

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • MONDAY MAY 29, 1972 • No. 777 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY STEPHEN JOHNS

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But they must fight under the political banner of making the Tory government resign and replacing them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. Heath has now staked the survival of his government on his bid to beat the railworkers and the dockers. The working class must make sure he fails.

Kid-gloves treatment for 'peace moves'

BY IAN YEATS

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But, he added: 'In recent days we have seen signs that people in both communities are sick of violence.'

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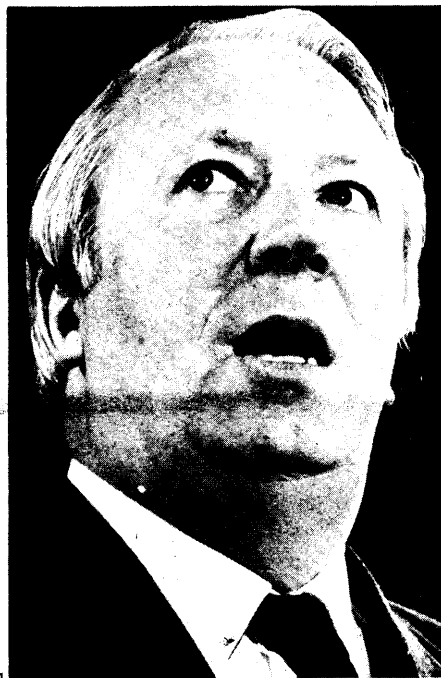
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WHAT WE THINK

THE TRIAL of the Stoke Newington Eight may have to be postponed tomorrow when the Central Criminal Court is told that the defendants have been unable to find QCs to defend them.

The eight defendants are charged with conspiring to cause explosions and face heavy jail sentences. In a similar trial recently one of the defendants, Jake Prescott, was given 14 years.

It has just come to light that solicitors representing six of the eight accused have spent the past three months trying to retain QCs to defend their clients. One firm approached 15 QCs, another at least five. In every case the QC was 'too busy' to take on the brief.

Why are the QCs so reluctant to give their expertise in the defence of these defendants? 'The Guardian' said at the weekend that many lawyers felt the trial would prove 'politically, a very hot issue'.

If this is the case—and there is every likelihood it

RELUCTANT QCs

is—then there is a conspiracy in the legal profession against the accused.

This is not the first time the trial of the 'Eight' has seemed especially difficult. They have already been held in custody for a year, an appallingly long time on a charge which the prosecution regards as so serious.

At the lower court proceedings one of the defendants was discharged when it became clear the prosecution had not the slightest evidence against her. The trial is now timed to occur under conditions in which press hysteria could well take place.

Workers Press will be in the forefront of studying and analysing this forthcoming trial and its implications for the working class.

MAJOR DEFENCE SYSTEMS FOR GOVERNMENT CENTRES

Balance of terror

By JOHN SPENCER

PRESIDENT NIXON and the Soviet leaders have agreed to maintain their 'balance of terror' by mutual limitations on nuclear missiles and anti-ballistic defences.

The sole effect of the treaties in strategic terms is that Americans and the Soviet Union have cynically agreed not to defend the majority of their population in nuclear war.

The Moscow deal provides that each side can build anti-ballistic missile systems only to defend the seat of government and one set of 'retaliatory' missiles.

The treaty terms also 'freeze' the number of offensive nuclear weapons at present levels, though there is nothing to stop the build-up of the more effective submarine-based rockets if the land-based arsenal is correspondingly reduced. Either side can denounce the deal at six months' notice.

The agreements signed in Moscow were hailed by the British Stalinists' 'Morning Star' as 'important steps creating new possibilities for finally ending the cold war and helping the world along the difficult road to peaceful co-existence'.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The Moscow 'disarmament' deal will not diminish the military appetite of US imperialism and its determination to export counter-revolution.

Nixon himself gave ample proof of this undeniable fact on the very eve of his Moscow trip. He blockaded and mined Haiphong and other North Vietnamese ports and set in motion the most devastating bombard-



Nixon, when he was last in Russia in 1959, flanked by Khrushchev and Brezhnev

ment the world has ever seen against the North.

Who can doubt that similar treatment is in store for workers and peasants elsewhere who take the road of revolutionary struggle? The Soviet leaders,

...But Nixon's views haven't really changed in the last 20 years

WHEN he ran for the vice-presidency of the United States in 1952 Nixon's campaign statement said:

'A programme which is designed to meet the threat which is presented to our security by the international communist conspiracy: keep the United States militarily strong. Keep the economy of this nation strong and sound and productive and free. And develop a fair and effective programme of internal security.'

Rounding on the Democrats, Nixon said: 'The Republican Party has some faults. But one thing can be said to our credit which cannot be said for the party in power, that is, that we have never had the support of the communists in the past. We have never asked for that support. We do not have it now, and we shall never ask for it or accept it in the future. And for that reason a Republican administration, we can be sure, will conduct a thoroughgoing housecleaning of communists and fellow travellers in the administrative branch of the government because we have no fear of finding any communist skeletons in our political closets.'

Hangmen's regime Nixon's next stop

FIVE left-wing opponents of the Iranian regime were executed in Tehran last Thursday, only days before President Nixon's arrival in the city.

The five victims were among 89 defendants tried in secret by military tribunals at the end of April and the beginning of May.

Nineteen people involved in the trial are now serving life sentences and the remainder various lesser sentences.

President Nixon is due to arrive in Tehran tomorrow for talks with the Shah.

Kontum situation is critical — US adviser

THE BATTLE for Kontum, in the Central Highlands, continued yesterday. North Vietnamese troops breached inner defences for the third day running on Saturday.

This key city is defended by more than 10,000 puppet troops of the Saigon government. On Saturday it was attacked from three sides by tanks and infantry.

As US helicopters flew in with supplies and took out the wounded, a senior American adviser described the situation as critical.

Yesterday morning some North Vietnamese troops were still entrenched around the airstrip

fire was heard near the runway. And a force of unknown size attacked a South Vietnamese armoured cavalry position about half a mile north-east of the city about two hours before dawn.

Meanwhile fierce fighting was reported south of the city around base camp 41 and Chu Pao north east of Kontum and sniper

mountain which overlooks the camp and Highway 14 connecting Kontum to Pleiku, 25 miles to the south.

Hanoi radio said on Sunday morning that two more US planes had been shot down over North Vietnam and the pilots captured. The planes were brought down in Ninh Binh and Ha Tinh provinces.

Ferranti talks collapse

TALKS at the six Ferranti group engineering factories in the greater Manchester area, where 6,000 workers are continuing their sit-in, broke down on Saturday. The firm was not say-

ing how they had improved on their original offer of an extra £2 a week, better premium rates and an extra day's holiday this year with another one in 1973.

\$700m deficit: General drop in US trade

THE UNITED STATES registered a \$700m trade deficit last month, according to figures released at the weekend by the Commerce Department in Washington.

This is the 12th month out of the past 13 that US trade has been in deficit—and if the current trend continues the 1972 deficit could dwarf last year's record figures.

The deficit for the first four months of this year is already higher than the \$2,000m trade gap for 1971.

April's deficit is the second biggest ever, exceeded only by the \$821m trade gap last October.

The April figures are doubly significant because they indicate a fall in the volume of both exports and imports—pointing to a decline in the volume of world trade.

The volume of imports fell by 0.3 per cent compared with March, while the volume of exports dropped by 3.4 per cent.

US officials are reported to be 'disappointed' that the trade figures are continuing to deteriorate despite the December 18 currency realignment agreement which upvalued a number of currencies against the dollar in the wake of President Nixon's August 15 measures.

The latest figures will give added impetus to the US trade war against Japan and Europe. Already officials are demanding another revaluation of the yen, though the effects of the December revaluation have plunged the Japanese economy into deep recession.

Globe-trotter Bhutto off again

PAKISTAN President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto will fly to New Delhi on June 28 for a summit meeting with Indian premier Mrs Indira Gandhi, it was announced from Islamabad at the weekend.

Bhutto has declared that under no circumstances would vital national interests be compromised by the talks, even though Pakistan had lost the December war with India.

Bhutto is currently touring Moslem capitals on what he terms a 'mission of renaissance—the rebirth of our relations with the Moslem world'. Beginning in Abu Dhabi, a rich oil sheikhdom, he is seeking new markets for Pakistan's goods.

Factories are at present running at much less than half capacity and unrest among the workers is mounting. After the war, Pakistan lost its captive market among the 70 million Bengalis who now belong to Bangla Desh.

The tour is the president's second: in January he visited Iran, Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Syria. This time he will visit Abu Dhabi, Kuwait, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Nigeria, Guinea, Mauritania, Turkey and Iran. The extent of the two visits testifies to the desperate crisis driving the Pakistan leader.

WHY LABOUR WON'T FIGHT RENTS BILL



Richard Crossman: Introduced the 1965 Rent Act, but extended a friendly hand to the landlords.

Part 1. By Philip Wade, Housing Correspondent

As thousands upon thousands of tenants continue the fight against the hated Tory rent-doubling plans, the Labour Party leadership is prostrate at the feet of the government.

In town after town, council after council, the reformists have capitulated, thrown in their hand and decided to implement the Housing Finance Bill. And that is even before it is law.

In London, for example, where Labour controls over 20 of the 32 councils and represent most of the tenants massed in the central area, just three or four are holding out and refusing to be the rent collectors for the Tories.

The remainder, despite promises made to tenants at the 1971 elections, have decided to implement the Bill 'in the best interests' of tenants.

DISMAY

The Labour Party nationally has issued no clear directive to Labour councils. Instead it has assisted the betrayal by the usual prattle about 'obeying the law'.

The result has been confusion and dismay among tenants who were looking to the Labour Party for a lead in the fight.

To their credit a number of councillors, including the leader and several committee members of Wandsworth Council, have resigned their posts on the basis of decisions to implement carried by the right wing.

But 13 others at Newham, in East London, have been suspended from the Labour group for voting for non-implementation of the Bill as have 11 from Hammersmith.

The whole crisis inside local Labour Parties over the issue parallels the split inside the Parliamentary Labour Party where the Jenkinsites have voted on a number of occasions with the Tories on the Common Market to ensure the government remained in power.

But Labour's bankruptcy on housing, as on all other main issues, has deep roots. The out-and-out reformist approach to the housing question has led Labourites and tenants into one trap after another for decades.

That is why today, when they are faced with defending tenants against the Tory plans to destroy council-housing and decontrol private tenancies, they are unable to offer a fight.

As long ago as September 1970 Workers Press warned: 'The Tories will intensify the Labour government's attempts to drive down the housing conditions of the workers as part of their attack on the conditions of the whole class.'

'The Tories and their Fleet St friends want to see a return to the days of Rachman. Following the 1957 Tory Rent Act millions of tenants found themselves with little security of tenure and were often the victims of thugs employed by the big landlords to chase them off the property.' (Workers Press, September 17, 1970.)

RECORD

It is essential to examine Labour's housing record and to see how the Party capitulated in one instance after another to the landlords and property men in an attempt to achieve 'reforms' in housing. In this way tenants and other workers can begin to arm themselves with the socialist policies which have to be demanded of the next Labour government.

In 1949 Labour introduced a Housing Act to improve property. This gave the landlords the right to secure grants for improvements followed by an increase in rents.

This measure obviously had no beneficial effects for the tenants themselves. As the Tory government moved to introduce the hated 1957 Rent Act, Labour admitted its failure.

First published in 1956, 'Homes of the Future' was the policy document containing proposals to form the basis of a future Labour government's housing programme.

It took a radical stance on the whole question of private landlords who between them then controlled some 4 million tenancies.

Private landlords then as now were responsible for the ownership of the worst slums in Britain, often refusing to do anything about the state of repair of their tenancies.

'... attempts which have been made to encourage landlords to carry out repairs and improvement by granting them financial assistance have failed. The time has now come when more positive action must be taken.'

'... private landlordism has failed to provide the majority of our people with the homes they deserve,' said the introduction.

At that time Labour demanded that all rent-controlled houses should 'be acquired

and improved by the local authorities'. Only owner-occupied houses, non-profit-making housing associations and houses of landlords who proved hardship or strong family reasons were excluded.

'We must secure the repair and modernization of rent-controlled houses. Social ownership is obviously the only answer,' the document declared.

That was one story. But when the Labourites were returned to power in 1964 after 13 years of Tory government they opened with a policy of capitulation to those self-same landlords they had attacked earlier.

Great play was made of the 1965 Rent Act rushed through the Houses of Parliament by Richard Crossman. Security of tenure was to be restored to those who had lost it under Tory legislation.

Two million unfurnished tenancies were to remain rent controlled. But the friendly hand was extended to landlords with the introduction of a new concept, 'regulated' tenancies of which there were some 900,000.

A cross between controlled and decontrolled property, the question remained as to the basis of fixing rents for regu-

lated tenancies.

A 'fair rent' would be established by rent assessment committees, said the Act. The road to the Tory Housing Finance Bill which will double 6 million rents was opened. The 'fair rent' formula was born.

Those few tenants who bothered to apply for the registration of a 'fair rent' soon

wished they hadn't. In the vast majority of cases rents were increased.

Seven years later Labour MP Frank Allaun has shown that rents for regulated tenancies have increased some 240 per cent on average under the 1965 Rent Act.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

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MARX AND CLASSICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

BY PETER JEFFRIES

In this period of rapidly-deepening economic and political crisis it is more essential than ever that a systematic study be made of Marx's 'Capital'.

But this study cannot be confined to Marx's conclusions on particular questions. It must centre upon a study of the **method** of this great work. Such a study represents a particular challenge to the revolutionary movement in Britain, where there has traditionally been an opposition to theoretical questions and particularly a hostility to the dialectical method which is at the heart of 'Capital'.

In any case such a study cannot be a mere academic exercise. For a real understanding of the revolutionary implications of Marx's theoretical study of the capitalist system can only be achieved as part of a struggle, both practical and theoretical, to defend the heritage of Marxism against reformism and revisionism.

In particular, this means a struggle against Stalinism. For it can be truly said that the Stalinists in Britain, aided by the revisionists, have been in the forefront in their efforts to destroy the revolutionary method of 'Capital'.

In these articles we intend to expose the nature of these distortions through an examination of the labour theory of value, its place in 'Capital' and the treatment it has received at the hands of Stalinist writers, in particular Maurice Dobb, for long considered their leading representative in this field in the Anglo-Saxon world.

But it would be a serious mistake to see Dobb's wrong method, which we shall presently examine, as arising merely from a series of 'mistakes'. For his aim, a reflection of the political camp which he has slavishly served for the last 50 years, is to tear the revolutionary heart out of Marx's work by reducing it to the level of Ricardian political economy.

For him, this has the dual advantage of making Marx 'respectable' by suggesting that he was the last of the great school of classical political economy, while at the same time providing for himself a comfortable position in the academic world.

We shall show that Marx, far from being the heir of political economy, was in fact its severest critic. As early as 1847 he attacked Proudhon for

trying to 'criticize political economy from the standpoint of political economy' and 'Capital' for him, unlike the Stalinists, was a **critique** of political economy.

In centring the discussion initially on the theory of value, we can best start with Marx's famous letter to Dr Kugelmann of July 11, 1868. It contains the following well-known but critical passage:

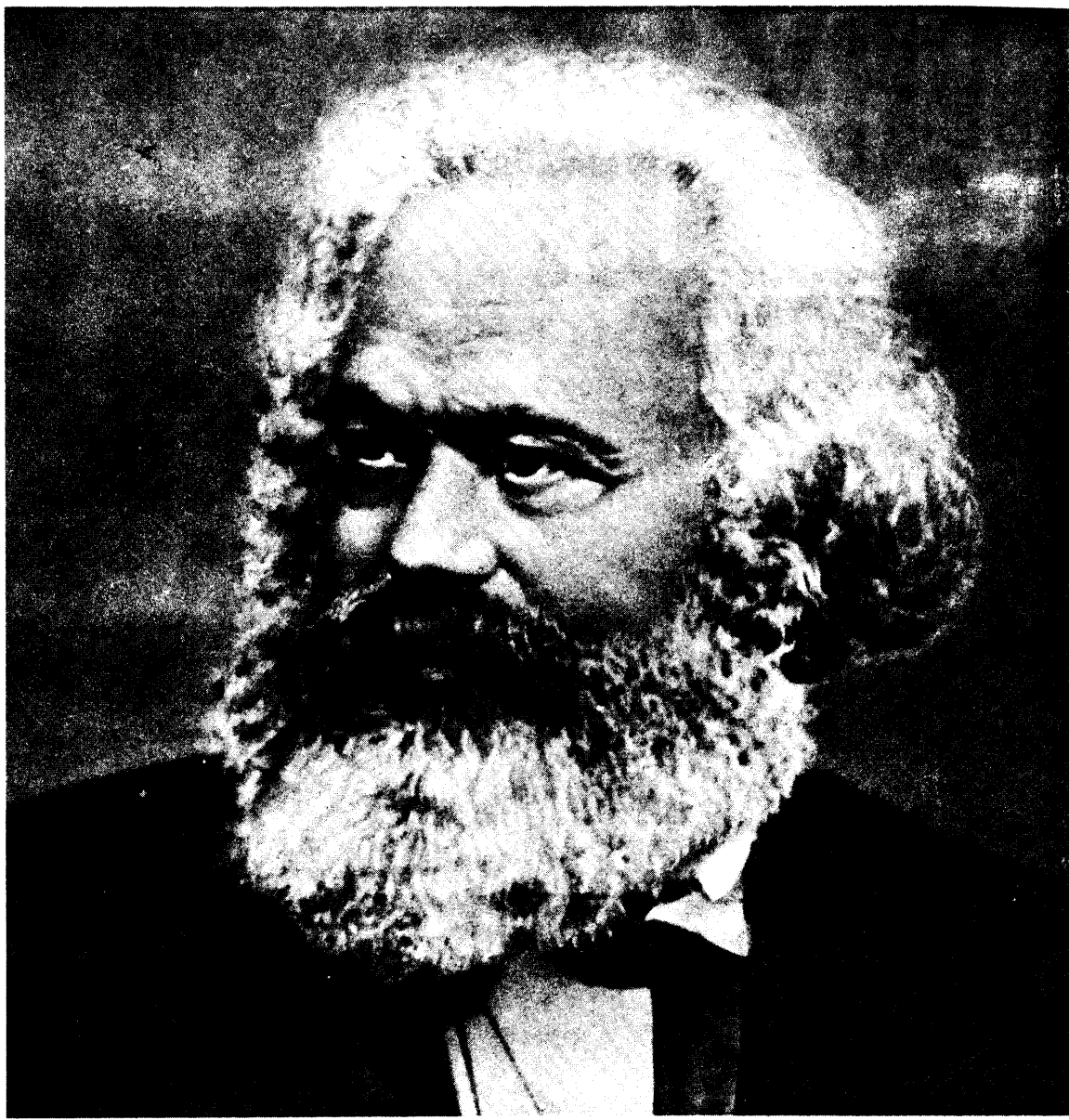
... Even if there were no chapter on "value" in my book ['Capital'] the analysis of the real relationships which I give would contain the proof of the real value relation. The nonsense about the necessity of proving the concept of value arises from complete ignorance both of the subject dealt with and of the method of science.

'Every child knows that a country which ceased to work, I will not say for a year, but for a few weeks, would die. Every child knows too, that the mass of products corresponding to the different needs require different and quantitatively determined means of the total labour of society. That this necessity of distributing social labour in definite proportions cannot be done away with by the particular form of social production but can only change the form it assumes, is self evident.



Hegel

'No natural law can be done away with. What can change, in changing historical circumstances, is the form in which these laws operate. And the form which this proportional division of labour operates in a state of society where the interconnections of social labour is manifested in the private exchange of the individual products of labour, is precisely the exchange value of these products. The science consists precisely in working out how the law of value operates. So that if one wanted at the very beginning to 'explain' all the phenomena which apparently contradicted the law, one would have to give the science before the science.'



This is a particularly important passage in that the aim of this article will be to reveal that Marx was able to show how the law of value operated only because he had completely assimilated Hegel's dialectical method.

But first some general points about the passage. Marx evidently wished to stress one basic idea in writing to Kugelmann, namely the historical and relative nature of all the categories met with in political economy; none of these categories, such as 'production', 'division of labour', etc. can be understood except in their relations to the specific mode of production of which they formed a part.

'The categories of bourgeois economy' says Marx 'are forms of thought expressing with social validity the conditions and relations of a definite, historically determined mode of production, viz the production of commodities.' (I, p. 76.)

This recognition of the historical nature of political economy and its categories was a reflection of the theory of historical materialism. But it did not mean that there were not features common to many if not all societies. Every society, whatever its social relations of production, needs some mechanism for the allocation of social labour. However, the form which this mechanism takes differs widely from society to society. Marx, in 'Capital', shows that these differences can be explained only by an analysis of the structure of the relations of production and it was one of his major aims to demonstrate the dependence of the relations of 'distribution' on the relations of 'production'.

What were the specific features which distinguished capitalism from other forms of society? Marx shows that capitalism involved the dominance of commodity production, and in particular, the transformation of the category of 'labour' into 'labour power', or the ability to work, which itself is reduced to the status of a commodity.

Given that this was so, how was the allocation of labour to the various branches effected? It was effected, says Marx, through the exchange of commodities as equivalents, through their exchange values.

For Marx then the law of value reflected the only pos-

sible, although indirect, form whereby social labour could be distributed in commodity-producing society. The law of value reflects the social relations of production specific to capitalism, and to capitalism alone.

Speaking of socialist economic organization Engels wrote ('Anti-During', p. 423.): 'The people will arrange everything very simply, without the intervention of the much famed law.' For the epigones of Stalin this statement has proved a considerable difficulty in that it has had to be squared with Stalin's assertions that in the USSR, which from 1936 onwards was a fully-developed socialist country he said, the law of value continued to operate.

In his letter to his friend Kugelmann, Marx was also drawing attention to another very important point—the fact that under capitalism the value relation (a social relation) appeared as a relation between things. Unless this is correctly understood, the opening chapter of 'Capital', and particularly the fourth section which deals with 'The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof' cannot be understood.

In exchanging commodities, men were engaged in both quantitative but also qualitative activities. Quantitative in that commodities exchanged in definite proportions according to the socially necessary labour-time which their production entailed, but also qualitative, in that behind these quantitative ratios stood social relations. In exchanging commodities men were also exchanging their labour.

For Marx this attachment of social relations to things was no 'illusion', as is commonly thought. For under capitalism the social relations between the individuals consisting society could only manifest themselves or appear as the relations between the objects of material wealth. These appearances were, as Marx puts it, 'necessary appearances'.

'A social relation of production', says Marx ('Critique of Political Economy', p. 49) appears as something existing apart from individual human beings, and the distinctive relations into which they enter in the course of production appear as the specific proper-

ties of a thing—it is this perverted appearance, this pro-saically real, and by no means imaginary mystification that is characteristic of all social forms posting exchange value'. Or again ('Capital' I, p. 73): '... the relations connecting the labour of one individual with that of the rest appear, not as direct social relations between individuals at work, but as what they really are, material relations between persons and social relations between things'.

One very important conclusion flowed from this insistence on the **necessary** nature of appearances—they could not be destroyed 'in the head' as the idealist opponent of Marxism thinks. They could be destroyed only by overthrowing their material basis—the social relations of capitalist production—which sustained them.

Immediately, Marx's debt to Hegel is clear. For Marx, in his analysis of value and the value form (which we shall examine in greater detail at a later stage) shows that the 'thing in itself' (in this case **value**) can only present itself through its contradictory opposite, its appearance (to continue with our illustration, 'exchange value' is the form of appearance of 'value').

In other words Marx rejected Kant's separation of the 'thing in itself' from its 'appearance' in favour of Hegel's method. Marx's task in 'Capital' was to establish the laws of **mediation** through which the 'essence' of phenomena manifested themselves in 'appearances'.

The whole of 'Capital' — its three volumes — is devoted to an analysis of the complex process of mediation which this transition involves. Marx is thus able to show how all the appearances of capitalism (which seem to consist of relations 'where equality and Mr Bentham reign supreme') have their origin in the ceaseless struggle between the development of the productive forces and the increasingly restrictive nature of capital social relations.

As Hegel ('Science of Logic', p. 133) notes: 'Hence law is not beyond appearance, but is immediately present in it; the realm of laws is the quiescent counterfeit of the existing or appearing world.'

CONTINUED TOMORROW



WHAT THE COMMON MARKET WILL COST

How much will it cost the housewife when Britain goes into the Common Market? Though it is not possible to give a precise answer it is likely that, in addition to the annual 10 to 12-per-cent inflationary rise on food items, an added leap of 20 or 25 per cent can be expected in the first year or two.

This will bring British prices into line with those on the Continent and end Britain's privileged position as a cheap food country which lingers on from the period when she was the world's main market for the primary-producing countries and the leading imperialist power.

ADVANTAGE

Cheap food and raw materials had great advantages for the British employers. It meant that wages could be kept down and that most of their inputs—such as raw materials—were lower than they might otherwise have been. Special arrangements with the colonies and dominions helped to keep prices down. Taxes and subsidies were used for the same purpose.

Already eaten away over the years, what remains of this position will go for good when Britain enters the Common Market. Britain's future 'partners' are insisting upon it; it is the price of entry, a price which will be paid by the housewife and the whole working class.

An index of this is the insistence in Brussels that

Britain should impose a Value Added Tax on food as well as other commodities. If a majority in the European Council of Ministers insists, the British parliament will have no option but to impose such a tax, although some delaying tactics may be open to it.

In his last Budget Chancellor Anthony Barber gave food items a zero rating in the proposals for the Value Added Tax, which will come into force in April 1973. Even so, some foods, already subject to purchase tax, will be taxed at 10 per cent.

So the road is open for a general raising of taxes from the zero floor to something nearer that prevailing in continental countries. The harmonization rules laid down in the Treaty of Rome on which the Common Market is based seem to make this inevitable, despite Barber's subterfuges.

The VAT rate for food is 7½ per cent and by 1975 we shall be there. Food taxes would accord well with Tory policy to transfer the tax burden from the rich supertax payers to the wage-earners by reducing taxes on income and increasing those on goods, so-called indirect taxes.

SOFT SELL

The grocery trade is convinced that a VAT on food is only a matter of time. Len Reeves-Smith, secretary of the National Grocers' Federation, put it this way:

'Iain Macleod gave us his word that there would be no tax on food and Tony Barber confirmed it. We hailed this as a victory, but I've been convinced all along that it was a hollow one—all part of the soft sell. We shall just have to toe the line with Europe: we'll



Top: Mr Anthony Barber: zero rating. Above: Iain Macleod.

be bound by the Council of Ministers.'

Unless the government intends to have a showdown over the issue with the other Common Market countries, it will have to toe the line, and smartly. Barber and Macleod knew this. Their reassurances to the contrary were for internal consumption. They know the price which has to be paid and they are determined to unload the burden onto the working class.

It becomes plainer every day that the attack on the trade unions through the Industrial Relations Act and the whole working class, through measures like the Housing Finance Bill, is part of a co-ordinated policy to prepare for entry to the Common Market as the last hope for British capitalism.

The attack on living standards through the VAT, especially its extension to food (which has already been partly accepted) must be resisted as part of the campaign to force the Tory government to resign.

JACKBOOT HOLD ON AFRICAN WORKERS

Swakopmund on the Skeleton Coast of Namibia (South West Africa) is the scene of cruel exploitation of African workers in European-owned mines.

No independent white investigator or researcher has been allowed into the area for years.

What is known, however, is that the ore is produced at extraordinarily competitive prices. This can only mean one thing—that slave-like conditions operate in the mines.

With the ban on travel imposed by the racist administration of South Africa, it was intriguing to discover that a mysterious millionaire last week paid a secret visit.

He turned out to be Aristotle Onassis, Greek shipping magnate, firm supporter of the colonels' regime and husband of Mrs Jacqueline Kennedy. He arrived at Jan Smuts airport on May 7 with his son, Alexander, aged 22, and four other business associates.

Shortly after settling into Johannesburg's President Hotel he was joined by George Moore, former president of the First National City Bank of New York, and Dr A. F. Banfield.

Through a spokesman from Olympic Airlines, owned by Onassis, the press learnt that the magnate was in southern Africa to investigate investment opportunities including 'mining, shipping, banking and tourism'.

He went to Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, in a Boeing 727 chartered by mining tycoon Ben du Preez. They were met by the illegally-held territory's chief inspector of mines, D. B. Smit. During his tour Onassis inspected Rio Tinto Zinc's Rossing copper mine where black workers mine under miserable and poverty-stricken conditions.

RTZ is a British-owned company whose chairman, Sir Val Duncan, is greatly praised by senior members of both the Tory and Labour Parties.

Harold Wilson made Duncan head of a committee of inquiry into the administration of the



Aristotle Onassis.

Foreign Office and also officially opened RTZ's multi-million pound lead smelter at Avonmouth.

Early this year the smelter was closed down after it had been described by the TUC as a 'death trap'.

This followed medical reports that the level of lead poisoning in the plant had reached extremely dangerous proportions.

A private committee is now investigating the lead poisoning and it will be sent to the chairman of the government's industrial safety committee, Lord Robens.

By the end of its tour Onassis's party had swelled to 30, including engineers and geologists. The South African press has been speculating that one of the magnate's interests might be the construction of two deep-sea ports at Richard's Bay and Saldhana. Both harbours are being developed to accommodate the growing number of tankers, including many in the Onassis fleet, which ply the Cape route.

If Onassis does shift big investment capital into Namibia, it will be an expression of further support for South Africa's illegal occupation of that country and its jackboot-style hold on the African people.

NEW AUSTRALIAN DOCKS AGREEMENT

A national docks strike has been averted in Australia by the signing of a new agreement between port employers and dockers.

The vote to accept the deal was overwhelming. The two-year contract includes a 35-hour week, big pay increases and the right to stage political strikes.

The settlement has been condemned by members of the Liberal (Tory) government

in Canberra. The Minister for Labour and National Service claims the deal is 'a cynical example of the abuse of monopoly power'.

He said the parties had no regard to the overall interests of the Australian community. Terms of the settlement would give a new twist to the inflationary spiral, he said.

Details of the two year agreement are:

(a) A wage increase of £4 a week in the first year and a further £1 a week from May, 1973.

(b) A 35-hour week.

(c) Increased pension benefits.

(d) Should redundancy occur, reduction of labour to be on a voluntary basis.

(e) Increase in meal money.

(f) Revised sick and compassionate leave conditions.

(g) Revision of dispute procedures.

The prosecution's 'key evidence' in the Angela Davis trial stunned everyone. It turned out to be three letters she wrote to Soledad Brother George Jackson — who was subsequently shot by prison warders — and a diary which was found in Jackson's cell. The introduction of this 'evidence' sought to show that Angela committed murder, kidnap and conspiracy as part of a crime of passion! Workers Press has already published one of the Angela Davis letters (May 15) and today we publish another. The letters make a revealing insight into her politics.

ANGELA'S LETTER TO GEORGE JACKSON

June 10, 1970

Dear George,
The fifth letter came tonight. Of late my mind has been rather closed—and each word from you narrows it a little bit more.

Before now I have been unable to discover a secure channel of communication. Finally, Jon and I sat down for a long talk. He has promised to co-operate. I trust him—only you could imagine the intense frustration which has accompanied all my daily actions, gestures, thoughts. I have wanted to reach you for so long. But not all has been frustration: vicarious joy in absorbing second-person anecdotes out of your past, in catching glimpses of a letter or two written to your family, all the subtle contests to out-praise a beautiful black warrior. Discussions with Georgia, hidden conversations with Robert (he reminds me very much of my own father). Working together with Penny, Frances. Hard raps with Jon. Nightly musings about George. Daily speeches about struggle, the Soledad Brothers. Pulling together, keeping together our LA Soledad Bros Defence Committee.

Along with my normal ambulations of Che-Lumumba activities and problems, lectures to brain-washed students who subsequently try to convince me of their various conversions (during oral exams), all this has been the extent of my life activity. Merge this with high tides of unanticipated love, joy, and you can begin to reconstruct my life of the last month.

After the belated arrival of your first two letters, I wrote you a few words, but had no place to send them—mostly about black women. I'm overly sensitive I think, about the woman question — especially after hearing all the cultural nationalists and the would-be-cultural nationalists inform me that I have embraced a task wrong for my kind. I'll send that letter to you.

It must be close to 2 a.m. I've just returned from Franklin and Kendra's (50th St)—the meeting place for the Soledad Defence Committee. My roommate—Tamu—and I have been evaluating the meeting—she has gone to the back to see after her crying six-months old infant.

The meeting: long, encouraging, overcrowded with brothers and sisters eager to learn, work, revolt, build. First, an intense effort to deal with the grim reality of what we must all do. A brother-friend

of mine and my Che-Lumumba comrades, UCLA student, leading member of the Flack Students' Alliance — found Sunday morning on a deserted road with two bullets in his head. We have been unable to make any breakthroughs. Pigs? Minutemen? Not one clue. What is certain, however: this was undoubtedly a political assassination. I think back to one of your first letters: your reflections on preparedness. Absolutely correct. Precautions must be taken—for it is also certain that this will not be the last attempt.

Accepting the murder of a comrade in struggle is not easy.

Our first instinct is rage—to return the attack even if it be blind. We must learn how to plan the attack, gear it towards the total annihilation of the monster, and not just stick pins in the soles of his feet. The dead brother was a revolutionary. I am sure his last thoughts must have been similar to what Che said about death. His remarks are more than appropriate in an era of encroaching facism: 'Wherever death may surprise us, it will be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, reaches some receptive ear, that another hand reach out to take up weapons and that other men (and women) come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory.'

But Che also taught us that the first duty of the guerrilla is to remain alive—to carry on the struggle. Saturday, we will be present at one more funeral.

You are right about the surveillance. It doesn't frighten me: This fact simply sets forth further reasons why it is essential to escalate tactics. (Last week I discovered at least one pig [black] among my 450 students—he called himself confessing.)

I want to return to the Defence Committee: there remains a great deal of ground-work, indispensable if we want to build a revolutionary collective from all that will to learn and work. There is already a hint of success. For myself, I am glad to do some concentrated political work outside Che-Lumumba. (There are so many urgent things I must talk to you about [CP, etc.]. It wouldn't be too cool to write them in a letter. Perhaps we can find a way.)

George, we have an overwhelming amount of research before us—material, concrete facts concerning the California Penal System. Some brothers and sisters have already gone



to work on it. We would really appreciate it if you could give us some ideas—as many as you can bear. Pandora's Box must be sprung. This is what they fear.

Pour out your ideas on how to move in present-day above ground defence organization.

Correct theoretical analyses do not presently constitute the movement's forte. Generally speaking, there is no great lack of spontaneity because there is no great lack of provocation from the enemy's side. But when it comes to any kind of creativity in propelling all that energy toward the destruction of a monstrous

apparatus which permits a single corporation to horde more wealth than any one out of a vast majority of countries in this world—this is where a profound deficiency shows its face. A fundamental problem: strategy and tactics. The lazy become either revisionists or anarchists: well-worn paths of the past which are embarked upon as a consequence of succumbing to that bourgeois disease of historical amnesia.

To digress a moment on that question of historical amnesia—it is ideological nourishment for bourgeois power: conscious absentmindedness with regard to the bourgeois revolution or

else the transformation of that revolution into an innocuous historical curiosity irreparably inflicted with rigormortis. Why? Because to take on the burden and responsibility of a revolutionary past would be to realize—as Tom Paine said in 1791: 'As revolutions have begun, it is natural to expect that other revolutions will follow.'

Although the bourgeoisie rose to power by waging a revolutionary struggle, it abhors the idea that a continuation of that struggle, this time on the part of the exploited masses, led by their former black slaves, must mean

their destruction as a class. The bourgeoisie has an historical vision. History is a thing of the past, dead, closed; its proper abode the museum. It cannot see the explosive present, the future as history. Although we must deal the blow, it is they who are committing suicide. Good riddance.

Revolutionaries have no excuse when they fall prey to that sickness—amnesia with regard to history. Our struggle did not spontaneously erupt with this generation—nor with the preceding one. A lot of brothers and sisters don't see this. It is true that the struggle is being intensified—but, too,

imperialism is closer to its grave as a result of its own imminent dynamic.

(Like I was telling Jon the other day—if it had been this close 19 years ago, you would have been the baddest revolutionary around—at nine years old. Do you know what I'm referring to?)

Revolutionary ancestry can be traced back as far as history spirals down into the past. As black people, we must look back to that first posture of resistance exhibited in face of an unnatural white monster who set out to destroy humanity. There is a direct line from Nat Turner, Denmark

Vessey, all the remaining brothers and sisters who stood up and revolted all the way to

Malcolm X, Huey Newton, George Jackson, Ericka Huggins. Past struggles—the most far-reaching victories as well as the most dismal failures—must be living lessons in the streets, protesting apartheid, non-violently. Non-violence as a philosophy is a philosophy of suicide. Etc., etc., etc., only the simplest, most obvious lessons having been named.

It is very late—my eyes are closing. Perhaps I'll pursue those ideas tomorrow. For the moment, I'll unleash my thoughts and allow them to go in their instinctive direction towards wild wanderings, fan-

ago the danger of informers, agents, provocateurs.

Concerning non-violence: The spectre of Sharpeville, South Africa—thousands machine-gunned, kneeling in the streets, protesting apartheid, non-violently. Non-violence as a philosophy is a philosophy of suicide. Etc., etc., etc., only the simplest, most obvious lessons having been named.

It is very late—my eyes are closing. Perhaps I'll pursue those ideas tomorrow. For the moment, I'll unleash my thoughts and allow them to go in their instinctive direction towards wild wanderings, fan-

George Jackson with fellow prisoner, Fleeta Drumgo under guard at San Quentin prison where Jackson was later murdered by warders for supposedly trying to escape.

tases. George—my feelings for you run very deep. My memory fails me when I search in the past for an encounter with a human being as strong and beautiful as you. Something in you has managed to smash through the fortress I long ago erected around my soul. I wonder what it is. I'm very glad. I love you.

Hasta la Victoria Siempre,
Angela

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

TODAY'S ADVOCATES OF POPULATION CONTROL

PART 7

Today, a rapid development of the world crisis has brought the modern advocates of population control to frenzied levels.

In 1968 the Paddock brothers proclaimed: 'The population-food collision is inevitable; it is foredoomed world famine is to be upon us by 1975.'

The American food surpluses are gone, they complain in one chapter, failing to mention the renewed cuts in sowing imposed on farmers and the general discouragement of production. The Paddocks' book 'Famine 1975!' urges drastic measures. 'Some extra food should be grown in the USA'.

Then each country is to be looked at clinically in terms of whether or not it is worth sending aid, in the same way as soldiers are categorized after battle as 'can't be saved', 'walking wounded' or 'should receive aid'. This is the 'Triage' system.

Haiti, for example, 'can't be saved'—neither can Egypt nor India. On the other hand, Pakistan 'should receive food'.

Needless to say, the choice rests solely on the basis of the usefulness of each territory to US imperialism. Panama is 'saveable' because of the need to keep the Canal open. Also Bolivia because: 'I am told by officials that the uninterrupted export of the tin is a strategic necessity. Accordingly, I would place this case among the exceptions to receive American food.'

Libya's oil also puts it on the list. The book's last chapter explains that on the basis of manipulation of US aid: 'The time of famines can be the catalyst for a period of American greatness.'

This totally reactionary book reveals the true links between 'over-populationists' and predatory capitalism. It is significant that Paul Ehrlich, leading light of the population movement, eulogizes the Paddocks' book in his own work 'The Population Bomb' (1968). He writes:

'In my opinion there is no national choice except to adopt some form of the Paddocks' strategy as far as food distribution is concerned . . . the Paddocks deserve immense credit for their courage and foresight in publishing "Famine 1975!" which may be remembered as one of the most important books of our age.'

It all boils down to a few elementary facts, says Ehrlich: 'The US vast agricultural surpluses are gone . . . there is not enough food today, how much will there be tomorrow is open to debate . . . if the pessimists are correct, massive famines will occur soon, possibly in the 1970s, certainly by the 1980s.'

One of his reasons for deciding that there are more than enough people in the United States is that modern war would not require such a large expenditure of manpower as previously.

'No-one has yet presented an argument for having more than 150 million Americans. The only reason presented for having a number even larger is that we might need to fight another war demanding a large expenditure of manpower. We fought the largest land war in history, World War II, with fewer than 150 million Americans.'

'As should be obvious from events such as the Arab-Israeli six-day war, brute manpower counts for considerably less today than it did at the time of World War II.' ('How to be a Survivor: a Plan to Save Spaceship Earth', Paul Ehrlich and Richard Harriman, 1971.)

The reference to Earth as a 'spaceship' is frequently made by advocates of population control. The analogy is exceedingly useful to them. If the earth is some sort of vehicle containing a complete, but limited life-supporting system for a fixed number of people, then any unforeseen addition to that number on a voyage—consuming oxygen, food, etc.—could be catastrophic.

But Earth is NOT a spaceship, NOT man-made. It is a product of the dialectical movement and developmental processes of the universe. It has no fixed and fully-occupied seating arrangements. On the contrary, its area and resources have barely been catalogued, never mind tapped.

As in the last century, the over-populationists find it more and more difficult to ignore the existence of surpluses and success in agricultural science. Ehrlich's answer is to remark that feeding the starving now only means all the more to starve later.

A more subtle approach, however, is taken in the Stanley Johnson book 'The Green Revolution'. This lists the advances in food production and says that these have now given a 'breathing-space' in which massive population-limiting systems will have time to work before the real shortages occur.

The emphasis on reducing population naturally gives the birth-control business a boost. Numerous reports on Family Planning have already appeared in Britain this year explaining how millions of pounds can be 'saved' on welfare payments by preventing unwanted pregnancies.

The genuine need for this



Murdered Communards 1871: Malthusians attacked them as a 'minority dictatorship'.

essential service, to be developed and to be provided as a basic right available everywhere, is used by the organizations concerned as a vehicle for their own intrinsically middle-class theories on population.

The Family Planning Association, for example, launched a campaign on March 20 to raise £1m to 'help deal with problems of over-population in Britain and abroad'. A few days earlier, on March 17, a 'plan' was published to get the government to 'change the climate of opinion to reduce the average family size towards a figure a little above two children per family'. ('A Birth Control Plan for Britain'.)

It was drawn up jointly by Dr John Dunwoody, a former member of Labour's Health Ministry, and Dr Tom Stuttaford, Conservative MP for South Norwich. Some people would go even further—from preventing unwanted pregnancies to supporting laws to discourage the birth of wanted children beyond a prescribed number.

One organization which does not see things that way, however, is the Communist Party of Great Britain. Under the heading 'Plan For Free Contraceptives Would Prevent 300,000 Births', a 'Morning Star' report by William Wainwright on March 10 described this Labour/Tory programme as 'a plan for an immense increase in the use of contraceptives which could bring about something of a revolution in public attitudes to birth control'.

Wainwright mentions the 300,000 unwanted pregnancies a year, the failure of the

problem of excessive population growth to take care of itself and the government's plans to reorganize the National Health Service and states: 'These were among the compelling reasons for producing the plan.'

He adds: 'A gap in the plan is the absence of ideas to ensure participation of people at grass-roots level. As a result, there could be dangers of the bureaucracy the planners wish to avoid.'

And just in case anyone assumes that it is the availability of contraceptives, not the population question being favoured, Wainwright comments: 'It is believed that once the scheme is put into effect, a stable population could be achieved within a decade or two.'

Unlike Wainwright, Marxists have never ceased to expose the role of the over-population theorists as defenders of capitalism's worst excesses, as obscurers of the wanton destruction of allegedly surplus goods and means of production and as direct assailants of the working class, and in particular, of its revolutionary movement.

Malthus always maintained that if the limitations of capitalism could be widely advertised as being no more than the limitations of nature and mankind, then everyone would realize that revolution could achieve nothing. 'A knowledge of these truths' he wrote, 'obviously tends to promote peace and quietness, to weaken the effect of inflammatory writings, and to prevent all unreasonable and ill-directed opposition to the constituted authorities.'

Marx wrote in a footnote in 'Capital': 'It was, of course, far more convenient and much

more in conformity with the interests of the ruling classes, whom Malthus adored like a true priest, to explain this 'over-population' by the eternal laws of nature, rather than by the historical laws of capitalist production.'

Later, a supporter of Malthus, John Cazanove, an economist whom Marx describes as editor, apologist and annotator of Malthus' definitions, also attacked the labour theory of value: 'That labour is the sole source of wealth seems to be a doctrine as dangerous as it is false, as it unhappily affords a handle to those who would represent all property as belonging to the working classes, and the share which is received by others as robbery or fraud upon them.'

In 1871, Charles Bradlaugh, later to become a founder of the Malthusian League, attacked the First International in his paper 'The National Reformer', for justifying the actions of the Paris Communards. At a meeting in support of Communist refugees he returned to the attack, denouncing the Commune as a 'minority dictatorship'.

In the 1870s, another advocate of Malthus' ideas, H. Ferdy, was even more specific in showing the importance of the doctrine of capitalism. In his book 'The Artificial Limitation of Progeny' he wrote: 'If the over-population could be checked, the spread of social democracy would come to an end, and the social-democratic state with all its splendour would be buried for ever. Thus we have one more weapon to add to the many by which social democracy can be wiped out—Malthusianism!'

CONTINUED TOMORROW

SECURITY TALKS— BUT FOR WHOM?

By JOHN SPENCER

One of the central questions at the secret Kremlin talks between President Nixon and the Soviet leaders concerned the preparations for a European Security Conference.

This proposal has been the theme-song of Soviet diplomacy since March 1969, when the Warsaw Treaty's political consultative committee called on all European states to take concrete action to ensure peace and security on the continent.

The conference emphasized that an all-European conference on security and co-operation in Europe would be a practical step towards strengthening European security.

The 1969 Warsaw Pact declaration was not the first time the Soviet leaders and their East European dependents had raised the issue of an all-European conference.

The proposal had been mooted in general terms in 1966, but events since that date had given it added urgency. The March 1969 conference, held in Budapest, followed the revolutionary events of May-June 1968 in France and the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August that year.

Both these events marked the opening of a new phase in the crisis of European capitalism and the linked crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In France and Czechoslovakia the working class served unmistakable notice on the capitalists and the bureaucrats



that their days were numbered. This was the direct stimulus to the drive for an all-European conference.

The plain purpose of such a conference is to arrive at means of jointly policing Europe against the threat of revolution. To this end, the Stalinists plan to invite to the conference all the West European capitalist states, including fascist Spain and the colonels' Greece.

The Spanish fascists have been particularly active in pressing for the conference and Spanish officials have made several trips to Bulgaria and other Stalinist states with the specific purpose of arranging conference details.

Now the conference is about to receive the imprimatur of NATO, which has come to recognize the value of collaboration with the Stalinist bureaucracy against the threat of revolution.

The Soviet leaders are eager to finalize the details with Nixon, for the United States and Canada are also on their list of invitations to the conference, and Nixon's approval is likely to carry considerable weight with other NATO countries.

NATO's attitude is likely to be finalized at a meeting in Bonn this week. But inside sources are confidently predicting that the conference will be given the green light.

The key that opened the door to NATO participation

was the ratification by the West German parliament of the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw. The 15 NATO countries had previously insisted that they would only take part in such a conference if their rights of access to West Berlin were guaranteed.

These rights are about to be ratified in a treaty already initialled which was conditional on final ratification of the Bonn-Moscow and Bonn-Warsaw pacts.

Now the treaties have at last been ratified—after three cliff-hanging weeks of discussions among West German political leaders—the way is open for the European security talks to begin.

On the present timetable the talks are likely to be held in March or April next year.

They are the logical outcome of the Kremlin's policy of 'peaceful co-existence' with imperialism. This treacherous policy can only be imposed in the course of strangling the revolutionary movement of the European working class.

Instead of struggling for a Socialist United States of Europe based on the expropriation of the European employers, the Stalinist bureaucrats pin their hopes on continuation of the reactionary division of the continent into spheres of influence.

This is the purpose of the European Security Conference.

1968 Czechoslovakia: Russian tanks in Prague—a new phase in the crisis.



WORKERS NOTEBOOK

Banking bedfellows

The banking business is drawing together a number of very curious bedfellows.

Former Chancellor James Callaghan is one of two Labour MPs who have accepted directorships in a new national bank to be set up in Wales.

The other is George Thomas, a Secretary of State for Wales in the Wilson government.

Recently Callaghan accepted another more important banking directorship. This is with a large Italian banking group which will shortly begin operations in the City of London in line with Britain's entry into the Common Market.

The chairman of the London subsidiary is Lord Cobbold, former governor of the Bank of England and other directors include Mr J. Raw, another former Bank of England governor, and Sir Charles Forte—one of the most controversial men in City business circles.

The new venture of the Commercial Bank of Wales is the brainchild of Welsh financier and industrialist Sir Julian Hodge and QC Mr Alun Talfan Davies.

Of Callaghan, Sir Julian had this to say:

'He knows all the problems of Wales and I think he feels how important it is to have a regional bank.'

Another of the directors is Lord Harlech, late of the Pearce Commission in Rhodesia, former UK ambassador to the United States, chairman of Harlech Television and one of the promoters of the forthcoming Lincoln pop festival.

The other board members so far appointed are: Mr J. Hoddell, Mr S. E. Taylor and Mr F. D. Walters, all of the Hodge Group; Sir Goronwy Daniel, Mr Homer J. Livingston, first National Bank of Chicago, and Sir Cennydd Traherne, a local director of Barclays Bank.

Arrangements are now being made for the subscription of around 40 per cent of the authorized £5m share capital. The bank hopes to start business in October.



James Callaghan



Lord Cobbold



Lord Harlech



Charles Forte

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LETTERS



Dear Editor,

As a housewife with a family and husband all on the dole—and have been on the dole for 12 months—I am one who must be, like thousands more, sick and fed up by this Tory serf-life.

I think it is time for the working class and unemployed to demand the spineless TUC force a General Election and shift the Tory dole-kings out of it for good.

I notice they were very quick to pay the Tories the £55,000 fine, but you did not see them giving the miners £55,000 in their strike fund or give the old age pensioners £55,000.

They have no right to give this money to the Tories. This is union members' money and

not the TUC's or anybody else's.

My father was a docker under the same Tories we have in power now and I remember him going out every day to stand in a pen with other men—like cattle begging for a few hours' work.

I remember my mother having to go out charing to help get money to bring us up on.

The dockers don't forget this and neither do their sons.

The local elections have shown now that some of the people have at least got off their backsides and voted, but that is not enough.

We should press now for a General Election and shift the Tory parasites—and those TUC leaders and traitorous lab-

our MPs who have been consorting with the Tories all along—and elect a full left-socialist government.

This is the only chance that the millions on the dole will ever have to get work, because make no mistake, if those Tories stay in another 12 months and have their way, you can bet they will have you begging for work like my father did.

So don't get taken in by Tory blather on television and Tory newspapers. We must not blame the dockers and the railmen.

We must blame those 'leaders' who should have kicked out the Tories long ago.

Mrs McMANUS
Lancs

Dear Editor,

I am writing this letter to you and hope you will publish it so when our brothers and sisters in the trade union movement come out on strike in their factories they will know what they have to face. This is the truth and the facts as they are and I stand firm by this statement. I work at the Birmingham Battery at Selly Oak. On March 15 we came out on strike for the national claim of £6 and a 35-hour week. The strike was made official, but no strike pay was paid until after six weeks, for what reason I don't know.

Then all the Birmingham Battery workers queued in the cold outside the Social Security office. All the single

men were refused point blank any benefit and because of that lots of them lost their accommodation and found themselves out on the street.

Married men were told that a man with two children was only entitled to £6.50 a week. They were told that the reason they couldn't claim more was because they were out on strike.

This is the policy of the Labour Party and the Tory government aimed at the working class and the poor.

We should include in our Manifesto details about the system of the Social Security and the Labour Exchange and the ill-treatment given to the working class in these two places.

We also had lots of promises from the Stalinists that they would make a collection for us. We haven't received a penny. So where is the collection?

We received one from the right-wingers and I'd like to say thank you to them. It meant doing something, not just talking. The Stalinists talked a lot.

We were let down by their own union concerning dispute payment and also the Social Security. But workers here have the spirit in them to fight until they win their fight.

L. M. MIFSUD
Northfield,
Birmingham

THE KILLER ON EVERY FACTORY FLOOR

'There was a man I have never seen before but he had 100 per cent disability and could hardly gasp out the 20 words from the card, and I thought there was something wrong with me, but there was always someone worse.'

The description is of a man near death. The cause of his fatal malady was dust—the dust gulped down by thousands of workers every day until their respiratory system breaks down.

Capitalism has made the lung into a filter for all the poison industry pours into the atmosphere.

Dust claimed 3,019 lives in 1965, 3,052 in 1969 and 2,878 in 1970, when the last available figures were issued.

The main killer is the mining disease called pneumoconiosis. It is not a rare affliction—10 per cent of all colliers suffer from some degree of lung disease.

But pneumoconiosis is only one of a family of diseases which come under the general heading of Fibrosis—others include the deadly illness asbestos workers contract called asbestosis.

THE CAUSE

Fibrosis is caused when dust particles are breathed continually into the lung. A fibrous scar tissue forms around the particles. This is active and non-porous and gradually chokes off the supply of oxygen into the blood stream.

In the mining communities the man with pneumoconiosis is a common sight. He can't walk without gasping for breath, he suffers from headaches, spells of dizziness and his chest is periodically gripped by pains like steel bands.

Hobbies and sport, of course, are completely out—even a visit to the pub is dangerous because of the smoky atmosphere. He becomes virtually a social leper waiting for an unpleasant death.

In September 1969 the Industrial Injuries Fund was paying compensation to 51,157 victims of pneumoconiosis. Four-fifths of these come from the mining industry and the National Union of Mineworkers report that the incidence of the disease appears, if anything, to be on the increase.

The killer dust is invisible lying between the 0.2-5 microns range—save in cotten or asbestos work where the particles are visible.

A total of 726 miners or ex-miners died from pneumoconiosis between June 1970 and June 1971 and a total of 538 new sufferers were added to the 40,301 drawing a pension for the disease.

The increase in the number with pneumoconiosis is directly related to mechanization and the speed up in productivity.

Output in the mines has rocketed over 15 years from 15 cwt to 45 cwt per man shift.

Disc-cutters, power-loaders and electric fans all contribute. The mechanical ripper cuts out smaller cobs of coal and the resulting dust is finer. The fans then spread the murderous cloud round the colliery supply lines.

BLOOD MONEY

Miners get the paltry sum of £1 for every 10 per cent of their lungs affected. Even this blood money was only won after a bitter struggle.

Up to 1940 pneumoconiosis was not classed as an industrial disease. In fact coal-owners and their doctors used to say it was beneficial!

The argument went like this: Miners could get the even more serious disease, silicosis, from stone dust caused by boring into the rock face by the seam. Therefore the huge gulps of black coal dust gave the lung a 'protective coating' against silicosis.

Finally doctors sympathetic to the working class and the war, when miners were asked to be loyal and do their utmost for capitalism, forced the government to change the classification.

But the situation is still loaded against the working man. He can, for example, be 100 per cent affected in his lungs—but when 60 per cent of the trouble is caused by chronic bronchitis or bronchial emphysema he loses money—these afflictions are not classed as industrial diseases.

The National Union of Mineworkers is fighting at present for a change on this. It is also submitting a number of test cases to law to get compensation for pneumoconiosis as well as the pension. It argues with some force that the disease, just like breaking a leg at work, can be due to the negligence of an employer.

These campaigns, of course, will not remedy the situation. Like all industrial diseases, pneumoconiosis is as much a part of the capitalist system as profit itself. There is no scientific or technical reason why men should die in this hideous way.

Section 63 of the Factories Act 1961 in fact requires the suppression and removal of not only harmful dust, but of 'any substantial quantity of dust of any kind'.

In his annual report, HM Chief Inspector of Factories Bryan Harvey stated that apart from asbestos: 'We cannot pretend that other dust hazards are fully under control and a skill will be needed by scientists and engineers in industry before they are.'

In fact it is not simply skill that is required. Recently many sophisticated and efficient methods of getting rid of this killer have been developed.

But they cost too much money—that is too much for capitalists who naturally value profit more than human life.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 1.30 Puffin. 1.35 London. 11.40 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 11.35 Gus Honeybun. 11.45 Once upon a time. 11.55 Rovers. 12.25 Pippa. 1.15 Breath of life. 1.33 News. 6.00 News. 11.43 News. 11.47 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 12.30 Man from Uncle. 1.35 London. 3.50 Cartoon. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Grasshopper island. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Sky's the limit. 7.00 Film: 'The Swordsman'. 8.30 Albert. 9.00 London. 11.15 News. 11.25 Farm progress. 11.55 Weather. Epilogue.

ANGLIA: 1.10 Romper room. 1.35 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 1.35 London. 4.25 Nuts and bones. 4.40 Stars. 4.45 Women today. 5.15 Pardon my genie. 5.45 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.45 London.

ULSTER: 1.35 London. 4.25 Romper room. 4.45 News. 4.50 Cartoon. 5.15 Pardon my genie. 5.45 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.15 Funny Face. 6.45 London. 11.45 Monday night.

YORKSHIRE: 9.45 Delta. 10.35 Arthur. 11.05 Bottom of the sea. 11.55 Saint. 12.45 Pardon my genie. 1.10 Rovers. 1.35 London. 4.25 Once upon a time. 4.40 London. 11.45 All our yesterdays. 12.15 Weather.



Milo O'Shea whoops it up as the new Protestant Minister in 'The Travelling Woman', the last story in the 'Tales from the Lazy Acre' series on BBC-1.

GRANADA: 10.25 Rocket Robin Hood. 10.45 Thunderbirds. 11.35 Pippi longstocking. 12.00 Joe 90. 12.30 Dick Van Dyke. 12.55 Scales of justice. 1.35 London. 4.55 Film: 'Finders Keepers'. 5.45 London. 6.00 Film continued. 6.40 London.

TYNE TEES: 9.45 Vortex. 10.30 Felix the cat. 10.40 From a bird's eye view. 11.05 Bonanza. 11.55 Saint. 12.45 Pardon my genie. 1.10 Rainbow country. 1.35 London. 4.25 Once upon a time. 4.40 London. 11.45 Calum's ceilidh. 12.15 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 12.50 Class of 72. 1.35 London. 4.25 Dateline. 4.50 Arthur. 5.15 Pardon my genie. 5.45 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 11.45 University challenge. 12.15 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 1.35 London. 4.25 Paulus. 4.45 Women today. 5.15

Pardon my genie. 5.45 London. 6.00 Cartoon. 6.15 Dr Simon Locke. 6.45 London. 8.00 Film: 'The Russians Are Coming, The Russians Are Coming'. 10.00 London. 11.45 Epilogue.

TV

BBC 1

9.45 Trumpton. 10.00 Champion. 10.25 Parsley. 10.30 Soper at large. 10.55 Magic roundabout. 11.00 Laurel and Hardy. 11.25 Cricket. 1.30 Holiday grandstand. 1.35 Motor racing. 1.55, 2.25, 2.55 Racing from Doncaster. 2.05, 2.35, 3.10 Athletics. 2.35, 3.30 Cricket. Yorkshire v Lancashire. 4.50 Final score. 5.00 Harlem globetrotters. 5.30 News and weather. 5.45 Disney time.

6.30 THE RED ARROWS. The world's greatest aerobic team.

7.15 Z CARS. Playtime.

8.00 FILM: 'WONDERFUL LIFE.' Cliff Richard, Walter Slezak, Susan Hampshire, The Shadows. British musical.

9.50 NEWS and weather.

10.05 TALES FROM THE LAZY ACRE. The Travelling Woman.

10.35 BETTE DAVIS talks to Dick Cavett.

11.15 CANOE. In the surf.

11.35 Weather.

ITV

9.50 Enchanted house. 10.00 Skippy. 10.25 Lassie. 10.50 Journey into summer. 11.45 Scalplock. 1.35 Bank holiday sport. 1.35, They're off; 1.45, 2.15, 2.50, 3.20 Racing from Sandown. 2.00, 2.35, 3.10 Racing from Redcar. 3.25 Wrestling. 4.15 Racing results service. 4.25 Pardon my genie. 4.55 Film: 'Tarzan the Magnificent'. Gordon Scott. 5.45 News, sports results.

6.00 FILM continued.

6.45 THE DAVID NIXON SHOW.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 FILM: 'THE HUNTERS.' Robert Mitchum, Robert Wagner, Richard Egan. Korean war film.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 PLAY: 'A SPLINTER OF ICE.' Ian Hendry, Zena Walker, Annette Crosbie.

11.45 GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. Film about the Jesuit priest and poet.

12.15 IS IT A HANDICAP?

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 3.00 Woodentops. 3.15 Hector's house. 3.20 Play school. 3.45 Jackanory. 4.00 Scoobydoo. 4.20 Circus town. 5.00 Film: 'Road to Rio'. Bob Hope, Bing Crosby, Dorothy Lamour. Comedy.

6.35 LET'S GET GOING. Centerprise.

7.00 NEWSROOM and weather.

7.15 MUSIC ON 2. Phedre. Ballet from France.

8.00 THE CASE OF THE MIDDLE WIFE TOAD. Based on the

book by Arthur Koestler.

8.50 FACE THE MUSIC.

9.25 THEATRE: 'LUNCH HOUR.' By John Mortimer. Pauline Collins, Joss Ackland.

9.50 FILM: 'ACCIDENT.' Dirk Bogarde, Stanley Baker, Jacqueline Sassard, Michael York, Vivien Marchant, Delphine Seyrig, Alexander Knox. Complex web of relationships is revealed when an Oxford undergraduate is killed in a car crash.

11.30 NEWS ON 2 and weather.

Steel men win 60p: Wary of productivity

THE STRIKE by 250 workers at British Steels' Tollcross, Glasgow, plant has ended after three days and the men return this morning.

The men walked out on Tuesday night claiming the management was stalling on phase 2 of a promised wage increase.

About two months ago the workers committee negotiated a settlement based on the national engineering claim which led to an increase of £1.80 backdated to January.

But since then promises of

more money have been hedged with management demands for de-manning in certain sections which would have led to some redundancies.

The majority of workers at the BSC plant, part of the special steels division, are AUEW members.

Men say the strike was also sparked off by the fact that moulders were fed up and angry at being on a three-day week for the last six months.

The return to work was decided at a mass meeting on Thursday on the basis of another 60p on top of the £1.80 back-

dated to January and one extra day's holiday.

Although the moulders were put back on a five-day week, they will have to do other work if no moulding is available.

This fact and management's plans for a three-shift system for maintenance workers and a simplification of the pay structure has made some workers suspicious about a productivity drive in the plant.

Further talks on the claim begin tomorrow. Management has said they will go as high as another £1 but the works committee says it is looking for another £1.60.

Cement machinery strikers confident in third week

THE 350 WORKERS on strike at Benford Concrete Machinery Ltd, Warwick, now in the third week of their strike, remain confident they can beat the firm.

The strike is for a local claim for a £6-a-week increase, revised piecework prices and payment for shop stewards in performance of their duties.

So far the strike, which has been endorsed by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' Coventry district committee has failed to shift the company.

Shop stewards Eric Cowling told Workers Press:

'There is no movement whatsoever. The management have promised to make an offer, but only after we go back. On union advice we're staying out.'

'The company had three weeks to talk about an offer before we came out on strike—so we're not falling for their latest manoeuvre,' he said.

News of the strike had been well circulated among haulage firms and few lorries have bothered to approach the gates.

'The works are at a complete standstill. The picket line is determined. We think we've

got the firm beaten,' added Mr Cowling.

On the Industrial Relations Act and the Tory government Eric Cowling said:

'One hundred years ago they could dictate to the working man. They cannot do that today, although the government is attempting to.'

'But the dockers and railwaymen are fighting.'

'The one-day strikes we had on the Bill were useless — we couldn't stop the Tories that way. The TUC has backedpedalled.'

'I think it is getting that we will have to have a General Strike to get the government out.'

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Centrism greatest danger to workers' struggle

By OUR OWN REPORTERS

THE GREATEST political challenge to the revolutionary party in the coming period is the fight against centrism, Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, told the 14th annual conference yesterday.

'The working class will fight—we know that. The working class may come reluctantly at first. They come with all their difficulties strapped on their backs.

'But they come on the scene propelled by a force, an objective force, which is the enormous crisis in the capitalist system.

'The question is this—Will the working class get what it is entitled to in this struggle?

'Nobody should be surprised to find the middle-of-the-road men and the professional centrists come onto the scene at this time.'

He warned that the centrists who lived at the crossroads of the workers' struggle to liberate themselves from capitalism, were the greatest danger to its victory.

It was at this crossroad that the centrists could delay or compromise the struggle and give the ruling class its chance to prepare the counter-revolution.

He said the working class needed a party which would carry the struggle 'all the way' and leaders 'to carry out this fight fearlessly'. 'Nobody who hesitates in this struggle deserves the name communist,' he added.

If it was true that centrism now presented the greatest danger in the working class, any reflection of it in the ranks of the SLL also had to be fought. Only in this way could the League be armed to fight against such tendencies as they emerged in the working class.

He said the National Industrial Relations Court had decisively interrupted 150 years of established relations between the unions and the ruling class. 'A whole era of reformism and bourgeois democracy is at an end.'

Presenting the international report, Central Committee member Cliff Slaughter said Nixon's decision to end gold backing for the dollar last August had thrown world capitalist countries into an unprecedented crisis.

'The collapse of the Bretton Woods agreements for the regulation of relations between the world capitalist powers—this must be understood as first of all the breakthrough of the basic contradictions of capitalism economically but it must be understood also as the breakdown of all that was produced by the collaboration with the Stalinists at the end of World War II.'



SLL national secretary presenting the British perspectives at the 14th annual conference yesterday

Kid-gloves treatment

From page 1

Best, on leave from the Royal Irish Rangers in Germany, is said to have stoned British troops shortly before his death and thousands turned out for his funeral.

While IRA bombings continued in Belfast and Derry, killing at least six people at the weekend, Tuzo made it clear that the army is not happy with the 'middle course' the Tory peace initiative is obliging it to steer.

He said the IRA was waging a ruthless campaign of destruction and referring to internment he added:

'If you wish to protect society as you are appointed to do you have to put people out of the way until they are prepared to desist from violence.'

And, in an outright attack on the press and the media generally, he said the best way for the army to get on with its work was by not being obliged to work in 'a goldfish bowl'.

Whatever the General's private thoughts, the army is, for the moment, dancing Whitelaw's tune.

Barricades in Protestant 'no-go' areas are being described as 'token' and ignored, security forces were hardly in evidence during Saturday's 15,000-strong march of para-military Loyalists through Belfast and Catholic rioters are being handled with kid gloves instead of the normal hobnails.

There is no doubt, despite the ongoing bombings, that the Tory initiative will be maintained for the time being.

The government is congratulating itself on the decision of Ulster's Social Democratic Labour Party to resume participation in elected offices, on the resurgence of the Catholic women's peace movements, on the goodwill created by the release of some internees and on the way hard-line Protestants, for all their marches, are still showing 'constraint'.

Both wings of the IRA have been thrown into confusion by the peace groups and representatives went south at the weekend to confer with leaders in Dublin.

They arrived to find Sinn Fein offices at Kevin Street and Gardiner Place picketed by members of the North Demands Peace organization.

Forty Catholic priests in Derry have backed the women's peace committee led by butcher's manager's wife Mrs Margaret Doherty and now a men's peace committee has been set up under Tom Doherty's chairmanship.

The women met Provisional IRA leaders in Derry at the weekend and afterwards they described the discussions as 'frank and friendly'.

And yesterday amid inter-denominational demands from church leaders for peace from church leaders, children from St Patrick's church, Derry, were planning to march through the city pleading for an end to violence.

Three days left

May Fund

Needs £309.46

WILL YOU do it? With three days to go before the end of the month our total stands at £1,450.34. It's going to be a fight to the end.

But the political situation demands that all our support goes behind the Workers Press. The fight between the Tories on one side and the dockers and rail workers on the other will come to a climax within days.

The emergency cabinet meeting means the government is preparing and so, therefore, must the working class.

We urge you to go all out today. We must raise the £1,750 in time. Post all donations to:

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

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Support the dockers and railwaymen. Build Councils of Action

SOUTH LONDON: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4.

WEST LONDON: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross.

NORTH LONDON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Rd (nr White Hart Lane).

CROYDON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. 'The Anchor' (corner of Southbridge Road and South End).

LUTON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Brigade Hall, Lea Road.

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

SOUTHALL: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Parkway Rooms (Rent Office), Racecourse Estate, Northolt.

GLASGOW: Tuesday June 6, 7.30 p.m. Room 1, Partick Burgh Hall.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday May 30, 8 p.m. 'Aberfeldy', Aberfeldy St, E14. 'Fight the Tories' rent Bill'.

AYLESHAM: Thursday June 1, 8 p.m. The Legion (Old Working Men's Club), Burgess Road. 'Fight the Tories' rent Bill'.

COALVILLE: Thursday June 1, 8 p.m. Miners' Welfare. 'Organize Councils of Action'.

ACTON: Monday June 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road. 'Fight the Tories' rent Bill'.

NORTH KENT: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, 25 Essex Rd, Dartford. 'Engineers' pay claim'.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Ave, Barking. 'Industrial Relations Act'.

Employers' proposals unlikely to avert dock strike

DOCKS UNION leaders will tomorrow give their reply to the port employers' insidious proposals for settling the present jobs row in the ports.

Neither party to the meeting of the industry's National Joint Council believes the proposals are sufficient to avert the dock strike due to start at the end of this week.

With the industrial court maintaining its pressure on the union chiefs, some employers say cynically that Jack Jones, the Transport and General Workers' Union secretary, needs the strike to whip his shop stewards in line. What are being pre-

pared are negotiating positions on which the NJC would hope to end the strike after this object has been achieved.

Workers Press has already warned about the 'two-tier' system with which some union officials want to replace the present means of registering dock labour, as laid down under the 1947 dock labour scheme.

It appears that the plans now under discussion involve the establishment of a working party between port authorities, ship-owners and stevedoring companies to examine ways of introducing new work into the docks. A second proposal is

that men are encouraged to leave the industry, while remaining registered as dockers and able to return there if sacked.

The proposals were arrived at in secret consultations between Jones and leading port and ship employers.

Regular readers of Workers Press will, of course, know that Jones is very experienced at using these channels of communication.

It is obvious, however, that any settlement on these lines would at best simply temporarily transfer the problem of unemployment on the docks to other sectors of industry.

Even with the fullest assistance of Communist Party stewards in selling such proposals 'in the interests of unity', it is unlikely that they would carry much weight with an increasingly militant rank and file.

If the strike does take place, however, it may not be supported by dockers in the private ports of Felixstowe, Harwich and Ipswich.

Union officials are believed to be encouraging the idea that men there have a special relationship with their employers, most of whose profits come from the container trade.

Heavy picketing from both London and Liverpool would be certain if such a split did occur in the dockers' ranks.

WEATHER LATE NEWS

England, except the northwest and southwest, will have showers and some sunny periods. The rest of England and Wales will have showers or outbreaks of rain, heavy in places, and some bright periods. Scotland and Northern Ireland will be rather cloudy with longer outbreaks of rain, heavy at times. Winds will reach gale force in many areas. It will be rather cool over England and Wales and cool over Scotland and Northern Ireland. **Outlook for Tuesday and Wednesday:** Changeable. Rain or showers at times. Sunny periods. Windy and rather cool.

KONTUM (See page 2) HEAVY fighting raged yesterday in the streets of Kontum where North Vietnamese reinforcements have been stealing quietly into the Central Highlands city at night.

Helicopters supplying the South Vietnamese defenders there were mobbed by hundreds of frantic civilians trying to claw their way aboard to escape the battle zone, field reports said.

THREE THOUSAND engineering workers to meet at Newark, Notts., on Wednesday to discuss a factory take-over if management tries to carry through redundancy plans. The factory is part of the Ransome, Hoffman Pollard ball bearings group. Recently the group announced sweeping redundancies throughout its factories, including 550 at Newark. They blamed falling orders and stiff Japanese competition for their slump....

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

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