature one can find the origins of Reid's reflections.

Maurice Cornforth, the Oxford academic and Party member, laid out the foundations of the Party's appeal to the middle class in his 'Marxism and Linguistic Philosophy', which is popularized in a CP pamphlet by him called 'Communism and Human Values'.

His section on religion is a particularly instructive insight into modern Stalinist 'theory'.

He argues that religion derives from the alienation and depersonalization of men in communities that have passed beyond the stage of primitive techniques. Hence religion is a phenomenon of human consciousness.

But he conveniently fails to explain that though religion is a reflection of a specific human condition, it itself enters into class relations as the ruling class use it to oppress the masses and justify their rule.

The omission leaves Cornforth open to suggesting that religion is some ideology of the masses that can be used in the fight against oppression.

This is a philosophical brief for men like Reid who go ahead and argue that religion can be progressive.

But once again the mistake of Feuerbach is repeated. The role of religion must be examined in its specific social context—in this case, under the utterly decadent system of capitalism.

Lenin in the Gorky letter labelled this approach as bourgeois because 'it operates with sweeping general "Robinson Crusoe" conceptions in general and, not with definite classes in a definite historic epoch'.

He says: 'God is... first of



'I am influenced by the social teachings of Christ... yes I am a Christian.' James Reid, interview in the 'Scottish Daily Express', April 27, 1972.

'The social principles of Christianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, submission, dejection, in a word all the qualities of the canaille; and the proletariat, not wishing to be treated as canaille, needs its courage, its self-feeling, its pride and its sense of independence more than its bread.' Karl Marx, 'Rheinischer Beobachter', 1848.

all a complex of ideas generated by the brutish subjection of man both by external nature and by the class yoke—ideas which consolidate that subjection, lull to sleep the class struggle. There was a time in history when, in spite of such an origin and such a real meaning of the idea of God, the struggle of democracy and of the proletariat went on in the form of a struggle of one religious idea against another.

"But that time too, is long past."

"Nowadays, both in Europe and in Russia, any, even the most refined and best intentioned defence or justification of the idea of God, is a justification of reaction."

One might add that even when the masses fought wars against the ruling class beneath the banner of religion there was an uneasy alliance between naive materialism and religion. Hence the Levellers in the 1640s wanted the rule of the Saints on earth, but they also developed a crude theory of the exploitation of labour by

man, which was 'un-Godly'.

This critical analysis is perhaps to credit Reid with a more developed philosophical position than he has got. Suffice to say his moral gleanings, from Cornforth, the modern Stalinist writers and the New Testament, serve his reactionary supposition that capitalist society can be 'restructured' to make life better for 'the people'.

He made this quite explicit in his Rectorial address to the students of Glasgow university.

He chose as his topic alienation, which he described as Britain's major social problem.

"Alienation was... the cry of men who feel themselves the victims of blind economic forces beyond their control. It's the frustrations of the ordinary people excluded from the process of decision-making. The feeling of despair and hopelessness that pervade people who feel with justification that they have no real say in... determining their destinies."

The remedy was to 'root

out anything and everything that distorts and de-values human relationships'.

INVOLVING THE PEOPLE IN DECISION-MAKING

At the end of his speech he suggests how this can be achieved:

"Given the... creative re-orientation of society, there is no doubt in my mind that in a few years we could eradicate in our country the scourge of poverty, the underprivileged, slums and insecurity."

"A necessary part of this must be the restructuring of the institutions of government and where necessary, the evolution of additional struc-

tures so as to involve the people in the decision-making process of our society. To unleash the latent potential of our people requires that we give them responsibility."

This could be one of those fine speeches by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Edinburgh, or even a Tory. After all, we are all against the 'rat race', and it would be nice if the ordinary bloke got a bit more say in things—make him feel wanted.

It is noticeable that the 'communist' Reid censored all mention of capitalism, the working class, revolutionary change and socialism.

(One note of caution, these quotes are taken from a lengthy extract of the Rectorial address in the 'Glasgow Herald'.)

His purpose again is to suggest that capitalism can be adapted ('restructured') to remove the social evil of alienation. This is in fundamental opposition to the facts. The root of the 'mistake' lies in his incorrect description of alienation.

that alienation can be removed if society was only restructured or reformed along certain moral guidelines (i.e. the social teachings of Christ). But far from being a bad aspect, alienation is the essence of capitalist society. It can only disappear when capitalist production relations are replaced by socialism.

MIDDLE-BROW OBSERVATIONS ON THE RAT-RACE

Reid's mistake is deliberate. He preaches an abstract view of society and garnishes this with a few middle-brow observations on the rat race in order to hide the necessity of a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism by the working class as the only solution of the crisis of humanity.

It is only when these reactionary and idealist concepts are applied to the class struggle on the Clyde and against the government that the full range of Reid's treachery is exposed.

At face value some of his statements about the Tories are astounding.

Take one example from his 'Scottish Daily Express' interview:

"If we end up with four yards and the distinct probability of a modern shipbuilding industry on the Clyde, I think the government, and the Ministers involved, will have shown a courage and objectivity which is to be welcomed."

"Although we have our point of view about what should have been done a year ago, I will say to the government "Well done"."

This kind of abysmal praise for a government that has driven 15 per cent of the men in his home town onto the dole is, however, only an extension of his 'philosophy' to industry and the class struggle.

He sees the Tory government, for example, as a group of individuals who are obsessed with the outdated philosophy of 19th-century capitalism.

These Tories ought to respect modern needs of society—which are to help people to live creative and useful lives.

Of course the argument is reactionary rubbish; there is nothing outdated about the Tory attempt to drive down living standards and keep up profits through mass unemployment.

The effect, however, is to disarm the working class since the corollary of these views is that employers and Tories can see the error of their ways and alter industry for the benefit of society.

At least this was what Reid suggested when he discussed the future of the upper Clyde yards on ITV.

The interviewer noted the Clyde had a history of decline—was Reid optimistic about the future?

"Well my point is this, I am hoping in the two companies that emerged that sufficient will be learned from recent experiences so that the structure of the company will allow the latent abilities of the work force to express themselves."

This is Reid's prescription for alienation, taken out of the university and into the shipyards. The result is remarkable. This kind of attitude bears a very close resemblance to corporatism. Basic antagonism between workers and capitalists, like Marathon Manufacturers and Govan Shipbuilders, are resolved in some overall scheme for industry. With a bit more, say, in the 'decision-making process' creativity will flower in the yard labour force; the industry

will prosper and everyone will share the benefit.

This kind of fool's paradise promoted by Reid completely contradicts the facts. The two companies on the Clyde will face the most intense international competition. Govan will operate in a completely depressed market for shipbuilding. Both companies will launch a vicious campaign to drive up productivity and break down all protective practices among the yard workers.

Reid's claptrap about 'releasing latent energies' in fact echoes the propaganda put out by employers' organizations like 'Working Together'—an outfit motivated by the extreme right-wing 'Aims of Industry'.

Workers must disregard this kind of squalid moralizing. Capitalism is, always was and always will be the enemy of the workers. Its very existence depends on exploitation of the working class—it will not change its spots.

Like the God-builders, Reid pours a sugar-coating over capitalism. He does it in a period when class war in Britain is reaching a bitter climax—this is why the press and the television love James Reid.

He does talk of socialism—the ballot box variety, of course. But according to 'The Guardian', 'talk of revolution irritates him'. With Reid the struggle for the workers' state is always relegated to some dim and distant future. In practice he leads campaigns which divert workers into a Tory trap.

Hence his hatred of workers in the yards who criticize him from the left. These people, he says, are so far to the left 'by Einstein's theory of relativity they must be going over to the right'.

This is a revival of the old Stalinist war cry that the left-wing opponents of Stalinism in the 1930s were 'fascist agents'—fortunately modern Stalinism has no longer the power, the credibility or the courage to repeat the slander openly.

Yet 'sensitive' men like Reid, who care so much for the quality of human life, find it no problem to remain in the Stalinist movement.

Reid argues that much of what he dislikes in Russia, the purges and the persecution of intellectuals is a product of 'Russian tradition and history'.

This saves him the political embarrassment of condemning the Stalinist regime that flourishes like cancer on Russian society.

It is this regime that is responsible for the oppression and the purges, the dishonesty and the lies. If it is otherwise, Reid presumably believes that socialism, 'Russian-style', can exist side by side with such barbarism. This is a shocking slander of socialism, which is a negation of all inhumanity and exploitation, deceit and hypocrisy.

Reid is indeed a man of his time. He is a product of Stalinism that raised him to full political maturity.

But workers should remember it is in idealism, 'religion' and moralizing, that the weeds of Reid's reaction flourish.

There has always been a great radical tradition in Scotland.

But its hallmark was always a refusal to fight for a dialectical-materialist outlook on life. The offspring of that tradition stalks the Clyde today in the form of James Reid and many of the lesser Communist Party leaders.

Workers in or around the revolutionary movement today may turn in disgust from the politics of Reid. But let them look to their own theoretical development—the road to treachery is paved with good, 'moral' intentions.

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

OVER-POPULATION OR PROFIT? THE REAL CAUSE OF WORLD HUNGER. BY BERNARD FRANKS.

THE FOOD-AID FRAUD

Part four

'I need not repeat that strong liberal relief is today the only hope of stemming the tide of Bolshevism without the expenditure of lives and vast sums on military action.' (cable from Herbert Hoover, US food administrator in Paris to US President Wilson, January 5, 1919.)



Herbert Hoover

No one should be fooled by the apparent 'humanitarian' implication of the term 'Food Aid'. The programmes, conceived for the most part by the United States government, serve the double purpose of eliminating US surpluses and imposing the political and economic domination of US capital throughout the world.

Similar objectives for British imperialism were involved in the creation of the Colombo Plan of 1951, i.e. as 'an effective barrier against communism in South-East Asia.'

These aims are shown in the wording of one of the major schemes covering the last 18 years. United States Public Law 480, of 1954 (known simply as PL480) states that the policy of Congress is: '... to make maximum efficient use of surplus agricultural commodities in furtherance of the Foreign Policy of the United States.'

A detailed explanation of how this law is used is given in 'Famine—1975!' a book by two brothers W. and P. Paddock, long-time loyal servants of the US government in many of its operations in various parts of the world.

Under a section headed: 'The Purpose of PL 480 Was to Get Rid of an Agricultural Glut', they quote an official of the US Department of Agriculture who had written the first draft of PL 480. He explained:

'I could see the possibility of the American government controlling a couple of dozen countries through these free-food shipments. We could control them because the food gave us power over the cities. Admittedly, we could not

physically control the countryside. But so what?

'It is the capital cities that must determine what course these nations take month-to-month. In its simplest form this is how I foresaw these shipments would work: A country with riots coming on could be controlled by letting our wheat shipments sit outside the port like a carrot on a stick.

'A leader whom we considered dangerous would lose the support of the masses because everyone would know we were not going to unload the wheat if he became top man or even if the government in power went overboard to the communist Left or to the junta Right. We might not stop all riots and revolutions this way but we could keep a lot of them from starting.'

The remark about action against the 'junta Right' can be taken with a mighty pinch of salt as the US government, military and CIA administrations show in practice that for them the ruling is 'the farther right, the better'.

The Paddocks give an example of the 'Aid' policy in action: 'A reputed case which I kept hearing about concerned wheat said to have been used in the Chilean elections of 1964. The story went that in the election campaign the United States feared that the extreme Leftist candidate would win over the moderately Leftist candidate Frei, and a huge amount of grain was sent in to keep down food prices, thus contributing to Frei's election. ('Famine—1975!' p. 172.)

The need to dump the surpluses was certainly urgent at the time PL 480 was legislated. In 1954, ships from the US fleet had to be 'de-mothballed' to use for grain storage. By the year 1960 some \$576m had been spent on storing foodstuffs.

One stipulation common to all aid programmes is that they must not be harmful to normal commercial transactions. In other words—anyone with any money at all must be forced to pay.

The operation of PL 480 has been mainly on the basis of payment being made for food shipments not in dollars, but in the local currency. This cannot be removed from the country concerned. The result has been an enormous build-up of US capital holdings.

For example, by May of last year, United States rupee deposits in Indian banks had 'totalled more than £1,213m since 1956,' and at times had 'amounted to about 8 per cent of the Indian government's total annual budget'. (Financial Times', August 24, 1971.)

This situation is also allowed for in the introduction to PL 480 which stated:

'It is further the policy to use foreign currencies which accrue to the United States under the Act to expand international trade, to encourage economic development, to pur-



United Nations Aid programme in Leopoldville, Congo. Such programmes are not only an outlet for US food surpluses, but also serve to bolster reactionary regimes in the underdeveloped countries.

chase strategic materials, to pay United States obligations abroad, to promote collective strength and to foster in other ways the foreign policy of the United States.'

Most aid and loan agreements require that an amount of other commercial trade must be accepted by the government receiving 'support'. A United Nations publication explains this system, though in terms which express slightly more than it meant to say: 'It is normally specified that the required level of commercial purchases shall be from "free world sources". In some cases, however, a specified amount of the required commercial purchases shall be from the United States.' (FAO Commodity Policy Studies No. 15 page 22)

While prices of manufactured products rise, prices of raw materials in glut have fallen, to the further detriment of the undeveloped countries: four-fifths of their total exports consist of agricultural raw materials, ores and fuels. In this way, surpluses of these products can benefit imperialist powers requiring large supplies of cheap materials.

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) recently admitted that over one-third of hard currency income of 'developing' countries is paid out again as interest and repayments on past debts. Also, their share of world trade has dropped from 30 per cent in 1950 to 18 per cent in 1970.

A recent article in the 'New Scientist' adds: 'On top of this the world monetary crisis has hit the developing countries very hard indeed. The "Group

of Ten", yes; but what about the rest? They have suffered acutely from a combination of Aid cuts and new tariff barriers.' ('New Scientist' March 23, 1972.)

One further example of how United States food 'support'—provided in this case through the US Agency for International Aid (USAID)—is no more than a bolster for reactionary governments and CIA mercenaries against peasants and workers who are fighting capitalist oppression was revealed in a recent article in the 'Financial Times'.

This examined the situation in northern Laos where Pathet Lao forces in one area have overrun troops from the Meo hill tribes that are being used by the CIA.

The article states: 'In 1971 alone USAID delivered 8,500 metric tons of foodstuffs to the Meo and other displaced hill peoples from northern Laos. The bulk of USAID refugee relief programmes are confined to those ethnic groups which support American special forces intervention in Laos. Some 45 per cent of the total number of persons receiving refugee assistance fall within the category of para-military forces and their dependants.'

'Since most USAID relief programmes are carried out in threatened areas, minority groups such as the Meo are encouraged to remain in combat areas.'

The report continues: 'The Meo are increasingly unwilling to participate in the continuing conflict', and sanctimoniously mentions the pay-off when the Meo have lost all usefulness to the US government:

'Unfortunately, when

USAID's operations are discontinued in Laos, as they inevitably will be, the Meo will be left without sponsors as an ethnic group. They have paid the highest price in the defence of northern Laos. Stripped of manpower, homeland and livelihood there is no reward in sight for them.' ('Financial Times' March 21, 1972.)

The creation of relative surpluses does not solve the contradictions of capitalism; on the contrary, it is a part of them and reinforces them. Every advance in agricultural techniques brings with it the pauperization of more farmers, an increase in unemployment as well as the production of an 'unmanageable' over-supply.

For example, the use of new wheat strains is virtually barred to the small farmer in the under-developed countries. Weighted down with oppressive usury and vicious landlordism, he cannot afford the special tools and fertilizers required to cultivate them. On the other hand, the bigger farmers become even richer and are able to afford even more mechanization from the profits of the bigger harvests and so require fewer workers. Unemployment increases and a smaller number of people can afford what has become, in theory, abundantly available.

As Marx wrote: 'In periods of over-production a large part of the nation—especially the working class—is less well-provided than ever with corn, shoes, etc., not to speak of wine and furniture.'

In Europe, massive schemes are operated by the Common Market Agricultural Authority to 'pension off' farmers and divert millions of acres of land



Farmers' demonstration in Paris—due to over-production many French farmers can barely eke out an existence and are being forced off the land.

from farming, de-populating huge agricultural areas entirely—a damning argument against those who claim that shortage of space as well as shortage of food is a proof of over-population.

Last year, 300,000 farmers and farm workers in the EEC area left the land. Many of those remaining barely scrape an existence. One report states: 'There are an estimated 1½ million families in French agriculture living in poverty out of a total population of 4 million families . . . in France, the suicide rate is higher among farmers than any other group of the population. One in nine of French farmers dying between the ages of 36 and 45 are suicide cases.' ('Sunday Times' March 26, 1972.)

In Britain, £1.4m had been paid out as 'golden handshakes' to farmers willing to retire during the last four years. Grants are also being paid to farmers to convert farm buildings into holiday chalets and use farmland for 'recreation'.

At the same time, farm workers, whose productivity of labour outstrips that of any other industry, see their demands for decent pay and an end to tied cottages contemptuously swept aside.

There is a long tradition of such treatment. More than 100 years ago the small farmers and the farm workers of Britain were being starved and forcibly driven off the land and their dwellings burnt to the ground.

Marx examined the forced emigration from Ireland, Scotland and England during the 1840s 'brought about by landlordism, concentration of

farms, application of machinery to the soil and introduction of agriculture on a great scale'. He commented: 'Here it is not the want of productive power which creates a surplus population; it is the increase of productive power which demands a diminution of population and drives away the surplus by famine or emigration. It is not population that presses on productive power; it is productive power that presses on population.' ('New York Daily Tribune' April 1853).

Marx followed this up in 'Capital'. In the mid-1860s he wrote: 'What was the consequence for the Irish labourers left behind and freed from surplus population? That the relative surplus population is today as great as 1846: that wages are just as low, that the oppression of the labourers has increased, that misery is forcing the country towards a new crisis. The facts are simple. The revolution in agriculture has kept pace with emigration. The production of a relative surplus population has more than kept pace with the absolute depopulation.'

Today, whatever artificial restrictions may be put on the use of new methods, there is no sign yet of that 'revolution in agriculture' coming to an end. Enormous advances are continually being made in the science and techniques of farming. A modern harvester enables one man to lift 12 acres of sugar beet a day, an automatic milking device 'senses' when a cow has been milked, and disengages itself from the animal, a potato lifter harvests ten acres in eight hours.

Newer, high protein, disease-

resistant strains of rice and wheat are being created, plant anti-biotics have been discovered which can be used in suppressing the growth of a wide range of fungus organisms.

A fertilizing system injects ammonia directly into the soil under pressure, a modern water sprinkler covers 25 acres with one revolution of its 1,200 ft. span, a tractor-towed sower sets the seed, covers it with fertilizer and adds a herbicide and insecticide in a single operation.

Infra-red aerial photography is now being used to detect insect infestation, to watch for forest fires, to sense soil deficiencies and to measure radiant temperatures of soils. A new automatic feed system can supply feed to 2,000 pigs in 40 minutes . . . and so on.

Here is the fundamental crisis of capitalist production. On the one hand it continuously evolves the forces able to produce the most enormous leap forward in productivity of labour, quantity and quality of every kind of product and service; on the other hand, the system of production solely for profit, of private ownership by a small minority of the wealth and means of production, is totally unable to cope with the possibilities of such an abundance.

Hence the rampant destruction by capitalism of anything and everything which threatens to bring that abundance about.

Hence also its fear and hatred of the working class, the one force in society capable of dispossessing the capitalist class, and bringing a new, socialist society into existence.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

'Kill the Act'

It was only natural that Kevin Halpin of the Communist Party and Roger Rosewell, industrial correspondent of the 'state capitalist' paper 'Socialist Worker', should be speaking on the same platform the other night.

At times like these when the working class is moving in big battalions to answer the Tory government's onslaught on the trade unions, the Communist Party and the International Socialists are conveniently able to forget their differences.

For the thing that unites them is their determination to see that the working class is not mobilized to bring down this government and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

Halpin will be remembered by many trade unionists as one of the leaders of the Stalinist Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. Throughout the struggle against the Industrial Relations Bill this body consciously sets out to divert the fight away from the government around the slogan 'Kill the Bill'.

They attempted to turn it

into a single-issue struggle which could be resolved by putting pressure on the Tory government to drop the Bill.

Confusion-mongers like Halpin were ably aided and abetted by IS who joined in this committee to fight the Socialist Labour League's demand for a General Strike to force the Tories out.

At the meeting on May 18 called by Haringey Trades Council, both speakers made sure none of the real issues in the struggle against the government was raised.

The motion that they proposed and which was passed at the meeting was devoid of any political content. The demand for a recalled TUC congress meant nothing in the absence of any statement on bringing down the Tories.

Instead the dangerous, counter-revolutionary course they offered to workers in struggle opens the door for defeat.

'We deplore trade union leaders being used to discipline militant stewards and believe rank and file action is the only way to defeat the Act,' said the final paragraph.

Leaderless protest and more protest. That's what unites Halpin and Rosewell. 'Kill the Act' and leave the government intact.

Below: Kevin Halpin



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Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

Wandsworth rent 'rebel' explains Why I quit as council chairman

WHEN Wandsworth (London) council's controlling Labour group voted 29-26 for implementing the Tories' 'fair rents' Bill, council leader Ian McGarry decided he couldn't be a party to that decision and resigned his position.

Councillor McGarry says he was hardly surprised at the decision, although bitterly disappointed. The original decision inside the group not to implement was conditional upon the rest of Labour's London borough councils doing the same.

'But when the abysmal lack of unity on the question became clear, it was assumed that the waverers would change sides.

'The decision to go with this Bill has totally shattered the group as an effective political organization. It has broken our relationships with the tenants—in fact stood them on their head,' he told me.

BY PHILIP WADE
Our Housing Correspondent

'The Housing Finance Bill is the most important piece of post-war legislation in my opinion and ranks with the Industrial Relations Act.

'For the first time it introduces the profit motive into council housing. It is a direct attack on tenants of an unprecedented kind and also a direct attack on local democracy.

'For these reasons it is the kind of issue on which the Labour Party ought to make a fight. If they don't, on what sort of issue will they?' asked Mr McGarry who is also Labour Party agent for Putney.

'A retreat has taken place in the sense that the Greater London regional council of the Labour Party decision not to implement was so overwhelming. Yet there must have been people sitting in on that meeting who had no intention of carrying the decision into practice.'

The majority on the council gave several reasons for implementation. These included the need to respect parliamentary democracy, the question of surcharge and the possibility of a Housing Commissioner implementing it if they didn't.

'None of these reasons holds water as far as I'm concerned,' replied Mr McGarry.

'The legislation is a straight class issue. The government has reinvigorated a class war which has surprised some by its intensity.

'In this situation many of those representing the working class will be in the firing line and at some stage will have to make a fight or compromise and evict tenants, or say no: take my three-piece suite.

'The Tories are trying to force council tenants into the buying market to force up house prices and rents in the private sector.

'It's true to say we've had no lead either way from Transport House on the Housing Finance Bill. Yet everyone has known they have been in favour of implementation yet wouldn't come out and say so.

'Now they've cottoned on to what appears to be a concession taken up by Birmingham to let them off the hook.

'The Labour Party's position could be quite damaging to them in the long-term.

'Tenants have always looked to us to protect their interests. Last year we won control because of the turn-out on the housing estates.

'I fear for that relationship and only hope that the stand some of us have made will help the party. I had no alternative but to resign and had no intention of leading the implementation of the Bill.

'If tenants withhold paying the increases we would have been left with the question of seeking eviction orders from the courts.'

On housing it was generally agreed, added Mr McGarry, that one of the biggest failures of the last Labour government was in this sphere.

'This flowed from their overall approach of intervening in the market economy and hoping that would produce the goods.

'They must, of course, repeal this Bill and then do something about the public ownership of land, at least in the urban centres. Decisions must be taken on the interest charges which are such a burden to local councils.

'And not so long ago the Labour Party had a policy of municipalizing all rented accommodation. Slums in the central areas will be a problem as long as landlordism continues,' said Mr McGarry.



Ian McGarry—Will Labour evict tenants who resist?

Ringway airport faces two pay strikes

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

TWO GROUPS of workers are threatening industrial action which would disrupt the North's major airport, Ringway, near Manchester.

Stewards and stewardesses—members of the Transport and General Workers' Union—are demanding a £500-a-year increase.

A spokesman warned: 'If the claim is not settled there could be an all-out stoppage in July.'

The other pay dispute involves 140 maintenance workers in four unions who are demanding a £5-a-week incentive bonus and a five-day week for workers, with the weekend being covered by shift workers.

Channel-ferry firms accused of price-fixing

CROSS-CHANNEL ferry operators have been accused by North Cornwall Liberal MP John Pardoe of monopoly price-fixing to boost unprecedented profits.

Pardoe told a Liberal meeting at Beckenham, Kent, that the operators held annual formal meetings to fix fares and fare increases for the coming year.

Two months ago he had asked Tory Trade and Industry Secretary John Davies to refer the matter to the Monopolies Commission.

He said: 'As a result of these meetings, their fares and fare increases were all the same and excessive.'

'The Department of Trade and Industry is now considering my memorandum and it is likely the matter will be referred to the Monopolies Commission.'

'Quite unabashed by all this, the ferry operators met again last week at a secret meeting in Paris. Their purpose was again to fix prices for next year.'

'British Rail, however, clearly

had become worried by my accusations and the ensuing government investigations. They proposed substantial reductions in some fares.

'These reductions were opposed by the other operators—particularly by the private enterprise operators.'

'The brazen-faced arrogance of Townsend Thoresen, is incredible. Earlier this month they happily announced record profits. Their return on capital is almost unparalleled in British industry,' said Pardoe.

'If this was merely the product of efficiency, no one would quarrel. But it is not.'

'It is the product of price-fixing, restrictive practices and the unashamed use of monopoly power against the customer.'

'British Rail must now crack this monopoly wide open. If they do not, they will be failing in their duty to the public.'

A Townsend Thoresen spokesman described Pardoe's comments as 'far wide of the mark'.

Guaranteed lay-off pay at Cowley

A NEW offer of 28 guaranteed lay-off days with pay each year was accepted yesterday by workers at British Leyland's Austin Morris body plant at Cowley, Oxford.

The men rejected a recommendation from the stewards not to accept the offer. The stewards wanted further negotiations on premium payments, short-time working and back pay. Moss Evans, national secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, personally recommended the latest deal.

MINI-CAR production at British Leyland's Longbridge plant in Birmingham was resumed yesterday after 360 inspectors accepted a formula which ended their work-measurement dispute.

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D.N. Pritt, QC

Stalin's obedient servant dies

BY JOHN SPENCER

D. N. Pritt, who died aged 84 on Tuesday, was Stalin's best Queen's Counsel. For almost 40 years he devoted himself to the glorification of the Soviet bureaucracy and the vilification and slander of revolutionary fighters against Stalinism.

He will be remembered with particular hatred for his role during the Moscow frame-up trials of the 1930s. He acted as the most faithful publicist of the Stalinist secret police and remained unrepentant to the last, despite overwhelming evidence that Stalin's Old Bolshevik victims were crudely framed.

Pritt was never a revolutionary. He came to Stalinism via the Tory Party (which he left as rising young advocate prior to World War I) and the liberal defence of colonial leaders.

What attracted him was precisely the counter-revolutionary face of bureaucratic rule in the Soviet Union. He was a particular admirer of the former White Guard Andrei Vyshinsky, architect of many of Stalin's judicial frame-ups.

Pritt's book 'The Zinoviev Trial' published after the first Moscow Trial in 1936 glossed over the glaring inconsistencies in the forced confessions made by the Old Bolshevik defendants. He 'explained' the complete ab-

sence of material evidence against the accused in the following passage:

'It is no part of the duty of the judicial authorities to publish reports showing exactly how they have conducted preliminary investigations of which the persons who are at once most interested and best informed, viz., the accused, make no complaint.'

To convince anyone with doubts about the trial, Pritt wrote at the time: 'Once again the more faint-hearted socialists are beset with doubts and anxieties but 'once again we can feel confident that when the smoke has rolled away from the battlefield of controversy it will be realized that the charge was true, the confessions correct and the prosecution fairly conducted . . .'

N. S. Khrushchev, in his secret speech to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, revealed Stalin's real pre-occupation for 'preliminary investigation': 'Beat, beat and beat again.'

With remarkable unanimity, Pritt's role in the Moscow frame-ups is ignored by his obituary writers, bourgeois and Stalinist alike.

'The Times', in describing his 'fearless attacks on injustice and oppression' entirely omits to mention his services to Stalin's murder-machine.

The 'Morning Star', describes

him as the 'lion-hearted defender of the oppressed' and lists the honours showered on him by the Soviet and East European bureaucrats. (Among these was the Stalin Peace Prize, awarded in 1954 and coyly described by the 'Star' as the 'Lenin Peace Prize'.)

Pritt had no such inhibitions in 1953 when Stalin died.

He wrote: ' . . . we can indeed be thankful of the Stalinist developments of our history . . . Confident, as we contemplate his work, we can say "Farewell, Comrade Stalin, we thank you for all you have done, and all you have led the masses to do, to make a richer, more beautiful, more peaceful world".'

Pritt's support for Stalinism went far beyond his role in the Moscow Trials. During World War II he became a staunch social-patriot and advocated the jailing of strikers. In a pamphlet for the National Council for Civil Liberties, published in 1944, he wrote: ' . . . The council recognizes that during the war particular civil liberties, including the right to strike, must be suspended in the overriding interests of the defeat of fascism . . .'

D. N. Pritt will not be mourned by revolutionaries.

He was a servant of the counter-revolutionary Soviet bureaucracy and his role in the destruction of Lenin's Bolshevik cadre will never be forgotten.



Goodman joins the opera

THE UBIQUITOUS Lord Goodman has popped up again—this time as a director of the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden.

Goodman recently retired as chairman of the Arts Council of Great Britain, a post he held since 1965. He is also a member of South Bank Theatre Board.

Goodman has an intriguing life. He appears as patron of the arts in one costume and business entrepreneur in another. For

instance, he is also on the board of British Lion, which recently agreed to sell off Shepperton Studios to a property-speculating group.

Goodman's political life is just as contradictory: he is Harold Wilson's private solicitor and a Labour peer, yet he went with right-wing Tories to Salisbury earlier this year to try to get a settlement with the racist regime in Rhodesia.

Euro loans?

CHIEFS from the Common Market's European Investment Bank fly into London tomorrow for a day of talks with the Confederation of British Industry. Created by the Treaty of Rome, the EIB finances loans for regional development and costly technological projects. Tomorrow's talks will evaluate the scope of EIB loans to British concerns.

Funds down

BUILDING society funds dropped by a massive £84m during the first three months of this year compared with the previous quarter. Gross receipts during the first quarter were up £56m at £1,387m. But the very high rate of society users taking their money out has cancelled out the effect of the increase and turned it into a net deficit.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 10.20-2.32 London. 4.05 Yak. 4.18 Puffin. 4.22 Funny face. 4.50 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Hogan's heroes. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Dial M For Murder'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Maverick. 11.20 News, weather in French. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.19 News. 6.00 Diary. 10.30 Report. 10.59 News. 11.03 Theatre. 11.55 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 10.20 London. 3.00 Afloat. 3.30 From a bird's eye view. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Sean the leprechaun. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Richard the lionheart. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. Crime desk. 6.45 Dr Simon Locke. 7.15 Film: 'Killers of Kilimanjaro'. 9.00 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Derby day. 12.10 Weather. Epilogue.

HARLECH: 10.20-2.32 London. 3.20 Common Market cook book. 3.50 Dr Simon Locke. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Sky's the limit. 7.10 Film: 'Strategic Air Command'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Gallery. 11.00 Sain. 12.00 Weather.

HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.15-4.30 Miri mawr. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd.

HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Sport. 10.45-11.00 Gallery.

ANGLIA: 10.20 London. 3.15 Randall and Hopkirk. 4.10 News. 4.15 Jimmy Stewart. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Captain Scarlet. 5.20 London. 6.00 Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Donovan's Reef'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Nelson. 11.00 Cinema.

ATV MIDLANDS: 10.20-2.33 London. 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Stars. 3.45 Domen. 4.10 Family affair. 4.40 Rupert bear. 4.55 London. 6.00 ATV. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Film: 'Timetable'. 9.00 London. 11.00 O'Hara.

ULSTER: 10.20-2.32 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 London. 6.00 UTV. 6.15 Tommy. 6.35



'Tom Brown's Schooldays' fans will recognize Richard Morant who plays Conrad McKenna in 'Hell's Angels' on BBC-1 tonight.

Crossroads. 7.00 Dr Simon Locke. 7.30 Film: 'California Holiday'. 9.00 London. 11.00 What's it all about. 11.20 Avengers.

GRANADA: 11.00 London. 2.30 Saint. 3.25 All our yesterdays. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 London. 4.50 Make a wish. 5.15 London. 6.00 Newsday. Police file. 6.25 I dream of Jeannie. 7.00 London. 7.30 Film: 'McCloud: Top of the World, Man. 8.50 Sylvester. 9.00 London. 11.00 On the line. 11.30 Whiplash.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 London. 3.00 Sound of . . . 3.15 Corwin. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 London. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 London.

6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Popeye. 7.10 Film: 'Calamity Jane'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Sporttime. 11.00 Police call. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 Drive in. 12.00 News. 12.15 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 11.00-2.32 London. 3.30 Once upon a time. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Fireball XL5. 5.20 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.15 A place of her own. 7.00 Film: 'One Man Mutiny'. 9.00 Stuart Gillies cellidh. 9.30 London. 10.30 Love thy neighbour. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 Beagan gaidhlig.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00-2.32 London. 3.34 News. 3.35 Job look. 3.45

TV

BBC 1

9.20-9.30 Mr Benn. 9.38-11.38 Schools. 12.55-1.25 Arall fyd. 1.30 Joe. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 3.45 Working with youth. 4.10 Parsley. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Boss cat. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 WHERE IN THE WORLD.

7.00 SPY TRAP. The Executioner.

7.25 TOP OF THE POPS.

8.00 THE GOODIES.

8.30 THAT MONDAY MORNING FEELING. A Return to The Assembly Line. New series.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.

9.20 PLAY: 'HELL'S ANGEL'. By David Agnew. Katharine Blake, Andre Morell, Richard Morant, Michael Kitchen, Angharad Rees.

10.35 24 HOURS.

11.20 MISTRESS OF HARDWICK. An Insatiable Dream.

11.45 Weather.

Women today. 4.10 Julia. 4.40 London. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.05 Folk afore us. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Andy. 7.30 Film: 'Against the Wind'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Viewfinder. 11.35 Survival. 12.00 Epilogue.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00 London. 3.00 Sound of . . . 3.15 Department S. 4.10 Calendar news. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 London. 4.55 Bugs Bunny. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Cartoon time. 7.10 Film: 'Calamity Jane'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Yorksport. 11.00 Cinema. 11.35 Drive in. 12.05 Minutes that changed history.

ITV

10.20 Schools. 1.10 Time to remember (London only). 1.40 Schools. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Jokers wild. 3.45 Marcus Welby MD. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Secret squirrel. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.45 CROSSROADS.

7.10 FILM: 'PORK CHOP HILL'. Gregory Peck, Rip Torn, George Peppard. Last days of the Korean War.

9.00 LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR.

9.30 THIS WEEK.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 CINEMA. Robert Wagner.

11.00 SOMETHING TO SAY.

12.00 ANTHOLOGY OF LOVE. Friendship's Love.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.35-6.30 Open University. 6.35-7.00 Working with youth.

7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.

8.00 NEWSROOM and weather.

8.30 EUROPA. Tito . . . 80 Today.

8.30 THE GOLDEN BOWL. Fanny.

9.20 SHOW OF THE WEEK: MORECAMBE AND WISE. Guests Francis Matthews Anita Harris, Robert Young, Kenny Ball and his Jazzmen.

10.05 YESTERDAY'S WITNESS. The Tithe War.

10.45 NEWS ON 2 and weather.

10.50 FILM: 'THE EXTERMINATING ANGEL'. First of four films directed by Luis Bunuel. A group of guests find themselves trapped in their host's dining room.

Tories provoke showdown—Wilson

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

But Labour will retain some union law

THE GOVERNMENT was accused of deliberately provoking a showdown with the unions by Labour leader Harold Wilson yesterday. In his most important policy declaration on industrial relations so far, Wilson said the Tories were out to do three things.

- To have a 'carefully-planned' confrontation with the trade unions.
- To destroy the authority of the official union leadership.
- To take away parliament's right to examine the government's industrial relations policy.

He told the patternmakers' annual conference at Paignton, Devon, that from the moment he took office Heath 'has followed a policy of provocative confrontation, calculated, contrived set-piece slogging matches in order to buttress a disastrous and manifestly unworkable economic policy.'

He accused Tory ministers of acting as 'agents provocateurs, seeking to invoke Her Majesty's judges and the majesty of law in the consequence of an unnecessary and dangerous confrontation, deliberately provoked for political purposes.'

'This policy of deliberately provoked showdowns with trade unions has been carefully planned,' added the Labour leader.

Wilson said the government's chosen conflict with the rail unions was a direct result of their defeat over the miners' claim.

Their resort to the National Industrial Relations Court was an attempt to remove safeguards established by trade unions over the years.

He pledged a Labour government would repeal the Industrial Relations Act, but made this warning on the law:

'Bad laws, like good laws, must be obeyed. That is not and has not been in question. But bad laws must be changed. That matter is for political action.'

The statement that the law will be changed and not abolished will certainly strengthen fears among trade unionists that Labour will retain some form of legal interference into industrial relations.

Passing on to his second theme, Wilson said the Court's intervention into industry threatened the authority of the official trade union leadership.

In a plea recommending union leaders like Jack Jones to the employers, he said:

'I remember the disastrous dock strike in Liverpool in 1967. With Jack Jones and Jack Scamp, appointed as conciliators, I was struggling at 6 a.m. to settle it, with Jack Jones commending a tentative agreement to the ultra-left wing unofficial strike leaders, only to see even the unofficial leadership in turn thrown over

by the rank and file two hours later.'

Finally he accused the Industrial Relations Court of gagging parliament and destroying its right to examine government actions.

Because of sub-judice MPs could not question ministers over Court orders while a case was going on.

'At the key moments of any industrial dispute in 1972 conditions, the Minister has no responsibility to parliament—he cannot even be questioned on his decision, still less called to account.'

'On recent form, the likelihood in respect of any dispute, once Mr Heath has said "NIRC it", is that parliament, for two, perhaps three weeks, is gagged and gagged by an Act itself through parliament on the gag.'

Conciliation stopped by government

THE TUC General Council yesterday accused the Tory government of deliberately preventing conciliators from intervening in major industrial disputes.

TUC general secretary Victor Feather told reporters: 'We believe the conciliation service has had restraints put on it, so that it can be manipulated in the interests of the economy.'

A statement from the general council said:

'A very obvious example of this was in the local authorities' manual workers' dispute in 1970 when government withheld conciliation assistance.'

'The government has seriously undermined confidence in conciliation and arbitration by using it as a tool of economic management.'

I understand that the TUC feels that where wage claims have exceeded the Tory 8 per cent pay norm or nationalized industries have been involved, government conciliation services have been notably absent.

The General Council will make immediate approaches to the CBI for joint discussions of setting up a new conciliation agency independent of government.

Yesterday's statement concluded: 'If confidence in conciliation and arbitration can be developed, many more disputes will be settled without recourse to industrial action or the law.'

● The General Council referred to its Finance and General Purposes Committee a letter from the 50,000-strong National Union of Seamen asking it to rescind its decision to suspend the union from TUC membership. The decision was taken because the union used the machinery of the Industrial Relations Act,



Heath smirking with satisfaction after yesterday's speech.

Heath: We're firm on Ulster and industry

BY IAN YEATS

TORY LEADER, Edward Heath laid heavy emphasis yesterday on the government's determination to hold its ground against inflation at home and terrorism in Ulster.

Three thousand Tory women clapped and cheered on the last day of their annual conference at Central Halls, Westminster, as Heath waived his fist to stress there would be no retreat on industrial relations, or on maintaining the rule of law in Northern Ireland.

At the same time he went out of his way to appeal to moderates in the TUC, the unions and among the people of the six counties.

He said: 'It is no part of our policy that there should be regular trials of strength between the community and particular trade unions.'

'In his speech last Saturday, Mr Feather said he thought it was time there was "straight talking" between the government, employers and unions. I warmly welcome the readiness which Mr Feather has now expressed to discuss all these matters with us.'

'We share Mr Feather's desire to find new ways of reaching sensible settlements — on the understanding that the settlements respect the interests of the consumer, the housewife and the community as a whole, as well as the interests of employer and employee.'

Turning to Ulster, Heath said: 'There may be some who argue that British troops should be withdrawn, the British responsibility abandoned and the Irish left to fight out their future among themselves.'

But, said Heath: 'It is not acceptable to us that there should be areas in any part of the United Kingdom where the rule of law is neglected or reviled.'

In a pointed reference to the women of Belfast and Derry he said: 'We have seen in Northern Ireland ever since Willy Whitelaw took over some remarkable demonstrations for peace, in many cases led, not surprisingly, by the women of Northern Ireland.'

'They have demonstrated that their desire for peace can overcome the barriers that still divide the communities.'

Leaders of the communities now had to follow the instincts of the people.

Earlier, Heath had walked triumphantly into the packed conference hall amid an eruption of feather festooned hats, waving hands, and wild cheering.

Press-button pay claim

FROM DAVID MAUDE OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT IN BLACKPOOL

PUSH-BUTTON telephone equipment worth millions of pounds will lie idle at exchanges throughout the country until the Post Office comes up with a firm pay offer—and guarantees no loss of jobs.

Before the Union of Post Office Workers agrees to the equipments' general introduction, it is expected to demand pay increases of 50p to 60p a week for its 35,000 telephonist members.

This was the outcome of a chaotic, two-hour wrangle yesterday morning when the UPW's Blackpool conference broke up into sectional meetings: telecommunication workers, postmen and counter clerks.

The debate revealed — for the second day running—a new mood in the union.

Telephonist delegates rejected the advice of their leaders to agree introduction of the new equipment, the non-dialling key senders.

Flanked by union secretary Tom Jackson, the new Post Office industrial relations director, Kenneth Young, watched anxiously as a visitor.

The corporation's proposals for introduction of key senders, with which it aims ultimately to replace all exchange and domestic dialling equipment, were received by the union only last week.

It offered telephonists a share of savings estimated at £200,000. No figures were given for the possible loss of jobs.

The Post Office made the point that detailed figures would depend on studies of the equipment in use—rousing delegates' fears of yet another productivity deal.

Cathy McLean, from Glasgow, warned that her calculations showed telephonists would get only about 7p a week from the introduction.

She called on the conference to 'scrub' the executive's report. Ayr telephonist Sheila Stewart urged the conference not to accept a 'pig in a poke'.

The £200,000 offer was 'a form of blackmail', insisted Glasgow delegate Kenny McAllister.

Chick Law, Blackpool, could not remember ever getting anything out of a productivity deal.

Despite a sharp attack on these claims, assistant general secretary Kim McKinley failed to persuade delegates to adopt her advice. She argued that those exchanges that had tried key senders were in favour of them as pieces of equipment.

Their introduction, she said afterwards, would now be delayed at least until December.

Conference went on to insist that any productivity agreement concluded over key senders should maintain existing staff levels.

Heather Protheroe, member of the union's London district council, warned that their introduction 'could be the start of the inevitable vicious circle' leading to staff cuts.

Fellow council member Bob Berriman said that lip-service had been paid for too long to saving jobs. Now something had to be done about it.

WEATHER

Mainly bright with sunny spells over eastern and central districts of England at first followed by rain later.

Wales, Northern Ireland and western England will be mostly cloudy with rain at first but sunny periods will spread to all parts by afternoon.

Scotland will have occasional showers and sunny spells but rain will spread to most parts by evening.

Outlook for Friday and Saturday: Changeable with periods of rain, particularly in the north and west, but some sunny spells, mainly in the east. Temperatures generally near normal.

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£463.50 STILL NEEDED FOR MAY FUND

WE ARE getting very close to the end of the month. At the moment our total stands at £1,286.50.

No longer can this Tory government avoid a head-on clash with the dockers. Emergency powers, together with the Industrial Relations Act may well face us in the immediate week.

Workers Press is needed now more than ever to prepare the working class for the major struggles ahead. Therefore we need all your support. Our fund has only seven days to go. Put everything you can into the last lap of the fight. We must not only raise our target, but let's try and collect well over the top. Post every donation immediately to:

Workers Press May Appeal Fund
186a Clapham High St,
London, SW4 7UG

Socialist Labour League

Public meeting

SUNDAY MAY 28 7.30 pm

RECALL THE TUC!

DEFEND THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS!

BUILD COUNCILS OF ACTION NOW!

MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN!

RETURN A LABOUR GOVERNMENT PLEDGED TO SOCIALIST POLICIES.

Beaver Hall, Garlick Hill (nr Mansion House tube)

Speakers: MIKE BANDA (SLL Central Committee)
LARRY CAVANAGH (Liverpool docker)
JOHN SIMMANCE (YS national secretary)