

workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY OCTOBER 19, 1972 ● No 898 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

THE GRAVEST THREAT YET

UDA TAKE ROAD TO CIVIL WAR

Statement by
the Political
Committee of
the Socialist
Labour League

THE WORKING CLASS of Northern Ireland is now threatened with its gravest crisis of all. Leaders of the Ulster Defence Association are cynically throwing away the lives of misled Protestant workers.

On Tuesday they 'declared war' on the British imperialist army, of occupation. Yesterday they sat down in talks with the British High Command, discussing how best to bloodily suppress the Northern Irish Catholics (in the name of dealing with the IRA).

Ulster Vanguard leader William Craig had declared on Tuesday that unless the extreme right-wing Unionists were restored to power directly in a revived Stormont, then: 'We would make this country ungovernable. No solution would be accepted here that does not have the consensus of the majority.'

These extreme right-wing organizations, spuriouly claiming the allegiance of the Protestant working-class majority, are not concerned with democracy ('the consent

of the majority'), but with suppressing all rights of the Catholic minority, in order the better to continue exploitation of Catholic and Protestant workers alike.

Capitalist politicians like Craig are using the present situation to build up their organization and control of a backward minority of the working class armed and drilled for later use against both Catholic and Protestant workers as they fight on wages, on jobs and against the Tory government.

Any idea that there is something 'progressive' about the fact that Protestant workers are now drawn into street-fighting with the British army must be totally rejected.

They have been politically mobilized by reactionary forces as a means of pressure to force a blood-bath in the Catholic areas.

In this way, by bringing to a head once more the religious antagonisms established by the bourgeoisie within the working class, they hope to preserve reactionary Unionism in Northern Ireland, the traditional bulwark of Toryism in Britain.

It is literally a matter of life and death to halt this profound worsening of the Ulster situation. The political struggle in Britain and in Ireland for the withdrawal of the British troops is at the same time a struggle for the unity of Protestant and

Catholic workers, and of Irish and British workers against the Tory government.

The most important task in Northern Ireland is the building of the political independence of the working class, breaking from every variety of Unionism and religious sectarianism.

The reformists, Stalinists, republicans and revisionists who supported direct rule and William Whitelaw's policies, bear the historic responsibility for forcing the Protestant workers further into the arms of reaction.

These traitors rejected policies of united Protestant and Catholic working-class struggle against the Tories and Unionists, and have ended up by exposing the Catholic workers to the very real dangers of mass pogroms.

These same cynical reformists and adventurers welcomed the entry of British troops in 1969 as protectors of the Catholics!

The British capitalists were in severe crisis over Ireland when they imposed direct rule. Principled politics in the workers' movement could have turned this into a final crisis for the Ulster Unionists. Instead, it was turned into the opposite—another phase of reaction and tragic misdirection of the working class.

Similarly, all these middle-class and revisionist elements who uncritically supported individual terrorism divorced from any mass working-class movement have to share responsibility for the present situation.

Betrayed in this way, the Catholic workers are now in deadly danger. The Protestant workers are being driven down the slope of destruction.

The responsibility of the British labour movement, as well as of all socialists in Ireland, North and South, is now very great and very urgent.

What is needed is a struggle to force the resignation of the Tory government, a struggle which will inspire and bring behind it all Irish workers who face fundamentally the same problems. The UDA and Vanguard cannot solve a single one of these problems.

The present situation results from the betrayals of all those who have opposed the building of a united political and trade union movement. It can be reversed only by the most determined struggle to defeat that reformist and Stalinist leadership and to bring to a successful conclusion the fight to make the Tory government resign.

October 18, 1972

Thornycroft backing delay



Shop stewards from the Thornycroft sit-in, Basingstoke, with Len Brindle (centre) of the Leyland Motors factories in Lancashire before yesterday's Preston meeting of stewards from all British Leyland's heavy-vehicle combine. The Basingstoke stewards (l to r) are: Tom Lewis, Len Smart, Frank Coffey and Peter Montana. See full story p. 12.

ATUA CONFERENCE

The
way
forward
for all
trade unionists

**SUNDAY OCTOBER 22
10-30 a.m.
TOWN HALL, BIRMINGHAM**

Send for delegates' and observers' credentials from: Conference Secretary, R. Goldstein, 103 Lewis Flats, Dalston Lane, London E8

SPECIAL TRAIN FROM EUSTON, LONDON, £1.50. COACHES FROM OTHER AREAS

Union

Branch

Names, addresses and No of delegates/observers

I enclose £ as delegates fees Signature of secretary

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What we think

Follow the Lincoln example

'I HAVE no intention of taking back the vote I gave on October 12 last year.'

With these words in Tuesday's Common Market debate in parliament, pro-Marketeer Roy Jenkins again declared his contempt for the working class and total disregard for the opinions of Labour Party members.

Indifferent to the huge increases in the cost of living which Common Market entry will bring, Jenkins continued:

'I give clear notice that having bent over backwards on the Bill I will vote for no motions of substance which in any way seek to challenge the principle of entry or seek to delay it beyond January 1.'

Jenkins voted with the Labour Party on Tuesday because, as he made clear, he considered the whole business a useless exercise. This supporter of Tory policies is confident that the Labour leaders' opposition is purely verbal and that in practice they accept Common Market entry on Tory terms.

Five other MPs—Messrs Austen Albu, William Hannan, George Lawson, Christopher Mayhew and George Thomson—did abstain and helped the Tories towards their 28 majority.

The Labour leaders made no attempt to defeat the Tories. Harold Wilson treated the occasion as yet another opportunity to reel off a string of wisecracks.

And Labour chief whip Robert Mellish not only permitted 68 'pairs', but a number of unpaired absences.

While the Tories government continues its offensive on wages, prices, jobs and rents, the Labour leaders joke and sneer in the House of Commons.

Meanwhile the considerable number of Tory supporters in the ranks of the Parliamentary Labour Party become increasingly bold as the leadership continues to turn a deaf ear to workers' demands to get rid of them.

At the Labour Party conference no time was given to a resolution demanding that Labour MPs carry out conference decisions, despite a

promise from chairman Anthony Wedgwood Benn that it would be debated.

Benn, of course, went back on his own pre-conference statements about the authority of conference decisions.

It is the Labour 'lefts' who have been the most prominent in protecting the right. Michael Foot boasted at Blackpool: 'It has been the left of this Party who held it together over the last 12 months.' He went on:

'Some people said to me: "Why don't you drive them out of the Party?" But the first result would have been that any chance of defeating the Tories in the House of Commons would have disappeared.'

Yet Foot described last year's October vote merely as 'a setback'. This, of course, was precisely when 69 pro-Marketees voted with the Tories and saved the Heath government!

While the 'lefts' collaborate with Wilson in protecting Tory supporters in the Labour Party, the Lincoln constituency party has shown the way to deal with these turncoats, like Dick Taverne—throw them out.

Arabs seek union aid against repression

ARAB STUDENTS on hunger strike in London against the persecution of their fellow countrymen in West Germany yesterday appealed to the British trade unions to take a stand against the infringement of basic rights by the Willy Brandt government.

Palestinian students' and workers' unions have been banned in West Germany and more than 200 of their members deported without trial.

Some of the 12 hunger strikers, now in the sixth day of their action, were among students and youth from a number of Middle East countries who picketed the West German embassy yesterday (see right). They delivered a letter in the name of Palestinian, Iranian, Turkish, Kurdish and Iraqi organizations.

The letter condemned the West German action and stated their intention to continue their protests until the banning orders are revoked and the deportees allowed to return.

The protests take place against the background of heightened Zionist terror directed against Palestinians. Following weekend raids on refugee camps in the Lebanon and Syria, Israeli premier Golda Meir again stressed her intention to hit Palestinian guerrillas wherever they may be.

On Tuesday Adel Wael Zualter (38), Al Fatah's representative in Italy, was shot 12 times in the courtyard of his Rome apartment.

The dead man was a second cousin of Palestinian leader Yassir Arafat and edited the review 'Palestina'. Al Fatah said the killing was the work of Israeli agents. The Israeli government refused to comment on the assassination.

Ritual EEC meeting—no problems solved

By Foreign Editor JOHN SPENCER

THE COMMON MARKET summit opens in Paris today against a background of continued economic threats from the United States and rapid inflation of domestic economies. The European employers are in a very weak position to wage the trade war and fight their own working class at home.

In more than a year of bargaining with the US, the EEC has proved powerless to prevent the onset of trade war, let alone beat down the demands of the Nixon administration.

The much-heralded Washington meeting of the International Monetary Fund last month settled nothing and merely left the initiative in American hands pending the presidential election.

The West German and Dutch governments are facing elections next month and they are in no position to commit their governments to any sweeping plans. In fact the summit meeting has been reduced to little more than a ritual gathering to welcome the adherence of Britain, Ireland and Denmark.

This does not mean that any of the outstanding problems of the European employers are behind them.

French president Pompidou originally summoned the meeting on August 18 last year, three days after US President Nixon had imposed a 10 per cent import surcharge and ended the dollar's convertibility with gold.

But it soon became clear that the various European countries could not agree on a united

policy to fight the American trade-war measures. They were forced to accept an all-round up-valuation of their currencies against the dollar.

Pompidou then pushed through an agreement that Common Market currencies would be held within a tight parity band as a first step towards eventual monetary union. This broke down within weeks when the British government unilaterally floated sterling in a thinly-disguised devaluation.

The French are certain to stress the question of monetary union once again at the Paris meeting—but the Tory government in Britain has now produced a new formula, linking monetary union to what they term economic union.

In practice this means Heath will demand a large slice of EEC funds as 'aid to areas of high unemployment'—hoping to recoup some of the money the Tories are paying out to finance the Common Agricultural Policy.

The French, who will be in the forefront of demands for immediate fixing of the pound's parity against other EEC countries, will not be impressed by this piece of special pleading. They know that the British employers have yet to settle accounts with the working class

and are in no position to dictate terms to their new 'partners'.

The Tories are now trying, with the aid of the TUC leaders, to impose state control of wages on the working class in Britain. This attempt to discipline the working class and crush the wages movement comes on the eve of formal entry to the EEC which will bring vast price increases and a flight of capital abroad.

The Tories have proved unable to keep their promises to the other Common Market capitalists. They had assured their 'partners' they would bring the British workers firmly to heel before entry. But more than two years of Tory government have not broken the strength of the working class, despite the Industrial Relations Act, mass unemployment and big attacks on living standards.

The question of common action against the working class all over Europe is likely to be one of the major topics at the Paris meeting. The Paris-based 'International Herald Tribune' suggests that 'if there is one area in which the Nine might act to save this meeting from the wastebasket of history it is in economic affairs.

'The EEC has long needed some sort of European body that could prescribe the first steps towards putting the member-countries' economies in the kind of order needed to achieve union. This body could . . . institute common methods for dealing with such diverse problems as labour-management relations and industrial and regional policies throughout the community.'

The implementation of such plans, however, would demand a decisive revolutionary confrontation with the working class throughout Europe—and this is the spectre that haunts the Paris meeting.

Curfew in Allende's capital



CHILEAN President Salvador Allende has imposed a midnight to 6 a.m. curfew in Santiago and its surrounding province as bus-owners and engineers joined the lorry-owners' strike.

Leaders of the Christian Democratic Party, the main-spring of the strike movement, have rejected an invitation from Allende to meet with him and discuss the crisis.

On Wednesday evening, Allende warned copper miners that the present troubles could lead Chile to the brink of civil war.

He added that difficult moments were ahead because the annual overseas currency deficit had reached \$200m and 'we don't have a single dollar'.

As with his previous warnings about civil war and economic difficulties, Allende insisted on the need to defend Chilean 'democracy' rather than to prepare against the counter-revolution.

W German students on trial in Greece

FOUR West German students denied charges of subversion against the Greek regime yesterday when they appeared before a tightly guarded Athens court martial.

A packed court room heard the four defendants plead not guilty of planning to assist a Greek-German woman, Mrs Edith Economou, to leave Greece with false document while she was being sought by Greek security police.

The accused—Ernst Ludwig Zorer (32), Werner Robbers (26), Jurgen Obsermeyer (27) and 19-year-old Miss Suzanne Bausigner—were arrested in Athens in July, only 24 hours after arriving in Greece.

Mrs Economou (30), married to a Greek, is to be tried at a separate court martial. She is accused of plotting to explode bombs and with illegal possession of explosives.

Greek army captain George Tsallas who arrested Zorer, the alleged leader of the group, in a coffee bar, said he posed as the group's contact man

Thieu meets Kissinger

PRESIDENTIAL envoy Henry Kissinger conferred in Saigon yesterday with South Vietnamese president Nguyen Van Thieu following his secret talks in Paris with North Vietnamese representatives.

Thieu's removal is one of the conditions demanded by the National Liberation Front for a ceasefire in Vietnam. Speculation that agreement on a ceasefire may be near has followed Kissinger's recent series of talks in Paris.

Hanoi Radio this week described Thieu as 'the most loyal lackey of the US imperialists . . . the one who opposes concord to the very end'. Thieu recently declared his intention of fighting until every communist in Vietnam was killed.

He has been showing signs of increased nervousness over the past few days staging emergency cabinet meetings and imposing a rigid censorship on the already tightly-controlled Saigon Press.

Turkish Labourites jailed

A MILITARY court has sentenced prominent members of the banned Turkish Labour Party to prison terms ranging from six to 15 years.

Party chairman Behice Boran (60) and seven other members of the party executive were sentenced on Tuesday to 15 years' imprisonment followed by five years' exile for political activities against the constitution.

Eight others were given sentences ranging from six to 12 years followed by periods of exile.

All the accused were also permanently banned from any form of public employment.

The Labour Party was banned following the imposition of martial law last year and its leaders were arrested and brought to trial.



Port chief hits out at Royal group trading

Twisting dockers' arms over meat trade

BY DAVID MAUDE OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

A NEW BID to force speed-up in London's Royal group of docks has been made from New Zealand by the director-general of the Port of London Authority, John Lurch.

The New Zealand Meat Producers' Board has threatened to transfer its trade out of London to wherever offers the cheapest and most reliable service.

If a substantial proportion of the trade does go, up to 2,000 jobs could be affected. Port employers have attempted to use this situation to blackmail higher levels of throughput from the dockers.

Now, after a visit to New Zealand for top-level talks with government Ministers and leaders of the trade, Lurch has joined this campaign for the second time in two months.

'I must tell you frankly,' he says in a message to London dockers, 'that the future of the conventional New Zealand meat trade in the Royal docks hangs in the balance, despite our best endeavours.'

'I have done all I can. But the past record of low throughput per man at the Royals meat berths means that the trade is worried about delays to both ships and importers.'

In fact tonnages through the berths have increased considerably in recent weeks.

But the port employers and the Producers' Board, in which the Vestey family have a powerful voice, want more. They are stepping up the pressure on all fronts.

In his message, Lurch tries to whip the Royal dockers with the example of the West India and Tilbury men. 'New Zealand is most impressed by the service given in West India and Tilbury,' he says.

The New Zealand Apple and Pear Board, Lurch adds, particularly valued the 'goodwill' of the India dockers in clearing their ships of perishable cargo at the start of the national dock strike.

'By looking after customers in this way India docks are making a fine investment in the future.'

After attempting to split the dockers and isolate the militants in this way, the PLA director-general says: 'I have expressed my belief that Royals dockers will respond to the challenge with good performances.'

Lurch's previous intervention was in an interview with the 'Journal of Commerce' late in August.

There he said that Tilbury was the PLA's main growth point, and that many of the customers who were establishing themselves at Tilbury were doing so with the Maplin Sands development even further downriver in mind.

'Frankly,' he said then, 'the Royals are a worry to me as they are not providing by and large the same standard of service as the other docks in the system and it is less easy to attract fresh trade to them.'

Besides being the largest complex in the upriver docks, the Royals have been the centre of militancy in the port.

Following the end of the national docks strike, as Lurch's interviewer Peter Green revealed in the same article*, the port employers and container operators embarked on a deliberate policy of smashing the shop stewards' power there.

They took advantage of the opportunist weaknesses revealed by the Communist Party-led stewards in the ending of the strike in London.

It is no accident that Lurch's statement comes just four days after Lord Vestey's decision to sack 27 depot workers at Midland Cold Storage rather than give any concessions to the dockers' pickets there.

This attempt to split the dockers must be combated. But this job will not be done by stewards who refuse to clear up the confusion created by the rumours and counter-rumours of a picketing 'truce' at Midland in return for talks with Vestey.

* 'Journal of Commerce', August 25, 1972.

● See Who's creating cold store confusion? p. 11.

'Straw men' removed

BEDWORTH Labour council, near Coventry, has reaffirmed non-implementation of the 'fair rents' Act. At the same time, six Labour councillors who manoeuvred for the rent increases have been removed from the council's management committee.

In all, nine right-wing Labourites fought for implementation at a special council meeting on Tuesday night.

But they were narrowly defeated by ten votes to nine, with the Liberals and one Tory abstaining. The question has now been referred back to the management committee.

Last Friday the nine pro- implementers were thrown out of the Labour Group following their back-stage manipulations for a special council meeting.

At Tuesday's meeting Cllr. Geoffrey Prestidge called the nine 'men of straw'. He told them: 'Because they fear their property would have to go or that they might be imprisoned, they turned tail and ran.'

Builders' bonus fight isolated by union

BUILDING workers on strike at the Cubitts, World's End site, Chelsea, are in danger of being isolated by the union leaderships.

Altogether they have been out for ten weeks—five of them since the end of the £30, 35-hour week claim recently compromised by union leaders.

Immediately following the ending of the fight for the national claim, Cubitts cut the site bonus like so many employers have done.

Before the strike it was

over £1 an hour. Now Cubitts are only prepared to pay 35p an hour.

This cut led to an immediate total stoppage of the multi-million pound housing site. Stewards rightly saw that Cubitts intended to try and crack the strong trade union organization on the site which has made the men some of the highest paid in London.

'Although it's official,

we can't get any change out of the union men,' I was told by a picket on the gate yesterday morning.

In a succession of meetings, stewards have pleaded with officials to bring out the other Cubitts sites in London to back the World's End men.

'It's something in 1972 when you have to have another Barbican or Horseferry Road do,' added John

Fontaine.

Nevertheless, there is no sign that the men will abandon the principle they came out for. But without support from other building workers in the London area they face a bitter period of isolation.

Financial support should be sent care of the

Treasurer, J. Fontaine, 25 West Bank, London, N.16.

Sit-in duplicated?

GESTETNER workers in north London will down tools today demanding that a lapsed union member pays up his back subscriptions.

The strike is expected to involve all 1,300 workers at the Broad Lane, Tottenham, duplicator factory.

Last week dic-caster

Harold Morris was suspended on full pay following a protest sit-in by the other members of his shop. He is due to return to work today.

Shop stewards say Morris is well over the 26 weeks out of compliance allowed by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

AUEW backs fight on BOC jobs

SHOP STEWARDS from the British Oxygen Co factory at Edmonton, north London, have won the backing of the engineers' union district committee in their fight against threatened closure.

BOC wants to start closing its Angel Road, Edmonton, welding pro-

ducts factory early next year. It would be completely shut down by 1974 if their plans go through.

This would destroy 750 jobs in the area, and the Sparklets factory at Tottenham would also be hit.

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THE JAY LOVESTONE STORY

From Stalinism . . . to the CIA. By Charles Parkins. Part Twelve

CIA FINANCE UNIONS

Between 1962 and 1963, America's Central Intelligence Agency was subsidizing the Kenya Federation of Labour, led by Tom Mboya, at the rate of £1,000 a month.

In 1963 and 1964, CIA agents spent about £150,000 in their operation in British Guiana, using as a cover the Public Services International—a trade union centre to which are affiliated such unions as the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and, in Britain, the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

These are just two of the more exposed cases of the manipulation of workers' organizations by the CIA, the work of Jay Lovestone—ex-Stalinist, ex-centrist, the CIA's man in International Affairs department of the AFL-CIO.

There have been others. Lovestone himself has boasted of the part played by graduates of the American Institute for Free Labour Development, which he founded, in bringing down governments such as that of Joao Goulart in Brazil, 1964.

In the Dominican Republic, according to Dan Kurzman in the 'Washington Post' (June 14, 1966), the bulk of the labour movement regarded the National Federation of Free Dominican Workers, CONATRAL—the trade union organization which the AFL-CIO International Affairs department supported—as a 'tool of the AFL-CIO, the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency'.

Victor Reuther, of the American auto-workers' union, who visited the Dominican Republic in 1966, when US troops occupied the country, also cited events in that country as a case where co-operation between the CIA and trade union leaders could be seen at work.

In all its activities, the CIA has one guiding aim—the gathering of intelligence to help maintain the domination of American big business, and the carrying out of whatever secret political or military operations are necessary, in the CIA's view, to maintain and even extend that domination.

This has been Lovestone's aim. But it would not even be attempted, even with all the vast sums of money available, were it not for the continued presence, in the leadership and offices of workers organizations, as well as in the intellectual circles influential on these organizations, of a layer of reformist bureaucrats and careerists, who are ideologically (as well as in some cases financially) tied to the capitalist system and to imperialism.

This deep-set corruption is certainly not confined to the American labour movement. If we hear more about the international coups and operations of the CIA than we do of certain other countries' intelligence and secret forces agencies, it is not only because the CIA is bigger, but also perhaps because the older imperialist powers, having more experience, are in some ways more efficient and more discreet.

For example, the British

'Old Boy' network might be less business-like than the systemized corruption of academic and other institutions by the intelligence service, as has been exposed in the United States.

But as a way of recruiting and placing contacts it makes a lot less noise!

Likewise, the alignment of labour and trade union leaders in this country with imperialists' foreign policies has not attracted so much attention as American union's ties with the CIA—because, for one thing, it has been established for so long that it tends to go unnoticed; just part of the scenery.

Nevertheless, it was a former Transport and General Workers' Union leader, Ernest Bevin, who declared: 'I am not prepared to give up the British Empire, because it would mean a drop in the standard of living of my members.'

It was a Labour government under Clement Attlee which became the first British government to maintain 'peaceful' conscription—in order to send soldiers all over the world to enforce colonial repression.

It was a Labour government under Harold Wilson which after 1964 maintained brutal repression, including the use of torture in Aden, and which gave political and practical support to the US war in Vietnam. It was another 'Labour man', George Brown, who went on record with a speech defending the My Lai massacre.

These are, of course, the men who are always available, for any occasion, to give a speech 'deploring' and denouncing 'violence'; providing only that the 'violence' concerned is of the left, of militant workers, or of oppressed colonial peoples.

Lenin characterized this type of leadership as 'social imperialist'. In Britain it has generally taken the form of Fabianism. This is the theory which insists that the working class must limit itself to gradual, peaceful reforms within the capitalist system.

BARGAINERS

The objective historical basis for this ideology lay in the development of British imperialism in the latter part of the 19th century, which enabled the British ruling class to rely on its profits overseas, and to buy 'peace' at home by granting some concessions and reforms to the working class. It also offered a new lease of life to the middle class, in the form of an expanding civil service, colonial government, local government, etc.

At the same time it fostered within the trade union movement the growth of a privileged bureaucracy of professional bargainers to negotiate with the capitalists, a social layer which the ruling class soon learnt could be opened to temptation, not only with such crude things as outright bribes, but with more exalted prizes, like public office, knighthoods, and so on.

To analyse fully the relationship between reformism and imperialism would require an article in itself. It is sufficient here to say that Fabianism, the product of middle-class intellectuals and administrators, such as Sydney Webb (later to become Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield), found a receptive audience, and ready allies, in the opportunist



Joao Goulart who was president of Brazil until 1964. Lovestone himself boasted of the part played by his graduates of AIFLD in bringing Goulart's government down.

union leaders. It succeeded in providing the channel for bourgeois ideology, and in the particular form held by the middle class of an imperialist country, to influence the British labour movement. It has remained the dominant influence on the Labour leadership.

When they were honest enough to recognize the necessity of imperialism as the basis for their reforms and opportunism, the Fabians were good imperialists. The Labour leaders schooled in the Fabian approach became the type with which we are familiar, for whom socialism is fine for occasional May Day speeches, or for arousing enthusiasm at Party conferences, but who are prepared once they come to office to work with the 'realities' of the system—including colonial repression and imperialist wars.

Whether looking forward to enjoying the comforts and privileges of public office, or cosily ensconced in the union bureaucracy, the opportunists in the labour movement naturally hate communism, which they see as a threat, as much as the bourgeoisie do—and often more virulently.

It is against this background that we must understand Lovestone and his activities, and the support he has managed to mobilize in the labour bureaucracy.

It is not really surprising

that union leaders in Britain have gone along with the policies in international affairs of the AFL and CIO leaders. There are differences in history and traditions and there have been differences and conflicts in policy, but there are also essential similarities, and there has been considerable co-operation.

The most notable event, of course, was the splitting of the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1950, only five years after its formation. This split, out of which emerged the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, was prepared by a meeting on June 25, 1949, of James B. Carey, of the CIO, George Meany of the AFL (which had refused to join WFTU anyway) and Jay Lovestone, together with State Department officials.

INVOLVED

The TUC followed the American unions, breaking as a result not only from the Soviet trade unions, but also from the main union centres in France, Italy, and other countries.

The ICFTU has subsequently been shown to have received CIA funds and to have been involved in CIA schemes. Its Latin American sub-section, ORIT, is virtually a straightforward Lovestone outfit.

It has been argued, of course, that the Soviet trade unions are really an instrument of the state, of government policy, and therefore not *bona fide* trade unions.

We will leave aside such questions as whether the US union leaders have not also functioned as instruments of the government, and of a capitalist state, and also of whether, accepting the criticism of Soviet unions as true, the split was the way to help, and ask instead a much simpler question:

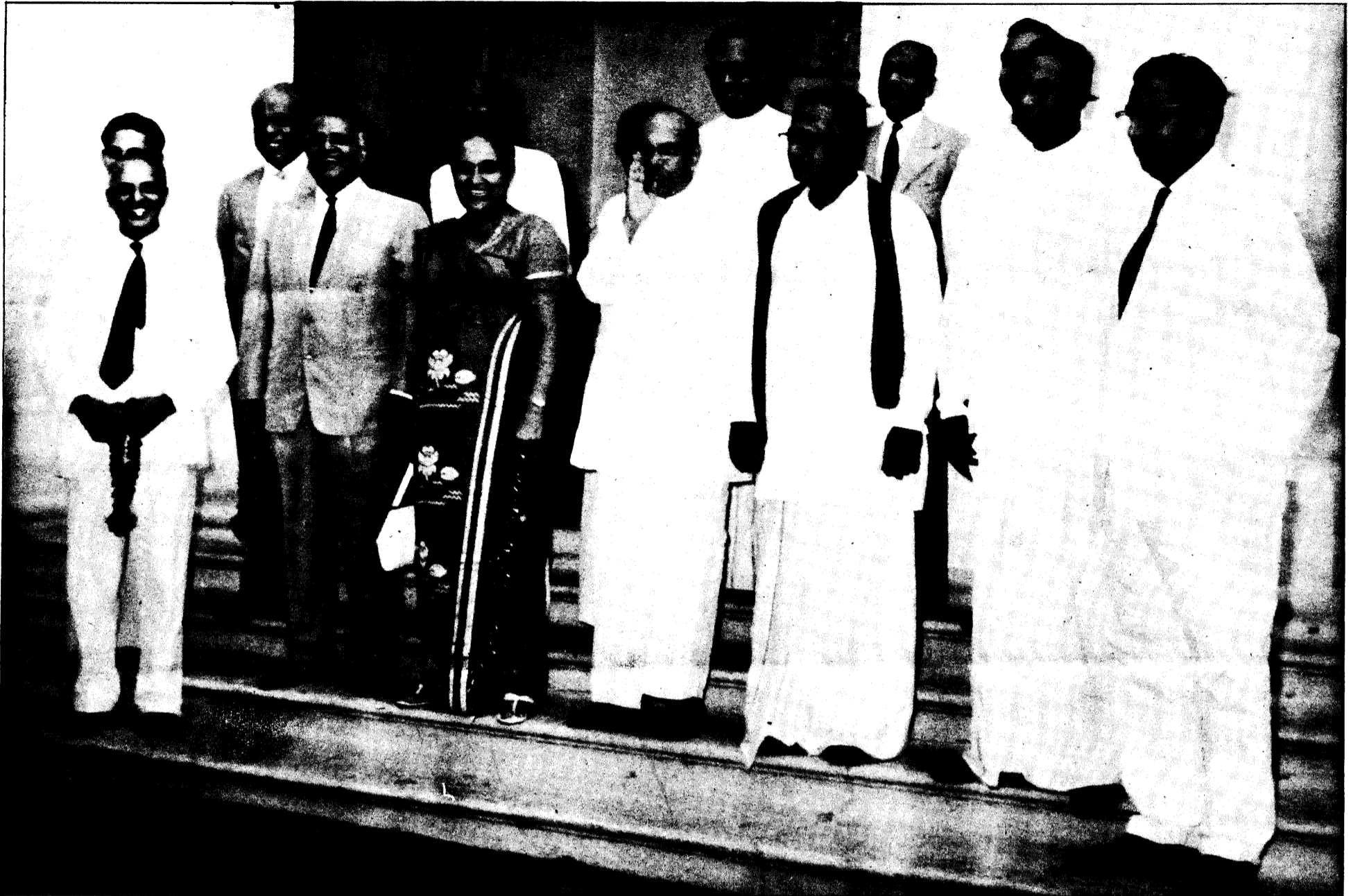
What was there in 1950 to justify the break which did not arise in 1945?

Had the TUC leaders really discovered for the first time that the working class in the Soviet Union was oppressed by a privileged bureaucracy.

Or was there some highly significant change in the status of Soviet trade unions in those five years?

Surely, there was no real change at all, except in foreign relations, that is that in 1945 the Soviet Union was still the ally of Britain and the USA, whereas by 1950, the Truman government was waging the Cold War, and had launched the Marshall Plan and NATO; while the British Labour government was waging a colonial war against communist guerrillas in Malaya.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



In 1964, the 'Trotskyist' Lanka Sama Samaja Party joined a 'United Left Front' government with Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party. SLL secretary G. Healy, who visited Ceylon during the coalition period, analysed the degeneration of the LSSP in the pamphlet 'Ceylon: The Great Betrayal'—still available from New Park Publications. This four-part series by JACK GALE examines some of the significant political events since then.

CEYLON: THE GREAT BETRAYAL CONTINUES

PART TWO

The reunification in 1963 of the Pabloite tendencies into the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International was an unprincipled fraud made possible only on the basis of no discussion of outstanding political questions.

(For legal reasons the Socialist Workers Party of America could not become an actual member of the Secretariat.)

This conspiracy of silence obscured the reactionary turn in Ceylon. To discuss this with the Socialist Labour League would have blown the reunification sky-high. Joseph Hansen and Ernest Mandel, therefore, kept silent and thereby permitted the rightward development of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) in Ceylon.

Indeed, the reunification congress declared its complete support for the LSSP leaders, particularly for their strategy of a United Left Front with the pro-Moscow Communist Party and Philip Goonewardene's People's United Front (MEP).

It was well known that the Communist Party wholeheartedly supported Mrs Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and that the MEP had actually participated in a coalition with the 1956 SLFP government.

The Unified Secretariat therefore assumed full responsibility for the abandonment of the Tamil (Indian immigrant) workers and for the United Left Front which was

a major step on the road to coalition.

In December, 1963, Pablo himself sought unsuccessfully to raise the question of Ceylon inside the Unified Secretariat. But the same Pablo had refused all discussion with the SLL.

By now the degeneration was almost complete.

In reply to calls for a discussion, the Secretariat leaders declared, early in 1964:

'It would be wrong for us as a body representing the movement as a whole to brush aside the deliberations of the majority of the LSSP leadership and refuse to grant them the time needed to prove in action the sincerity of their stand in relation to the United Left Front and the good faith of their assurances.

'It would mean first of all to deliberately heat up the atmosphere in the LSSP by injecting the sharpest kind of factionalism. A divisive policy of this kind would put in jeopardy, if not destroy, fraternal relations between the Unified Secretariat and the leadership of the LSSP.

'The end result could be highly injurious to the Fourth International and to the LSSP, including its left wing which has absolutely no interest to put in question the unity of the party through the creation of undue internal friction and tension from any source.'

In April 1964, just two months before the LSSP leaders joined Mrs Bandaranaike's coalition, they received a laudatory letter from the Unified Secretariat which declared that the United Left Front could establish 'its own political power on a genuinely socialist programme' and

would provide 'another Cuba or Algeria'.

This United Left Front included the Stalinists!

The perspective of Stalinists participating in a non-revolutionary seizure of power linked with Trotskyists in a 'Left Front' flowed directly from Pablo's 1953 resolution, reinforced by the Pabloite obsession with the revolution-with-a-party' road of Cuba and Algeria.

Within weeks of the Unified Secretariat's letter being despatched Mrs Bandaranaike was to say:

'We cannot expect any results unless we get the cooperation of the working class . . . Disruptions, especially strikes and go-slows, must be eliminated and the development of the country must proceed.

'Some people feel that these troubles can be eliminated by the establishment of a dictatorship. Others say that workers should be made to work at the point of gun and bayonet.

'Still others maintain that a national government should be formed to solve this problem. I have considered these ideas separately and in the context of world events.

'Therefore, I decided to initiate talks with the leaders of the working class, particularly Mr Philip Goonewardene and Dr N. M. Perera.

'Can we form a coalition government? If so, how could this be done? These are the questions we considered. Afterwards they informed me that they could form a government on the basis of a common programme.'

The LSSP leaders had entered secret negotiations with Mrs Bandaranaike precisely

when they were faced with an unparalleled opportunity to seize power.

At the beginning of 1964 the Ceylon Mercantile Union had won substantial gains which threw the Bandaranaike government into crisis. At the same time unprecedented trade union unity, involving both town and plantation workers, had been achieved around a programme of 21 demands. The largest audience of workers ever seen on the island unanimously declared for a fight to a finish to win these demands.

Perera chose this period to conclude his Judas deal with the bourgeoisie—assisted by the Communist Party, which had always supported coalition, and by the leaders of the Pabloite International.

His action cannot possibly have been a surprise to Hansen and Mandel. In 1960 he had forwarded to the Unified Secretariat in Paris a letter which outlined precisely his proposals for exactly such a step.

This listed: (1) a no-contact pact (2) support for the formation of an SLFP government 'not hedged about with conditions' and (3) steps to bring about a programmatic agreement with the SLFP with a view to forming a joint government.

The programme on which Perera wished to embrace the SLFP involved strict limits on nationalization, and especially no nationalization of the banks.

This letter, in the hands of the Unified Secretariat for some four years before Perera was able to carry it into practice, specifically repudiated the Leninist characterization of the state:

Top: June 1964 the first coalition of LSSP and SLFP parties. Next to Mrs Bandaranaike is Dr N. M. Perera.

'It is no accident of history that in no country where universal franchise obtains has there been a revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist class.

'Though mass struggles leading to the overthrow of capitalism are conceivable, in point of fact such situations have never yet arisen, because the franchise has placed in the hands of the workers a vehicle for achieving power. Universal franchise one must admit has tended to blunt the edge of mass struggle. Militant working-class actions will continue to occur, but they do not reach the heights necessary for wresting power.'

These were the issues which Mandel and Hansen sought to hush up in order not to destroy 'fraternal relations'. These were the leaders to whom the Unified Secretariat wished to grant 'the time needed to prove in action the sincerity of their stand!'

That, they certainly did. They bolstered up capital rule and helped discipline the working class. As Perera had written to Mandel and his friends in 1960:

'LSSP ministers may have to take unpleasant decisions with regard to strikes, and the demands of the workers'. This at a time when imperialism could no longer retain its hold on Ceylon through the capitalist parties alone.

This betrayal marked the definitive end of the Pabloite International as a revolutionary force, just as surely as Hitler's victory in 1933 marked the end of the Third International.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

CAPITALISTS LOOT BENGAL ECONOMY

BY JOHN SPENCER

The faith and confidence of the masses in Bangladesh has been squandered by the ruling Awami League in the interests of getting rich quick, says union leader Sirajul Hossain Khan.

Mr Khan is general secretary of the Sramik (Workers) Federation, which is the trade union arm of the Maoist-oriented Banglar Communist Party. Until recently he was also Dacca editor of the Eastern News Agency, but his reports were not to the liking of the Awami League government.

In alliance with the National Awami Party of Maulana Bashani, the Banglar CP is contesting the forthcoming election likely to be held in March next year. In the first days of independence it gave support to the Awami League government—a policy Mr Khan now considers was an error.

A particular source of embarrassment for pro-Maoists like Mr Khan was the Chinese support for Pakistan during the war and their current refusal to recognize Bangladesh.

Mr Khan is now living in virtual exile in north London. In an interview with Workers Press he spoke of the rapidly worsening economic situation in Bangladesh and the political manoeuvres of the ruling party.

The situation of the economy is terribly bad. Prices have risen by 200 to 400 per cent since independence nine months ago. Millions of people are undergoing starvation and semi-starvation.

'Unemployment has risen to fantastic levels. The government does not issue any figures, but every day there are mile-long queues morning to evening outside the employment offices in Dacca,' he said. 'There is no dole in Bangladesh. The unemployed get nothing at all. Industrial production has gone down because of mismanagement and corruption by the newly-appointed administration in the so-called nationalized industries. These managers are mostly Awami Leaguers or people who have climbed on the Awami League bandwagon.'

In fact, said Mr Khan, the Awami League's nationalization proposals have extended only to firms which were abandoned by their former West Pakistan owners. All other capitalist enterprises have been left intact, despite the government's 'socialist' pretensions.

The Awami League's promises of land reform have proved equally illusory. The maximum land holding has been fixed at 100 biggars (about 33 acres)—a large holding by Bengali standards.

'Out of this the landless peasants will get little and

even then they will be swindled if they get anything at all,' Mr Khan said. 'The moneylenders and usurers are robbing the peasants at an alarming rate and the government has done nothing to annul the crippling burden of debt on the peasantry.'

He said the present government was a government of the rising Bengali capitalists, backed by the pro-Moscow Communist Party which he described as 'the B team of the Awami League'.

It was trying to balance internationally between the Indo-Soviet alliance on the one hand and handouts of American capital on the other. 'They are trying to sail two boats, which is a dangerous thing to do at the best of times,' Mr Khan said.

The real appetites of the Awami League are thinly concealed behind 'left' phrases, as Mr Khan pointed out:

'The Awami League has said that it is going for "socialism" and would establish workers' and peasants' rule. But they say this only because today the slogan of socialism is the passport to politics in Bangladesh.'

PLUNDER

In reality, he says, the Awami League leaders who rode back from Calcutta in the baggage trains of the Indian army are plundering the precarious economy of Bangladesh and opening it up to exploitation by foreign (mainly Indian) capital.

It is the natural tendency of the rising capitalist class to try and get rich overnight and one source is foreign capital and foreign business. The rising Bengali capitalists had mostly been denied these possibilities in pre-independence days by Pakistani big business.

'No sooner were they back in Dacca than they began searching for a foreign *entente* which was readily made available by the Indian big business houses. Awami League members and supporters, newly turned businessmen, have joined in the spree.

'There is a great deal of black marketeering and smuggling by dishonest businessmen who are either pro-Awami League or shielded by the League's leaders. For public consumption these leaders denounce 'anti-social elements', but they won't take any serious action against them.

'They are their own party members. They are the smugglers, the looters and the black marketeers.'

They make their fortunes, Mr Khan said, by currency manipulation, corruption and speculation. And meanwhile, the economy continues to deteriorate.

'The Bangladesh economy is now in the grip of the Indian bourgeoisie. They have their agents in Bangladesh who are



Above: homeless families sheltering in pipes. Today there is growing poverty amongst the masses and unemployment is widespread. Left: Cholera victims.

in the main Awami League men. Many items are being imported from India at much higher than world prices. Items like cloth and fuel are being sold way above the ruling price elsewhere,' he said.

Since independence the value of the Bangladesh currency has declined rapidly. The government's first act after the end of the December war was to devalue the existing Pakistan rupee to parity with the Indian rupee.

The pre-independence Pakistan rupee (now renamed the takka) was originally worth 1.6 Indian rupees. The immediate post-war devaluation cut its value by over 30 per cent, and since that time its real value against the Indian currency has dropped even further.

On the black market today, the takka is discounted at least 35 per cent against the Indian rupee, Mr Khan said. Another of the government's acts immediately after independence was to open the border to free trade with India, abolishing all previously exist-

ing tariffs and duties.

'This is one of the major factors in price increases. Even commodities which are cheaper in India are worth smuggling because of the currency gap,' he explained.

'A smuggler will buy rice in Bangladesh at, say, 80 takkas, and sell in India at 70 rupees. If he changes this back into Bangladesh currency he will get at least 105 takkas in exchange. And if he further smuggles some Indian commodity back into Bangladesh with the proceeds, he will make another profit.'

'The Awami League has virtually legalized simple smuggling,' Mr Khan said. As a result much of the country's produce which should be earning desperately-needed foreign exchange for the new state is instead earning it for Indian businessmen.

LOANS

Without hard currency Bangladesh cannot buy the goods it vitally needs from overseas and must borrow at exorbitant interest rates from foreign banks which are certain to impose stringent conditions for their loans.

As an example, Mr Khan cited India's average foreign

exchange earnings worth about 1,600 million rupees from jute exports every year.

'This year by the first week in June India had earned about 3,200 million rupees on jute exports—much of it on jute smuggled from Bangladesh,' he said.

This explained why the value of Bangladesh currency is dropping so rapidly. 'In December and the first part of January 100 takkas was worth 110-120 Indian rupees. Now you need 150-160 takkas to buy 100 Indian rupees. And as you know the Indian rupee is hardly a hard currency.'

As well as smuggling and currency manipulation there is widespread corruption and the most ruthless exploitation of the poverty-stricken and starving refugees who returned from India after the war:

'The government handed out some relief in cash and kind, but this was looted and much of it grabbed by the local Awami League leaders. I spoke to one old villager who told how one blanket was cut into three pieces and each piece distributed to one person.'

'The accounts showed three blankets had been handed out. Two were grabbed by the local dignitaries and by and large this had been routine. The old

villager voted in 1970 for the Awami League. He told me: 'Now I will see to it that no-one in my family supports the Awami League any more', Mr Khan said.

As a result of these developments, the Sheikh Mujib's government, which began with an unprecedented store of popular support, is rapidly earning the hatred of the masses:

'The government's popularity has fallen fast among the masses and among students and white-collar employees. This is so much so that a majority faction of the League's student front has revolted and threatened to take up arms against it.'

Mr Khan said his rival, Abdul Mannan, leader of the Awami League's trade union organization, the Sramik League, was currently unable to enter the Dacca Jute Mill for fear of the workers' anger. Yet the mill was a League stronghold and the birthplace of its Lal Bahini, the League's armed militia.

'Graft began very soon after independence and for months the people banked on Mujib to turn the tide against it,' Mr Khan said. But as the months wore on, it became clear that Mujib was unable or unwilling to do anything about it.

'Then the Awami League began to raise private armies of riff-raff and anti-social elements to bully down the people,' Mr Khan said.

'They were particularly active in Dacca, Khulna, Chittagong and Tongi areas—all centres of working-class militancy. But the workers and the public gave them a thorough beating and they are now in the soup.'

'The US Central Intelligence Agency is reported to have had plans to make massive attacks on the left forces and these private armies were their vanguard. But they have been disappointed in their performance.'

'Bangladesh is not Indonesia and any attempt to massacre the regime's opponents will not have the least popular support. Without any public base it cannot succeed. Already people are thoroughly disillusioned with the Awami League on account of its political activities and its economic policies.'

'I am confident that the people of Bangladesh will certainly triumph and accomplish their unfinished revolution, whatever may be the forces of domestic and foreign reaction. People on a mass scale have learned to fight with arms and they will not let swindling and exploitation go unchallenged.'

'Parliamentary reform' and the working class, by Jane Brown

HOW THE WORKERS WON THE VOTE

PART SEVEN

The Chartist movement was a great stride forwards in the history of the British working class, for although it achieved none of the Six Points, it converted the demand for the right to vote into a 'war slogan' in the class struggle.

Marx was confident that, as a result of workers' increasing understanding of the irreconcilability of interests with those of the capitalists, the Whig and Tory parties would soon merge to face the common enemy—a united proletarian party demanding political power in order to carry out social change. This fundamentally correct perspective was carried into the International Working Men's Association (the First International), founded in London in 1864.

But although it was to be fulfilled after 1900, economic development in Britain in the second half of the 19th century prevented the Chartist movement from leading directly to a mass Labour Party. As Engels explained, with the advantage of hindsight, in 1874: 'No separate political working class party has existed in Britain since the downfall of the Chartist Party in the 1850s. This is understandable in a country in which the working class has shared more than anywhere else in the advantage of the immense expansion of its large-scale industry. Nor could it have been otherwise in an England that ruled the world market.'

For a few decades Britain was indeed the 'workshop of the world'. On the basis of exploitation of earlier generations of British workers, and of cheap labour in the colonies, the capitalists could afford to 'buy off' sections of the working class movement with social reforms and higher wages.

Free Trade, for so long advocated by the radicals, became official government policy under Peel and Gladstone. Peel was 'converted' to the free trade doctrine when it became obvious that Britain had such a headstart over industrial competitors that she could not possibly lose from lowering tariff barriers. Loss of revenue from customs duties would be compensated for by the overall increase in prosperity.

The raw material for industry became cheaper, while the annual value of British exports rose from £47m in 1842 to £200m in 1870. Even the Repeal of the Corn Laws, bitterly contested by landowners, led to a 'Golden Age' for British farming, since there were no imports of cheap grain from USA as yet, and scientific methods produced a steep rise in British output.

The euphoria of the capitalists in this era transformed free trade from a mere

economic policy into a moral and political philosophy. 'Individual liberty' and 'self-help', it was believed, offered a universal panacea which could restore harmony between the working class and the employers, and even between the various nations of the world.

Cyclical economic crises would become a thing of the past, and a smooth road of ever-increasing prosperity reached into the future. Hence the faith in British 'gradualism' attacked by Trotsky in 'Where is Britain Going?'

Plausible to the Victorian middle class, it began to seem plausible to the better-off layers of the working class. As Marx pointed out, however, for the great mass of unskilled workers conditions improved very little in these boom years. Social legislation, which would lead to increased taxes, had a small part in a free-trading government's programme.

The Ten Hours Act was a victory for organized working-class strength. But statistics bear out Marx's assertion that only 'a minority of the working classes got their real wages somewhat advanced'.

Who were this 'minority'? They were the successors to Lovett's 'moral force' artisan supporters; an aristocracy of labour who made important economic gains, who laid the foundations of modern trade unionism, and yet who also, by their faith in class collaboration, sowed the seeds of the conservatism and opportunism which has riddled the trade union bureaucracy ever since.

The employers had smashed militant trade unions (such as the Miners' Association) in the 1840s. This was one reason for the mass turn to Chartism as a political solution for economic ills. The 'New Model' unions grew up among skilled workers in the 1850s based on policies of caution and conciliation, backed up by financial resources (from high membership contributions) such as no earlier unions had possessed.

'NO POLITICS' CLAUSE

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers set the pattern in 1851. Registering as a Friendly Society, it set out to create a permanent national organization with full-time officials working at its London headquarters to co-ordinate policies.

A 'no politics' clause was written into its rule book, and funds were used mainly for purposes. By 1867, the ASE had 30,000 members, and a bank balance of £140,000.

Leaders of several similar unions met in 1860 to form the first London Trades Council, with a permanent executive including Allan, Applegarth, Odger, Coulson and Potter.

It was no council of war against the employers. The affiliated unions preached 'self-help' to their members through an expanding trade union Press and educational centres, and



Top: George Odger, a member of the first permanent executive of the London Trades Council. Above: membership card of the ASE.

had strong links with non-conformist and temperance movements.

Exclusive and 'respectable', they were 'making a bid for middle class recognition' (Pelling). They gave verbal support to various 'progressive' political movements, including the First International, but their main political activity consisted in supporting middle-class sympathizers at election times, hoping thus to gain an

indirect voice in parliament.

But in the late 1860s, a concerted attack on the unions by the employers and ruling class, provoked by sagging trade figures, galvanized the trade union leaders into a political defence of all they had obtained through 'gradualism'.

In 1866 some violent incidents in Sheffield conducted by unionists against blacklegs, were sensationalized by the capitalist Press (in a manner

now familiar) so as to suggest that trade unionists were all potential anarchists. Amid this witch-hunt, judgement came down against the unions in the 'Hornby v Close' case, thus depriving all trade unions of the legal and financial protection given to Friendly Societies.

POLITICAL POWER

The judge pointed out that trade unions were in fact illegal organizations, because they 'tended to act in restraint of trade'. The government appointed a Royal Commission to examine the question.

The trade unions could no longer afford to adopt an aloof attitude towards politics. The partiality of the Press and the courts had been demonstrated, and now their whole fate hung in the balance, depending on the Commission's Report.

'Political power is needed to obtain social emancipation'—Ernest Jones' words were being borne out. The result was that as well as organizing the best possible defence before the Commission, the trade unions united with less highly organized workers in another mass parliamentary reform movement. The Reform League was founded in 1866, to campaign for universal suffrage and the ballot, in the same year as a more moderate Reform Union demanding household suffrage.

The existence of separate reform organizations reflects the duality which always accompanied pressure for extension of the franchise. From the point of view of industrialists and the middle class, the 1832 Act needed up-dating, but they wanted property-owners to remain in control of parliament. The working class, on the other hand, had not forgotten the betrayal of 1832, and knew that the majority of its members would still be without the vote if only householders were enfranchised.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

Stalinist Crisis DUBCEK MAN FINDS FRIENDS AT 'THE TIMES'

Part Two by Tom Kemp
Writing in 'The Times'
on October 4, Professor
Ota Sik, who left Czech-
oslovakia after the 1968
Warsaw Pact invasion,
says the economic system
went wrong because it
was 'state capitalist, or
state monopolistic, not
socialist'.

He does not offer any class analysis of East European society or say how nationalization of the means of production took place. He carefully conceals the existence of the privileged and parasitic bureaucracy to which he once belonged as a follower of the Dubcek regime.

As he says: 'The people have as little interest in capital development as in the west, and this interest cannot be created by any amount of party and state propaganda.'

That interest can only be created when the bureaucracy is removed by a political revolution just as it can only be created in the capitalist countries when the bourgeois ruling class has been dispossessed.

But Ota Sik would not be granted the hospitality of 'The Times' to advocate revolution. Just as in Czechoslovakia he was an advocate of reforms, so he advocates reforms — from above—in the capitalist countries.

Sik offers the ruling class advice in dealing with the besetting problem of inflation. He blames inflation onto wage increases resulting from union bargaining power and increased expenditure on 'social needs'.

Wage-earners he declaims, like the West End clubmen who wrote their commendatory letters to 'The Times', are interested only in increasing their wages, not in capital development.

Even a cursory reading of Marx's 'Capital' would have enabled the learned Professor of Economics at Basle University to understand this, but he wisely makes no parade of his 'Marxist' understanding.

Instead he talks about 'the gradual collectivization of capital and the creation of conditions in which working people are no longer alienated from production and the distribution of its fruits and are able to participate in basic economic decisions!'

Limited

Not only is this classic Fabianism — 'the inevitability of gradualness' — but Sik does not envisage the workers organized as a class taking power and establishing their own forms of rule. He still sees the means of production as 'capital' from which the workers can be 'alienated' 'unless they are periodically informed by the management about the affairs of the enterprise...'

All this shows Sik's limited understanding of Marxism for which, no doubt, having been miseducated in Stalinist Czech-



Ota Sik: Does not offer any class analysis of East European society and carefully conceals the existence of the privileged bureaucracy.

oslovakia, he is not entirely to blame. In fact he does not conceive of a society in which the working class has real power.

He sees either capitalism or a society similar to that of the Czechoslovakia which he knows but in two versions (a) the bad Stalin version which the Dubcekists rejected; (b) a reformed version of the same which they tried to institute in 1967-1968.

After all this pretentious theoretical confusion, which no doubt passes for erudition in Swiss universities, Sik proposes... an incomes policy! This is to be devised by a planned economic policy, which, it is plain to see, has nothing to do with socialism.

This is how he goes on: 'If the planning bodies included not representatives of socially-opposed wage-earners and capitalists but the two in one person [sic], an incomes policy would not be created, and the conflict between short- and long-term interests would not wholly disappear, but if this were no longer the expression of social conflicts of interest [does he mean class struggle? —T.K.] it would be easier to overcome in a reasonable and democratic manner'.

What this farrago means is largely a matter of choice. It sounds suspiciously like the corporate state in which employers and workers are represented by the same organization and there is no longer wage-bargaining because harmony of interest reigns between classes — and those who try to disturb it are consigned to concentration camps. The society Sik is talking about is not a classless society, but one in which capitalists and workers still exist but where truth and light reign.

After a final doff of his hat to ex-Home Secretary and ex-Chancellor Reginald Maudling's proposals for an incomes policy, Sik withdraws with the profound statement: 'Sooner or later the conflict between the interests of capital and wages in a highly-developed industrial country must vanish.'

Mildly reformist views masquerading as Marxism are even more popular with the bourgeoisie than mildly reformist views which are openly Fabian. No reader of 'The Times' lost any sleep over Sik's article, which asked for no changes more basic than those advocated by that well-known extremist and ex-member of the Poulson organization, Reginald Maudling.

In fact a number of letter-

writers hastened to praise his audacity. One, not without reason, found his proposals remarkably like the co-partnership schemes of the Liberal Party. Another pointed out that what he was recommending already existed in West Germany.

Austen Albu, a well-known advocate of worker-management co-operation in industry, and a Fabian, drew attention to the experiments to be carried on in the Volvo car plant.

It is worth noting that the Communist Party in this country, which now supports the TUC attitude on the Tory government's state pay plan, was enthusiastic for the Dubcek tendency in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The 'reforming' wing of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe readily establishes a bond of sympathy with the bourgeoisie. Both hate the idea of revolutionary change by the working class and are ready to support each other against such a threat.

Liberalization

Sik's article, and the reception accorded it, are revealing on that account. While he is out of power and in exile many members of the bureaucracy in Eastern Europe think they like him. His ideas are a logical extension, any way, of current practice.

If the Siks and Dubceks were chased out by the Warsaw Pact armies, it was not so much because of the economic reforms they wanted to introduce inside the country. After all, the Soviet 'economic reform' initiated in 1965 was a step in the same direction.

What the Soviet bureaucracy was afraid of was the opening which 'liberalization' offered during the 'Prague spring' for the entry onto the scene of the working class as an independent force.

In addition, of course, the Dubcek bureaucracy sought greater independence from Moscow by a turn to western capitalism in an attempt to solve the economic problems inherited from the Stalin era.

The bureaucracy could not take either of these risks, so Sik did not get an opportunity to put his policies into practice for more than a short period. Even so, what is known about that shows clearly enough that they were incapable of solving the problems of the Czech economy, which cannot be dealt with except on the world arena.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

ANOTHER PENNY

Frank Allaun has indeed become a tame 'left'. The venerable MP for Salford East has already put the boot in for those few Labour councillors still fighting the Tories' Housing Finance Act with his speech at the Labour Party conference.

As every reader knows it was Allaun who carried national executive policy when he opposed a resolution calling for wholesale nationalization to solve the housing crisis.

Most significantly, however, he went to the rostrum and said the NEC would not and could not ask a Labour government to back up financially those councillors who might be penalized by the Tories for refusing to implement the rent increases.

Not satisfied with laying these councillors immediately open to attack, Allaun has now turned on the tenants themselves, who are bitterly opposing rent rises of up to £1. In a letter to 'The Guardian' last week he wrote:

'The second round in the struggle against the government - imposed rent increases... is now opening.'

What's this. Fighting talk from the 'left'? Not a bit of it. Listen to the rest:

'In April vast numbers of council tenants will be faced with a 50p rise in their rent (on top of this year's increase), whilst a great mass of others will have a 50p increase in October next year.' (Our emphasis.)

The present rises are worthy only of a mention in brackets. Worse than that, Allaun tells us the slogan now has to be advanced: 'Not another penny on the rents.'

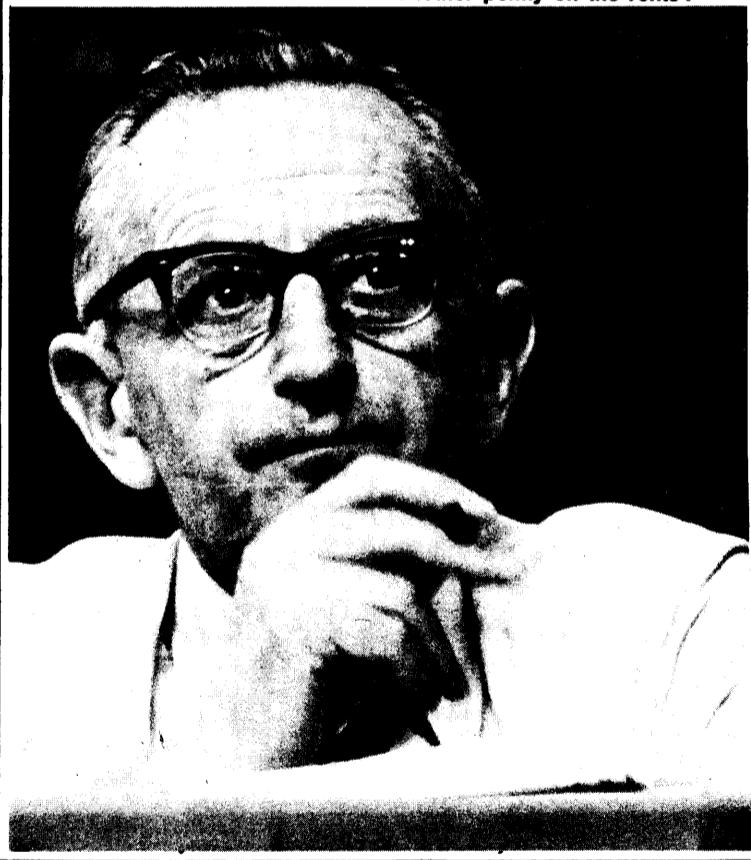
Just to round off the treachery Allaun says — it should be directed at Whitehall, not the town hall 'for the guilty men are Heath, Walker and Amery.'

That's just what Allaun would like. The Tories may have brought in the Act, but only the servility of the Labour leaders, nationally and locally, has allowed them to get away with it.

Allaun conveniently forgets the 69 Labourites who voted with the Tories on the Common Market last year to keep them in office.

No doubt, if Allaun gets his way, the slogan next April will be 'not another, not another penny on the rent'.

Below: Frank Allaun, who has 'advanced' his slogan to 'Not another penny on the rents'.



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**Socialist Labour League
PUBLIC MEETING**

**Behind the
Assassination
of Trotsky**

**A reply to
Joseph Losey's
film**

Tuesday October 24, 8 p.m.

**CONWAY HALL
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(Nearest tube Holborn)**

Speaker: G. Healy
(SLL national secretary)

Admission 10p

Socialist Labour League

Leeds

**LECTURES
THE THEORY AND
PRACTICE OF MARXISM**

Given by
Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central
Committee member)

Historical materialism today
Monday October 23

Building the revolutionary party
Monday October 30

**PEEL HOTEL
Boar Lane, 8 p.m.**

**ALL TRADES UNIONS
ALLIANCE MEETINGS**

**KENT: Thursday October 19,
8 p.m.** 'The Legion', Burgess
Road, Aylesham. 'Reinstate Wil-
liam Griffiths fitters. Prepare the
ATUA conference.' Speakers:
A Griffiths' striker and leading
Kent miner (both in a personal
capacity).

Report back from
ATUA conference

**SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday
October 26, 8 p.m.** Deptford
Engineers' Club, opposite New
Cross Station.

**ACTON: Monday October 30,
8 p.m.** Co-op Hall, High Road.

**CLAPHAM: Tuesday October 31,
8 p.m.** Clapham Manor Baths,
Clapham Manor Street, SW4.

**EAST LONDON: Tuesday October
31, 8 p.m.** 'Festival Inn', Chrisp
Street Market, E14.

**WEST LONDON: Tuesday October
31, 8 p.m.** 'Prince Albert', Wharfe-
dale Road, Kings Cross.

TV

BBC 1

9.42 Schools. 12.10-12.25 Boomph
with Becker. 12.30 Disc a dawn.
12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble mill at
one. 1.30 Pogles' wood. 1.45
Dressmaking. 2.05-2.25 Schools.
2.50 Racing from Newbury. 4.10
Play school. 4.35 Magic round-
about. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue
Peter. 5.20 Joh Carven's news-
round. 5.25 Yogi bear. 5.45 News
and weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.50 TOM AND JERRY. Hatch
Up Your Troubles.

7.00 TOMORROW'S WORLD.

7.25 TOP OF THE POPS.

8.00 SYKES. Stranger.

8.30 PETTIFER IN AMERICA.
The Impossible Dream:
Julian Pettifer meets Glenn
Wesley Turner, multi-
millionaire patron saint of
Free Enterprise.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS.
Weather.

9.25 COLDITZ. The Undeclared.

**10.15 MONTY PYTHON'S FLY-
ING CIRCUS.**

10.45 MIDWEEK.

11.30 LATE NIGHT NEWS.

11.35 ANIMAL DESIGN. Strength
Without Skeleton.

12.00 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 12.05 Rainbow.
12.25 Diane's panda part. 12.40
First report. 1.00 Joker's wild.
1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General
hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon.
3.00 Out of town. 3.25 Mind of
Mr J. G. Reeder. 4.25 Voyage
to the bottom of the sea. 5.20
Dave Cash radio programme.
5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.30 CROSSROADS.

**6.55 AND MOTHER MAKES
THREE.** Two Hearts that
beat as Two.

**7.25 FILM: 'OPERATION
CROSSBOW'.** Sophia
Loren, George Peppard,
Trevor Howard, John Mills.
Wartime search for Hitler's
secret weapons.

9.30 THIS WEEK.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 CINEMA. Clive James talks
to Peter Sellers.

11.00 SOMETHING TO SAY.

12.00 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.

12.15 THE NEW MISSIONARIES.



An oh so dramatic performance. Who else but the Monty Python crowd would set their Flying Circus interpretation of 'Wuthering Heights' in a builders' back yard. For something completely different see John Cleese and Co on BBC 1 tonight.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school.
6.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.
6.35 ROSLA AND AFTER. Dis-
cipline.
7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.
7.30 NEWSROOM. Weather.
8.00 EUROPA.
8.30 WAR AND PEACE. A Letter
and Two Proposals.
9.15 BACKSTAGE. Sir John
Gielgud talks about the
Terrys.
9.25 HORIZON. When Polar
Bears Swam in the
Thames.
**10.15 THEATRE: 'TONIGHT WE
MEET ARTHUR PENDEL-
BURY'.** By Alan Plater.
With Donald Churchill,
Norman Bird.
**10.45 THE DESCENT OF
WOMAN.** Elaine Morgan,
whose book offers a new
theory on the evolution
of man, on a whistle stop
tour of America.
11.15 NEWS ON 2. Weather.
11.20 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.



**Fiona Gaunt is Hélène Kuragina
in the fourth of BBC's 20 episodes
of 'War and Peace' tonight.**

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.05 London.
1.10 News. 1.30 London. 2.30
Women today. 3.00 London. 4.25
Skippy. 4.50 Primus. 5.20 London.
6.00 News. 6.15 Sports roundup.
7.00 Film: 'None But the Brave'.
9.00 And mother makes three.
9.30 London. 10.30 Smith family.
11.02 Cinema. 11.35 Frighteners.
12.00 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except:
12.05 London. 12.57 News. 1.00
London. 6.00 Diary. 10.59 News.
12.00 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 2.30
Women only. 3.00 London. 4.25
Land of the giants. 5.15 Emmer-
dale farm. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50
London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45
Junkin. 7.15 Film: 'Crack in the
World'. 9.00 And mother makes
three. 9.30 London. 11.00 News.
11.10 Guideline. 11.15 Film: 'The
Killer is Loose'. 12.35 Weather.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30
Dateline. 3.00 London. 4.25 Merry
melodies. 4.50 Elephant boy. 5.25
Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01
Report West. 6.15 Report Wales.
6.30 Sky's the limit. 9.00 And
mother makes three. 7.30 Film:
'The Double Man'. 9.30 London.
10.30 Gallery. 11.00 Spyforce.
12.00 Weather.

**HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as
above except:** 2.30-3.00 Hamdden.
4.25 Miri mawr. 4.35-4.50 Gan-
tamil. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd. 10.30-
11.00 Studio one.

HTV West as above except:
6.15-6.30 Sport West.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 2.30
Women only. 3.00 London. 4.25
News. 4.30 Land of the giants.
5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia.
6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads.
7.00 Film: 'Man Inside'. 8.50
Emmerdale. 9.00 And mother
makes three. 9.30 London. 11.00
Avengers.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London.
2.30 Women today. 3.00 London.
4.25 Land of the giants. 5.20
London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Cross-
roads. 7.00 Film: 'A Clear and
Present Danger'. 8.45 Cartoon.
9.00 And mother makes three.
9.30 London. 11.00 Gardening
today. 11.30 Film: 'The Fast Lady'.
Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.31
News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper
room. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women
today. 3.55 Harriet's back in
town. 4.23 News. 4.25 Rovers.
4.50 Phoenix five. 5.20 General
hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00
Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00
Protectors. 7.30 Film: 'To the
Shores of Tripoli'. 9.00 And
mother makes three. 9.30 Lon-
don. 11.00 What's it all about?
11.20 Champions.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 2.30
Farmhouse kitchen. 3.00 London.
4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 Junior
showtime. 5.20 London. 6.00
Calendar. weather. 6.35 Cross-
roads. 7.00 Film: 'School For
Scoundrels'. 9.00 And mother
makes three. 9.30 London. 10.30
Sport. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35
Department S. 12.30 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 2.30
Yoga. 2.55 Doing things. 3.25
London. 4.20 Lone Ranger. 4.55
Rainbow country. 5.15 Peyton
Place. 5.50 London. 6.00 News.
Police file. 6.30 Dave Cash. 7.00
Cartoon. 7.10 Film: 'A Clear and
Present Danger'. 9.00 And mother
makes three. 9.30 London. 11.00
On the line. 11.35 Odd couple.

TYNE TEES: 9.30 London. 2.30
News. 2.31 Let's face it. 3.00
Doing things. 3.25 London. 4.25
Woobinda. 4.50 Junior showtime.
5.20 Pebbles and Bamm bamm.
5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35
Crossroads. 7.00 Popeye. 7.10
Film: 'School For Scoundrels'.
9.00 And mother makes three.
9.30 London. 10.30 Sporttime.
11.00 Police call. 11.05 Cinema.
11.35 News. 11.50 Scotland Yard
mysteries. 12.25 Revolving chair.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30
Dateline. 3.00 London. 4.25
Lost in space. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50
London. 6.00 Scotland today.
6.30 A place of her own. 7.00
Film: 'Who Was That Lady'. 9.00
And mother makes three. 9.30
London. 11.00 Late call. 11.05
Journey to the unknown.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38
Schools. 2.40 Cartoon. 2.50 News.
3.00 Out of town. 3.25 Women
today. 3.55 Harriet's back in
town. 4.25 Elephant boy. 4.55
Junior showtime. 5.20 General
hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 News.
6.05 Try for ten. 6.35 Crossroads.
7.00 Film: 'Designing Woman'.
9.00 And mother makes three.
9.30 London. 11.10 Salute to
Vaughan Williams. 12.00 Medita-
tion.

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**Dublin without
morning papers**

NO MORNING newspapers were published in Dublin yesterday. Publication of the three Dublin-based Irish national papers was halted after dispatch workers employed by the 'Irish Press' objected to the erection of a partition dividing the rotary and dispatch departments.

Other workers were brought into the unofficial dispute when the 'Irish Press' management invoked the Irish Printing Federation Agreement, a pact which involves all Dublin newspapers in a dispute affecting one of them.

About 2,500 workers are employed in the three Dublin papers—the 'Irish Press' group, the 'Irish Times' and the 'Irish Independent'.

All the workers involved are members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

A meeting of the printing group of unions and the Irish Printing

Federation yesterday proved inconclusive and the newspaper managers resisted the request of the unions that the 'Irish Times' and 'Independent' newspapers should continue publishing.

Management argued that the screen which led to the row was an essential part of a heating and ventilation system.

● SOME Press Association services were delayed yesterday by a mandatory chapel (office branch) meeting which began on Tuesday night and was continuing into the morning.

The agency's NATSOPA chapel has rejected a 'house' pay offer and told the PA management it will continue meeting until its demand is met.

Among departments affected were the telephone switchboard, copy-takers and racing clerks who prepare programmes and returns.

The PA continued to put out a news and sports service as neither journalists nor telegraphists were involved in the dispute.

Talks of deal after top meeting with stewards and CP

Ever since the end of the national dock strike, men from the Royal group of docks have been picketing the Midland Cold Storage depot in east London demanding work there is given to registered dockers. Over the past two weeks there have been growing rumours about the picketing being called off. But there have been no mass meetings called by the shop stewards—dominated by the Communist Party—to decide on the pickets' future or any other tactics. Here ALEX MITCHELL examines the facts, helped by comments from the pickets themselves.

'We don't know anything about a truce with Vestey. We don't know about any deal. We only know that the picketing is going on.'

Thus a docker from the Royal Group summed up the confusing situation over the picketing of Lord Samuel Vestey's Midland Cold Storage depot in Hackney, east London.

Of course, this is only his view. Other dockers have completely different views of the situation. They believe that peace moves are well under way to lift the pickets.

Dockers driving past the Midland gates in Waterden Road have stopped this week to ask why the pickets are still on. 'Haven't you heard,' they said, 'the pickets are off.' In no uncertain terms the pickets told their brothers that the line will be maintained!

The source of the first article that the picketing would be suspended was the 'Financial Times' on Monday. That paper's labour staff boldly announced that a truce was under way.

Then another so-called authoritative source, the 'Morning Star', reported on Tuesday: 'London port shop stewards have provisionally agreed to lift the picketing of the Midland Cold Storage depot in east London for one week—if the company agrees to talks with the transport workers' union on its manning.'

The 'Star' industrial reporter went on to say: 'The stewards' position, it is understood, is

Who's creating cold store confusion?

that the picketing will be lifted only when talks take place.'

As leading figures on the London shop stewards' committee are Communist Party members it can be assumed that this article was doubtlessly written after consultation with leading docks steward and the Party's industrial organizer Bert Ramelson.

Does it reflect the views of the men?

Have the men had a chance at a mass meeting to express their views?

Has the shop stewards' committee met to endorse these peace-feelers?

After three days of investigation we have been unable to satisfactorily answer any of these questions.

There has been no mass meeting and, as far as we can establish, not even a full meeting of the shop stewards' committee.

So how can the 'Star' attribute this truce decision to 'London port shop stewards'.

Messrs Bernie Steer and Vic Turner, once the most compulsive media men, have suddenly fallen reticent—at the crunch point in the battle with the powerful cold storage operators.



Dockers have been driving up to colleagues outside the Midland Cold Storage depot to assure them the picketing is over. The answer they have been given is unprintable.

They readily agreed to spend 30 minutes arguing against other trade unionists on Granada TV's 'World in Action', they had no qualms about appearing with Lord Aldington on BBC, and they even wrote a joint article in 'The Times'.

But it seems impossible today to get a clear statement from them, as the senior representatives, and spokesmen of the committee, on the Midland dispute.

The contrived article in the 'Star' and the leaks in the capitalist press have served only to create further confusion among dockers over their struggle for jobs.

The same was true of the Communist Party members who controlled the upper

Clyde struggle. James Reid began the reformist work-in amid a blaze of publicity. But as the wheeling and dealing began with the Tories and the trade union bureaucrats, he left the television screens and the number of mass meetings drastically dwindled.

On Tuesday Turner told us he could not comment on rumours that stewards were prepared to call a truce in return for talks.

'I can't confirm or deny anything because there's nothing for me to confirm or deny,' he added.

The confusion deliberately being fostered on the London docks today can only assist Vestey and his powerful backers in the Tory Party and Jack Jones.

'Ballsoff Memorandum' is not copyright—judge

NORA BELOFF, the political correspondent of the 'Observer', yesterday lost her breach of copyright action against the magazine, 'Private Eye'.

Beloff complained to the High Court about the publication in 'Private Eye' of a memorandum she had written to the editor of the 'Observer', David Astor.

It was published in the 'Eye' under the heading 'The Ballsoff Memorandum'.

Miss Beloff was ordered to pay costs of the eight-day hearing, unofficially estimated at £10,000.

In his reserved judgement Mr Justice Ungood-Thomas said the copyright of the memorandum did not belong to Beloff.

In February 1971 the 'Observer' published a slashing attack on 'Private Eye' accusing it, in effect, of smearing the Home Secretary,

Mr Reginald Maudling, and of pure fabrication. In March 1971 'Private Eye' replied with an article incorporating Beloff's memorandum.

The judge said 'Private Eye' has for some time been concerned with Maudling's relationship with Mr Jerome D. Hoffman, of whose company, Real Estate Fund of America, Maudling had become first president.

'Mr Hoffman, I understand, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and fined £400 in the USA on fraud charges,' he added.

Though the title 'Ballsoff' created an offensive and thoroughly objectionable impression, Beloff would not in any event have been entitled to additional damages in respect of the publication.

'Private Eye' now faces a libel action by Beloff due to be heard next week.

French week of action very docile

FRENCH trade union federations—the Stalinist CGT and Socialist CFDT—called their 'week of action' this week to embarrass the EEC summit which opened in Paris yesterday.

But the leaders of European capitalism were probably impressed by the labour bureaucracies' docility.

The unions' demands are for a minimum wage of 1,000 francs (£83) a month and retirement at 60 with a minimum monthly pension of 800 francs (£66). They also want a cost-of-living clause in all wage contracts.

The 'week of action' is a deliberate attempt by the Stalinists and the Socialists to defuse the anger at the rapid fall in the value of workers' wages and encourage their appearance as moderates in their joint election campaign.

This 'pressure on the government and the employers', as it is described by the French Stalinists, is to lead to a national one-day strike, the date for which has not been fixed.

Although the original decision was taken nationally by the CGT-CFDT, the form of action was left to the 'democratic' choice of each factory and work place.

Monday's 'L'Humanité', the Stalinist daily, could only record one specific action called as part of the protest—the docks will stop work for a 'minimum' of one hour next Friday.

The 26 hours strike called for next Friday by railwaymen's

leaders for an increase of 8.5 per cent is the result of the refusal by the employers to grant any concessions and not the CGT-CFDT call.

One of the railmen's leaders complained to 'L'Humanité': 'We, for our part, have accomplished miracles in the field of productivity; within one generation output has gone up and the labour force has gone down from 515,000 to 290,000.'

Both the CGT-CFDT 'week of action' and the rail strike show that the French Stalinists are in full collaboration with Pompidou's anti-working-class policies of wage-cutting and rationalization.

Clampdown in Seoul during talks in North

PRESIDENT Park Chung Hee—who seized power in a military coup in 1961—partly suspended the South Korean constitution and dissolved the National Assembly on Tuesday.

His move comes at a time when key talks are being held with the North Korean government on the reunification of the country.

Press censorship has been imposed and all universities and colleges closed 'for the time being.'

Immediately after his declaration, tanks and armoured cars moved into Seoul and took up

key positions. The eight-point martial law decree stated that all political demonstrations and assemblies were banned.

Talks will be resumed on Monday in the North Korean capital of Pyongyang between Red Cross officials of both countries.

In his statement President Park revealed that the parts of the constitution suspended were to be replaced by amendments published next week.

If the amendments were supported in a referendum, the con-

stitutional order would be 'normalized' before the end of the year.

But if they were rejected, he added: 'I will take it as an expression of the will of our people against the North-South dialogue.'

For some time now the Stalinist regime in North Korea has been conducting negotiations for reunification with the American-backed military dictatorship in the South.

Park Chung Hee now feels the instability in his regime, especially following the overtures to Peking first by Washington and now by Tokyo.

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No firm reply on power claim — 'whipping boy' fears in public service

Pay delay anger mounts

POWER INDUSTRY employers yesterday refused to come forward with any reply to the unions' £5.50 pay claim until after the government-CBI-TUC meeting on October 26.

Today the local authorities are expected to follow suit. Union negotiators in this section of industry are seeking £4-a-week increases.

At an urgent meeting with Tory Education Secretary Margaret Thatcher yesterday teachers' leaders voiced suspicions that the government proposed to use the public services as the 'whipping boys' of a prices and incomes policy.

The power-station engineers have already given just a small indication of the unrest this is causing with their decision to stage the first of a series of one-day strikes on October 26.

Backing for the Tory policy came yesterday from 'The Times'.

The paper welcomed the TUC leaders' acceptance of the principle of state control over wages.

The outcome of Monday's talks at Chequers between the government, the TUC and the CBI make an agreement on a voluntary pay and prices policy look more likely than it did', said an editorial statement.

But it went on to reflect ruling-class fear that the TUC cannot deliver real control over settlements—and ruling-class preparation for other measures.

'It is already apparent that the TUC cannot itself be the mechanism for applying the pay element in the deal', 'The Times' says.

'If it tried it would destroy itself. Its influence and acquiescence is invaluable; but the moment it tries to be a policeman it ceases to be a tribune and so loses its occupation.'

For the union leaders to engage in the talks at all is a betrayal. But for them to continue with them, under conditions where the ruling class openly and cynically weighs the value of possible different forms of the betrayal adds insult to injury.

The talks must immediately be broken off and an alternative revolutionary leadership built.

This is the task before Sunday's All Trades Unions Alliance conference in Birmingham.

● **THE POWER WORKERS'** union yesterday broke off talks on their wage claim 'until the employers are free to negotiate'. The union side is to report to their various executives with a recommendation that the claim be backed up by industrial action to achieve 'a realistic settlement'. The union negotiating side is to meet again on October 27.

Jack Biggin of the General and Municipal Workers' Union told Workers' Press: 'The fact that the TUC is involved in talks with the government is a matter for the General Council, not for us.'

Bob Wright, of the engineers, said an imposed freeze was 'intolerable'.

Little hope for Lucas talks

LABOUR MP Eric Heffer meets industrial development minister Christopher Chataway and Lucas management in London today for talks on the scheduled closure of the CAV Fazakerley, Liverpool, plant.

But the leaders of the factory's occupation committee — representing the 1,100 workers who took over almost two weeks ago—were yesterday not optimistic about the outcome of the discussions.

'We don't expect much from them,' convenor Dave Martin told Workers Press. Two Lucas stewards travelled to London last night to attend the meetings.

Added Dave Martin: 'The feeling here now is that the whole Lucas combine has got to move on this one. We have to build up the support and cannot let the combine sit aside. They must be involved in our fight.'

'Personally, I think the support has to be in the form of action if we're going to win.'

Occupation committee members are now busily attending stewards' meeting throughout the Lucas empire. They feel that before they go outside the group for help from groups like dockers and airport workers, those inside the industry must come forward.



Lobbying electricians push posters in front of union president/secretary Frank Chapple as he enters yesterday's pay talks at Millbank Tower, London.

Thornycroft sit-in meets officials

NATIONAL union officials arrive at the Thornycroft plant in Basingstoke, Hants, this morning to try and get the engineers to lift their ten-week occupation of the factory.

It is thought they will be led by Bill John, Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' executive councilman.

Most men sitting-in at the heavy gear-box factory were opposed to the officials coming

down. They fear that the only reason for their appearance is to try and end their fight.

Union officials—who gave an undertaking to British-Leyland at York last week that they would obtain a meeting—have, however, exerted pressure on the occupation committee to call another meeting.

They are thought to have been angered by the result of last Sunday's meeting which

decisively rejected the York proposals.

The proposals themselves are worth about as much as the two pages they are written on. Eaton's the buyers, will take over the factory from next January.

And British-Leyland has only undertaken to supply Eaton's with three years' work 'subject to market conditions'. The way Leyland is going at the moment, that could mean abso-

lute disaster.

Eaton's themselves, according to the statement after the York meeting, only undertook to 'give full consideration to Basingstoke as a possible manufacturing location for the potential new products'.

Earlier this week occupation committee leaders remained confident that today's meeting would throw out the York deal.

Truck backing put off

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE THREAT of a strike throughout the British-Leyland bus and truck division in support of workers occupying the combine's Basingstoke plant was lifted temporarily yesterday.

Shop stewards from all the factories in Leyland's heavy vehicle division agreed at Preston to postpone any action pending the outcome of talks at Basingstoke today.

These will involve leaders of the workers occupying the combine's gearbox subsidiary of Thornycroft and national union officials who will be seeking to end the dispute on the basis of Leyland's latest offer.

After this meeting shop stewards will make a recommendation to a mass meeting of workers.

After yesterday's meeting, Len Smart, spokesman for the occupying committee, said:

'Leyland have certainly taken some steps forward. Before last week there had been no real reaction from them.'

Mr Smart was referring to the guarantees from Leyland to supply the Thornycroft factory—which is being hived off to Eaton's, an American firm—with enough work for 740 until 1976.

Mr Smart said the Thornycroft stewards were still sticking to their original three demands. These were that Leyland would have to unscramble a £2½m Eaton deal, keep Thornycroft within the combine and offer over 1,000 jobs to match the number of workers originally employed at the plant.

'It may be that the officials will convince us this is impossible,' said Mr Smart.

He agreed that a major obstacle was the demand to retain Thornycroft within the British-Leyland combine.

He said it would be a question of accepting the existing offer, rejecting it or accepting it as a 'skeleton' around which 'flesh could be filled'.

Speaking for the British-Leyland shop stewards' commercial committee, Mr Len Brindle said strike action was still a possibility.

'Our meeting stands adjourned until the outcome of tomorrow's talks,' he said. Further industrial action would depend on the attitude of the Thornycroft men

HAZARDS for the British car industry of entry into the Common Market were pinpointed yesterday by Sir William Lyons, founder of Jaguar cars.

Opening the Motor Show at Earls Court, Lyons put a heavy damper on the previous day's extravagant public relations from Lord Stokes, head of Jaguar's parent company British-Leyland.

Stokes hit out vehemently at any suggestion that Market entry will be other than an unparalleled boost for Leyland's fortunes. He announced 'a bumper year for new British-Leyland models' in 1973.

Lyons, however, said there would be no easy benefits from entry.

From the engineering point of view the British industry was well placed, he said. But the 'disappointing low rate of growth, low level of capital investment, the appalling industrial relations' would, if continued, make it ill-equipped to meet European competition.

to any new deal.

He expressed the concern growing throughout the Leyland combine over redundancies.

'We are extremely worried and are looking on the Thornycroft issue as being an indication of further developments,' he said.

'Our position is that we are completely opposed to the hiving off of any BLMC plant.'

Convenors from other plants in the heavy vehicle division will go to Basingstoke tomorrow in a personal capacity to observe developments.

Workers Press MONTHLY APPEAL FUND

£437.28—13 DAYS TO GO

IT IS a tough struggle again to raise our Fund this month. We still need to collect £1,312.72 in 13 days' time. Let's go all out from now on and do our best to raise it.

We know we can change the position around. Everywhere trade unionists are joining the fight to demand the TUC breaks off all talks with the Tories. Huge price increases are forcing even more unions to fight for wage increases against the latest decision for state control over wages.

Workers Press must continue to lead this fight. Our paper must be used to build a revolutionary leadership throughout the trade union movement. We must therefore do everything possible to raise our Fund in time. Take collections at work, add something extra yourself, if you can. Post every donation immediately to:

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October Appeal Fund
186a Clapham High Street
London SW4 7UG.

Bread strike goes on

A 1,200-STRONG mass meeting of Glasgow bakers now on unofficial strike for a week voted almost unanimously yesterday to continue their strike for a £5 all-round pay increase.

Unofficial strike committee chairman, Mr James Owen said the Press had been misrepresenting the struggle, claiming that it was only a handful of militants leading the strike.

Union officials have already signed an agreement with the employers for £2.50 for men and £1.50 for women. This was in spite of a clear mandate from a full meeting of shop stewards and factory representatives the week before which had overwhelmingly rejected the proposals.

LATE NEWS

● **HAROLD SPEAR**, industrial relations member of the Electricity Council, said after a two-and-a-half-hour meeting with the unions that there was 'not a chance' of their meeting the claim for a five-hour reduction in the working week.

The council felt that nothing should be done to prejudice the talks between the government and the TUC, he said.

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