

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● TUESDAY JUNE 20, 1972 ● No. 796 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE



Bernie Steer speaking at yesterday's Tower Hill, London, meeting.

AS TRANSPORT UNION NEGOTIATES

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT DAVID MAUDE

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● See demand for recall of TUC p. 12

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Plane stalled

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At this point the leading edge wing droop was raised, although this does not usually take place without a speed of 225-250 knots. The Commons also heard the plane was off course at the time.

DOCKS SPLIT DANGER

**11 DAYS TO
GO - JUNE
FUND £483.78**

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WEDNESDAY: 'Karl Marx and the politics of the British working class'.

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Washington, Moscow and Peking in secret diplomacy

Pincer politics

squeeze Hanoi

THE VIETNAMESE revolution is being threatened by a diplomatic pincer movement from Washington, Moscow and Peking.

The decision to resume the Paris peace talks, announced on his return from Hanoi by President Nikolai Podgorny, is being taken as an indication that the North Vietnamese are willing to undertake 'meaningful negotiations'.

The Nixon administration flounced out of the talks on May 4 saying they would not return until the North Vietnamese and the NLF agreed to such talks.

But 'meaningful negotiations' means talking on American terms. As Prince Sihanouk of the Cambodian liberation movement put it in Peking recently, it means the partition of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and the preparation of the third Indo-China war.

Instead of aiding in every way

BY JOHN SPENCER

the military overthrow of the US imperialists and their puppets in Saigon, the Soviet leaders are pursuing the aim of 'peaceful co-existence' with Nixon at the expense of the Vietnamese.

On his return from Hanoi, Podgorny told reporters in Calcutta: 'The Soviet Union will do everything possible for a de-escalation of the Vietnam war.'

Kremlin mouthpiece Victor Louis of the 'Evening News' wrote last Friday that Podgorny was seeking a ceasefire on all fronts 'so that new negotiations can get under way'.

The Kremlin appears to have accepted at its face value Nixon's assurance that the US is eager to get out of Vietnam completely. This assurance is not worth a light, as the Soviet Stalinists must be well aware.

In fact, US aid to the Saigon puppets is being stepped up on the 'Vietnamization' principle: 'You supply the blood, we put up the money.' In addition the US navy and air force are active

as never before in Vietnam.

Soviet 'good offices' in Vietnam are the price for Nixon's agreement to a European Security Conference, increased trade with the USSR and strategic arms limitation.

It is now clear that Nixon's decision to blockade North Vietnamese ports and step up the bombardment of supply lines was not a desperate gamble. It had the tacit approval of the Moscow leaders, as the summit meeting with Nixon demonstrated conclusively.

Far from making the Kremlin's task more difficult, the blockade has considerably eased Moscow's treacherous role. It has undoubtedly slowed down the pace of the offensive in the South at the same time as the bombing raids threaten the lives of millions in the North.

Moscow's task has also been eased by the Chinese Stalinists' refusal to allow Soviet vessels to birth in Chinese ports. This decision has given a further twist to the tourniquet around

the life-line of the liberation struggle.

Peking is now acting as host to the sinister Dr Henry Kissinger, Nixon's playboy adviser, for the ostensible purpose of 'concrete consultations . . . to further the nationalization of relations' between China and the US.

But there is no doubt that here too the key to 'normalization' is on the battlefields of Vietnam. The pursuit of their own bureaucratic ends by the Moscow and Peking Stalinists is the biggest threat to the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

President Thieu of Saigon claimed yesterday that the liberation forces were defeated and announced that all territory lost to the communists would be regained in three months.

This statement is quite absurd given the failure of Thieu's armies to win a single decisive battle in the whole offensive.

The danger to the Vietnamese revolution does not lie on the battlefield, where the liberation forces have proved time and again their overwhelming superiority. It lies behind the smokescreen of secret diplomacy in the treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Greeks welcome Makarios cabinet

THE GREEK military regime has welcomed the reshuffled Cypriot cabinet as a step towards restoration of 'national unity' in the island.

Athens deputy foreign minister Christian Xanthopoulos Palamas at his weekly press conference expressed satisfaction with the changes, which mark a considerable shift to the right.

'We hope this will be the starting point for the restoration of national unity in the island and the normalization of relations between Nicosia and Athens—the national centre,' he said.

The reshuffle is a major concession by Archbishop Makarios. In January the colonels' regime demanded the formation of a new cabinet. Makarios said yesterday his government would seek to restore harmonious relations and co-operation with Greece.

AKEL, the Cyprus Communist Party, has backed the Archbishop to stand up to the colonels' demands. But it is now clear that Makarios has simply been playing for time and opening the way for a more right-wing regime.

The Greek regime's demands are a major threat to the highly-organized Cypriot working class. The military rulers' aim is to crush their independence and bring them under the same dictatorship as the workers of mainland Greece.

Italian govt plank will be anti-union

ITALY'S premier-designate Giulio Andreotti, has begun formulating a tentative programme for a new right-wing coalition government.

Andreotti, a Christian Democrat, is still in talks with other political leaders on the final character of the new coalition, but it is now virtually certain to exclude the Socialist Party and bring in the right-wing Republicans.

Italy has been without a stable coalition since January, despite a General Election six weeks ago.

The country is in the throes of deep economic crisis, with falling investment and profits, rapid growth of unemployment and no prospect of foreseeable improvement.

Andreotti's recent statements have made it clear that he intends to take a tough line with militants in the factories and with left-wing organizations generally.

Big business is getting ready for another round of wage battles with the workers in the autumn and some of the smaller businessmen are looking with interest towards the growing fascist party, the Italian Social Movement.

Whatever finally emerges from the parliamentary lobbying of the last months will be a government of crisis. The twin planks of such a government will be anti-union measures and 'law and order'.

Tito in Poland

YUGOSLAV president Tito arrived in Warsaw yesterday for talks with Polish Stalinist leaders on trade, technical co-operation and European security.

The trip closely follows his visit to the Soviet Union 11 days ago. Relations between Tito and the new Polish Communist Party chief Edward Gierek are much improved by their joint efforts to foster a European Security Conference.

The Polish Stalinists are also believed to be interested in Yugoslav experience of attracting foreign capital and trade with the West.

WHAT WE THINK

THE BLIND ALLEY OF REPUBLICANISM

IF RADICAL talk and revolutionary posturing could win wars, then there seems little doubt that the Official IRA would have swept the British army out of Ulster before you could say Sinn Fein.

And if Wolfe Tone could speak from his grave, there is even less doubt that he would denounce these same leaders of the Gardiner Place faction as a bunch of unprincipled Republican charlatans, using his revered name to cover up their shameful capitulation to the heirs of the regime against which the United Irishmen fought so heroically.

Whatever mistakes Wolfe Tone made and whatever political vices he may have had, unprincipled compromise and equivocation were certainly not included among them.

But this can hardly be said of Sean Garland's commemorative speech at Bodenstown on Sunday. Garland is no ordinary bog-trotting Republican. He prides himself on being some kind of a 'Marxist', representative of the extreme socialist wing of Republicanism and articulating the demands of Irish workers.

He claims to represent the tradition of Connolly and Wolfe Tone. He is a member of the Ard Comhairle of Sinn Fein. His speech therefore merits close scrutiny and sharp comment—because his demagoguery helps to conceal the plans of the Republican petty bourgeoisie to betray the working class not only to Whitelaw but also to Lynch—for a price.

He called for the creation of an all-Irish revolutionary party embracing Protestant and Catholic workers.

Such a party could be a fine and commendable idea if it were informed by a programme and leadership which uncompromisingly expressed the historical interests of the Irish working class.

This, however, is sadly lacking

in the tradition, programme and composition of the Sinn Fein—Official IRA. By proclaiming a unilateral 'truce' by participating in the 'talks' fraud of Whitelaw and by failing to prepare the Irish Catholic workers for the trap of direct rule, the Officials have betrayed their revolutionary pretensions and deserted their supporters.

Moreover the bureaucratic military set-up of the IRA, which has more in common with the ecumenical council than with revolutionary organization, effectively precludes the selection of a revolutionary leadership or a change of strategy. Sean Garland is not a representative of a democratically-elected leadership subject to recall, but a self-perpetuating clique of army council nationalists. Democratic centralism is totally alien to these people. In this way and through the unique IRA constitution the domination of the petty-bourgeoisie is assured over any critical and working-class elements.

Far from being revolutionary, the programme and ideology—Mr Garland notwithstanding—is reformist and petty-bourgeois and expresses the interests (and the political backwardness) of the shopkeeper and small farmer, the student and the unorganized backward worker whose head is full of national and religious prejudices.

This reformism was cogently expressed by Garland in an article in the May 1971 issue of the 'United Irishman':

'The central point of any revolution and particularly in a socialist revolution, is that the key positions in the state, in government, army, police, civil service, judiciary, unions, any national TV, radio and press should pass out of the hands of those who are loyal to the Establishment and into the hands of those who represent

the vast majority of the people. . . .'

This extract denotes an appalling ignorance—or worse still—a conscious perversion of the revolutionary doctrines of Marx and Lenin on the state. Contrary to Garland the central point of a revolution is the smashing of the capitalist state power and the creation of qualitatively new organs of power embodying the dictatorship of the working class over the expropriated capitalist class.

In a socialist revolution there will be no 'passing out of key positions'. Neither in the Paris Commune nor in the October Revolution did the revolutionaries reallocate jobs. Instead they smashed the institutions of bourgeois rule and replaced them with Soviets, or communes.

Garland's conception, despite incidental references to workers' committees, etc., is a thoroughly bureaucratic conception which expresses clearly the petty-bourgeois hatred of the workers and its mental and economic dependence on the big bourgeoisie.

To lead a socialist revolution, the working class needs a party of professional revolutionaries guided by a scientific—dialectical—materialist—theory of socialism and based on the organizational principle of democratic centralism.

It is characteristic of Garland that in his compass of writings on Ireland his rejection of a scientific theory of knowledge is exceeded only by his contempt for democratic centralism.

It is no accident therefore that his speech should demand that a revolutionary party be based on the Republican movement and not on Marxism and the working class.

This promiscuous mixing of Republicanism and socialism is thoroughly reactionary and is responsible for the decline



Official and unofficial-Denning explains

BY ALEX MITCHELL

THE OFFICIAL Solicitor decided to intervene on behalf of three dockers threatened with jail after he had consulted lawyers for the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls, made this revelation in the Court of Appeal yesterday.

Denning made the unprecedented statement yesterday 'in view of speculation which has been going on in some quarters as to how the application came to be made to us on Friday afternoon.'

'I would like to say exactly what happened,' Denning said in almost confessional terms.

The story he related to court is one of incredible coincidences. If it had not come from a man as eminent as Denning—he conducted the Tory government's investigation into the Profumo case—one's credibility would be tested in accepting it.

His account goes like this:

'On Thursday about midday, the Official Solicitor was invited by the secretary of the NIRC to appear at a hearing in that court which was to be held today and to instruct counsel as amicus curiae (friend of the court) to assist that court in dealing with the contempt aspects of the case.'

'The Official Solicitor at once retained Mr Robert Alexander, counsel. In the evening the Official Solicitor received the papers and sent a copy to counsel. Both considered the papers overnight, ready for a conference in the morning. This was held.'

'Each was independently of the opinion that there were grounds for thinking the orders had not been properly made in the light of the evidence before the court. It was decided to attend on the Monday morning in any case, but both considered that it might well be proper to make an immediate application to the Court of Appeal in the afternoon.'

'Meanwhile that morning, Mr Peter Pain, QC, and Mr Ian Hunter, who had each been involved in the litigation arising out of the container dispute, had kept themselves informed of the developments. They had no instructions from anyone in the matter, but they felt that as the freedom of the individual was at stake as well as the national interest, someone ought to bring the matter before the Court of Appeal at the earliest possible moment.'

'They therefore asked to see me personally in chambers to inquire as to what would be the proper course to take. They wondered if they could come before the court as amicus curiae. Mr Pain and Mr Hunter came to see me at a few minutes before 2 p.m. My colleagues—Lord Justice Buckley and Lord Justice Roskill—joined me at once.



Lord Denning

'We felt it was a case in which the court might invite the assistance of the Official Solicitor, and we asked him to come. The Official Solicitor then told us of the steps he had already taken, including the advice he had received from Mr Alexander.'

'We then invited the Official Solicitor to discuss the matter with Mr Pain and Mr Hunter in order that each might have the benefit of the other's advice, and for the Official Solicitor to then take such steps as he thought proper.'

What happened then is history. At 3 p.m. Denning and his fellow judges sat and by 5.30 they quashed the contempt charges against the London docks leaders—Vic Turner, Bernie Steer and Alan Williams.

The extraordinary statement will only heighten workers' hostility to the workings of the law in relation to their struggles.

It reveals an immense degree of backroom manoeuvring which will give trade unionists a new insight into how the judiciary operates.

There will also be deep cynicism about the statesmanlike motives of Messrs Pain and Hunter. There are bound to be questions raised as to whether they went to see Denning on their own behalf or as emissaries of the Transport and General Workers' Union leadership. Since the T&GWU decided to accept the NIRC, Pain and Hunter have presented all the transport union's briefs.

Many people will wonder how two legal minions like Pain and Hunter could so readily get an interview at such short notice with powerful judges as Denning and Roskill. In other words, Denning's statement begs as many questions as it seeks to answer.

CAV stewards have mandate on pay claim

CAV Acton, London, joint shop stewards' committee has been given a mandate for a fight on the engineers' pay claim.

On June 13 the committee met and rejected the management's offer of a general increase of £1.50 from July 3, a further 75p in December and a second 75p in July 1973.

Departmental meetings the same day threw out the 18-month package deal and declared for the £6, 30-hour week, equal pay and more holidays demands.

Yet the right-wing leadership in the factory undeterred by the mandate from the shop floor then went on a joint production consultative committee visit to the CAV factory at Sudbury, Suffolk, where they had drinks and lunch with senior management.

AUEW convenor John Paxman

seems determined to restrict the fight to the Acton plant. He told the shop stewards meeting: 'Acton will do its own business irrespective of anything done by the other Lucas-owned factories.'

In March however, Paxman, writing about the miners' strike, said their action had to be followed by all workers.

The Acton workers have been offered precisely the same deal as made to other Lucas factories. Now the North London district committee of the AUEW has said it will back action by the Acton workers if negotiations fail.

Stewards opposed to the right-wing leadership on the committees are fighting to extend the pay and conditions struggle. One shop has already passed a motion calling on the joint shop stewards' committee to fight for the full claim on a CAV-Lucas combine basis.

Dangerous concessions end Vickers' first Barrow strike

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE MASSIVE Vickers shipyard at Barrow in Furness re-opened yesterday after two weeks of closure over a dispute involving 1,200 craftsmen.

This follows an agreement reached on Friday between management and local union leaders which solved the two-month boilermakers' strike at the yard.

The men have won a £1.75 increase, a further £1-a-week good time-keeping money and £1.25 for more flexibility within their trade.

Bob Proudfoot, boilermakers' district delegate, said the vote to go back was carried by a 60 to 40 majority.

'We are going back to work with our heads held high. We said we would not go back for less than £3.75 and we are going back with £4 and some back payments,' he said.

The original claim, however, was for a 'no-strings' increase. Under the latest deal the boilermakers will lose 60p if they turn up for work 15 minutes late once a week and the whole £1 bonus if this happens twice.

In addition they have agreed to extend flexibility within the boiler-making trades. According to a company spokesman this goes 'almost all the way to complete flexibility'.

Platers and shipwrights, for example, will be expected to do their own welding and

burning if men from trades who traditionally carry out this kind of work are not immediately available.

Another important concession was one which allows the firm to bring labour onto the massive Vickers site under sub-contract.

Workers have been resisting this move for some time and management see this agreement as a break-through. But they point out that unemployed boilermakers in the town will have the first option on this work.

Limited flexibility has been in operation within the boilermakers at Barrow since 1966. The firm now says this has been extended and clarified.

'In the past it was not the agreement that was difficult to get, but its practical operation in the yard. We feel this obstacle is overcome in the new agreement because it defines specifically what we want to achieve,' the spokesman said.

Militant trade unionists in Barrow, however, are critical of the agreement.

'The deal on good time-keeping is terrible considering the money offered,' one told me yesterday.

Workers in other trades now fear that the firm will be able to



The Vickers yards dominate almost every scene in the town

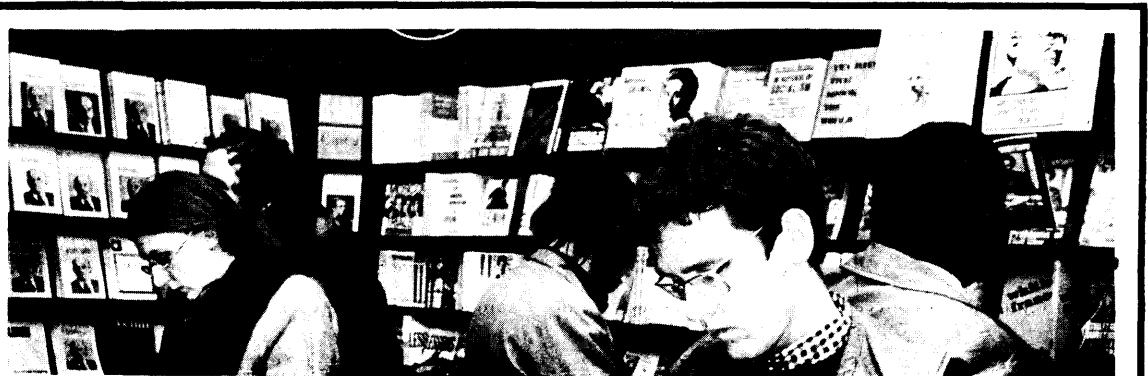
force a good time-keeping deal on them.

Management see the deal as a first tentative step towards their aim of introducing complete flexibility between all trades in the yards and lengthening the working week in preparation for entry into the Common Market.

So far workers and local trade union leaders remain totally opposed

to this step. One of the concessions the boilermakers did not make in the current deal was a request by management to allow other trades to do their drilling work if necessary.

The two-month strike caused the first-ever lock-out in the yard's history—unemployment in Barrow rocketed temporarily to 30 per cent as a result.



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A TURNING POINT OF HISTORY

PART ONE

It is becoming clearer every day that the class struggle in Britain has now reached an historically decisive turning point. The establishment of the Tory Industrial Relations Court has brought to an end a period of over 150 years in which the trade unions have operated independently of the capitalist state as organs of struggle for the working class.

It is also equally clear that the reformists and Stalinists who dominate the British labour movement are utterly incapable of defending the unions. Their policies—in particular their refusal to fight to force the Tories out of office and replace them with a Labour government pledged to a socialist programme—directly assist the monopolists in their plans to destroy independent trade unionism.

A study of the history of the British working class now becomes a vital task for the revolutionary party. Every member of the Socialist Labour League the Young Socialists and readers of the Workers Press must embark on this task. But it is a study which can only be made from the standpoint of today's tasks. It is not an academic, but a revolutionary task.

Why must this be so? Simply because it is possible to understand the past from the point of its highest development, the present. In his notes on the Method of Political Economy, written in preparation for 'Capital'. Marx made the following observation:

'The anatomy of the human being is the key to the anatomy of the ape.' (See Marx's 'Grundrisse', edited D. McLellan, p. 39.)

A unity of opposites

But it was a remark which provides the clue to the understanding not merely of political economy, but of all phenomena, for it is an expression of Marx's dialectical method.

For Marx, the 'present' and the 'past' were opposites, or more strictly speaking, a unity of opposites. Historical change involves the negation of the present, which is concrete, into the past, which is abstract. Marx explains what he means by 'concrete' when he writes (*ibid*, p. 34.):

'The concrete is concrete because it is a combination of many determinants, that is a unity of diverse elements. In our thoughts it therefore

appears as a process of synthesis, as a result, and not as a starting point and, therefore, also the starting point of observation and conception.'

In other words, we cannot study history in the manner which the academics assume—merely as it has 'evolved'. Our investigations into the past must start from the struggle to bring the concrete present into living unity with the abstract past.

In other words, the study of history constitutes a never-ending struggle which can only pass through the revolutionary party.

Predominant industries

This conception lies at the heart of the method of 'Capital'. It would have been quite wrong, said Marx when writing this work, to have dealt with the economic categories simply in the order in which they evolved.

'For instance, nothing seems more natural than to start with rent, with landed property, since it is bound up with land, the source of all production and all existence, and with the first forms of production in all more or less settled communities, viz agriculture. But nothing would be more erroneous.

'Under all forms of society there is a certain industry which predominates over all the rest and whose conditions therefore determine the rank and influence of all the rest. It is the light with which all other colours are tinged and by whose peculiarity they are modified. It is the special ether which determines the specific gravity of everything that appears in it... [The order of sequence of the categories of political economy] is rather determined by the relations which they bear to one another in modern bourgeois society, and which is the exact opposite of what seems to be their natural order or the order of their historical development. What we are interested in is not the place which economic relations occupy in the historical succession of different forms of society. . . . We are interested in their organic connection within modern bourgeois society! (*ibid* pp. 40-42)

From this we can see that only those who start from the great dangers of the present, who understand the historical significance of the Tory declaration of war against the unions, can really grasp the significance of Taff Vale and the fight which followed to establish an independent Labour Party. Why is it that not one of our growing band of Labour historians—many like

Thompson, Saville and Royden Harrison, trained in the method of Stalinism—has been able to utter a single word of warning about the real significance of the Tory Industrial Relations Court? Because for them, the revolutionary content of the British working class's history has always been ignored or even suppressed.

To return briefly to the structure of 'Capital'. If we examine the first volume, we see the following. Marx in the opening four chapters (pp 35-156 in the Foreign Languages Publishing House edition) traces the connection between 'commodity' and 'capital', via 'money'. Having completed this task, he then is able to show that capital is not a 'thing' but a definite social relation. As such it is able to extract surplus labour (in the form of relative and absolute surplus value) from the working class.

Only then (in part VIII, pp 713-774) does he deal with the historical evolution of the capitalist system, through the process of 'primitive accumulation'. For Marx can only understand the past (the 'ape') from the standpoint of the present ('man').

So all those commentators who have so often told us that 'Capital' ought to be read in a different order from the one in which it is set down by Marx are completely wrong. They want us to read the historical sections before the more 'difficult' opening sections. But in understanding the historical origins of the capitalist mode of production from the standpoint of its full development, Marx was able to point to the basis for its overthrow.

While for the classical economists, such as Ricardo, the capitalist system seemed natural and inevitable, for Marx it was merely one, transient, form of social production.

How is the continuity of the present with the past established? This continuity resides in practice—in the objective struggle by man against nature and the mediation of this struggle in the form of the relations between classes. It is the task of Marxists, starting from the present tasks of the working class, to discover the peculiar forms taken by this struggle in each country.

For the petty-bourgeois revisionists, the British working class has always been 'backward' and 'non-revolutionary', tied for many decades to reformist trade union leaders and a reformist Labour Party. Such idealists constantly look across the Channel to the more 'revolutionary' French and Italian working classes.

For Marxists, these features have never constituted 'weaknesses' in the abstract. They have always had another side, an opposite, which must now be increasingly thrust to the forefront. This is so because these past forms of activity, which went along with certain forms of thinking, are now incompatible with the objective relations of classes in Britain today.

Throughout his activity in the British working class movement, Marx always recognized that this was the case; indeed Marxism has only developed in continual conflict with the trade union consciousness of the British working class.

This is why only the Socialist Labour League can call for a campaign to force the Tories out of office and replace them with a Labour government. This is not merely a propaganda demand; the history of the British working class now requires it to go through the form of another Labour government, however short-lived, as the only way in which it can break from social democracy and reformism.

It is for this reason that the revisionists actively and tenaciously oppose such demands

—because they desperately wish to see the working class tied to these traitors. For the revolutionary party, it is not merely a matter of raising the demand for a Labour government, but of warning the most advanced workers of the revolutionary implications of such a government.

In other words, these forms of activity which have characterized the history of the British working class cannot be 'jumped over', as the impatient petty bourgeois imagines. They can be defeated, 'overcome', only in struggle against them. Hence the fight for a Labour government, pledged to a socialist programme, is the fight against the reformists and revisionists.

Here the analogy with the method of 'Capital' is exact. No academic can explain why Marx wrestled over such a long period with the problem of the form of value (see 'Capital' I, pp. 47-69).

These passages were drafted and re-drafted many times by Marx in collaboration with Engels and others between 1859 and 1872. Why was this? Because, for Marx, these forms in which the value relation appeared were the means and only means in which the social relations of capitalism could be understood. They were not 'illusions' which could be swept away in the head, to uncover what 'really' lay beneath them.

Marx shows that at each stage the form of value (at first 'accidental' or 'elementary') comes into conflict with the development of the productive forces and develops dialectically into a new, higher, form, leading eventually to the money form, which provides the basis for the emergence of capital as the dominant form of social relation in modern society.

The example of the English Civil War is a vital period of study for the revolutionary party today. Many so-called 'Marxists' have imagined that their task consisted in showing that the religious struggles of 17th century England can be 'reduced to' or 'explained in terms of' more 'basic' economic conflicts. But such a method has nothing to do with Marxism. It represents the method of the academic contemplator.

Undeveloped economy

First we have to show why the Civil War appeared as a religious struggle, concerned with matters of theology, religious rights and duties. This was connected with the early stage in which this revolution occurred, the relatively undeveloped nature of the economy, science and materialist philosophy. It was only at a later stage, that Reason, drawing its strength from the philosophy of Locke and Hobbes,



The notion of 'Reason' drew its strength from the philosophy of Locke (above) and Hobbes.

became the form in which the social conflicts of the French Revolution were fought out.

So for us, the question of Puritanism, and the many divisions which were contained within it, is of vital concern, just as the form of value was of vital concern for Marx. For we have to see how these religious forms of thought were negated and became, in the 18th and 19th centuries part of the experience of the early working-class movement. Only by understanding Puritanism—with its general conception that one could communicate directly, as an individual, with God, without the need for bishops or priests—can we understand the problems of individualism in the British working-class movement.

The early struggles for the right of workers to representation in parliament—which started around the 1760s and in this sense came before the establishment of permanent trade unions—were directly inspired by the Dissenting Tradition and its later development in the form of Methodism and the Wesleyan movement. Hence the great importance of Tom Paine's 'Rights of Man' in the life of the British working-class movement right down to the middle of the 19th century and beyond.

To take a final example to stress the importance of a correct, that is revolutionary, starting point, in the study of historical processes.

A considerable amount has been written, particularly by the Stalinists, about the role of the labour aristocracy in Britain. They have tried to show that the development of a reformist bureaucracy in Britain grew out of this privileged layer of workers which was made possible by the dominant position of British capital in the 19th century.

Considerable work has been carried out, notably by the Stalinist Eric Hobsbawm, to discover the composition of this aristocracy and the changes which it underwent in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Again such a method is completely at variance with Marxism. Certainly it is true, as Lenin saw above all, that the reformist leaders of the working class had a real material basis in this labour aristocracy. But Lenin also shows (in 'Imperialism') that with the arrival of the imperialist stage of capitalism, this bureaucracy no longer rests on sections of the working class, as on the support which it receives from the capitalist state.

Again, crucial political lessons for today are involved in this method. For all the developments in the class struggle are now showing that as material conditions in the working class deteriorate, the reformists, far from disappearing, or being 'pushed to the left' (as Hobsbawm's method would lead us to think), are being increasingly pushed to the right, closer to the monopolists and the capitalist state.

In other words, we cannot understand this bureaucracy merely in connection with trends within the working class, but only from the standpoint of the overall relationship of classes to the state in a period of capitalist decline and disintegration.

Because, for Marxists, historical investigations are part of their revolutionary work; they can never be 'finished'. Because the class struggle is never ending, continually going through old and new forms, the struggle to grasp the living and concrete present as an opposite to the dead and abstract past is never ceasing. In periods of rapid change, particularly, it is necessary to rework all the historical lessons of the past so that they can be made a real weapon in the present decisive struggles of the working class.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

KREMLIN BUREAUCRAT SACKED AS NIXON ARRIVED

BY JOHN SPENCER

The fall from grace of Pyotr Shelest, fired on May 25 from the post of First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, is being described in the capitalist press as 'the biggest shake-up since Khrushchev's fall'.

Alain Jacob, Moscow correspondent of the French newspaper 'Le Monde' has described Shelest's demotion and the subsequent leadership changes as 'a change in personnel of the first importance, the most considerable and politically significant that has happened inside the Soviet regime for many years'.

Shelest was undoubtedly a very important bureaucrat—he had held the post of First Secretary in the Ukraine for nine years and is even now still a member of the Politburo, though his importance must be much diminished in his new post as a Deputy Prime Minister in Moscow.

Shelest is no 'liberal'—he was one of the most outspoken supporters of the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. His differences with the Brezhnev leadership are symptoms of tension within the bureaucracy—not of opposition to Stalinism.

The Brezhnev leadership is said to have been at loggerheads with Shelest for some time before finally removing him from his Ukrainian fiefdom. Some of the differences appear to have centred on foreign policy questions: there are indications of a disagreement with the leadership in articles Shelest wrote as long as a year ago.

It also seems likely that Shelest's conduct in the Ukraine was not entirely to Moscow's liking. Jacob says he 'showed unquestionable tendencies to behave like a baron in his own stronghold'—a charge the central bureaucracy frequently levels against its opponents in the provinces.

Brezhnev moved against the Ukrainian leader on May 19, just three days before Nixon's arrival for the Moscow summit talks. The reshuffle involving his demotion appears to have been finally decided at the plenary meeting of the Soviet CP Central Committee on that date.

There have been reports in the western press that Shelest took issue at the plenary meeting with the decision to invite President Nixon to Moscow regardless of the bombardment of Vietnam.

Whether or not there was a confrontation at the plenary central committee, 'Pravda' published a decree two days later naming the Ukrainian party chief to one of the nine deputy premierships.

On May 25, the Ukrainian party Central Committee relieved him of his post and appointed Brezhnev's close protégé Ivan Scherbitsky as First Secretary in his place.

Shelest's removal is undoubtedly a victory for Brezhnev, who has been able to place one of his firmest supporters at the head of the Ukraine CP.

As a result of the conflict, Brezhnev has also received the 'entire approval' of the



Top: the Nixon-Brezhnev talks. Above left: rising bureaucrat and anti-Trotskyist, Ponomaryov. Above right: deposed Ukrainian leader Shelest, who is reported to have opposed the Nixon visit.

Soviet Central Committee for his foreign policy. In particular this means endorsement of the attempts to reach a detente in Europe through a European security conference and form closer ties with the US leaders.

Other bureaucrats are falling over themselves to sing Brezhnev's praises in words which indicate their anxiety to retain their own posts. Byelorussian party secretary Masherov spoke recently of 'the role and veritably eminent

merits of comrade Brezhnev', language more reminiscent of the 'cult of personality' than of the 'collective leadership'.

An index of the character of the changes within the bureaucracy is the simultaneous rise of Boris Ponomaryov, a secretary to the Central Committee, who has now been nominated an alternate member of the politburo.

At the end of last year Ponomaryov wrote a series of articles denouncing the growth of Trotskyism, particularly

among the youth. The article was extensively extracted in Soviet publications for British readers, including 'Soviet News' and 'Soviet Weekly'.

Ponomaryov also played a walk-on part during the massacres of communists in the Sudan last July. He was in Cairo throughout the aftermath of the abortive left-wing coup, while Jafaar Numeiry, was slaughtering the leaders of the Sudan CP.

Jacob describes him as showing 'a remarkable facility for adaptation to the changes of the regime and a good dose of cynicism in foreign affairs'. The latter is certainly a desirable attribute for anyone involved in implementing Brezhnev's counter-revolutionary policy.

Foreign policy questions were only one side of the disagreements, if capitalist press reports are to be believed. The Ukraine is undergoing a resurgence of nationalist feeling like many other Soviet republics, and it is a resurgence that eloquently reflects the crisis of the bureaucratic regime.

The Ukraine has long been subjected to attempts at Russification from Moscow, which has ridden roughshod over the national rights of the Ukrainians. Any disagreement with this process has normally been labelled 'bourgeois nationalism'.

There are undoubtedly bourgeois and restorationist tendencies in the Ukrainian nationalist movement. But there are also tendencies demanding a return to Leninist policies on the national question. This is recognized even by some Stalinists: A Canadian CP delegation which visited the Ukraine late in 1967 accused the authorities of condemning as 'bourgeois nationalists' people 'who simply wanted to use their language'.

Shelest appears to have been zealous in his persecution of the Ukrainian deviators, and one speculation is that his differences with Brezhnev's foreign policy were linked at least in part to a fear that increased contacts with the West would tend to strengthen the nationalist tendency.

CENTRISM AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Realignments in the International Labour Movement

A keynote of the recent Socialist Labour League annual conference was the struggle against centrism—a political tendency between reformism and revolution. The conference was warned that centrist groups like the International Socialists might gain a certain credibility because their left talk temporarily coincides with the experience of workers trying to break from reformism. But centrism operates above all to prevent the working class from confronting and understanding its historic political task to overthrow capitalism—hence revolutionaries must launch a relentless struggle against it. As part of this struggle we print Leon Trotsky's characterization of centrism first published on March 17, 1934, in 'The Militant'—the organ of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

I. The events in Austria, coming after the events in Germany, placed a final cross over 'classic' reformism. Henceforth only the dullest leaders of British and American trade unionism and their French follower Jouhaux, the president of the Second International, Vandervelde, and similar political ichthyosauri will dare to speak openly of the perspectives of peaceful development, democratic reforms, etc.

The overwhelming majority of reformists consciously take on new colours now. Reformism yields to the innumerable shadings of centrism which now dominate the field of the workers' movement in the majority of countries. This creates an entirely new, and in a sense, unprecedented, situation for work in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism (Bolshevism).

The New International can develop principally at the

expense of the now prevailing tendencies and organizations. At the same time the revolutionary International cannot form itself otherwise than in a consistent struggle against centrism. Under these conditions ideological irreconcilability and the flexible policy of the united front serve as two weapons for the attainment of one and the same end.

Characteristics of centrism

2. One must understand first of all the most characteristic traits of modern centrism. That is not easy: first, because centrism due to its organic amorphousness yields with difficulty to a positive definition: it is characterized to a much greater extent by what it lacks than by what it embraces, secondly, never has centrism yet played to such an extent as now with all the colours of the rainbow, because never yet have the ranks of the working class been in such FERMENT as at the present time. Political ferment, by the very essence of the term, means a realignment, a shift between two poles, Marxism and reformism; that is, the passing through the various



Top right: Trotsky with 'The Militants', organ of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. Above: dictating notes to his secretary.

stages of centrism.

3. No matter how difficult a general definition of centrism, which of necessity always has a 'conjunctural' character, nevertheless, we can and must bring out the outstanding characteristics and peculiarities of the centrist groupings originating from the breakdown of the Second and the Third Internationals.

(a) Theoretically, centrism is amorphous and eclectic, so far as possible it evades theoretical obligations and inclines (in words) to give preference to 'revolutionary practice' over theory, without understanding that only Marxian theory can impart revolutionary direction to practice.

Centrist ideology

(b) In the sphere of ideology centrism leads a parasitic existence: it repeats against revolutionary Marxists the old Menshevik arguments (Martov, Axelrod, Plekhanov) usually without suspecting this; on the other hand, its main arguments against the rights it borrows from the Marxists, that is first of all from the Bolshevik-Leninists, dulling however, the sharp edge of criticism, avoiding practical conclusions, thereby rendering their criticism meaningless.

(c) A centrist readily proclaims his hostility to reformism; but he does not mention centrism; moreover, he considers the very definition of centrism as 'unclear', 'arbitrary', etc; in other words centrism does not like to be called by its name.

(d) A centrist, always uncertain of his position and his methods, views with hatred the revolutionary principle: TO STATE WHAT IS; he is inclined to substitute for a principled policy personal manoeuvring and petty organizational diplomacy.

(e) A centrist always remains in spiritual dependence on rightest groupings, is inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate, to remain silent on their opportunist sins and to colour their actions before the workers.

(f) His shilly-shallying the centrist frequently covers up by reference to the danger of 'sectarianism', by which he understands not abstract-propagandist passivity (of the Bordigist type) but an active concern for purity of principles, clarity of position, political consistency, organizational completeness.

(g) A centrist occupies a position between an opportunist and a Marxist somewhat

analogous to that which a petty bourgeois occupies between a capitalist and a proletarian: he kowtows before the first and has contempt for the second.

On the international arena

(h) On the international arena the centrist distinguishes himself if not by blindness then by short-sightedness; he does not understand that in the present epoch a national party can be built only as part of an international party; in the choice of his international allies the centrist is even less discriminating than in his own country.

(i) A centrist sees in the policy of the Comintern only 'ultra-left' deviations, adventurism, putschism, ignoring completely the right-opportunist zigzags (Kuomintang, Anglo-Russian Committee, pacifist foreign policy, anti-fascist bloc, etc.)

(j) A centrist always swears readily by the policy of the united front emptying it of its revolutionary content and transforming it from a tactical method into a supreme principle.

(k) A centrist readily resorts to pathetic moralizing to cover

up his ideological emptiness; he does not understand that revolutionary morality can be formed only on the basis of revolutionary doctrine and revolutionary policy.

Words and deeds

Under the pressure of circumstance the eclectic centrist may accept even the most extreme conclusions only to retreat from them afterwards in practice. Having accepted the dictatorship of the proletariat he will leave a wide margin for opportunist interpretations; having proclaimed the necessity of a Fourth International he will work for the building of a Two-and-a-half International, etc.

4. The most malignant example of centrism is, if you wish, the German group 'Begin Anew' (Neu Beginnen). Superficially repeating the Marxian criticism of reformism, it comes to the conclusion that all the misfortunes of the proletariat follow from splits and that salvation lies in the safeguarding of the unity of the social-democratic parties. These gentlemen place the organizational discipline of Wels and Co. higher than the historic interests of the proletariat. And since Wels and Co. subordinate the party to the discipline of

the bourgeoisie, the group 'Begin Anew', cloaked by left criticism stolen from the Marxists, represents in reality a harmful agency of the bourgeois order, even though an agency of second degree.

The London Bureau

5. The so-called London (now Amsterdam) Bureau represents an attempt at creating an international focal point for centrist eclecticism, under the banner of which the right and the left opportunist groupings, which dare not choose finally a direction and a banner, try to unite.

In this as in other cases the centrists try to direct the movement obliquely along a diagonal course. The elements composing the bloc pull in opposite directions, the NAP (National Workers' Party) cautiously moves towards the Second International; the ILP (Independent Labour Party)—partly towards the Third, partly towards the Fourth; the SAP (Socialist Workers' Party of Germany) and the OSP (Independent Socialist Party of Holland)—veering and vacillating towards the Fourth.

Exploiting and preserving the ideological amorphousness of all its participants and trying

to compete in the work for the creation of a new International, the bloc of the 'London Bureau' plays a reactionary role. The failure of this grouping is absolutely inevitable.

Bureaucratic centrism

6. The defining of the policy of the Comintern as that of BUREAUCRATIC centrism retains its full force now too. As a matter of fact only CENTRISM is capable of constant leaps from opportunist betrayals to ultra-left adventurism; only the powerful SOVIET BUREAUCRACY could for ten years assure a stable base for the ruinous policy of zigzags.

Bureaucratic centrism, in distinction from centrist groupings which crystallized out of the social democracy, is the product of the degeneration of Bolshevism; it retains—in caricature form—some of its traits, still leads a considerable number of revolutionary workers, disposes of extraordinary material and technical means, but by its political influence is now the crassest, most disorganizing and harmful variety of centrism.

The political break-down of the Comintern, clear to the whole world, signifies of

necessity the further decomposition of bureaucratic centrism. In this sphere our task is to save the best elements for the cause of the proletarian revolution. Side by side with tireless principled criticism, our main weapon for influencing the workers still remaining under the banner of the Comintern is the further penetration of our ideas and methods into those wide masses, who stand now in overwhelming majority outside the influence of the Comintern.

Adaptation to reformist manoeuvres

7. Precisely now, when reformism is forced to renounce itself, transforming or dying itself into centrism, some groupings of LEFT centrism, on the contrary, stop short in their development and even move backwards. It seems to them that the reformists have already grasped almost everything, that it is only necessary not to play with exorbitant demands, criticism, extreme phraseology, and that then with one blow one can create a mass 'revolutionary' party.

In reality, reformism, forced by events to disavow itself, having no clear programme, no revolutionary tactics, is capable only of lulling the advanced workers to sleep by inculcating in them the idea that the revolutionary regeneration of their party is already achieved.

New forms of struggle

8. For a revolutionary Marxist the struggle against reformism is now almost fully replaced by the struggle against centrism. The mere bare counterposing of legal struggle to illegal, of peaceful means to violence, of democracy to dictatorship now goes beside the mark in the majority of cases because the frightened reformist, disavowing himself, is ready to accept the most 'revolutionary' formulas if only they do not obligate him today to a decisive break with his own irresoluteness indecision and expectant waiting. The struggle with hidden or masked opportunists must therefore be transferred chiefly to the sphere of PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS FROM REVOLUTIONARY REQUISITES.

Before seriously accepting centrist talk of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' we must demand a serious defence against fascism, a complete break with the bourgeoisie, a systematic building of a workers' militia, its training in militant spirit, the creation of inter-party defence centres, anti-fascist staffs, the banishment from their ranks of parliamentary, trade-unionist and other traitors, bourgeois lackeys, careerists, too.

Precisely on this plane the main fights against centrism must now be fought. To carry on the struggle with success it is necessary to have free hands, that is, not only to retain full organizational independence, but also critical intrinsigence with regard to the most 'left' offshoots of centrism.

Events force realignments

9. Bolshevik-Leninists in all countries must realize clearly the peculiarities of the new stage in the struggle for the Fourth International. The events in Austria and France give a powerful impetus to the realignment of the forces of the proletariat in the revolutionary direction. But precisely this universal supplanting of open reformism by centrism develops a powerful attractive force with regard to left centrist groupings (SAPOSP) which only yesterday were about to unite with the Bolshevik-Leninists.

This dialectic process may produce the impression on the surface that the Marxist wing is again 'isolated' from the masses. A flagrant delusion! The veerings of centrism to

the right and to the left follow from its very nature. There will yet be tens and hundreds of such episodes on our road. It would be the most wretched faint-heartedness to fear to go forward just because the road is strewn with obstacles or because not all the fellow travellers will arrive at the very end.

The Fourth International

Whether the new opportunist vacillations of our centrist allies will prove conjunctural or final (in reality they will be of both kinds), the general conditions for the formation of the Fourth International on the basis of genuine Bolshevism become more and more favourable.

The chase of the 'extreme left' centrists after the simply lefts, of the lefts—after the moderates, of the moderates—after the rights, like the chase of a man after his own shadow, can not create any stable mass organization: the miserable experience of the German Independent Party (USP) retains now also its full force.

Under the pressure of events, with the aid of our criticism and our slogans, the advanced workers will step over the vacillations of the most left-centrist leaders, and, if it should become necessary, also over these very leaders. On the road to a new International the proletarian vanguard will find no other answers than those which have been elaborated and are being elaborated by the Bolshevik-Leninists on the basis of international experience during ten years of uninterrupted theoretical and practical struggle.

Conditions for success

10. During the past year our political influence has greatly grown in a number of countries. We will be able to develop and broaden these successes in a comparatively short time under the following conditions:

- (a) Not to outsmart the historic process, not to play hide and seek but to state what is;
- (b) to give ourselves a theoretic accounting of the changes in the general situation which in the present epoch frequently take on the nature of sharp turns;
- (c) to heed carefully the mood of the masses, without prejudices, without illusions, without self-deception in order on the basis of a correct estimate of the relationship of forces within the proletariat, to avoid opportunism as well as adventurism and to lead the masses forward;
- (d) every day, every hour to answer clearly to ourselves what our next PRACTICAL STEP must be, tirelessly to prepare this step and on the basis of living experience explain to the workers the principled differences of Bolshevism from all other parties and currents;

The basic historic task

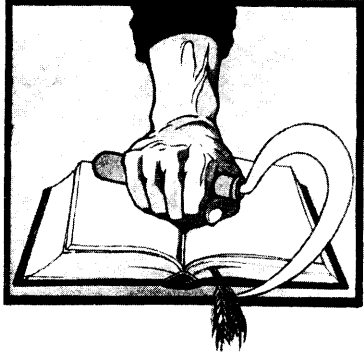
- (e) not to confuse tactical tasks of a united front with the basic historic task; the creation of new parties and a new International;
- (f) not to neglect even the weakest ally, for the sake of PRACTICAL action.
- (g) to watch critically the most 'left' ally as a possible adversary.
- (h) to treat with the greatest attention those groupings which actually gravitate to us; patiently and carefully to listen to their criticism, doubts and vacillations; to help them develop toward Marxism; not to be frightened by their caprices, threats, ultimatums (centrists are always capricious and touchy); not to make any concessions to them in principle;
- (i) and once more: not to fear to state what is.

February 23, 1934.

Leon Trotsky

'THIS LAND OF IRELAND... ANNEXED FOREVER'

BOOK REVIEW



'The Green Flag.' By Robert Kee. Weldenfeld and Nicolson. £5.95 877 pages.

A six part review by Jack Gale

PART 1

The earliest English 'rights' in Ireland dated from the feudal allegiance owed to the English king by those of his subjects who acquired land there. Then, in 1541, Henry VIII proclaimed himself 'King of this land of Ireland as united, annexed and knit for ever to the Imperial Crown of the Realm of England'.

The Tudor and Stuart monarchies—Protestant and Catholic alike—waged ferocious war on the Irish. The lands of those who resisted were confiscated and given to settlers from England and Scotland. These thefts—known as 'Plantations'—occurred mainly in Ulster, and the new landowners were Protestants.

The first large-scale war of resistance was the so-called 'Great Rebellion' of 1641. It was an attempt by the Gaelic Irish of Ulster to recover their confiscated lands.

This was finally suppressed with unparalleled brutality by Oliver Cromwell in 1652. About one-third of the Irish Catholic population lost their lives. Others were transported to the West Indies by slave-owners.

The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 made little difference. True, the Catholic James II repealed Cromwell's Act of Settlement, but in practice nothing was done to restore the land to its former Catholic owners.

The defeat of James's forces by the Protestant William of Orange at the battles of the Boyne in 1690 and Aughrim in 1691 (Kee omits to mention that William was financed in part by the Pope) was followed by more land annexations. By 1703, after the Williamite settlement, only 15 per cent of the cultivatable land of Ireland was left in Catholic hands.

The next 20 years saw the introduction of the infamous Penal Laws. These excluded Catholics from open political activity and banned Catholic education. They barred Catholics from buying land or acquiring a mortgage on it. Moreover, any Catholic who turned Protestant immediately acquired rights to the land of his Catholic relatives.

(There was no shortage of ambitious Catholics who suddenly saw the light with the aid of this law though Kee omits this too.)

So, by the mid-18th century, only 7 per cent of the land of Ireland was left in Catholic hands.

At the same time as Irish land was being acquired by pro-



Above left: Henry VIII, the first English king to proclaim himself King of Ireland. Right: Henry Grattan, who led a movement of protestant property owners for limited independence—'legislative rights under a joint crown'.



English Protestant settlers and fervent religious converts, Irish trade was also being crippled. For example, the export of woollen goods from Ireland was prohibited to anywhere except England—where it faced exorbitant duties.

This meant that, for the Irish poor, there was no alternative to scraping a bare existence from the land—as tenants of the above-mentioned landlords. They were forced to pay the highest rents that could be squeezed from them and they had no protection against eviction.

The first resistance to the landlords took the form of secret societies, like the Whiteboys movement which began in 1760. These groups of desperate men killed the landlords' cattle, tore down fences from enclosed land, reinstated evicted tenants by force, and even murdered landlords and their agents.

Similar societies sprang up all over Ireland for almost two centuries, from the early 1700s to about 1880. They were known as Rightboys, Thrashers, Rockites, Ribbonmen, Whitefeet, Blackfeet, the Lady Clares, the Terry Alts and a variety of other names.

It must be emphasized that this was not a matter of Catholic tenants against Protestant owners. In the 19th century, after the penal laws were repealed, Catholics became landlords on a considerable scale. They were just as hated as their Protestant counterparts and they were just as active in putting down resistance.

By the same token, Protestant tenants in the North also formed secret societies—such

as the Oakboys and the Steelboys—to fight their Protestant landlords.

It is interesting to note that probably the most brutal evictions of all were carried out by a renegade Catholic family turned Protestant—the Burke family who were rewarded for their 'conversion' by being created Earls of Clanrickarde.

Meanwhile, all pretence of any independence for the Irish parliament had been ended in 1719, when the English parliament passed the Declaratory Act. This stated that it had a full right to legislate for Ireland if it so desired.

However, the original demand for Irish parliamentary independence was a demand waged by the Irish propertied class. Only this class had the vote.

In the 18th century, 30 individuals controlled enough 'rotten boroughs' (ie areas with a tiny population whose 'representative' in parliament was in fact nominated by the landowner) to ensure a permanent majority in the Irish parliament. Of these, the majority were agents of the British Crown. So, in practice, the English government nominated the Irish 'government'!

The movement of Protestant property owners for political independence was led first by Henry Flood and then by Henry Grattan. Throughout, it recognized the English king as King of Ireland, seeking only legislative powers under him. In 1779 the repeal of restrictive commercial legislation against Irish products was obtained.

But the gains made by Grattan's 'Patriot' party were

due not to his persuasive powers, but to the emergence of an armed force in Ireland and to the blows delivered against England by the American War of Independence.

The armed force—known as the Volunteers—numbered some 80,000 men by 1782 and established its own elected body, called the Convention. This forced the Irish parliament to pass a Declaration of Independence which was accepted by England.

The English parliament then repealed the earlier 'Poyning's Law' which had compelled the Irish parliament to submit its legislation to Westminster for approval. Then, in 1782, the English parliament passed an Act of Renunciation of its legislative rights in Ireland.

These changes brought into existence what became known as 'Grattan's Parliament'. But this was more shadow than substance. Grattan stood not for Irish independence, but for legislative rights under a joint crown. In fact, he spoke of a 'perpetual connection with the British Empire'.

Even this limited independence remained an illusion as long as the English government controlled a majority in the Irish parliament.

And after 1782 the English government increased its dominance by deliberately extending the sale of parliamentary places, titles and honours. Needless to say, there was no shortage of patriotic Irish gentry willing to serve their country in this way.

One point which receives little emphasis from Kee, is that if the Irish Protestants were united on legislative inde-

pendence, they were certainly not united on parliamentary reform—the only way to transform the myth into reality.

So a new conflict arose, this time between the new Protestant middle class and the Protestant landed aristocracy.

All Catholics, of course, were still excluded from participating in the political system at all. So two issues now dominated political life in Ireland—parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation. These were linked because the Protestant middle class was prepared to recognize the Catholic middle class as allies against 'their own' Protestant aristocratic rivals.

In 1778, the first Catholic Relief Bill enabled Catholics to start buying property again. In 1782, Catholics were granted exactly the same rights of property and leasehold in land as Protestants.

The middle class, however, was afraid of the consequences of using the Volunteers to force through parliamentary reform.

In 1783, 500 armed Volunteers waited for the order to march on the Irish parliament in Dublin to force it to adopt a Reform Bill passed by the Convention. The order never came and the Convention was disbanded.

Thus, the constitutional independence of 1782 remained a sham.

But the shock that was to affect history throughout Europe—and not least in Ireland—occurred seven years later not in Ireland itself, nor in England, but in France.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

WHAT HAPPENED TO GORKY

Prior to 1917, Maxim Gorky (1868-1936) had a long, though chequered, relationship with the Bolsheviks. After Lenin's death and a period of exile he reconciled himself to Stalinism and became the accepted 'father' of socialist realism, that turgid surrogate for revolutionary art.

Lenin himself had a great (if critical) respect for Gorky and the history of their troubled relationship recorded in 'The Bridge and the Abyss' by Bertram D. Wolfe, reveals just how tolerant Lenin was of artists who sought, sometimes in mistaken ways, to contribute to socialism.

During the crucial revolutionary period covered by these essays both men were tested to the extreme.

That Lenin carried through the October Revolution is history: Gorky's role in these turbulent months is less well-known. These often crude essays are a very valuable record of the various ways in which revolutionary events can disorder even sensitive and well-meaning socialists who are not theoretically equipped to evaluate and understand them.

Ironically, Gorky's impressionistic fulminations against the Bolsheviks inform us just how necessary their coherent Marxist theory was to the success of the Revolution.

To understand Gorky's position during these months some knowledge of his literary work is needed. Briefly, he vacillated between the extreme social realism of 'Mother' and 'The Lower Depths' and the arcane idealism of 'The Confession' in which he tried to found a popular cult which would reconcile Christianity with Marxism.

His strengths were his courage, his stamina, his deep concern for suffering humanity; his primary weakness was his inability to think systematically.

'Novaya Zhizn' was a Menshevik paper published in Petrograd and Gorky was its most prestigious commentator. His cultural concerns his confusion, his impotent tirades are representative of a particular type of 'left' democrat. Many British socialists are sure to respond in similar ways to a similar impending crisis.

Broadly speaking, Gorky saw the February revolution as a wonderful opportunity to spread culture to the 'dark Russian masses'. He did not analyse the political structure of the Duma or the Provisional Government. He concentrated on the cultural opportunities that 'democracy' seemed to offer.

Gorky became a spokesman on the enfranchised petty-bourgeois intellectuals. Consequently, a Marxist class analysis of the events he was to witness is not to be looked for. He wrote:

'Intellectual force is qualitatively the first and foremost productive force, and concern for its rapid growth should be the ardent concern of all classes.' (April 18, 1917. My emphasis, J.B.)

His basic refusal to accept the irreconcilability of the class interests of the bourgeoisie with those of workers and peasants drew him, ineluctably, into ever deeper and fiercer opposition to the theory and practice of the Bolsheviks.

While they were preparing to take power, Gorky was printing resounding exhortations to the 'intellectuals' to spread culture to the benighted masses within the existing state structure. His concept of 'European culture', however, was left vague enough to avoid embarrassing social content. It was, and remains, an anti-Marxist idea of absolute culture independent of social struggles.

Gorky, like some of our contemporary literateurs, believed that everything could be smoothed over with a little art:

'Politics and religion divide people into separate groups; art revealing in man that which is common to all humanity, unites us.' (April 20.)

This benign idiocy, which blames politics as such, as the divisive force and not the social base upon which political structures are founded, shows just how little equipped he was to understand the class nature of the events which were shortly to unfold before his bewildered and angry gaze.

By June 9 he was writing more openly that the political struggle was an 'unavoidable evil'. He became obsessed with the failure of 'politics' to humanize mankind between dawn and dusk:

'... the political struggle renders the building of culture almost impossible.'

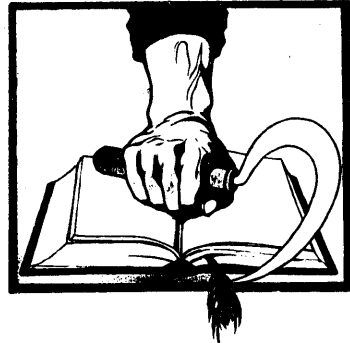
He then started to concentrate upon the brutalities reported in the anti-Bolshevik press and upon the dire reports sent in by often unnamed correspondents.

The temper of Gorky's thought at this time was one of Fabian gradualism which, even in the face of imminent



Maxim Gorky—everything could be smoothed over with a little art.

BOOK REVIEW



'Untimely Thoughts'. By Maxim Gorky (Essays from Novaya Zhizn April 1917 - July 1918). Garnstone Press, 90p. Review by Jack Bainbridge

White terror, called for responsible caution. Had his strictures been used as political formulae, they would have served to limit the further gains pressed by the Bolsheviks to those of bourgeois democracy. They took exception to his wild meanderings and followed their own consistent programme.

Gorky became more and more enraged with them.

In a spirited (and formally correct) defence of the Jews against anti-Semites Gorky upbraids them also for accusing the Jews of the further offence of creating Bolshevism! During this defence he calls Lenin a 'pure-blooded Russian sinner'.

From this position it is only a short step to utter hostility to any popular revolutionary action or as he called it on July 4 'disgusting scenes of madness'.

The next stage is a blanket condemnation of the Bolshevik leadership.

Soon after October Gorky made his position crystal-clear. He became the desperate spokesman of the middle classes who saw their chances of advancement removed from them in one bold swoop.

'Lenin, Trotsky and their companions have already become poisoned with the filthy venom of power, and this is evidenced by their shameful attitude towards freedom of speech, the individual and the sum total of those rights for the triumph of which democracy struggled.' (November 7.)

In the same piece he called Lenin a 'cold-blooded trickster' who was leading the Russian people to ruin.

Gorky in 'Novaya Zhizn' was in fact allowed eight more months to say this sort of thing:

'Mr Trotsky's frenzied dance on the ruin of Russia.' (November 12.)

'The reformers from Smolny do not care about Russia.' (December 10.)

'The revolution will perish from internal exhaustion if the proletariat, submitting to the fanatic implacability of the People's Commissars, continues to widen its rift with democracy.' (January 13.)

'Democracy has two enemies: their 'communist' lordships who crushed it physically and the Cadets who are already starting the work of killing its spirit.' (March 25.)

These attitudes are typical of the liberal 'left' when faced outright with the choice of reformism or revolution. Gorky's subsequent opportunism with Stalin does not mark a radical change of heart. Such subjective idealism can find itself at home in many situations in which the energy of the revolutionary proletariat has been severely curtailed.

That Gorky, among all his wild vituperations of the revolutionaries, kept alive some faith in 'culture' may be seen by some as a creditable thing. Let them remember that had his impressionistic humanitarian appeals been taken as political wisdom, they would have led to their direct opposite—a White barbarism on a scale which he was ill-equipped to imagine. Reactionary thoughts are hatched in many shapes in periods of revolutionary crisis.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

TOKYO SCOTCH

After years of the ersatz variety made at Gretna Green and points north you can at last look forward to buying the authentic Scotch whisky straight from the distillery in ... Tokyo.

Last Friday the Japanese government approved plans for a joint Japanese-American-British venture to process the life-giving fluid.

A Foreign Investment Council announcement listed the participating companies as the Kirin brewery, a leading Japanese beer-maker; Joseph E. Seagram and Sons Inc (USA) and Chivas Bros Ltd (GB).

Initially raw whisky will be imported from the US and Britain to be processed into Scotch and sold under foreign brands. The eventual aim is a mostly domestic product.

Half the new company's £2.5m initial capital will be put up by Kirin, 45 per cent by Seagram and 5 per cent by Chivas. Whether the final blend will be in the same proportions is not known.

DUMB

President Nixon's domestic affairs adviser says one reason that the President has few news conferences is that newsmen ask 'dumb questions'.

'He doesn't get very good questions at a press conference, frankly,' said John D. Ehrlichman. 'He goes in there for a half hour and gets a lot of flabby and fairly dumb questions and it doesn't really elucidate very much.'

'I've seen him many times come off one of these things and go back in and say, "Isn't it extraordinary how poor the quality of the questions are?"'

Asked during a television interview taping session whether he was accusing the Washington press corps of being flabby and dumb, Ehrlichman replied: 'No, I said the questions are flabby and dumb.'

AT A PRICE

The Institute of Contemporary Arts is running an exhibition on the year-old strike at the Brannan's thermometer factory, Cleator Moor, Cumberland.

One of the events was a discussion of the strike and

Martin Brannan, a director of the company, was invited to attend.

He replied that he wanted a fee of £25 for a 20-minute talk and £20 expenses.

The ICA refused to pay and pointed out that at this rate Brannan would take home for 20 minutes' 'work' far more than his employees earned in a week. At this rate his weekly pay of £3,000 is twice as much as his workers earn in a year.

SLUM



Did you know that Buckingham Palace was down for slum clearance? Well, apparently the place has been in a terrible condition, with exposed wiring all over the place.

This exclusive news comes straight from the inside—from Princess Anne in fact.

The other day she opened a 'show house' converted into flats by Shelter—the organization which constantly arranges 'weep-ins' for the homeless.

Royalty is good at weeping, so along went the Princess to meet Mr John Morgan, his wife Irma and their two children at their new home.

She then went round to see the Morgan's old home—a damp, two-room flat where the family had lived for 24 years. The Princess saw wiring laid bare by fallen plaster.

'Goodness, it's just like our place,' she exclaimed.

'The wiring at Buckingham Palace was so old we had birds making nests in it. But it's all fixed now.'

One wonders if she also has the same problems as the Morgans have living in their new home. They've got an £8 a week rent to find and Mrs Morgan said her husband's wages were poor.

BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:
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Paperback 37½p
Revolution Betrayed
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.05
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Paperback 75p
In Defence of Marxism
Paperback 75p
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Paperback 60p

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Cynical acceptance by Manchester Labourites

MANCHESTER'S Labour council will implement the Housing Finance Bill. The decision will be taken at the council meeting next month.

In a carefully-timed announcement, the council has just declared that the housing revenue account is in the red and rent increases are inevitable in October, even without the 'fair rents' Bill.

Now the Labour group, the most powerful in the North West, can say that it is a waste of time to oppose the Bill.

By law the housing revenue account must be in the black at the end of the financial year. A deficit could be met by an interim rates increase.

As the 'Manchester Evening News' put it, however: 'An interim increase would be little short of political suicide because it would alienate householders throughout the city, whereas the rent increases would only affect council tenants who tend to be concentrated in certain wards.'

If this is the thinking of Labour group leaders, and there is no evidence

to the contrary, it is a most cynical position. The Labour Party's main supporters on the council estates can be thrown to the winds.

The group has one eye on next year's elections under the reorganized local government structure and is no doubt hoping for middle-class support by avoiding rate increases.

In this situation the Labour group has come round to the view—it was never seriously against implementation at any time—that to carry out the provisions of the Bill will somehow reap

benefits for the tenants.

The capitulation in Manchester means that the other big councils in the region—especially Liverpool—will no doubt soon be finding excuses to carry out Tory rent plans.

Indeed, the study group set up after the meeting of Labour groups ten days ago in Sheffield could end by sanctioning implementation. For Cllr Joe Dean, chairman of Manchester's housing committee, is a member of the group which is supposed to be examining ways round the Bill.

Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

Using the Bill will hit election chances

ISLINGTON Labour council will be discussing the implementation of the Housing Finance Bill again tonight.

Although the Labour group has come down against a motion of non-implementation, 23 Labour councillors are still battling on, trying to reverse the decision.

Outside the council meeting there is sure to be a big lobby of tenants in support of the 23. In meeting after meeting in the borough, tenants have hammered council leaders for their betrayal of the 'fair rents' fight.

One of the councillors against carrying out Tory policies is Gerard Flynn, who sits for the Parkway ward. A bus driver, he has been a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union for 20 years.

'To say you can soften the blow by implementing the Bill is like the old story I know. The bloke on the scaffold was about to be hanged. For his last request he asked that his friend be allowed to pull the lever.

says Labour councillor

BY PHILIP WADE
Our housing correspondent

'When they told him it wouldn't make any difference—he would still be hanged—he replied: "He'll do it more nicely".'

'This is the self-same thing. The working class will suffer and pay, no matter who carries the Bill out.

'I think we'll lose a certain amount of support if Islington implements. Tenants will become disillusioned—they expected support from a 100 per cent Labour council. Tenants are obviously not getting the lead they need and deserve.

'For my part I am a socialist and a Labour Party man and I can't for the life of me think why Labour-controlled councils should implement this Bill,' said Cllr Flynn.

'They're bright and brilliant types on the council. Yet the fact is they're accepting a Tory-

imposed Bill and saying the only way of fighting it is by implementing.

'Then there is the question of the surcharge. Some said they didn't mind going to jail "if it would help the tenants".'

'I don't scare easily. Might is the main thing. If they had organized all the Labour councils it would have taken a lot of jails and Housing Commissioners.'

Cllr Flynn said the majority had accused him and the other 22 Labour councillors of throwing the tenants 'to the dogs' and acting 'silly and big' in standing out against the Bill.

'As far as I'm concerned, tenants are going to be thrown to the dogs by implementing—however nice a way it is done. And this will jeopardize the Labour Party at any future election here. People will just not turn out and vote.

'We're fighting a battle here and there's a lot of work to be done,' added Cllr Flynn.

He was worried about rent strikes which if not organized properly could lose people their homes. To have any success he felt the rent would have to be banked on behalf of tenants. Nevertheless, Cllr Flynn was in favour of Islington council only collecting the existing rent and letting the Tories try and draw in the 'fair rent' addition.

His idea of fighting the Bill was to come together with other workers against the government.

'The dockers did it and the miners and railwaymen did it. We could lead workers on all questions against this government.

'They have backed down', said Cllr Flynn but added as a note of warning, 'the last kick of a dying horse is always the worst. Eventually—if Heath finds the time—the government must come out and do battle.

'There are plenty of opportunities for bringing down this government. You name it and the Tories are involved in it.

'This situation is solved by miners, dockers, tenants and so on coming together, being organized and amalgamated on this



Gerard Flynn, bus driver and one of 23 Islington councillors against implementation

business. Once you start talking like that they label you as a communist—but I'm not too concerned.

'We've always proved strong when it was needed. And that time is now—or we fall by the wayside. You can't back down. Force has to be met by force. The workers have to meet the Tories.

'You're right when you say workers won't stand for the same policies from Labour as the last Labour government. We will have to commit the next Labour government to a manifesto, a policy which will be for the working class.

'I'm for nationalization and not the business of someone getting paid for ever and a day when we take them over.

'If in certain cases we have to compensate, let's set a figure on it and be finished with. And we have to put people in to run the industry who understand what's going on.

'Let the workers have the say. How can you justify paying all that money to men like Beeching and Marsh? Who's worth all that—and where did it come from to pay them?

'I take my hat off to those three shop stewards on the docks who said come and get us if you want us. I wish you had some men like these in Islington. We've got to put up a fight and stop things somewhere.

'The fight will be won—but it'll take longer to do it because of the opportunities we've missed,' said Cllr Flynn.

BOOKS



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ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

WEST LONDON: Tuesday June 20, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross. 'Why a Labour government?'

SOUTHAMPTON: Tuesday June 20, 7.30 p.m. Buffet room, Town Hall, Eastleigh. Build Councils of Action!

NORTH KENT: Tuesday June 20, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, Essex Rd, Dartford. 'Why a Labour government pledged to socialist policies?'

COVENTRY: Tuesday June 20, 8 p.m. Woodend Community Association Building, Hillmorton Road.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday June 20, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Ave, Barking. 'Fight the Tory rents policy'.

SOUTH LONDON: Tuesday

June 20, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

SHEFFIELD: Wednesday June 21, 7.30 p.m. 'New White Lion', Wicker. 'Build Councils of Action'.

SWANSEA: Wednesday June 21, 7.30 p.m. 'Bellevue Hotel', Nelson Street. 'The dockers' strike'.

NORTH LONDON: Thursday June 22, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Road (near White Hart Lane). 'Building the revolutionary party'.

LUTON: Thursday June 22, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Brigade Hall, Lea Rd. 'Stalinism'.

SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday June 22, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club (opposite New Cross Stn.). 'Stalinism'.

ACTON: Monday June 26, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road. 'Support the dockers. Force the Tories to resign'.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday June 27, 8 p.m. 'Aberfeldy', Aberfeldy Street, E.14 (nr Blackwall Tunnel) 'Build Councils of Action'.

SOUTHALL: Thursday June 29, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Bridge Rd. 'Force the Tories to resign'.

WANDSWORTH: Thursday June 29, 8 p.m. Balham Baths, Elmfield Road, Balham. 'Build Councils of Action'.

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BBC 1

9.20 The Herbs. 9.38, 2.05 Schools. 12.55 Aelwyd Ac Eiddo. 1.30 Along the Trail. 1.45 News, weather. 2.25 Racing from Ascot. 4.40 Magic Roundabout. 4.45 Jackanory. 4.55 Animal Magic. 5.20 Scooby-Doo. 5.44 Parsley. 5.50 News, weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.
6.45 ROYAL ASCOT. Highlights of the first day's racing.
7.00 TOMORROW'S WORLD.
7.25 FILM: 'ELIZABETH OF LADYMEAD.' Anna Neagle, Hugh Williams, Story of Georgian mansion and the four women of different generations who live in it while their husbands are away at the wars.
9.00 NEWS, Weather.
9.20 TREASURES OF TUTANKHAMUN. Exhibition at the British Museum.
10.10 FILM 72. Philip Oakes reviews the week's new films.
10.40 24 HOURS.

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 6.05 Open University.
7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.
8.00 THE NEW MASTERS. Marc Chagall.
8.50 WHEELBASE.
9.20 PLAY: 'NIGHT DUTY.' By Peter Ransley. Night superintendent at a mental hospital is involved in train of events he cannot control.
10.25 NEWS, Weather.
10.30 THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. Roxy Music. The Sutherland Brothers.

TV

ITV

12.30 Cook Book. 1.30 Outlook. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Let's Face It. 3.45 Danger Man. 4.40 Once Upon a Time. 4.55 Showtime. 5.20 Magpie Special. 5.50 News.
6.00 TODAY.
6.30 CROSSROADS.
6.55 FATHER, DEAR FATHER.
7.25 FILM: 'THE FLYING MISSILE.' Glenn Ford, Viveca Lindfors. Story of men who build and test guided missiles.
9.00 PLAYHOUSE: 'THE GREEKS AND THEIR GIFTS.' By John Hopkins. A stranger disturbs the lives of suburban family.
10.00 NEWS.
10.30 RADICAL LAWYER—ONE MAN'S VIEW OF THE LAW. Benedict Birnberg challenges traditional attitudes to the law and the police in Britain.
11.20 THE CRAFTSMEN. Master wood-carver Frank Hudson.
11.50 IDEAS IN PRINT.



Solicitor Benedict Birnberg is followed through three typical weeks of his practice in tonight's 'Radical Lawyer—One Man's View of the Law' on independent channels 10.30 p.m. Birnberg challenges all the traditional attitudes to the law and police in Britain.

ANGLIA: 2.30 London. 3.15 By-gones. 3.45 Women. 4.10 News. 4.15 Mr Piper. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Columbo. 8.30 London. 11.25 Jesse James.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Simon Locke. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Young Land'. 8.30 London. 11.25 Who knows?

ULSTER: 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Lidsville. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes'. 8.30 London. 11.20 Dr Simon Locke.

YORKSHIRE: 2.32 Good afternoon. 3.00 Master chefs. 3.15 Hadleigh. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 Film: 'The Return of the Badmen'. 8.30 London. 11.20 Spyforce. 12.15 Weather.

GRANADA: 2.35 Avengers. 3.30 Messengers. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. Put it in writing. 6.30 Set of six. 7.00 Film: 'Don't Bother to Knock'. 8.30 London. 11.30 Felony squad.

TYNE TEES: 12.20 Mr Piper. 12.45 Bird's eye view. 1.10 Edgar Wallace. 2.05 Survival. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Master chefs. 3.15 Hadleigh. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Sean. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 Popeye. 7.05 Film: 'Blackjack Ketchum, Desperado'. 8.30 London. 11.15 Double top. 12.00 News. 12.15 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 3.30 Origami. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Cartoon. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 Swashbucklers. 8.30 Father, dear father. 9.00 London. 10.30 Report. 11.30 Epilogue. 11.35 Drive-in.

GRAMPIAN: 3.38 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Nanny. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Strictly Scottish. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Never Put it in Writing'. 8.30 London. 11.25 Epilogue.

Regional TV

CHANNEL: 2.40 Testing job. 3.05 Journey to the sun. 4.00 Lottery. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Odd couple. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Posse from Hell'. 8.30 London. 11.45 News, weather. 12.00 Gazette. 12.05 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.30 Report. 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.47 News. 11.51 Epilogue.
SOUTHERN: 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Man from uncle. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Grasshopper island. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Film: 'The

Flying Fontaines. 8.30 London. 11.20 News. 11.30 Farm progress. 12.00 Weather.
HTV: 1.40 Out of Town. 2.00 Remember. 2.25 Kate. 3.20 Let's face it. 3.45 Junkin. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Odd couple.

7.10 Film: 'Blackjack Ketchum, Desperado'. 8.30 London. 11.55 Weather.
HTV West as above except: 6.18 Report West.
HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales except: 10.30 Dan Sylw.
HTV Wales as above except: 4.15 Miri Mawr. 6.01 Y Dydd. 11.25 Sion a Sian.

South Shields block on Council of Action criticized

SOUTH SHIELDS Trades Council executive council faces bitter criticism at a full meeting tonight.

Engineering delegates from South Shields No. 1 branch are demanding to know why the executive has censored a resolution calling for a Council of Action.

The executive stepped in preventing the resolution from going to a full council meeting.

Centrists and right-wing Labourites voted 8-3 against the resolution after saying it was 'not competent'.

Labour Party members were

against the resolution because it involved joining forces with organizations which were proscribed

Communist Party members were silent during the executive discussion, but loyally voted with the right wing.

NUM mechanics delegates from Durham and engineers later demanded that their votes be recorded and they reserved the right to bring this to the attention of the delegates at tonight's full council meeting.

Weak proposals to combat Dunlop lay-off

WORKERS at the closure-threatened Manchester factory of the giant Dunlop-Pirelli rubber group are planning to fight proposed redundancies.

Shop stewards representing the 1,100 workers at the Cambridge Street factory fear that rationalization plans since the merger with Pirelli threaten their jobs. They have presented management with a three-point demand:

- Consultation before any rationalization.
- An examination of pay conditions and holidays throughout the groups to make sure British workers get a 'fair deal'.
- Assurances that the company will build a new factory in Manchester when the Cambridge Street plant ultimately closes.

The demands carried this

warning: 'The company cannot ride rough-shod over the employees. We are prepared to defend ourselves.'

The demands will be discussed in Geneva later this month at a meeting of the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers' Unions.

The demands were worked out at a private meeting between six shop stewards from Cambridge Street and General and Municipal Workers' regional organizer John Race. The three-point plan is dangerously weak. It is imbued with the dangerous notion that big international monopolies will respond to pleas for 'fair play'.

FOOTNOTE: Until he joined the Heath Cabinet, Home Secretary Reginald Maudling was a director of Dunlop.

Pensioners' pittance

THE Department of Employment is openly engaged in recruiting old-aged pensioners on pittance wages.

Workers Press has received a job card displayed by the department at one of its Merseyside branches.

It offers £2.50 a week for someone to work a chipmaking machine on a part-time basis. The card says: 'Would suit OAP.'

The 'job opportunity' is located at Birkenhead, yet it was advertised by the DEP at Ellesmere Port. A Workers Press correspondent says the single bus fare from Ellesmere Port to Birkenhead is 18p—which means that the £2.50 wage won't go very far!

This advertisement is a cruel sign of the times. It shows the vicious policies of the Tories towards the unemployed and the elderly.

DE DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT	
VACANCY	VEGETABLE PREPARER PART TIME
DISTRICT	BIRKENHEAD
BUSINESS	FISH AND CHIP SHOP
SALARY	A PROS £2.50 per week
HOURS	to be arranged.
REMARKS	to prepare potatoes for chipping by machine. Would suit OAP or person wanting part time work.
REF. NO.	171/148.99

New picket at Singer

PICKETS were out at the Singer sewing machine plant in Clydebank yesterday after a weekend mass meeting voted to continue a five-week strike for a pay increase.

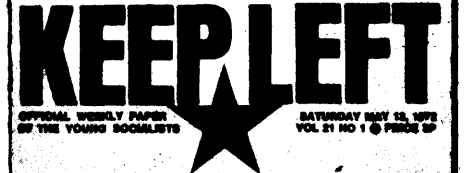
The dispute, which involves 5,000 workers, has caused great bitterness in the town. Management has taken the unprecedented step of serving notice on 700 staff who will be progressively sacked between now and the end of July.

The firm has offered rises of up to £3.75, but the workers remain firm in their determination to win £4.25.

Convenor Gavin Laird said the strike will continue until the workers get what they are looking for.

'No further talks have been arranged with management and pickets will continue at the gates.'

NOW WEEKLY



The eight-page youth paper which leads the fight against the Tory government, for the right to work, in factories, schools and on the dole queues.

Plenty of news, views and features at 3p a copy. Order your regular copy now. Yearly subscription £2.88. Send to Keep Left, 186a Clapham High St, London, SW4 7UG.

Please send me 'Keep Left' for one year

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Name

Address

Hi-jack strike hits main airports

BRITAIN'S state airlines were badly hit in yesterday's anti-hijacking strike by pilots all over the world.

After 154 out of 522 pilots failed to report for work, BEA were forced to cancel their whole network of internal flights.

Outgoing flights of BOAC were affected but flights from provincial airports in Birmingham, Manchester and Prestwick went ahead after crews agreed to work normally.

BEA said they were working hand to mouth. 'It is only 50 minutes before take off that we can say whether a flight will take place or not,' a spokesman said.

BEA were forced to cancel European services to Geneva, Vienna, Rome and Copenhagen and on other routes, where passenger loads were light, some flights were combined.

Both Pan-Am and Trans World Airlines have injunctions prohibiting pilots from taking part in the strike and reported normal London operations.

But only two of 30 foreign airline flights had arrived at Heathrow by noon.

Airports in the Irish Republic were at a standstill. The 282 pilots employed by Aer Lingus, who are members of the Irish Airline Pilots' Association, did not report for work and no company aircraft took off from Dublin, Shannon or Cork airports. Three trans-Atlantic flights from New York, Boston and Chicago landed at Dublin.

Laid-up ships at new high

THE NUMBER of ships laid-up in the world through lack of trade leapt to a record level of 4.95 million tons at the end of last month, according to figures released by Lloyds yesterday.

The 609 vessels compares with 586 laid up in April. They consist of 469 in the badly hit dry cargo field and 140 tankers. In total 2 per cent of the world's merchant fleet is idle in port.

In the UK, 35 ships totalling 495,000 tons were laid up at the end of May representing 2 per cent of the British merchant fleet. The 35 comprise of 25 dry cargo vessels and ten tankers. The April's total was 37 totalling 469,000 tons.

Donaldson 'disaster'

THE SPEAKER, Selwyn Lloyd, yesterday asked a Labour MP to withdraw the remark that Sir John Donaldson, president of the National Industrial Relations Court, was 'a disaster who should be removed'.

'You must withdraw. I think it is going too far to describe a High Court judge as a disaster. It is totally out of place.'

The MP, Stan Orme, Salford West, amended his remarks to 'Sir John's decision was a national disaster'.

He was referring to Donaldson's threat to jail three London dockers last week.

Tom Price, Labour Westhoughton, said the government's policy had only exacerbated 'this insane dispute'.

'It is only my natural courtesy which prevents me from saying you should get stuffed and stripped yourself,' he told Macmillan.

In reply Macmillan said: 'I think events have shown that in no circumstances should it [the Act] be repealed.'

It had brought the container dispute out into the open and 'as a result a major step forward had been taken in the setting up of the Aldington-Jones committee'.

Bobbers take employers to Court



FOUR HULL 'bobbers'—men who unload fish from trawlers—took their employers to the National Industrial Relations Court yesterday.

The men are all members of the General and Municipal Workers' Union. They claim that mechanized means of unloading on board a new vessel, 'C.S. Forrester', is damag-

ing their jobs. They also claim that management have been using the equipment. After three hours of private discussion it was announced that the dispute had been settled.

Our picture shows (from left to right): Maurice Owston, Arthur Mosley, T. A. Cone (chairman of the committee) and Arthur Bartlett outside the court.

Recall TUC for a General Strike Demand at Liverpool dockers' meeting

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

CALLS FOR the immediate recall of the TUC and for a General Strike were issued in Liverpool yesterday as dockers there voted — with those in most other ports — to return to work today.

The resolution put from the national stewards' committee in every port described the lifting of the jail threat from the three London stewards as 'one of the greatest victories in this country in industrial history'.

It pledged that dockers would strike if any other trade unionist in whatever industry was jailed by the National Industrial Relations Court.

Meetings were also told that 'blacking' action against con-

tainer firms would continue, and if necessary be extended.

In Liverpool, Paddy Doherty, a shop steward from the Gladstone container terminal, said a big fight for jobs lay ahead.

In pouring rain, 6,000 dockers crowded Liverpool's Pier Head for the meeting.

Larry Cavanagh, a Birkenhead shop steward, said the lifting of the jail threat from the three London stewards was a tribute to the strength of the working class, but also a condemnation of the weakness of national union leaders.

'We proved the government can be defeated,' he said. 'The Tories have used the treachery of the leadership. We are not going to win this battle and allow the Tories to come back and hammer the working class later on.'

'We must demand the recall of the TUC and demand a General Strike to bring this government down.'

'The working class has only begun to fight. That has been demonstrated to Jones. Now we have gained the initiative there must be no compromise.'

Shop stewards' executive member Dennis Anderson attacked T&GWU secretary Jack Jones, and the TUC's Victor Feather, for their policies of conciliation. He also called for a recalled TUC.

In LONDON, a meeting of about 1,000 dockers at Tower Hill voted overwhelmingly for the national recommendation.

They were urged by Bernie Steer, one of the three stewards who had been threatened with jail, for the continuation of blacking action.

'Back to Chobham Farm until our men are in there,' he said.

When the NIRC had issued its threat to jail the three dockers, Steer told the meeting, its 'course and motive' had become clear. But the stewards had always known that the real victory would be in not going to prison.

The reason for the victory was

Briefly...

WATER CANNONS have been used against old, ill, homeless men and women sleeping under the bridge at Charing Cross, it was claimed yesterday. Tory Secretary for Social Services Sir Keith Joseph has been asked to hold an inquiry. Before joining the Heath Cabinet Joseph was a leading director of the Bovis construction groups which increased profits by 35 per cent to £45m last year. Chairman is the Earl of Albermarle.

SCOTT LITHGOW group and Scott's engineering shop workers at Port Glasgow went on an official 750-strong strike yesterday over a claim for more pay and longer holidays.

BRIAN FAULKNER, former Ulster premier, yesterday praised members of the Social Democratic and Labour Party who 'seemed to be less prisoners of their own propaganda now than they have been. I hope they will get massive support from their constituents for further more useful moves.' He was speaking at a lunch in London organized by the right-wing Tory Society for Individual Freedom which was involved in bringing charges against Young Liberal leader Peter Hain.

TALKS to work a new negotiating procedure at Chrysler's Coventry factory began yesterday. Meanwhile 7,000 GEC workers in the city withdrew their threat of an overtime ban after management offered new talks over a claim for a pay rise.

ROLLS-ROYCE aero-engine factory laid off more than 1,000 workers at Hillington, Glasgow, last night. The management said this was because of a ten-day strike by 124 turbine blade polishers over a grading dispute. The 1,099 men hit work in the compressor blade section. There are 4,500 production workers at the factory. The company said there had been 'no progress' in their talks with union officials. Scottish plants were now working on a 'day to day basis'.

IRAQI lawyer and journalist, Yahya Qassim (56), was yesterday found not guilty at the Old Bailey of attempting to murder General Abdul Razzak-al-Naif, former Prime Minister of Iraq. He was discharged.

TWENTY-ONE more commercial radio stations throughout Britain were announced yesterday by Sir John Eden, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications. The first ten will be at Liverpool, Tyneside, Swansea, Sheffield, Plymouth, Edinburgh, Portsmouth, Bradford, Ipswich and Nottingham. Altogether 26 stations have been planned.

ULSTER supremo William White-law again met John Hulme and Paddy Devlin, Social Democratic Labour Party members, yesterday. They had already met in London last Thursday. After the three hour 'peace talks' the two SDLP men said: 'We believe we have made real progress today.' They had particularly raised problems of political prisoners and were satisfied progress was made on this.

WORKERS who have been sitting in for 11 weeks at Metalbox in Timperley will not resume negotiations with the employers until July 5. They have already refused a £2.50 offer made last Friday.

THE SIT-IN at Hawker Siddeley, Woodford, Cheshire, ended last Friday with the acceptance of management's £2.50 offer plus an extra day's holiday this year and next year.

WEATHER

EASTERN districts will begin bright with sunny periods but cloudy weather with occasional rain, already over Ireland, will move east across all districts during the day.

Brighter, drier weather with sunny or clear spells and scattered showers will follow the rainbelt, but the clearance is not expected to reach the east coast of England until after midnight.

Temperatures will be near normal in the east but it will be rather cold elsewhere. **Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday:** Continuing rather cool with sunny intervals and showers which may be rather frequent and heavy, particularly in the northwest.

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ADVANCE NOTICE

Socialist Labour League Public Meeting

DON'T LET THE DOCKERS FIGHT ALONE
DEFEND BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS
MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN

SUNDAY JULY 2, 7 p.m.

Acton Town Hall,
Acton High Street, W3.

Speakers will include G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary), S. HANNIGAN (London YS Secretary), Corin Redgrave.