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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE



**'Serving national selfishness to talk with**

**a double-faced gambler and cruel fascist'**



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BY OUR FOREIGN EDITOR JOHN SPENCER

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And the Hanoi army newspaper denounced Brezhnev's guest as 'a frenzied fighter against communism, a famous leader of the Cold War, a perfidious and crazy politician, a double-faced gambler and a cruel fascist'.

The statement also implicitly condemns the Soviet leaders for placing their narrow national interests above the interests of the world revolution. It calls for 'relentless attack' on the US

imperialists as the best means of strengthening the 'socialist camp'.

The army newspaper 'Quan Doi Nhan Dan' accused Nixon of sowing discord and sabotaging the socialist camp.

The paper said: 'Nixon has always dreamed of being the leader of the world. Night and day he has sought every means to oppose the world revolution. His tongue is full of venom and his hands are stained with blood. Wherever he sets foot he carries out counter-revolutionary acts'.

Listing Nixon's crimes in Vietnam—his 'Vietnamization' of the war; the bombardment of North Vietnam; the mining and blockade of northern harbours and the repression of opponents of the war in the United States—the paper went on:

'Vietnam is the scene of the bitterest and most violent struggle of our times between

the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, between the US imperialists—the No. 1 enemy of mankind—and the Vietnamese people, the assault soldiers in the front line of the anti-US imperialist front.

'The timely denunciation and resolute smashing of this counter-attack by the US imperialists in Vietnam is the best and most correct way to defend world peace at present and in the future.'

In a passage unmistakably condemning the Soviet leaders, the article continued:

'Communists always consider the revolution of each nation as an inseparable part of the world revolution. They never set national interests against the interests of the world revolution, nor place an individual nation's above the common

interests of the world revolution, much less serve national selfishness at the expense of the world revolution.'

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The Soviet leaders have made it abundantly clear that they regard their own bureaucratic interests as higher than those of the Vietnamese and world revolutions.

They want agreement on the limitation of strategic arms, on the European Security conference planned for next year and on increased trade with the US. For this reason they ignored the blatant US provocations in mining and bombing in order to proceed to secret talks with the man Hanoi correctly describes as 'a frenzied fighter against communism'.

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The Soviet leaders, he added, stand for peaceful political settlement of problems through negotiations'. Contrast this with the 'Nhan Dan' statement:

'At present the interests of the world revolution require a relentless attack on the US imperialists to weaken them and force them to take one step backward after another.'

The paper adds pointedly: 'By ignoring and tolerating the US imperialists' crimes, one cannot repel their aggression. By showing weakness one cannot punish their aggressiveness.' This is absolutely correct—the Kremlin's connivance in the face of Nixon's escalation of the war has only encouraged the US to step up even further bombardment of the North.

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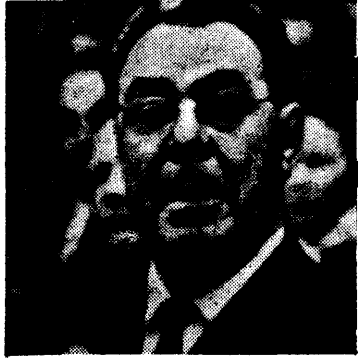
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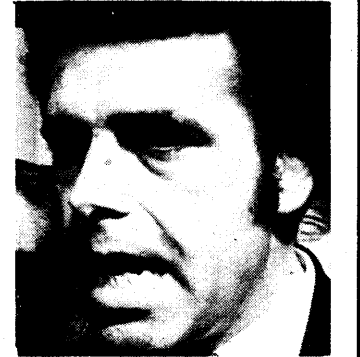
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# WHAT WE THINK

## DISSENT IN THE CREGGAN

THE civil war within a civil war which has erupted as a result of the Official IRA's brutal execution of Private Best, a Catholic Irish soldier on leave from Germany, is a grim warning to all Republican terrorists.

The execution—protested against spontaneously and genuinely by hundreds of working-class women in the Creggan and Bogside—is not an aberration of terrorism.

On the contrary, it pinpoints the utter political hopelessness and despair of the petty-bourgeois and backward workers who indulge in this method of political struggle.

This is not to discount the individual courage of both Officials and Provincials. They have defended the Catholic ghettos against marauding British soldiers and RUC men when British 'left' MPs and their political cousins in Ulster did nothing but talk.

Determination, courage and a gun, however, have never defeated a reactionary social system anywhere in the world.

Vietnam proves conclusively that only an army guided by a party with a social programme and a revolutionary strategy for the conquest of power can defeat imperialism.

The IRA has none of these attributes. Its political organization, Sinn Fein, does not control the military wing. In fact military 'leaders', who are not elected by anybody and not subject to recall, control the political wing in the most bureaucratic fashion.

Whether a particular strategy is right or wrong can never be ascertained because there are no provisions for doing so. In the end it is not political and military doctrine which decides—but the power of the gun.

Free discussion, debate and democratic control have been replaced by factional intrigue, murder and now the prospect of a bloody internecine conflict which can only benefit the forces of imperialism.

In place of political clarity and a defined perspective, the terrorists can only create confusion, demoralization and disorientation.

As one woman complained bitterly to the Officials: 'You're worse than the paras.'

As a result of the failure of the IRA—Officials or Provisionals—to produce a revolutionary alternative to direct rule and the Lynch regime in the South, we are now left with a situation in which both Whitelaw's and Lynch's hands have been strengthened. Lynch now threatens to close the border,

stamp out the IRA and alter the laws on "internal security".

No greater indictment of Republican nationalism can be found today than the threat of the Bogside women to throw Creggan open to the British troops and begin discussions with White-law.

The Creggan women are not cowards. They are not weary of the war, but they are politically disorientated and discouraged by the bankrupt strategy and suicidal tactics of the Republican terrorists.

To the Republican terrorists—and their uncritical and enthusiastic supporters in the International Marxist Group and International Socialism—we repeat the advice of Trotsky in 1911:

'Whether or not a terrorist attempt, even if "successful", introduces confusion in the ruling circles depends upon the concrete political circumstances. In any case this confusion can be only of short duration. The capitalist state does not rest upon ministers and cannot be destroyed together with them.

'The classes whom the state serves will always find new men—the mechanism remains intact and continues to function.

'But much deeper is that confusion which the terrorist attempts to introduce into the ranks of the working masses.

'If it is enough to arm oneself with a revolver to reach the goal, then to what end are the endeavours of the class struggle? If a pinch of powder and a slub of lead are ample to shoot the enemy through the neck, where is the need of a class organization?

'If there is any rhyme or reason in scaring titled personages with the noise of an explosion, what need is there for a party? What is the need of meetings, mass agitation, elections, when it is so easy to take aim at the Ministerial bench from the parliamentary gallery?

'Individual terrorism in our eyes is inadmissible, precisely for the reason that it lowers the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to impotence, and directs their glances and hopes towards the great avenger and emancipator, who will some day come and accomplish his mission.' (Our emphasis.)

As in 1911, the struggle against terrorism is the struggle against political backwardness and the domination of the labour movement by the method and outlook of the middle class. This can only be done by a conscious struggle for Marxist philosophy and a revolutionary party of the working class based on the principles of democratic centralism.

### AROUND THE WORLD

# Reluctant report says No to Smith

THE TORIES' desperate gamble to get a deal with the racist regime in Rhodesia has come unstuck. Despite an astonishing amount of pompous legal waffle, the Pearce Commission has concluded that Sir Alec Douglas Home's 'settlement' terms are unacceptable to the population as a whole.

The 50,000-word report was prepared by Pearce, the chairman of the Press

Council, and a selection of Foreign Office administrators including Lord Harlech, former British ambassador in Washington.

Their document is extraordinary for its failure to comment to any degree on the racist legislation which Smith has introduced since he seized power. Nor does the report examine the police brutality and intimidation which took place while the commission was fact-finding in Rhodesia during January.

Instead it dwells to a disproportionate extent on the Smith regime's claims that the African majority were threatened by 'agitators', 'communists' and 'subversives'.

Nevertheless, the report reluctantly concludes: 'It was our considered view that had there been no intimidation, there would still have been a substantial majority against the proposals.'

The report goes on: 'We do not regard the incidents of alleged intimidation, some without substance, some true, some probably true, some possibly true, as part of an overall political design.'

'We believe them to be sporadic outbreaks of unjustifiable pressure to compel a minority to consensus and solidarity.'

'We believe that the "Noes" sprang from a genuine, deeply-felt opposition to the proposals. We found it improbable, if not impossible, that with such a tight security system as that which has existed in Rhodesia for several years, a minority could dominate a majority by intimidation in a few weeks.'

'We have grounds for belief that the African National Council itself was surprised at the extent of its success. We do not think that the ANC would have obtained so great and so swift a response had they not met a potential desire among a majority of the people for leadership in rejection of the terms and in a protest against the policies of the last few years.'

Referring to special evidence of two commissioners who had police, legal and administrative training in Africa, the report said:

'They have come to the conclusion, and rightly in our view, that there is no real evidence to show that the ANC executive organized violence.'

'The actual number of cases of intimidation were in their view, however, very small when one considers the size of the African inhabitants. In the great majority of cases they investigated, even where people had said they were afraid to support the proposals openly, they had in fact done so privately.'

The Pearce findings are bound to have great repercussions within the Tory Party where the right wing, spearheaded by the Monday Club, has been urging a settlement at any price with the racists.



Smith with Sir Alec Douglas-Home

## Mosquito moonscape

IN SEVEN years of participation in the Indo-China war, US forces have exploded an average of 118 pounds of ordnance every second—twice the amount of explosives used during the whole of World War II.

A survey of US action published by the magazine 'Scientific American' shows the amount of explosives used equals 584 pounds for every man, woman and child in Indo-China and 142 pounds for every acre of land. Twenty-six thousand million pounds have been exploded.

In Vietnam alone the total amount of explosives used equals 21,000 million pounds.

The survey was prepared for the Scientists Institute for Public Information by Drs Arthur H. Westing, a biologist, and E. W. Pfeiffer, a zoologist. Information was based on Defence Department statistics and involved a field trip to Vietnam.

There are 21 million bomb and artillery craters in South Vietnam alone. B52 raids produce 100,000 craters a month.

Effects of the bombing have created permanent physical scars on the countryside, turning it

into a moonscape, the doctors say.

The average crater from a 500-pound bomb is about 30 feet in diameter and five to 20 feet deep. In places craters are filled with stagnant water.

The water has increased breeding grounds for mosquitoes and there is a marked increase in Malaria and Dengue Fever directly attributable to the bombing, the scientists said.

## Coloureds for

## S W Africa

THE SOUTH AFRICAN government is recruiting Africans, coloureds and Asians for its armed forces and sending them to Namibia (South West Africa).

'These forces were part and parcel of the South African apparatus,' Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO said.

He told a closed session of the UN council for Namibia on Monday: 'The aim of this policy is to permit propaganda claims to be made to the effect that

'terrorists' were killing Africans.'

Even during World War II the South African government had never trained Africans in the use of firearms unless they went overseas.

But in a war situation whoever came within the range of SWAPO freedom fighters would be definitely shot down, added Mr Nujoma.

**NOW WEEKLY**

**KEEP LEFT**

OFFICIAL WEEKLY PAPER OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS SATURDAY MAY 13, 1972 VOL 21 NO 1 PRICE 3P

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## Davis defence expected to last a week

**FIRST** defence witnesses in California's Angela Davis trial have completely contradicted the prosecution allegations that she planned the abortive 1970 kidnap-ransom plot.

Mrs Susan Castro, executive director of a day-care centre, said she and Miss Davis were having lunch alone at the home of mutual friends on August 5, 1970 between noon and 3 p.m.

This testimony flatly contradicts the statements of two San Quentin prison guards who said Miss Davis visited George Jackson at the prison during that time. George's younger brother Jonathan was also supposed to be there.

Miss Davis is charged with plotting the kidnaping of five hostages at a courthouse two days after the alleged prison meeting.

One of the hostages (a judge) two black prisoners and Jonathan Jackson were killed when police opened fire. Miss Davis is also accused of supplying the guns for the kidnaping which was supposed to lead to George Jackson's release.

But second defence witness Mrs Valerie Mitchell, told the jury that Jonathan Jackson came to her apartment where Miss Davis' guns were kept, on Saturday August 1, 1970, and remained when she left for the weekend.

A week later, Mrs Mitchell said, Miss Davis came to the house and asked whether the weapons were on the gunrack. Miss Davis said 'Oh no' when she discovered on inspection that two carbines and a pistol were missing.

Yet another witness said Miss Davis was at his newspaper's office throughout most of the week immediately preceding the courthouse battle and that he drove her to San Francisco airport on August 7 when she took a flight to Los Angeles.

This testimony completely conflicts with prosecution claims that Miss Davis and Jonathan were together throughout that week and that she drove herself to the airport in a borrowed sedan.

Throughout the case the prosecution has alleged that Miss Davis planned the whole operation in a bid to free George Jackson because of her love for him.

Miss Davis' lawyers have said they will present only an abbreviated defence so there could be a verdict from the all-white jury by June 1.

# Interest rates cripple British Rail

THE INDUSTRIAL recession which caused a slump in the volume of freight is blamed for British Rail's loss of £15.4m last year.

This is the first time in three years that the railways have plunged into the red and the Board's annual report, out today, warns that the outlook for 1972 is 'bleak'.

The report comes in the midst of the railwaymen's ballot over further industrial action in support of their pay claim. But a Board spokesman denied yesterday that the timing of the report had anything to do with the dispute.

The volume of freight, which is a barometer of industrial production, was sharply down. In the key iron and steel sector tonnage fell 16 per cent compared with 1970.

Coal was also hit and the carriage of other bulk loads like oil did not increase enough to wipe out the loss from these two basic commodities which account for 74 per cent of BR's total freight traffic.

Another direct effect of the slump was a fall in level of passenger traffic in areas with high unemployment.

The crippling debt burden also contributed to the loss. The rail-

ways in fact made a substantial operating profit of £30.2m.

But this was eaten up by interest payments of £45.6m on a massive capital debt of £404m. This sum is the result of accumulated borrowings at fixed rates of interest to pay for BR's modernization and expansion programme.

Cost-cutting saved £20m, but working expenses increased £46m, 'largely owing to increased costs of labour and supplies'.

The 1968 Transport Act intro-

duced under the Labour government, requires the Board to run as a 'commercial' operation. This means it has to break even at the expense of the rail workers and the public.

Railwaymen therefore can expect a drive to cut down job and wage levels after these figures. However, there is unlikely to be a profit in 1972 and it is questionable whether the Board will be able to balance its budget over the five years 1969-1973.

## Kings Cross halts over

**EASTERN REGION** footplatemen were accused of launching 'unconstitutional industrial action' by their employers yesterday.

The row blew up over a lightning strike over the one-day suspension of a driver. Services were disrupted throughout the region.

A spokesman for Eastern Region claimed: 'The action by the footplatemen at King's Cross is quite unconstitutional and is unrelated to the current work-to-rule dispute.'

He said the suspension of the driver had followed normal dis-

## suspension

ciplinary procedure after a collision at the station.

The Kings Cross depot manager had written to the local union branch secretary warning that the action was an interference with the disciplinary procedure.

On BR's Southern Region, at least 125 trains were axed while management and drivers got together to discuss better means of communications to avoid future inconvenience to travellers.



This is Ulster—but it could have been the miners' strike or even the next so-called 'emergency', in Ulster or Britain, if the generals have their way

# Top army brass impatient for Heath's civil war

**IRREFUTABLE** evidence of mounting military involvement in 'domestic affairs' was published by 'The Times' yesterday.

Reporter Christopher Walker said: 'The evidence points to a growing consensus among senior ranks that the army will devote more attention towards countering subversion of one form and another.'

'On this there is widespread agreement with the ideas of Brig Frank Kitson soon to take over as head of the influential School of Infantry at Warminster.'

Agreement on Kitson's anti-subversion theories is rife not only among top army brass at home and in NATO, but is shared by right wingers in the Tory Party, and even Heath himself.

Walker goes on to quote Wilton's Maj-Gen, Administration, Ronald Buckland, as saying:

'The more discerning of us are extremely depressed about the way things are going. We seem nearer and nearer to anarchy all the time.'

And Brigadier, General Staff, Brian Watkins, added: 'We are worrying about society a hell of

BY IAN YEATS

a lot more than we ever used to. This concern has escalated dramatically over the past three years and is likely to continue.'

A large part of this concern has been generated by the army's involvement in Ulster—only prevented from becoming an overt military dictatorship by the thin thread of parliamentary control.

Former NATO North C-in-C Gen Walter Walker left no doubts earlier this week in his views on Ulster's 'no-go' areas that it is a thread the army has been champing at the bit to break.

In an 'Evening Standard' report as early as April 18 an unnamed army commander said:

'The question we keep asking ourselves is why we should have to fight this whole battle with kid gloves on, handing every propaganda advantage to the IRA, suffering all the disadvantages of playing to rules and getting damned round the world for brutality anyway.'

Said Christopher Walker yesterday: 'The senior officers here retain a traditional disdain for politicians and among many a visit to the Department of Defence is commonly referred to as "popping up to throw a few buns at the orangutans".'

Smarting at being held back in Ulster and also at press criticism of what they see as their role in saving 'society' from anarchy, the army increasingly sees a link between those on the streets of Ulster, demonstrating in London, striking or criticizing them in the media.

Walker notes that one brigadier alleged that two-thirds of the BBC's graduate intake were 'known Marxists'.

During almost every major strike since the Tories came to power there has been widespread speculation about the use of the army and — expecting to be called—the military is preparing.

Brig Watkins told Walker: 'The whole period of the miners' strike made us realize that the present size of the police force is too small.'

'It is based on the fundamental philosophy that we are a law-abiding country, but things have now got to the stage where there are not enough resources to deal with the increasing numbers who are not prepared to respect the law.'

The military establishment is getting ready for the sort of civil war Heath predicted in his speech to the United Nations in 1970.

The stage is being unobtrusively set for the army and its intelligence services, the Special Branch and the police to assume a major role in domestic politics against the working class.

There is no doubt the military knows just how close the country is to open class war.

Said Watkins: 'While you may think we chaps at Wilton were just itching to go in and sort out the miners that is the last thing we wanted to do. We know it would have provoked a General Strike.'

But if the Tories were not ready for a General Strike, then the 'victory' of the miners now makes it inevitable.

Yesterday's disclosure of army readiness to deal with it must give top priority to the setting up of councils of action to force the Tories to resign and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

And as we said only three days ago, one of the first acts of this Labour government must be to 'disband the standing army to prevent it from becoming the centre of an ultra-right, Franco-type conspiracy.'

'It must replace it with a workers' militia with democratically-elected officers and subject to the control of the working class through the trade unions and councils of action.'



# MONTY JOHNSTONE

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



## THE CASE HISTORY OF A STALINIST HUMBUG

### PART TWO

Like all Stalinists Johnstone exploits the ignorance of his readers to discredit his opponents.

He begins his sally by contrasting the immediate aim of the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work marches — and the dedication of the marchers — to the final objective of the Right-to-Work campaign which is the creation of a new leadership for the working class and the election of a Labour government.

He explicitly defends the state capitalist International Socialist group who tried to convert the march into a protest action and accuses the YS of 'hypocrisy' — a charge which is singularly inappropriate coming from this quarter.

Everybody—including Johnstone and the 'Morning Star'—knew from the commencement of the march that the YS campaign to defend democratic rights was indissolubly tied to the struggle to force the Tories to resign.

This has been YS policy from the day the Tories took power. It was because of this knowledge that the 'Morning Star' gave no publicity to the march at all. It was for this reason too that the IS were not allowed to participate in the march.

As the correspondence clearly showed, the IS, like the Communist Party, wanted to turn the Right-to-Work marches into a reformist protest like CND. The YS and the Socialist Labour League opposed this manoeuvre on principle. This is what SLL national secretary Gerry Healy wrote in reply:

'The Right-to-Work marches were organized for the purpose of building the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League as the centre of the national campaign to make the Tory government resign. In our opinion such a campaign is an integral part of our fight against unemployment.'

This is clear enough. But look at the way in which the

clumsy distorter—Johnstone—presents the argument of Comrade Healy to the 'Morning Star' readers.

'Explaining on behalf of the Socialist Labour League political committee why the International Socialist group were not allowed to participate, Gerry Healy insisted that these marches were "not a single issue" question, but an integral part of the fight for a programme to build the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists'.' ('Morning Star', April 18, 1972.)

Even a fool can see that Johnstone not only rearranges the entire quote from Healy's letter, but deliberately omits any reference to the principal aim of the march—a campaign to force the Tories to resign. By omitting reference to the Tories, Johnstone tries consciously to deceive his readers into believing that the Right-to-Work marches were a political gimmick and not a serious campaign against the Tory government.

Johnstone's sleight of hand only exposes him again as an unscrupulous Stalinist.

The building of the Socialist Labour League is a means to an end, which is the overthrow of imperialism. The campaign to force the Tories to resign is an important part of this struggle.

The appeal of the Draft Manifesto of the All Trades Unions Alliance to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party has meaning only in the context of this struggle. Johnstone removes this context and then proceeds to accuse the League of 'hypocrisy' and defends the Communist Party leaders 'in warning trade unionists not to let themselves be misled into taking part in marches to promote ulterior ends of which they did not approve'.

What 'ulterior' ends? Is the resignation of the Tories an 'ulterior end'? Johnstone dissimulates and distorts because he is for peaceful co-existence with the Tories in Britain and

No. 12

WORLD NEWS

### Origin of Trotskyism—II

Background to—

## “SOCIALIST OUTLOOK”

by Barry Mckaig

SINCE 1948 the journal "Socialist Outlook" has grown from a monthly into a weekly journal. Militant shop stewards are urged to sell it in the factories. Active trade unionists are asked to collect money to support it. It is quick to feature reports of what is happening on the industrial front. Who runs this paper? Who writes for it? What is its political line? All these are questions which are of great interest to members of the Labour movement.

There are one or two other names worth mentioning in this connection. Mr. Gerry Healy is a member of the Editorial Board of *Socialist Outlook* and a regular contributor to its columns. He is a director of the firm of John Stafford Thomas Ltd., and a director of New Park Publications which from time to time produces pamphlets which are given considerable publicity in the columns of *Socialist Outlook*. He is a member of the Management Committee of the Labour Publishing Society, and the circulation manager of *Socialist Outlook*.

Mr. Healy is, of course, one of the best known of pre-war Trotskyists. He was the publisher of the Trotskyist journal *Socialist Appeal* in 1938, and one of its most regular contributors, a member of the Executive Committee of the Workers' International League and a full-time organiser of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Another contributor to *Socialist Outlook* is Mr. W. Hunter, who was a contributor to *Socialist Appeal* and a London Divisional Organiser of the I.L.P. in 1944.

Apart from this considerable concentration of former leading members of Trotskyist organisations it would be possible to mention a number of other prominent members who have found important jobs in the Labour movement. Thus Mr. Jock Haston, already mentioned, is a full-time lecturer for the National Council of Labour Colleges. Mr. J. Hinchcliffe, a former R.C.P. and W.I.L. member, and a regular contributor to *Socialist Appeal*, is also active in the South-East London N.C.L.C. Mr. S. Bidwell, a former *Socialist Appeal* contributor, is a leading figure in the N.U.R.

### Present Role

Having noted the concentration of former members of Trotskyist organisations in leading positions in *Socialist Outlook* it is worth examining the present role of that journal in the Labour movement.

Can there be any doubt where this paper stands? True, it is a very different journal from the old *Socialist Appeal*. It has set out to win support from militant workers genuinely concerned with the struggle to change the policy of the Labour movement and to end the domination of the right-wing. It has sought to attract into its columns men and women who have a record of integrity and service to the Labour movement. It seeks to give publicity to immediate struggles being carried out on such issues as wages and conditions. But to what end? It is inevitable that support for this paper is in the last analysis support for a political line which is essentially a Trotskyist line—a line of diversion, of leftist adventurism, which can only help the Tories. We need to warn our comrades in the Labour movement of where such a policy can lead, and to develop the habit of testing every argument and every line of policy put forward by working out what it means in terms of immediate action here. Thus John Lawrence's line is in essence counter-revolution and forcible overthrow of the Soviet Government. It is not difficult to see in whose interests the carrying out of such a policy would be.

### Sections of the attack on 'Socialist Outlook' which appeared in 'World News' the CP weekly journal in 1954.

is opposed to any struggle to force the Tories to resign.

The Trotskyists, he alleges, 'always had a somewhat strange conception of unity'. The Socialist Labour League, we reply, believes that the only kind of unity that counts is the unity in action of the working class in a political campaign culminating in a General Strike to get rid of the Tory government.

This unity can be established only through the struggle for revolutionary leadership. What is Johnstone's concept of unity? He is silent—predictably.

The only 'unity' that Johnstone advocates and approves is the unprincipled subordination of the left wing to the counter-revolutionary right and a united campaign of all shades of reformism against Trotskyism, which fights for the political independence of the working class and state power.

This is not an arbitrary abstraction merely based on the writings of Johnstone. It is based on verifiable facts. It is possible that in his haste to distort Trotskyist policy and history, Johnstone overlooked the evidence of this 'unity' in action of reformism and Stalinism against Trotskyism.

Whatever the reason, it would be a political crime to conceal it from those workers

who are not familiar with the post-war history of Stalinism.

Johnstone writes:

'When some of them [Trotskyists in the Labour Party] were expelled for their factional activities, Healy pleaded to the 1950 Labour Party conference that 'they were "loyal members of the Labour Party and have nothing to do with the Communist Party or any of its organizations".'

'In more recent years he and his friends have denounced the "opportunism" of the communists in seeking unity with the Labour left!'

Now let us look at the facts:

**FACT ONE:** No Trotskyists were expelled from the Labour Party until 1954. So there was no appeal by Comrade Healy against expulsions of Trotskyists at the Labour Party conference in 1950!

The immeasurable political dishonesty of Johnstone is nowhere revealed with such clarity as in this attempt to twist the truth.

Comrade Healy's speeches at the 1950 Conference was, in fact, devoted to an attack against the witch-hunting of Stalinist fellow-travellers in the Labour Party by the right wing and was a defence of the right of individual members to dissent from official policy.



G. Healy, SLL National Secretary



Top: Slansky. Above: Tito pictured during Second World War.

'You cannot remove people and defeat their ideas by bureaucratic expulsion.

'This must be submitted to the test of argument and to the test of reason inside the labour movement. For this purpose, instead of defeating the ideas of Mr Zilliacus and Mr Solley, the National Executive are giving undue prominence to those ideas because in effect they are making a confession of weakness by having to expel them from this party.

'I believe that the Party is strong enough to defeat the views of Mr Zilliacus and Mr Solley. Under the guise of fighting against their views, you are in effect importing parts of those views into the procedure. For this reason I ask the conference to reject the Supplementary Report and maintain the democratic principle inside the Party.'

It is a recognized fact that the Trotskyists invariably defended the democratic rights of fellow-travellers — without agreeing with their policies—while the Stalinists never defended those who held Trotskyist views in the Labour Party.

This was their attitude to the proscription of the Socialist Fellowship in 1951 and the proscription of the journal 'Socialist Outlook' in 1954.

**FACT TWO:** The expulsion of Trotskyists began only after the conflict with the right wing became exacerbated because of the sell-out on nationalization and foreign policy by the Attlee government and the return of the Tories.

The opposition of Labour supporters found its expression in the Constituency Labour Parties and trade unions but, particularly in the Labour League of Youth, which was overwhelmingly opposed to conscription for imperialist wars like the Malayan and Korean ones.

The British Stalinists, far from being inspired by these developments, were, in fact, considerably embarrassed.

The British Stalinists' attitude to the left in the Labour Party has been a mixture of grotesque sectarianism and opportunism. In the late 1940s and early 1950s their policy was to discourage the formation of a strong left wing in the Labour Party and rather to provoke individuals to invite expulsion by openly flouting decisions in the most reckless manner and then join the CP.

In this way the left wingers were isolated from the radicalization taking place in the party and the unions. It is true to say that the CP feared an independent left wing in the Labour Party much more than it did the right.

Its favourite tactic was to involve individual party members and MPs in the fraudulent 'peace' jamborees organized by Stalin's hatchet-men in Eastern Europe, knowing full well that attendance at these pacifist parades would result in immediate expulsion. That was the sectarian side.

But when the CP was unable to contain the left-wing development and control it, particularly during the 'Bevanite' phase, it then resorted to the most opportunist and unprincipled manoeuvres with the right against the left. This was the meaning of the shameful attack on the 'Socialist Outlook'.

This was also revealed when the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers 'blue union' began recruiting dockers in the northern ports—or rather when thousands of dockers began to join the 'blue union' in the north. The Stalinists immediately supported the right wing of the TUC in expelling the 'blue union'.

This action not only weakened union organization in the northern docks, but also facilitated the introduction of the Devlin plan and prevented

unity of the northern and southern ports from being achieved.

The trend in the Labour Party ran counter to the policy of the Communist Party leaders who, at the time, were busy adopting the ultra-reformist 'British Road to Socialism'.

The main lines of this document relating to the 'peaceful transition' to socialism through parliament were dictated by Stalin personally.

So while the majority of the youth were demanding the abolition of conscription by Labour, Johnstone and company, for the YCL, were pleading that national service should be cut from two years to 18 months. And why 18 months? Because 18 months would allow the youth to become proficient in defending 'their Britain' but not long enough to go abroad! It is hardly surprising that this reactionary pro-imperialist line found no support in the ranks of Labour youth.

While the Labour Party was moving left the Communist Party was moving to the right. The leftward movement in the Labour Party was reflected in the growth of the paper 'Socialist Outlook' and the emergence of left-wing groups in the Labour Party, like the 'Socialist Fellowship', as well as by the opposition of Labour MPs like the late Zilliacus and S. O. Davies to Labour's foreign policy.

Unable to channel this movement and subordinate it to the class-collaborationist and pacifist charade of the Stockholm Peace Petition, the Stalinists decided to stab it in the back.

They did this by a witch-hunting attack on the 'Socialist Outlook', which was published in the 'World News and Views' (No. 12, 1954) — the weekly publication of the Communist Party now re-named 'Comment'.

The publication of this attack was timed to coincide with a virulent witch-hunt launched by the Labour Party National Executive Committee to proscribe the 'Socialist Outlook' and expel some of its leading members.

The author of this article uses a pseudonym, Barry McKaig. But judging from style it could have been a youthful Johnstone earning his spurs in the art of distortion.

It is not a little curious that when the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party expelled five well-known supporters of the 'Socialist Outlook' in November of the same year i.e. after the 'World News' article and after the proscribing of 'Socialist Outlook', the main question directed at the expelled was: Had they been members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the British section of the Fourth International?

The article—which we reproduce in part—has two objects. The first is to reveal to the right wing as much information about the previous activities of 'Socialist Outlook' supporters — evidence which the right wing used in the most cynical manner to witch-hunt and expel our supporters.

The second — which is also the purpose of Johnstone's article—is to try and discredit Trotskyism by insinuating that the uncompromising struggle of Trotskyists against the right-wing traitors is 'a line of diversion, of leftist adventurism which can only help the Tories.'

There was another reason for the Stalinists to hate the 'Socialist Outlook'. It was the only left-wing paper that defended the principles of proletarian internationalism in the post-war period against the foul anti-German chauvinism of the Stalinists and the right wing.

When the British Military Administration under the terms of the Potsdam Treaty threatened to dismantle forcibly the massive Reichs-

werke Salzgitter steel works in Niedersachsen in 1950, which employed 50,000 German workers, the 'Socialist Outlook' alone conducted a campaign to protect the jobs of the German workers and re-establish the solidarity of German and British workers in a struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe.

The CP policy at this time was to support the Potsdam agreement and to reduce Germany to the level of an agricultural country by destroying its heavy industry and cynically attributing the war to the German 'people' and not to the inter-imperialist rivalries of Britain, France, Germany and the USA.

There is no doubt in our minds that without the unsolicited aid of the Stalinists, the right-wing could not have banned the 'Socialist Outlook' in 1954 and purged the left wing of the Labour Party.

**FACT THREE:** If the Trotskyists in the Labour Party politically dissociated themselves from the Communist Party publicly there was every political reason to do so and we make no apologies for it.

The year 1950 marked the beginning of the most monstrous campaign of lies, slander and physical terror launched by the Stalinist bureaucracy against its critics on the left since the Moscow Trials.

Yugoslavia was subjected to an economic embargo, her leaders vilified as fascists and their supporters in East Europe peremptorily shot, tortured or hanged after a series of farcical trials.

The frame-up trials and the concerted drive to deprive the Yugoslav workers of their hard-won gains of a bitterly-contested civil war had a profound impact on the British labour movement.

Much to the annoyance of the Communist Party, even faithful fellow-travellers of the Party like Zilliacus strongly criticized the Cominform and Moscow while Bevan publicly sympathized with Tito by visiting Yugoslavia at the height of the Cominform blockade.

Work brigades from the League of Youth which worked in Yugoslavia while at the same time criticizing the opportunist foreign policy of Tito, gave the lie to the Stalinist slander that capitalism had been restored in Yugoslavia.

As the campaign to defend Yugoslavia began to gather fresh support and as the lies of the Stalinists became more evident, Stalin decided to discredit the British left by a monumental judicial farce known as the 'Slansky Affair'.

In this trial, which Johnstone wrote so much to embellish and defend, blatant anti-Semitism was coupled with a vicious and lying attack implicating people like Zilliacus and Silverman in a mythical plot to restore capitalism in Eastern Europe.

The 'Socialist Outlook' led the campaign against the Stalinists over this and many other issues such as German rearmament and the sell-out of the Vietnam in Geneva.

For this it was rewarded by the dastardly piece of 'fingering' by 'World News'.

Since this period, relations between Labour's left and the Communist Party have become less strained—but only because the spectre of Trotskyism has become more menacing.

Whereas in the past left MPs were slandered as fascist or 'Zionist agents', today they are welcomed to the 'Morning Star' rallies as part of a common effort to preserve the credibility of reformism against the growth of Trotskyism in the working-class movement.

As the reader can see, it is not the Socialist Labour League that has changed its attitude to the Labour lefts, but Johnstone's friends in the Communist Party.

**CONTINUED TOMORROW**

its leading members from the Labour Party several months ago.

'It is necessary to present to this conference the facts of the case, because otherwise the delegates at the conference are simply left to rely on rumours and what they read in the press. My party is extremely perturbed at the atmosphere of witch-hunting and general persecution of people who may express inside the Labour Party opinions which, may, from time to time, coincide with those of people who are classed as fellow-travellers.

'We feel that it is a scandal to create such an atmosphere, especially since many of these people are loyal members of the Labour Party and have nothing whatsoever to do with the Communist Party or any of its organizations.'

(Report of the 49th Annual Conference of the Labour Party—Margate 1950.)

The excision of the relevant parts of the speech by Johnstone in order to prove the opposite of that intended by Comrade Healy quite clearly reveals Johnstone for what he really is: a charlatan masquerading as a 'Marxist scholar'.

If Johnstone was really concerned about historical truth, he could have done no better than to recount the speech made by Comrade Healy at the previous conference of the

Labour Party, Blackpool 1949.

In this speech Comrade Healy made a principled defence of Konni Zilliacus and Solley—two left wing Labour MPs who were expelled for attacking Labour's reactionary foreign policy in 1949.

Zilliacus, at the time, was still fellow-travelling with the Communist Party and the British Peace Committee and had not come into open conflict with the CP on the issue of the Tito-Stalin conflict:

'Mr T. G. Healy (Streatham CLP):

'I am not a fellow-traveller of Mr Zilliacus or of Mr Solley. What is at stake here is not the views of Mr Zilliacus or Mr Solley, but a democratic principle for which men and women have fought and died in this movement: the right to speak, to differ and to have their opinions democratically discussed without fear of expulsion and fear of threats. The National Executive of our party have from time to time criticized the anti-democratic practices of the Communist Party and particularly the Russian Communist Party.

'But what we are presented with is a ratification of the same anti-democratic procedure as practised in Prague and as is practised in Moscow against political opponents.





Left: One-roomed house in Butawayo. Above: Cleaning floors, Salisbury. Below: Dominican Convent, Butawayo. Europeans earn on average, ten times more than any African, while ten times more is spent by the Smith government on the education of a white child than on the education of a black child. There is a grave shortage of schools, jobs and family housing and Africans are being forced to work under slave labour conditions. There are now 21 black Rhodesians to every white Rhodesian.



# PEARCE IN OUR TIME

BY ANNA TATE. PHOTOGRAPHS BY ABISAG TÜLLMANN

Professor V. G. Kiernan in 'The Lords of the Human Kind', to be published by Penguin Books at the end of this month, describes European imperialist expansion in Africa as a 'scramble for territory'.

Allied to the scramble 'went the humbug of "treaties", scraps of paper that chiefs were cajoled or bullied into signing, and with them signing away lands that did not belong to them... Frontier

lines were drawn on maps in distant capitals, tribes and nationalities were split up as slave families had been by the auctioneer, populations were banded about from flag to flag... Africans were being disposed of as Europeans were by their princes not long before, when the Congress of Vienna reckoned them up and distributed them in lots of many thousand "souls".

Had the 5 million Africans of Rhodesia not rejected the proposals of Sir Alec Douglas-Home as put to them by Lord Pearce, with a resounding, adamant, joyful, 'NO', they would have been party to a

'humbug treaty', which would have signed away their freedom for decades.

History was attempting to repeat itself through the peers of 20 century capitalism. The princes of Europe of whom Kiernan speaks live on in the lords of today. Apart from the noble Douglas-Home himself, the Pearce Commission was made up of Lord Pearce, Lord Harlech, Sir Maurice Dorman and Sir Glyn Jones—scarcely a people's commission by the wildest stretch of the imagination.

An analogy with the National Industrial Relations Court under Sir John Donaldson does not come amiss.

The Tory government, acting out its role as the protector of monopoly-capitalist interests and seeing those interests threatened by world-wide recession, inflation and trade war, are desperate to re-establish their close relationship with the racist, ultra-right, European ruling class of Rhodesia.

Many members of the Tory Party have vital economic interests in that country. For this reason a set of proposals were concocted with a view to a speedy reconciliation with Ian Smith and his Rhodesian Front government.

When one has worked one's way through the legalistic jargon of the proposals, one major factor emerges clearly—the proposals would ultimately consolidate the position of the privileged, white, ruling élite. No other interpretation can be put on these principles, as even liberal opinion has pointed out.

The Anti-Apartheid movement claims no progress to majority rule whatsoever, although Sir Alec Douglas-Home had constantly insisted that 'independence could only be conceded on the basis of majority rule'. Anti-Apartheid also says correctly: 'At no time, even in the unforeseeable future, is it envisaged that there will be a government elected on the principle of one man, one vote. The Africans may

hope to achieve parity in 70 years, and after that the black/white ratio in the Rhodesian Assembly is fixed at 57:53, regardless of the fact that there are now 21 black Rhodesians to every white Rhodesian.'

The ruling white minority of Rhodesia intends to keep an iron grip on 'their' African territory. In a land of rich mineral and agricultural resources, where Africans are forced to work under slave labour conditions, profit margins are high.

Ian Smith and the Rhodesian Front are determined to make sure that it is they who will continue to reap these rewards. In this, they are behaving true to the tradition of imperialism, the expansionism of capital economies. As Kiernan states:

'In the white conquest of southern Africa, gold and diamonds were the strongest lure; the search was directed by men like Rhodes, of the same stamp as the Morgans and Rockefeller, who were rearing empires of another sort in America. In London the interested section of the Stock Exchange came to be known as the "Kaffir Circus". To this holy of holies of Europe, financial racketeers flocked together from all quarters, men to whom all flags were flags of convenience.' Kiernan goes on: 'Despite the

lamentable record of the old English and Dutch East India Companies in the treatment of native peoples, "development" was again being entrusted very largely to chartered companies of private speculators. Rhodes and his South Africa Company received their charter in 1889, and organized more systematically the methods that were already being used in southern Africa.'

The methods of Cecil Rhodes, private speculator par excellence, were not very much different to those of Ian Smith. Both relied on the crushing of the native people for the furtherance of their aims, and Smith will continue to do so with increased repression.

## REPRESSION

Hundreds of Africans are imprisoned because of their opposition to Smith's government. Several were shot dead during the Pearce Commission's stay. The sheer weight of repressive legislation is destined to stifle forever the most moderate opposition. These laws serve to demonstrate the desperate position of a savage élite—the

Industrial Conciliation Act, Law and Order Maintenance Act, Unlawful Organizations Act, Land Tenure Act, African Affairs Act, etc...'

The working class of Britain would do well to examine the manner in which a ruling class in crisis will summon all the legal weapons possible to crush any potential dissension. The Industrial Conciliation Act of Rhodesia is not so very far removed from the Industrial Relations Act of this country.

Cecil Rhodes had resorted to the slaughter of the two tribes then inhabiting the territory which he invaded and arrogantly named after himself. In the Matabele War of 1893 and the Mashona and Matabele Rebellions of 1896-1897, Africans fought heroically against enormous odds. They were defeated by the technologically superior barbarism of the invaders. Smith, on the other hand, has armed himself with 'legality', but when that does not suffice, he, like Cecil Rhodes, resorts to the gunning down of Africans.

Having used the full panacea of legal terror, Smith had hoped that the 'natives' would be silent during the Pearce Commission's visit. African reaction was, however, heroic and vociferous. The facts of African existence speak for themselves.

Of the 5,220,000 Africans of Rhodesia only 775,800 are in paid employment, 113,100 of these in the homes of whites as menials. In the last ten years, employment has fallen by 3 per cent. Over one half of all African workers are in the two lowest paid categories—i.e. agriculture and domestic. Europeans earn, on average, ten times more than any African while ten times more is spent by the Smith government on the education of a white child than on the education of a black child. Anti-Apartheid has rightly called the Smith educational policy 'Education for Serfdom', saying:

'The qualifications for the franchise require four years of secondary education. But in 1966 Rhodesia introduced a special system of "African education" into which 75 per cent of African secondary school students will be channelled by 1976. This system provides only two years' secondary education and is geared to practical rather than academic subjects. Thus, time and further education will not necessarily increase African voters.'

Ian Smith has tried consistently to brand opposition to his policies as barbaric. Thus in speaking of the strikes and demonstrations which occurred during the Pearce Commission's inquiry he claimed:

'Those responsible for all this barbaric destruction have ironically played right into our hands. What greater proof could anyone have of their lack of maturity, lack of civilization, their inability to make any constructive contribution.'

## SELL-OUT

This may prove to be the cornerstone of the philosophy leading to a sell-out. African opinion will be branded as 'manipulated', 'barbaric', or 'immature'. But this must not be allowed to happen. The voice of the Africans was heard and their opinion seen by millions of British television viewers. It was the true voice of a people oppressed by very real social and economic problems, a people 'allowed' for the first time to express themselves 'freely'—at the cost of several lives. As the liberal Southern African Research Office report puts it:

'Strikes and demonstrations are illegal in Rhodesia. The opportunity for activity given by the Commission's visit has been taken to obtain international recognition of the facts that in

the British-owned asbestos mine near Shabani, many African miners are paid only between £6 and £10 per month; and in the African townships near Salisbury many workers are regimented into hostels; there is a grave shortage of family housing, and an even graver shortage of schools for teenagers and jobs for older people. In each of the areas in which riots have occurred, political opposition to the settlement terms has been associated with such grievances, for these are the inevitable results of white domination.'

E. D. Morel in his book 'The Black Man's Burden' wrote in 1920:

'The Chartered Company never cared a snap of its fingers for the Colonial Office.'

British big business interests today will, in like manner, not hesitate to defy United Nations sanctions or the Foreign Office. The Tory government will no doubt facilitate this form of 'rebellion' while crushing rank-and-file working-class 'rebellion' with all the power at its command. Morel also said, 50 years ago, that the Rhodesian outrage is an intolerable national disgrace.

This holds true today, the disgrace being augmented by the equally outrageous measures enacted within national boundaries.

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

# OVER-SUPPLY!

## PART 3

In addition to the commodities mentioned in the previous two articles, a number of other products have been said to be in 'over-supply' in recent weeks. These include:

### Fruit

To try and dry up the apple and pear surpluses in Britain a new, special government grant for grubbing up orchards was made available in August 1971 and will continue until March 1973.

Other measures officially recommended include increased use of atmospheric and temperature-controlled long-term storage, and the introduction of an alternative variety to Cox's to extend the market.

In March 1972 citrus growers in Spain stated that they urgently needed financial aid to dispose of up to 250,000 tons of surplus oranges 'which are expected to rot on the trees over the next few weeks'.

### 'Surplus threat to banana trade'

'The world's 6-million-ton international banana trade has begun to face serious problems—mainly because of over-production—according to a study issued by the Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome yesterday. The study which draws on data up to 1970 warns in a foreword that "in the last few years the threat of serious excess supplies has hung over the market and in some cases the foreign exchange earnings of exporting countries have suffered".' ('Financial Times' March 23, 1972.)

The article goes on to give a nice example of how exchange-value of goods is the prime concern of capitalists, with use-value—usefulness to human needs—barely an afterthought.

'In addition to its role in world trade, the banana—the largest single fruit in international trade—is a staple diet for families in tropical zones.'

### Cocoa

The most recent harvest was 'an all-time record,' and is 'creating serious problems on the world market'.

Attempts to fix an International Cocoa Agreement between 40 'producer' and 'consumer' countries fell through at the end of March with United States negotiators wanting to pay a minimum price of 20 cents per pound and Brazil demanding at least 25 cents.

### Wool

At the end of 1971 the Australian wool stockpile reached the point of being the biggest held by any wool-producing country in modern history. Stocks are being stored in old sheds last used in the World War II.

One reason for the decline in demand has been the in-

creased use of synthetic fibres. Last November, an Australian Minister told growers that 'time is running out for the industry.'

The English 'Financial Times' commented about what was for years described as the backbone industry of Australia: 'Instead of cutting back output, graziers continue to grow wool and to stay on the land as if it were their god-given right to do so.'

### Rubber

'The market's plight is simply that of too big stocks of rubber around the world to meet a demand that is being hit by the depressed level of industrial activity among many of the major rubber-consuming countries. It is being aggravated by over-capacity in world synthetic rubber.' ('Financial Times', March 1, 1972.)

(Hardly a day goes by, but some commodity or other is pronounced 'in glut' on the Farming and Raw Materials page of the 'Financial Times'.)

### Footwear

British shoe manufacturers met in December to discuss how to defend the British market against a 'frightening' flood of imports, particularly from Italy and Hong Kong. On the other hand, exports to the USA — the biggest British customer — have been hit by the Nixon measures of August 15.

### Chemicals

Millions of pounds worth of chemical plant is standing idle and rusting throughout the capitalist world. In Europe over £1,000m of plant has been taken out of production.

For example, a fifth of all equipment in Western Europe for making the plastic PVC is not being used.

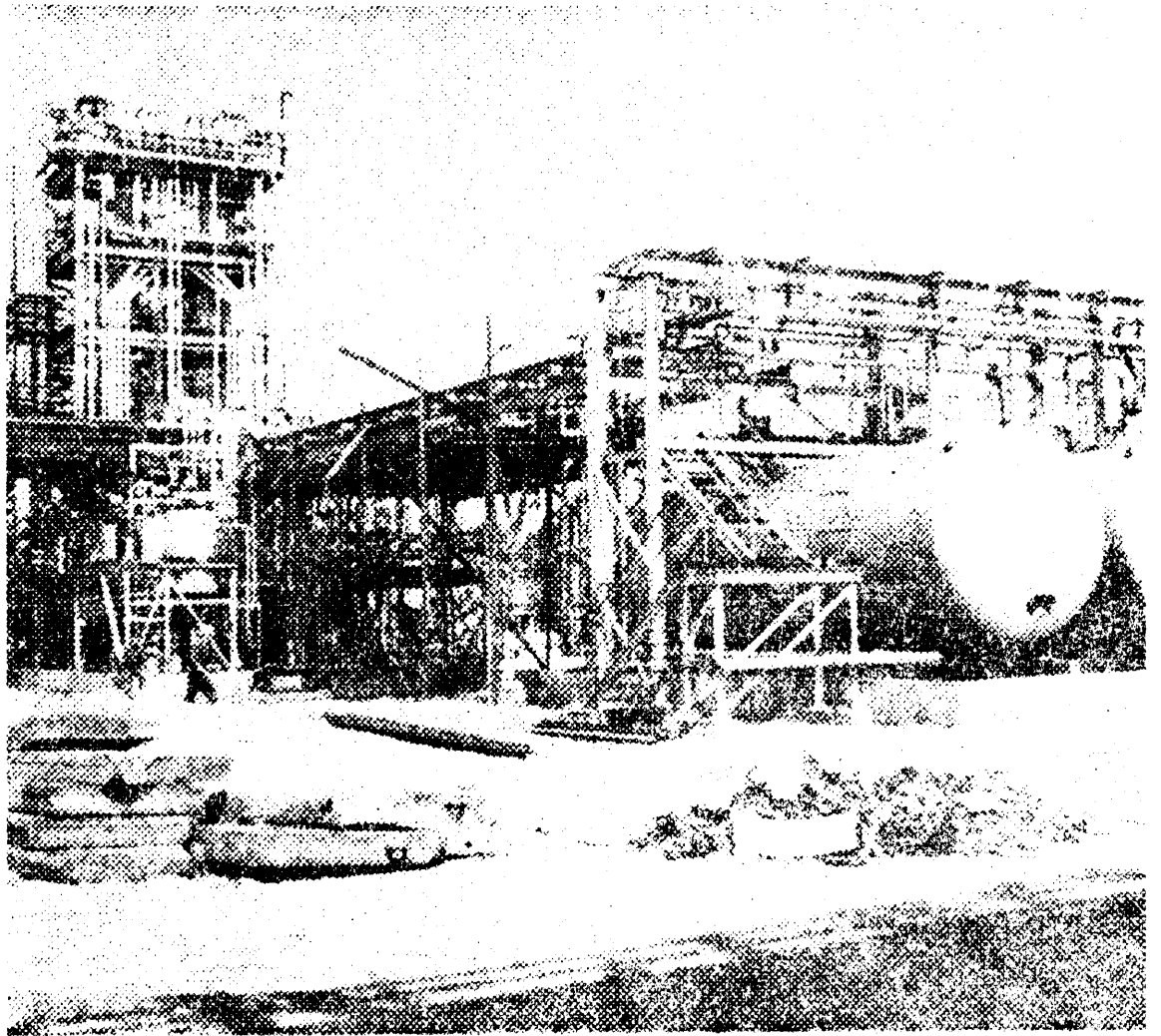
The 'Financial Times' of February 16, 1972, indicates that some capitalists may be painfully discovering a few facts concerning the anarchy of capitalist production, examined and discussed in some detail by Karl Marx more than a century ago.

In Britain, ICI has sacked 3,250 workers since last summer because of a 'glut' of polyester fibre. The United States' import surcharge is said to have cut off overnight 30 per cent of European production taken by the US. In addition, Japanese firms are 'dumping' fibre on the European market at very low prices.

The 'Financial Times' explains:

'Many producers are now learning the hard way something which the newcomers may take time to realize; that it is no good building plants which rely on exports for their profitability if you yourself know little about conditions in those export markets.'

'In the past many producers laid plans to export 30, 40 or 50 per cent of the output from a new plant and then found to their dismay that the trade could only be won by ruinous price cutting. Moreover, they



Top: textile manufacture—increased use of synthetics is cutting demand. Above: chemical plant—the industry is riddled with 'dumping' and closures. In Europe £1,000m of plant has been taken out of production.

discovered that their competitors who manufactured in those export markets could play the same game and ship back to their country equally large tonnages of equally low-priced chemicals—a very expensive stalemate.'

### Milk

Certainly, not all food supply figures have improved and the overpopulation theorists are ever quick to use a falling or static production to prove that resources are running out. For example, the reversal of the international milk situation from heavy over-supply to acute shortage in some areas within hardly more than a year is taken as conclusive proof that surpluses are only a temporary phenomenon.

However, what is carefully forgotten is the fact that the reduction reflects not the rise of population relative to the

amount of milk, but the severity of the campaign by capitalist governments in cutting dairy production and increasing prices.

In the Common Market area 500,000 dairy cows—2.4 per cent of the EEC herd—were slaughtered in 1970. World-wide measures taken deliberately to 'discourage' milk production and reduce surpluses during 1971 have included: slaughter of cows (all EEC, Finland and Switzerland), direct reduction of prices to producers (Finland), holding back of payments to farmers (Austria, Canada, Ireland and Switzerland), increase in price of cattle feed-stuffs (Finland, Norway, Switzerland), conversion from milk to beef production (all EEC, Austria, Switzerland, New Zealand), restrictions on imports of feed-stuffs (Finland) and disposal of surpluses abroad (Austria, Canada, all EEC, Norway, Switzerland,

United States).

One great danger resulting from the deliberate holding back of production of any commodity is that a sudden drop in yield, a bad harvest or onset of disease could turn a previous 'surplus' situation into a calamitous famine and a consequent rocketing of prices in a very short time. Just as surpluses are a 'threat' to capitalists, so famines are a 'favourable situation' so long as their product has not been directly hit by the catastrophe in question.

According to the United Nations, most milk-producing countries have disposed of large dairy 'excesses' through the FOOD AID programmes to under-developed countries.

The next article will examine how these 'humanitarian' schemes are used to the advantage of the powerful capitalist nations.

**CONTINUED TOMORROW**



# SICK, SICK, SLOW, SLOW



Alan Bates in 'A Day in the Death of Joe Egg'

BY GUEST REVIEWER,  
TIM HORROCKS

Both 'The Hospital' and 'A Day in the Death of Joe Egg' deal with sickness and disease as individual tragedies in the context of scatty humour.

'The Hospital' has been taken to be some kind of attempt to do to the American health industry what 'M.A.S.H.' dismally failed to do for the Korean (read Vietnam) war. But where 'M.A.S.H.' was peopled with self-consciously humorous characterizations, 'The Hospital' approaches characterization in a more naturalistic manner.

The humour arises largely from formal and intellectual ironies—patients who end up in the wrong beds, have the wrong operations, or are simply 'forgotten to death' (as the film puts it) played off against a picture of overworked, underpaid hospital staff, conditioned by years of work among the sick into a matter-of-fact attitude to their work.

In truth, like all workers, they are alienated from their means of production and the product of their labour—a point the film glibly glides around as if it were some kind of eternal quality inherent in 'human nature'.

The script is intelligently written from a genuinely committed liberal point of view (by Paddy Chayefsky)—which puts it way ahead of 'M.A.S.H.'—but it is precisely the class nature of the commitment which, in the end, robs the film of any positive content.

This happens because the film shifts the problem into the dilemma of an individual staff doctor, a dilemma which the film seeks to invest with tragic status, but which in the end can only be invested with pathos.

George C. Scott gives a fine performance as Dr Bock, the central character, who begins the film (symbolically) impotent and contemplating suicide, surrounded by organizational chaos about which he can do nothing. Half way through he meets Diana Rigg and her father (who turns out to be an 'avenging angel' who systematically murders the supposed villains of the chaotic situation).

With Diana Rigg, Scott discovers he is not impotent after all, and from there on the dilemma of the character poses itself as: 'Either go off with the girl to the Mexican mountains and live a simple life doing useful medical work, or commit suicide.'

This is the substance of some extremely heavy scenes which are, naturally, the most irrelevant things in the film, despite the fact that they are its formal centre. In the end Scott goes a third way—he

accepts his responsibility as a leading doctor in the hospital, and goes off to 'try again'. This might be an acceptable decision were it not for the fact that 'responsibility' is seen in the most banal petty-bourgeois terms, and entirely individualistically.

What does this show? That the liberal middle-class stratum from which Chayefsky comes, in the midst of a capitalist crisis, surmounts the dilemma of nihilism or 'back to nature'. Nevertheless it still sees the problem in false terms, outside of the class struggle, outside of the fight for socialism which alone can ensure a 'responsible' health service, and retreats into itself.

In doing so it tries to run away from things not only formally, but also in content by covering up the situation with well-written jokes whose only function is to lower political consciousness and transfer the attention of the audience onto the dilemma of the 'tragic' Shakespearian individual.

Of course the film does not stop here. It makes a number of cheap jibes at student and black-nationalist radicalism, whereas a scientific approach would criticize such radicalism in terms of the struggle of the major classes. True it is wrong to call a film bad art because it does not provide a Marxist analysis and a policy for the working class. It is correct, however, to criticize it for being cheap in its impressionism.

Arthur Hiller the director (who made 'Love Story') has found a mechanical narrative style which has the small virtue of not getting in the way of the author's message.

Creatively he adds nothing through use of the medium, contenting himself with the occasional gratuitous tracking shot and a few 'over-the-shoulder and see-through-the-window' shots as the doctor gazes out pondering his dilemma.

The director of 'A Day in the Death of Joe Egg' comes nowhere near this level of competence, and in fact does not even provide a context in which the actors can achieve effective characterizations.

In fact I have rarely seen a film which adds up to less than this one does.

A couple of funny flashback scenes and a nice bit of lighting in a beach scene do little to compensate for the complete meaninglessness of the second half of the film, where nothing fits, nothing is sufficiently motivated, and where the director's attitude to the narrative—always one-dimensional and inept—does little more than show us separate and incomprehensible characters going through a rigmarole which is supposed to say something about the massive pressures that bringing up a defective child places on the parents' relationship.

Yet everything said above about the class content of 'The Hospital' applies almost verbatim to 'Joe Egg'.

I find it difficult to be more precise about my comments on this film, mainly because the content is so elusive and its presentation so mindless. If you want to see a film more baffling, but unconsciously so, than 'Last Year At Marienbad', then see this.

I would, however, recommend 'The Hospital', and also another film which, dealing to some extent with the American health industry (again in the context of scatty humour), manages to achieve through a real richness of structure and imagery a much more profound and genuinely disturbing comment on the subject.

While drawing the attention to the individual dilemma, it does not get stuck there, but preserves a multi-faceted, detached mixture of irony and deep sympathy in its point of view of that character and her situation. I refer to Otto Preminger's film 'Such Good Friends'.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## In the mood

Oh what fun to be at 'Punch', edited by William Davis, former business editor of 'The Guardian'. Davis, a well-known 'radical', has just sent two of his contributors on a super project.

Alan Brien of the 'New Statesman' and 'Sunday Times' is in Saigon complaining, I notice, about the wear and tear to his purple shoes.

Meanwhile in Derry William Hardcastle, presenter of the BBC's 'World at One', has taken up battle stations.

Their instructions from Davis: 'Produce some mood pieces.'

## Praising Heath

Praise for Heath from an 'unexpected' quarter, the capitalist press said the other day when examining an article by Senator Edward Kennedy. 'Unexpected'? Why 'unexpected'? Nothing that the Kennedy family ever engaged in would



have revealed basic conflicts with Heath.

In the article, published by the Tory Bow Group, Kennedy praises Heath's Ulster initiatives. 'Prime Minister Heath has faced the challenge,' he writes, 'and for that he deserves great credit.'

Meanwhile, back in Ulster, the torture and indiscriminate murder of civilians goes on . . .

## Vanished

Salesmen with Investors Overseas Services (IOS) have been described as the most unorthodox operators since the first brush seller took to the road a couple of centuries ago.

IOS-ers, as they were known, were a race apart. Bernie Cornfeld, the founder of the giant mutual fund empire, used to ask his prospective men a single question: 'Do you sincerely want to be rich?' If they said 'Yes', they were hired.

Since the company fell into financial difficulties the salesmen have drifted off into many different occupations.

Take Pierre Rossi. In September 1970 he formed two companies called Capital Life Insurance and International Insurance Holding. They were run from Ferney-Voltaire, a tiny French village near the Swiss border, which is also IOS's world administrative headquarters.

The insurance companies have now come to the attention of Barclays Bank. The companies, it seems, have falsely represented that Barclays is their bank. The misrepresentation was noticed a couple of months ago when International Insurance Holding offered £2m in bonds for sale to investors in Britain and abroad.

Barclays have had some difficulties in pursuing their inquiries. Both companies appear to have vanished.

FOOTNOTE: IOS has decided not to hold its annual meeting this year in Toronto because of outstanding litigation facing the company and some of its directors.

## Luxurious

Actor Rex Harrison is setting a luxurious pace at the BBC. He is starring in a production of 'Don Quixote' and demanding all the trimmings normally associated with Hollywood extravaganzas. Imagine the budget control man's face when he heard Harrison wanted a helicopter to take him back and forward to the set each day. The film is being shot in Spain.

# BOOKS



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## Durham pits to close

THE NATIONAL Coal Board has announced the closure of the Glebe colliery at Washington and the running down of the Morrison Busty pit at Annfield Plain, both on the Durham coalfield.

The Board says that the reserves at both pits are now exhausted.

At the Glebe pit, 525 men will be made redundant and at the Morrison Busty many of the 650 men left out of 1,200 in 1968 will be transferred.

Walter Malt, secretary of Durham NUM branch, objected to the short notice given, but said that nothing could be done about the closure if no coal was left.

Productivity in the coal industry was higher than a year ago, and capacity lost by the miners' strike would be replaced in the next few weeks, said Derek Ezra, the NCB chairman, yesterday.

'Less than three months after the end of the strike, weekly productivity is running at higher levels than a year ago.

'This is a great achievement and has come about much more quickly than expected,' he said while visiting Dawdon colliery, one of Europe's most technically-advanced mines.

## M60

ONLY 60 miles of motorway will be opened in Britain this year—compared with 229 miles in 1971. The seven miles of the M6 opened in the Midlands yesterday brought the total to 1,020 miles. But another 180 miles under construction is less than half the work in hand at the corresponding time two years ago.

# Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

## Tenants' committee member expresses new fears

BY PHILIP WADE  
Our Housing Correspondent

THE LONDON 'Evening Standard' recently carried an advertisement from Camden Borough Council stating that they would not implement the Tory Housing Finance Act. This is one of the very few Labour councils in London which has promised to stand firm against the government's plans to double the rents of thousands of council and private tenants.

Tenants in the area are watching the council closely. They are hoping they will hold out. But some of them are a little sceptical.

Bertram Board, a member of the tenants' association committee in William Boyd Court, West End Lane, told Workers Press that he is worried about what the council will do when the government starts imposing fines and putting in a Commissioner to take over housing in the borough.

'All tenants should be fully behind the council, not just council tenants, but private tenants as well,' he said.

'Everybody should go against the Act now whilst they have a chance. But I don't know if Camden is going to really stand out, or whether when it comes to it they will pay the fines. The people are behind them because no one wants to pay higher rents. But if they are going to beat the government they will have to mount a big campaign among all



Bert Board, with his wife Joseppina and two of his children, Gina and Tony.

# Will Camden council back down?

the tenants and they don't seem to be doing that. If they do, it will give a lead to other councils.

'The council was elected by the people in the borough, and for the government to say it will put their own man in over their heads should never be allowed. It just shows how much they really care for democracy.'

Mr Board lives with his wife and five children in a flat for which he now pays nearly £10 a week. If rents are doubled, he says, it will be impossible to make ends meet.

He does not have any faith in the promised rent rebate scheme.

'We applied for a rebate,' he said, 'and they said we could not be considered for one until we applied for a Family Incomes Supplement. When we did that they said we could not get a Family Incomes Supplement because we were getting a rebate.'

'My mother used to tell us about life in the 1920s and I think it is going back to those days. If you needed social security, then they came into your home to see if you had anything to sell. They will be doing the same thing now if you ask for a rebate when the rent increases come in.

'It's a vicious circle,' Mr Board said. 'Many families are just living on the borderline now. You don't like having to keep denying your kids things all the time, but when you have five children and are faced with

having to pay a rent you can't afford, you can't buy things for them or for the home.

'How do you think a man feels when he has to tell his kids he can't afford to even buy them a few sweets?'

His five children aged five to 11 are all at school now. His oldest daughter's school has just moved to new premises and the headmaster has told parents he will expect the children to wear a uniform in future.

Mr Board reckons that if he had to buy uniforms for all his family it would cost him about £100. His daughter is leaving that school in September anyway and he and his wife are adamant that they will not buy her a uniform.

Mrs Board said that many parents are threatening to keep their children away from school altogether rather than buy uniforms.

'These kids who are protesting against uniforms,' Mr Board said, 'I agree with them. The children can't help but know that their parents are worried about rents, rising prices, unemployment and so on, and they are probably not very happy at school anyway because of the way they are treated there.'

'They know their parents can't really afford the uniforms, so they demonstrate and good luck to them.'

Mr Board is very angry about the Tory government.

'If all this had been brought up when the General Election was pending,' he said, 'you know which party would have been elected. Now the Tories are in they are trying to hit the working class hard. The only way to stop these rent increases is to sling the Tories out.'

'It is the same thing they are doing to the unions,' he added. 'But the union leaders won't fight them. Instead of standing up to the government, they tell their members to do what the government says.'

'They paid out the £55,000 fine, and where has it got them? Worse off, in fact, because the government is now hitting them all the harder as they know they can get away with it.'

'To me it seems as if the union leaders are frightened of the government. You elect them to lead you and what do they do?—as soon as the government says do this, they back down and do it.'

'It almost makes you think, what is the use of joining unions if the leaders are on the side of the government helping to suppress their members.'

'Now the workers are saying they must get a new leadership. We need a General Strike to get rid of this government. We want to sling out both the Tories and those union leaders who won't fight them. Until we do that the working man will be under the thumb all the time.'

# Redditch tempers still high against officials

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

A CROWDED and angry meeting of local residents at Redditch, a 'new town' south of Birmingham, has demanded to know what the local development corporation is going to do about rent levels under the Tories' Bill.

Redditch is one of the most expensive of the new towns and last month hundreds of housewives staged a protest march against the Bill led by Mrs Ivy Jones.

On that occasion members of the corporation refused to meet the march. One official later described it as 'raucous'.

On Monday night the officials reluctantly made an appearance and faced the wrath of local people.

Feeling in the 300-strong meeting, which lasted over two hours, that the rent was raised further by the efforts of the sole declared

Labour man on the corporation, Councillor Whetton, to defend the means 'test contained' in the Bill.

Several of his former supporters declared that they would not book him again.

Many speakers pointed out that rents were already so high that many houses in Redditch were standing empty.

Mrs Jones declared that only united action by tenants throughout the country could force the Tories back over the Bill.

Several other speakers thought the Tories would themselves have to be pushed out if the Bill was to go.

Tory members of the corporation said as little as possible throughout the meeting, leaving

most of their defence to the officials they had brought with them.

Few residents were satisfied with the evasive answers they got. But in the end there were no firm promises of action from the corporation.

One local resident, Mr V. Green, said afterwards the people would 'take this no longer'.

'It's time that the people of the country stood up for themselves. They are being forced to do so.'

As an immediate measure, a committee of residents has been formed which will meet the corporation again. Meanwhile it will go ahead with plans to withhold rents above the level which tenants consider 'fair'.

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# Another Baltic explosion against bureaucracy

BY JOHN SPENCER OUR FOREIGN EDITOR

**STREET BATTLES** reported from the Lithuanian city of Kaunas indicate that nationalist hostility to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union is growing at a rapid rate.

Reuter reported last Sunday that thousands of youths shouting 'Freedom for Lithuania' battled with police and troops for two days in the city last week in sympathy with a political protester who set himself on fire and burned to death.

At least one policeman died of injuries suffered in fights with stone-throwing crowds, while a second policeman was in hospital, sources in Kaunas said. Hundreds of rioters were reported to have been arrested.

Kaunas is Lithuania's second largest city, with a population of 306,000.

Soviet parachute troops and KGB units drawn mainly from Central Asian and the Caucasus garrisons moved in to reinforce the police, and by Saturday the demonstrations had died down, the sources said.

The troubles started on May 14 when Roman Talanta, a Roman Catholic, burned himself to death in Kaunas Park. Sources said he had done it for political reasons. The rioting began last Thursday, the day of Talanta's funeral.

Lithuania is a predominantly Catholic country, and 17,000 members of the church recently petitioned the United Nations alleging religious persecution.

Like Latvia and Estonia, Lithuania was annexed by Stalin following the conclusion of his pact with Hitler in 1939. The pact relegated the three Baltic states and the eastern half of Poland to the Soviet sphere of influence.

After presenting the bourgeois regimes of the Baltic states with an ultimatum, Stalin moved his forces across the border and forcibly incorporated them into

the USSR.

The move was 'justified' by the Stalinists because it brought undoubted military advantages to the Soviet Union—though these were squandered by Stalin's failure to prepare for the Nazi invasion in 1941.

Leon Trotsky wrote at the time: 'It cannot be doubted that control over the military bases on the Baltic coast represents strategic advantages. But this alone cannot determine the invasion of neighbouring states. The defence of an isolated workers' state depends much more on the support of the labouring masses all over the world than on two or three supplementary strategic points.'

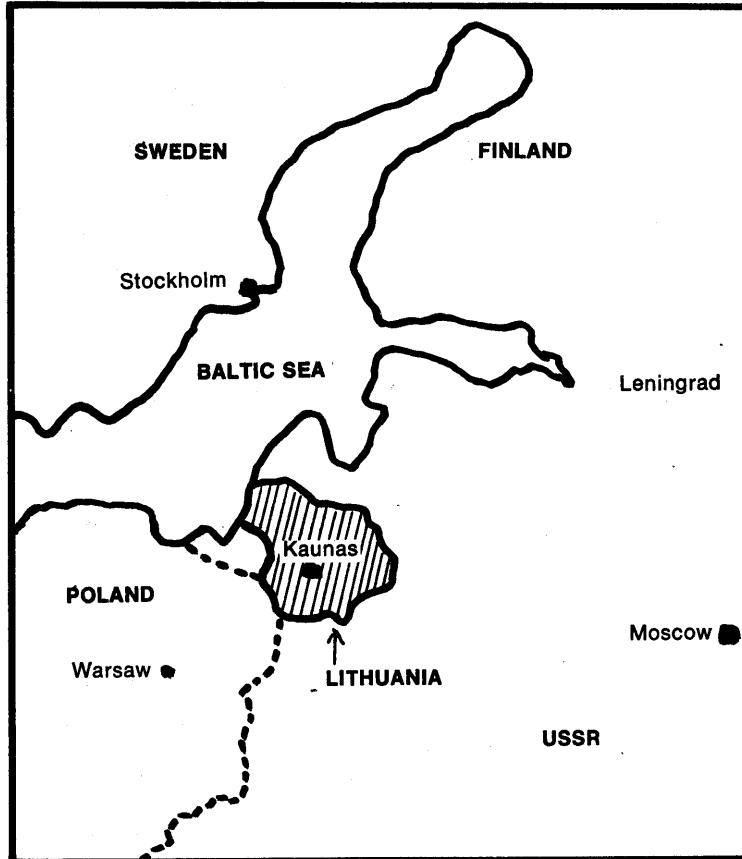
'The strangling of the people of the USSR, particularly of the national minorities, by police methods, repelled the majority of the toiling masses of the neighbouring countries from Moscow.'

'The invasion of the Red Army is seen by the populations not as an act of liberation, but as an act of violence, and thereby facilitates the mobilization of world public opinion against the USSR by the imperialist powers. That is why it will bring in the last instance more harm than advantages to the USSR.'

Trotsky's prophetic warning was only too well-founded. The Stalinist bureaucracy in all the Baltic states began a systematic campaign of Russification, riding roughshod over the national feelings of the populations.

Their languages were and are discriminated against, and many of the 'leaders' imposed from Moscow cannot even speak the language of the country they govern. On Stalin's death in 1953, the June 12 plenum of the Central Committee resolved to 'end the distortion of Soviet nationality policy'.

At that meeting, Kalnberzins, first secretary of the Latvian CP, admitted that under pressure from Moscow the Leninist principles of nationality policy had been 'grossly violated'. After precisely one week, the proposed 'rectification' measures were dropped and Russification of the Baltic States has since proceeded



at an even more rapid pace than under Stalin.

This has gone hand-in-hand with stringent police measures against dissenters, such as the recent edict against 'long-haired hooligans'.

Lithuania, the most westerly of the three Baltic states, has not until now figured prominently in reports of opposition to the Stalinist regime along the Baltic.

But the explosive character of the reported riots clearly indi-

cates the depth of oppositional feeling, particularly among the youth. Lithuania shares a border with Poland and is not far from the Polish Baltic ports which erupted in so-called 'food riots' in December 1970.

The Polish fighting brought down the Gomulka government and Edward Gierk was appointed party secretary amid promises of reforms. The Polish example has clearly not been lost on the Lithuanians.

## Glasgow should set-up Council of Action —sparks

GLASGOW electricians have joined the campaign to set up Councils of Action in major centres throughout Britain to defend the working class against the Tory offensive.

Liverpool Trades Council has already decided to inaugurate such a council on Merseyside.

The councils become an urgent necessity in the trade union and labour movement as the Tories prepare plans to smash the trade unions with the assistance of the judiciary and the military.

The Glasgow central EPTU branch has passed the following resolution:

'This branch supports the Liverpool Trades Council in the setting up of Councils of Action to defeat the Tory government. The branch urges the Glasgow Trades Council to form a Council of Action in Glasgow of trade unionists, unemployed workers, tenants and socialist and labour organizations despite the Industrial Relations Act and bring down the Tory government.'

## £4.2m left by Duke

THE FOURTH Duke of Westminster, one of the country's biggest landowners, who died more than five years ago, left £4,217,442 in his will published yesterday.

The duke was head of the Grosvenor estate which virtually owns the whole of Mayfair and Belgravia in central London.

The estate lives on and is under the control of the fifth duke, one Lt-Col Lord Robert Grosvenor.

### Fight the Tories'

### 'fair rents' Bill

**SHEFFIELD:** Wednesday, May 24, 7.30 p.m. 'New White Lion', The Wicker. 'The engineers' pay claim and the Tory government.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## BBC 1

9.20-9.35 Pogles' wood. 9.38 Schools. 10.45-11.00 Boomph with Becker. 11.05 Schools. 12.25-12.50 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 1.00 Disc a dawn. 1.30 Camberwick green. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Starsport. 5.10 Pixie and Dixie. 5.15 Search. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News and weather.

### 6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 WHERE IN THE WORLD.

7.00 SPY TRAP. The Executioner

7.25 STAR TREK. Bread and Circuses.

8.10 THE EXPERT. Hothouse.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.

9.20 THE PRESS WE DESERVE. Paper Tigers.

10.35 DOWN TO EARTH.

11.05 24 HOURS.

11.40 THE SKY AT NIGHT. The Tenth Planet?

12.00 Weather.

## BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.35-7.00 Open University.

7.05 MEASURE OF CONSCIENCE. He Owes You His Judgment.

7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.

8.00 TIMES REMEMBERED.

8.10 MAN ALIVE. Alive and Well and Living in Malta.

# TV

## ITV

11.00-12.00 Schools. 1.10 Time to remember (London only). 1.40 Schools. 2.32 Good afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Simon Locke. 3.45 Edgar Wallace. 4.40 Hatty town. 4.55 Lift off. 5.20 Escape into night. 5.50 News.

### 6.00 TODAY.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 THIS IS YOUR LIFE.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 CADE'S COUNTY. Dead Past.

9.00 CALLAN. A Man Like Me.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 SCOTLAND V WALES. Home Internationals.

11.25 PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING.

11.55 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.

12.10 ANTHOLOGY OF LOVE.

9.00 POT BLACK. Snooker.

9.20 FILM: 'AN IDEAL HUSBAND'. Based on Oscar Wilde's play. Paulette Goddard, Michael Wilding.

10.50 NEWS, weather.

10.55 TRIBUTE TO CECIL DAY LEWIS.

11.20 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 10.20-2.32 London. 4.05 Paulus. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Good afternoon. 4.55 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.10 F troop. 6.35 London. 7.00 Treasure hunt. 7.30 London. 11.55 Epilogue. News, weather.

**WESTWARD.** As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.55 News. 11.59 Faith for life.

**SOUTHERN:** 11.00 London. 2.30 Film: 'Tommy the Toreador'. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Jokers wild. 7.30 London. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather. Epilogue.

**HARLECH:** 11.00-2.32 London. 3.20 Talking hands. 3.35 Enchanted house. 3.50 Ugliest girl in town. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.02 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Dave Cash. 7.00 Jokers wild. 7.30 London. 11.55 Mad movies. 12.25 Weather.

**HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except:** 3.50

Hamdden. 4.15-4.30 Miri mawr. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd.

**HTV West as above except:** 6.05-6.30 Report West.

**ANGLIA:** 11.00 London. 3.15 Giant of Cockley Cley. 3.45 Yoga. 4.15 News. 4.18 Cartoons. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.00 Shirley's world. 7.30 London.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 11.00-2.33 London. 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Stars. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Mrs Muir. 4.40 Grasshopper island. 4.55 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Odd couple. 7.00 London.

**ULSTER:** 11.00-2.32 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.15 What's on? 6.35 London. 7.00 Sporting challenge. 7.30 London.

**YORKSHIRE:** 11.00 London. 3.00 Sound of . . . 3.15 Hadleigh. 4.10 Calendar news. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Hatty town. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Jokers

wild. 7.30 London. 12.00 Odd couple. 12.30 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 11.00 London. 2.30 Edgar Wallace. 3.30 Yoga. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.00 Newsday. What's on. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Simon Locke. 7.30 London.

**TYNE TEES:** 11.00 London. 3.00 Sound of . . . 3.15 Hadleigh. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Jokers wild. 7.30 London. 11.55 News. 12.10 Epilogue.

**SCOTTISH:** 11.00-2.20 London. 3.30 Pinky and Perky. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.15 Love American style. 6.30 Melody inn. 7.00 Jokers wild. 7.30 London. 10.30 Sport. 12.35 Late call.

**GRAMPIAN:** 11.00-2.55 London. 3.38 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Jimmy Stewart. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Gram-pian week. 6.35 London. 7.00 Jokers wild. 7.30 London. 8.55 Police news. 9.00 London. 11.00 European cup winners cup final. 12.35 Epilogue.



## Hull dockers' leader

# I'm standing firm against the Act

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

**WALTER CUNNINGHAM** is the man who has refused to bow to the dictates of the Tory National Industrial Relations Court. While Jack Jones and Vic Feather confide with the CBI over an arbitration alternative to the Court, Cunningham—backed by the entire Shop Stewards' Committee on the Hull docks—stands firm.

In an exclusive interview with Workers Press, he told us of his determination to continue the fight and to resist the pressure being exerted by the Transport and General Workers' Union leaders to get the Hull dockers to give up their struggle:

'The only way these union leaders are going to get off the hook is by expelling us' he said. 'That means expelling every T&GWU steward in all the major ports. And then we'll continue as unofficial shop stewards' committees and Donaldson will still have to deal with us.'

There is complete unity among the Hull stewards on this question. 'We have always worked well with the "blue" stewards (stewards from the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union),' says Cunningham: 'They have nine out of the 32 stewards in the port and we work together in one committee. There is no dissension and there is no doubt at all that they stand by us.'

'I am standing firm. I won't recognize the Court and I won't go to it. Even if they fine me, I won't recognize it and I won't pay the fine.'

'Some people say I'm breaking the law, but I remember when I was a kid there were laws in Germany which said Jews went to concentration camps and into gas chambers. This isn't as drastic as that, but not allowing a man the right to speak is going along the same path. Just because it's the law doesn't make it right.'

'At the end of the day, all Donaldson can do is subpoena me to go to the court. And I won't go. If he wants me in that court he's going to forcibly have to take me there.'

'If he sentences me to jail, I'm prepared to go to jail. Then another shop steward will take my place and take exactly the

same stand, and when he's got through the entire 32 stewards on our committee, there'll be another 32 to take their place.'

'I know from talking to men on the docks that that's what would happen.'

What does Cunningham think of Jack Jones and Vic Feather? 'Jones said he didn't think the Act could be as bad as this, but every man on the dock knew what it was going to be like. They've never been as solid on any issue as they are on this.'

'We are the union. Jones and O'Leary must be able to see they're getting nowhere through the Court; they're getting their legs cut from under them.'

'It's hard to put into words what I feel about these people. They should have contested the court. If the assets of the entire union are threatened—that is, the non-docking sections as well—then instead of putting the onus on us, the leaders should have united all these sections to fight back.'

Like many other workers, Walter Cunningham now has little faith in the ability of the TUC leaders to fight the Tories, especially after the feeble 'campaign' mounted before the Industrial Relations Bill became law: 'I can't see the TUC leaders fighting the Act. We asked them to fight it early on. Hull shop stewards went to London on national demonstrations—all we wanted was some leadership.'

'The only way to defeat this Act is by fighting. The TUC should have done it long ago. Instead they called for a dinner-hour demonstration!'

'Workers knew how this Act was going to work. We've been talking on our shop stewards' committee about it since the Bill was first announced. We knew what would happen, because of the negative approach of the TUC. We knew where they would go as soon as a bit of pressure was applied.'

The T&GWU officials, of course, are also applying 'pressure'—on the dockers:

'We've had meeting with Dave Shenton, Regional Secretary of the T&GWU and Brian Barker, of the Humber Docks Group of the T&GWU.'

'They spoke to all the port stewards and asked them to call the blacking off. We told them "No chance!" At the last meeting, Shenton told us that if we didn't get the black off, the next fine would be vicious.'

'We still wouldn't do it so he said that Donaldson had told the union to get rid of dissenting shop stewards. Shenton said they didn't want to do that, but they might have to do it. I'm sure they will do it.'

'We gave them a bit of a rousing for not putting a fight up, and they walked out of the meeting.'

Defeat in this fight is unthinkable to the dockers:

'If we lose this one', Cunningham explains, 'in a few years' time there would be a negligible number of dockers. They are moving work away from the docks not only to container centres but to unregistered wharves and quays and paying the men there diabolical wages. We have heard that in one of the four unregistered ports in the Goole area men are working 125 hours for £40.'

In fact, in some places they don't even get a wage packet they have to go collect their money in a pub. And men are being picked out of the dole to go and do one day's work or two days' work.'

'We accept modernization, but why isn't it making goods cheaper when they are getting shifted at about one-fifth the cost? It's brought unemployment and prices are still going up.'

Cunningham had this to say about the Socialist Labour League's call for Councils of Action to unite the working class

against the Tories:

'I've never wanted to become involved in politics, but I'm in it now, whether I like it or not, because it's a fight against the system.'

'I agree with the Workers Press that this is a concern of the whole working class. It's a test-case for the working class. I think workers all over the country are watching to see what the Hull shop stewards are going to do. Jones and Feather should have been doing this a long time ago.'

'I think the call from the Socialist Labour League in the Workers Press for Councils of Action is quite right. The Act is an attack on the basic rights of all working men, and all the working class should fight back.'

● The Hull branch of TASS, a section of the AUEW, has passed a resolution expressing its 'full support for the stand taken by Walter Cunningham and the Hull Port Shop Stewards' Committee against the Industrial Relations Act'. The branch says it 'hopes to give, if required, whatever support becomes necessary in the forthcoming period'.

MANAGEMENT at Cleveland Twistdrill, Peterhead, have closed their factory because of a five-week strike by 350 engineers for a £4 pay rise. The closure had caused the lay-off of 200 other engineers. Bitterness is increasing after incidents where cars were driven at the picket line.

A sit-down strike at one of Britain's major prisons was threatened for today by the organization claiming to have masterminded recent jail strikes. A spokesman for the Preservation of Rights of Prisoners warned that the protest would 'escalate in both number and frequency' until mid-July.



## Post workers reject 'Modern Times'

FROM DAVID MAUDE in Blackpool

POST union delegates yesterday blocked, at least until November, any further mechanization of Britain's postal service.

Tom Jackson, UPW general secretary, told the delegates that it could mean the abolition of the second letter delivery and the slashing of postal service in five years' time.

A worker from one of the newly mechanized sorting offices in London, Fred Page, described the 'Modern Times' conditions there.

'We have got bells, hooters, claxons and warblers—you name it we've got it. They're going every minute of the day,' he said.

Earlier, the 1,450 delegates at the union's annual conference in Blackpool, had inflicted another defeat on their executive by demanding closure of all Post Offices on Saturday afternoons.

In a partial reversal of previous union co-operation with mechanization, the conference decided not to participate in further piecemeal mechanization proposals until a comprehensive agreement on all aspects of the programme had been negotiated.

Union leaders were instructed to present a report on the form of such an agreement to a special conference—probably at Bournemouth in November.

Jackson claimed after the vote that it had demonstrated the leadership's failure to explain the effect of mechanization in the long term.

'The executive will rectify that misunderstanding as quickly as possible,' he said.

If things went right, he claimed, only about 1,000 jobs would be lost over the next five years, and no one would be sacked.

Moving the resolution, South-West delegate Bert Reed said that the union had had a 'childish faith' that mechanization would be a golden goose laying the golden eggs. But this had proved to be an illusion.

John Taylor, whose East London office has been refusing to work mechanized equipment with Jackson's approval pending the conference decision, said that postal workers should not travel the same road as the mineworkers, the railwaymen and the telephonists under STD.

Luton delegate, Jimmy Thakooran, called on the conference to throw out all productivity deals along with the Tory government.

● Conference heard yesterday afternoon that Communist Party member Maurice Styles will succeed fellow CPer Willy Failes, who retires in August, as assistant general secretary responsible for outdoor postmen. Styles received 10,200 votes against the 7,000 for Labourite rival Bill Tracey.

### LATE NEWS WEATHER

#### RHODESIA

Sir Alec told Commons the next stage had to be discussions inside Rhodesia between the various racial groups, which he would like to see happen, but could not ensure.

Shadow Foreign Secretary James Callaghan urged Sir Alec to make it quite clear that government would not recommend a settlement 'outside the ambit of the five principles'.

He also suggested Smith should be asked to 'embark on discussions with African leaders at an early stage.'

Sir Alec told Callaghan the Beria Patrol was part of the sanction arrangements and would remain.

MOST parts will be dry with sunny intervals at first, but western districts will soon become cloudy with outbreaks of rain which will spread to most eastern districts later.

Brighter weather will reach western districts during the late afternoon and evening.

Winds increasing to strong to gale in the west. Temperatures will be near normal for late May. Outlook for following 48 hours: Sunny intervals with occasional showers in the north west at first but rain in many places later, especially in the north and west. Temperatures near or above normal.

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### MAY FUND £517.50 STILL TO RAISE

YOUR great start for our Fund this month must not be allowed to lag behind in any way. In this most serious political situation we must not become complacent in any way.

On every front the class war is being stepped up. In Ulster, Britain, United States and Vietnam, the capitalist class is using everything to lash out even more against the working class.

Workers Press is vital today. We must make sure that the working class wins these important battles.

We urge you all therefore to make a special effort this month. The situation demands it. Collect extra amounts if you can, add something extra yourself. Let's go all out in these last vital eight days. Post all your donations immediately to:

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

Socialist Labour League

Public meeting

SUNDAY MAY 28 7.30 pm

RECALL THE TUC!  
DEFEND THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS!  
BUILD COUNCILS OF ACTION NOW!  
MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN!  
RETURN A LABOUR GOVERNMENT PLEDGED TO SOCIALIST POLICIES.

Beaver Hall, Garlick Hill (nr Mansion House tube)

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