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# MONOPOLIES

BY DAVID MAUDE

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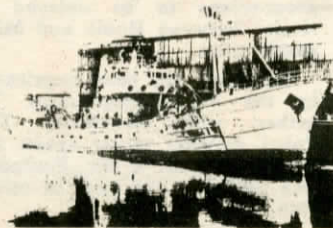
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# WORKERS PRESS

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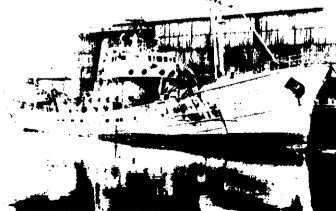
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After the Nixon-Pompidou talks

# Slump alarm in States

**THE INFLATIONARY boom in the United States cannot be sustained at its present rate, according to top officials of the Nixon administration. They admit that attempts to control inflation could precipitate a slump.**

Treasury Secretary George Schultz told reporters at the White House last week that 'a central problem for economic management' was 'how to manage this boom so that it tapers off without leading to a decline in real income.'

'We know that the real rate of increase of 8 per cent that we have now is not sustainable. The economy just doesn't expand that fast in terms of its basic increase in productivity and labour force.'

'Most people think that gives you a rate of expansion of capacity of the order of 4½ per cent or something of that kind. So this 8 per cent real rate of increase has got to come down to the 4 per cent rate by definition.'

## INDECISION

'The problem is to bring it down without having the 4 per cent turn into minus 1 per cent or something, to bring it down and have the economy expand at something like that 4 per cent rate.'

Schultz's remarks show the indecision of an administration racked by the Watergate scandal and facing a world economic crisis of unprecedented severity.

The paralysis of the Nixon administration can only be intensified by the results of his summit meeting with French President Georges Pompidou in Iceland.

Despite the participants' brave attempts to put the best face on the outcome of their talks, the result was a disaster for Nixon and for the carefully arranged programme of meetings between the main capitalist powers over the coming months.

The extent of basic disagreement between Nixon and Pompidou not only intensifies Nixon's domestic problem (namely how to deal with the working class while fighting to stay in office),

BY JOHN SPENCER

but also increases the paralysis at the top of his administration as domestic and foreign plans begin to crumble.

All that Schultz and the Federal Reserve Board have done so far to solve the 'problem of economic management' has been to allow interest rates to increase, discourage company borrowing and encourage the repatriation of funds from abroad.

The 'Financial Times' summed up the situation in its editorial:

'US output is booming, but so are prices: Phase Three of the anti-inflation programme is not going to work on the voluntary lines originally hoped for and Mr Nixon is not at present in a position to exercise the pressure needed.'

'The Times' detected 'growing alarm that the Nixon administration will not be able either to take appropriate domestic eco-

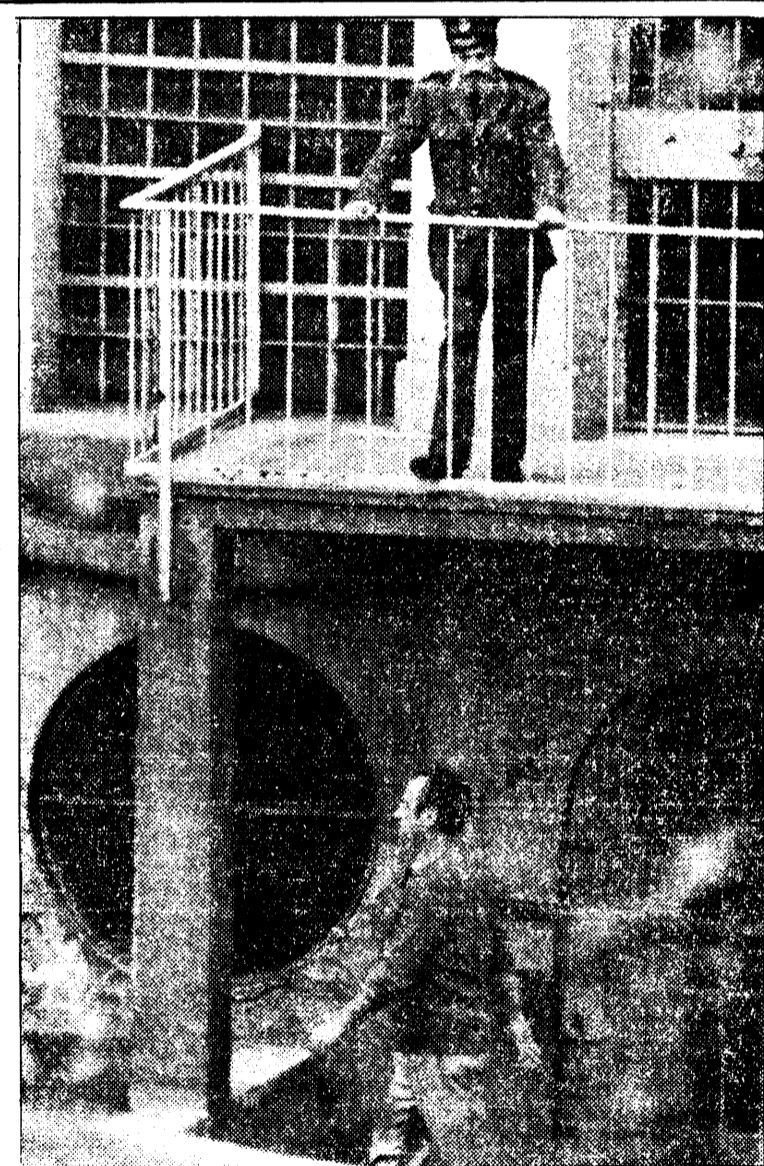
nomical measures either to hold back wage and price increases, or to win any material concessions in the international trade and monetary negotiations'.

Manipulation of interest rates is about the only means left to Nixon now that he can no longer rely on Congress to put through legislation on Phase Three of his plan for state control of wages.

Meanwhile the raging inflation has brought the dollar down by an average of 7 per cent against other currencies since the second formal devaluation of the US currency in February.

At the same time the gold price is at a new record level having touched \$120 in hectic trading at the end of last week.

And symptomatic of the trend towards slump is the continued decline on Wall Street where the index of stock market prices has fallen almost without interruption since the beginning of the year and the big companies are openly preparing for a major recession in 1974.



Former Milan police chief Beneforte now awaiting trial for 'bugging' But who was he working for?

## Fascist leader has 'corruption' tapes

ITALIAN Fascist leader Giorgio Almirante claims he has tape recordings that reveal wholesale corruption in the ruling Christian Democratic Party.

The tapes contain conversations about crooked road-building contracts obtained by ex-secret service wire-tappers.

They show how the Department of Roads and Highways corruptly bought and sold tenders for road-building to the highest bidder.

Ex-head of the Milan Criminal Police, Beneforte, had 'bugged' the office of the General Director of the Department of Roads and Highways.

This was revealed in an investigation into a huge bugging network of government buildings in Rome. Already a number of former secret service officials have been arrested.

The government has allowed proceedings to be delayed by rivalry between Rome and Milan magistrates.

Beneforte has been imprisoned by the Milan magistrates. Together with Beneforte, Tom Ponzi, another secret agent, and Bruno Matioli, a Mr Pontedera was named in the bugging operation.

Pontedera's real identity is lawyer Marino Fabbri (48). But

it is still not clear for whom either Beneforte or his collaborators were working.

Fabbri obtained the tapes, tried to blackmail a leading engineer, and then gave two of the tapes to the court of investigation.

He promised to return another two tapes, but instead disappeared. It is said that a political party offered a tremendous amount of money for these two tapes.

Now Almirante, leader of the Italian fascist party—due to be tried for reviving Mussolini's movement—has stepped on the scene.

## WHAT WE THINK

# Nationalization: Call emergency LP conference

LABOUR PARTY right-wingers are out to cripple the movement in the middle of the most colossal struggles between capitalism and the working class since the war.

Harold Wilson has embarked on a course of open defiance of Party policy. Other leaders are continually flouting NEC and Conference decisions. Everywhere, the right-wing splitters are at work trying to break the Party from its trade union basis and its traditional commitment to socialism.

Wilson states categorically that whatever the NEC and Conference might decide about taking over 25 major private enterprises, he and the Shadow Cabinet will veto it.

'The Shadow Cabinet would not hesitate to use its veto at the appropriate time. It was inconceivable that the Party or its leader would go into a General Election on this proposal, nor could any incoming Labour government be so committed.'

James Callaghan is openly scornful of a previous Conference decision to take the banks and insurance into public ownership.

Even as the separate policy document on this is being prepared in Transport House for publication in a couple of months, Callaghan, number three in the Party hierarchy, is making nonsense of it by saying he cannot support it. Callaghan is a director of a major bank.

Over the Common Market, despite substantial majorities at Conference against entry on the terms negotiated by the Tories, 69 Labour MPs, including the then deputy leader Roy Jenkins, openly flouted Party policy and voted for entry. In the process they kept the Tory government in office.

Despite a Conference decision last year to back any Labour councils defying the law by non-implementation of the rent Act, the Labour leaders washed their hands of the rebel councillors when the crunch came.

It is Party policy to re-nationalize without compensation any publicly-owned enterprise sold back to private capitalism by the Tories. But when Anthony Wedgwood Benn promised this for Rolls-Royce Motors, Wilson repudiated his statement.

Roy Hattersley, Shadow Minister of Education, wanted to attack the NEC nationalization decision in a public speech at the weekend. Transport House had to refuse to publish his speech.

The Jenkinsite wing is hard at work trying to break the Party from the unions. Bill Rodgers, Stockton MP and ex-Minister, has termed the 25 companies plan 'electoral suicide' and called for a policy that was clearly the Labour Party's own 'and not just the TUC's dressed up'.

Jenkins' former acolyte Dick Tavner, another ex-Minister, is now attacking the Labour Party in Lincoln where he was sacked as MP for joining the Tory camp over the EEC. His Democratic Labour Party is running anti-Labour candidates in the local elections just as he did in the parliamentary by-election.

Already, the Labour Party is losing all effectiveness by these disruptive attacks on its policy from within. The right-wingers are now out to create total confusion in order to undermine the support for socialism within the labour movement.

The right wing fears that the sharpening class conflict caused by the crisis of capitalism will create enormous demands among trade unionists for wholesale nationalization.

The whole labour and trade union movement must now demand the urgent summoning of an emergency Conference of the Labour Party to kick out the traitors and splitters and bind the Party once and for all firmly to a policy of nationalization of the basic industries and finance capital, without compensation, and under workers' control.

## Colonels round up dissident officers

THE GREEK government yesterday stepped up its arrests of its opponents in the armed forces following last week's abortive coup attempt and the successful mutiny of the destroyer 'Velos'.

More than 150 officers described as Royalists were under arrest on Saturday night after the colonels had declared a republic and deposed the exiled King Constantine.

Also under arrest was former Interior Minister Christopher Stratos (49), an industrialist who, in the past, has acted as a close political associate of Constantine.

Some families of detained naval officers said about 200 officers had been rounded up in connection with the mutiny at Salamis naval base. The government announced that 40 officers were being held, but said investigations were continuing.

The 'Velos' mutineers, who have been given asylum in Italy, described the atmosphere of suspicion inside the armed forces, where internal police spy on the political views and opinions of both officers and men.

The special military police even had plans to take over control of the entire armed forces from the regular services in the event of disturbance, Captain

Nicholas Pappas of the 'Velos' said.

The 'Velos' mutiny demonstrates the complete absence of any social base for the colonel's dictatorship.

Disaffection inside the armed forces is at an unprecedented level, though the officer corps have gained great privileges as a result of the military coup six years ago.

King Constantine, naturally, is trying to place himself at the head of this opposition with speeches about restoring democracy and 'fighting as a soldier' against the colonels.

But this is a desperate attempt to save his throne by a man whose influence even among the officers is by no means universal.

The Greek regime, imposed by the Central Intelligence Agency and kept in being by the most ferocious repression, is in grave trouble.

In the aftermath of the declaration of the republic and the mutiny in the navy the last word has yet to be spoken by the regime's arch-enemy—the Greek working class.

# EMPLOYERS PLAN THE SPEED-UP

Just a hint of the employers' boardroom discussions about how to deal with the working class came out into the open last week when a leading official of the Engineering Employers' Federation called for a 'relentless' speed-up drive.

But Edward de Burgh Marsh, the EEF's director of advisory services, was just the latest employer to let the anti-working class cat out of the bag.

In recent months a series of spokesmen at different levels have been laying it on the line that what is needed is a massive increase in the rate of exploitation.

Marsh, a former management consultant, clearly favours a straightforward blitz at shop-floor level aimed at pushing up profitability.

Others have talked of doubling the rate of investment or legislating more favourable terms for industry. The aim is the same.

Speaking at last Tuesday's opening of the Industrial Training Exhibition, he said:

'Currently, while net output per head in engineering has increased from something like £1,330 per head in 1963 to over £2,400 per head in 1972, the real contribution by this same manpower to commercial objectives as measured in terms of added value per £1 of wage and salary has consistently declined each year from £1.80 in 1968 to below £1.60 in 1972, with the result that "margins" from which additional costs, depreciation and future capital investment programmes must be funded have declined.'

Marsh, who spends much of his time talking to employers on the ground about productivity, payment systems and manpower planning, and therefore presumably reflects a considerable body of opinion in engineering, said that the trend of falling profits must be first stopped, then reversed if British industry is to regain a competitive edge over foreign competition.

He went on: 'The framework for Phase Three could do much to help this recovery. Industry can also do a considerable amount for itself by relentlessly pursuing all areas of potential improvement—and

there are many—in the effective use of manpower.'

It is worth examining these remarks in some detail, since they begin with a statistical trick and are concluded with a virtual call to battle against wages and conditions on the shop floor.

The trick is that Marsh gave figures for the increase in output in terms of their sales value and this, although he did not directly say so, left the impression that much of the increase was due to price inflation. The rest of this part of his speech tended to reinforce this impression.

It is in this way that the edge taken off his call for a relentless drive to push up profits, giving it 'reasonable' gloss which would not frighten off the union leaders who have already decided to participate in Phase Three talks with Heath.

But the real position as regards output in engineering is suggested in indices published by the Department of Employment.

Taking 1963 as 100, provisional figures show that by 1971 output per person employed in mechanical, instrument and electrical engineering had reached 137.1.

In other words calculating at constant prices the actual amount of goods produced had risen by more than a third. This was almost 11 per cent up on the increase for the economy as a whole.

But this is not enough for Marsh and the EEF.

And they are not satisfied, either, with the considerable incentives for firms which push up productivity written into Phase Two of the Tories' state pay control laws.

Where, generally speaking, firms have to absorb 50 per cent of allowable cost increases arising from increases in labour costs, in the case of labour-intensive industries a sliding scale comes into operation.

A firm where labour costs represent 36 per cent of its total costs could pass on 51 per cent of any allowable increase, while one in which pay represented two-thirds of costs could pass 73 per cent.

Thus a labour-intensive firm which extracted a big increase in output for a meagre wage increase would stand to give itself a big edge in terms of profits.

Some 48 hours after publi-

cation of this provision—contained in the government's code for operation of Phase Two—the head of Britain's most powerful employers' organization was attacking the government for 'sloppy thinking about the role of profits'.

With Phase Two hardly off the printing presses, he was already bidding up the odds for Phase Three.

Michael Clapham, president of the Confederation of British Industry, said that employers must as a matter of urgency 'raise dramatically the level of output per man'.

But the real strategic aim of this section of the employers was revealed last year, shortly before the unveiling of Phase One of the pay laws.

Lucian Wigdor, CBI deputy director-general, let drop at a little-reported Press conference that to sustain the present rate of business growth the amount of money available for investment would have to be doubled.

What he meant was that profits would have to be doubled. And a few quick calculations sufficed to tell some of the journalists present that here was a statement of some importance.

To push up, by another 9 or 10 per cent the 9 per cent of gross national product which goes to make up profits each year, the 61 per cent of GNP paid out in wages must be slashed by one-sixth.

Either that or the money must come from the 30 per cent or so of GNP which makes up government expenditure.

If the whole of the redistribution called for by Wigdor came off wages, it would mean a cut in pay rates of 15 per cent throughout British industry, which would trim the average wage-packet by more than £5 a week.

An attempt to redistribute from government expenditure, already foreshadowed in Barber's £500m cuts announcement, would mean swingeing attacks on the social services and the possible abolition of the health service as we know it.

That such topics are now increasingly aired publicly by employers' spokesmen must indicate that they are more and more the predominant topics of boardroom discussion. And this, itself, is an indicator of the employers' growing crisis.



Peyton—welcomed the growth of the 'casual' supplementary register.

## SINISTER MOVES BY EMPLOYERS ON THE DOCKS

Corporatism had reared its ugly head on the docks, under cover of the 'new career structure' which employers have been trying to force down dockers' throats since last year.

The aim of this career structure is to drag dockers into cahoots with the employers by means of payments for their various specialized jobs.

And the employers' latest ploy for giving credence to this dangerous set of proposals is to sponsor a phoney discussion on the role and representative authority of shop stewards.

This matter was first raised in March by Donald Redford, the new chairman of the National Association of Port Employers, when he was speaking on the same bill as John Peyton, the Tories' Minister for Transport Industries.

### Election rules

Peyton delivered a homily greatly welcoming the growth of the 'casual', supplementary register, by means of which the government and employers are hoping to undermine the Dock Labour Scheme which gives dockers job-security.

Redford moved in with the suggestion that there should be rules for the election of shop stewards on the docks.

Early this month he returned to this theme in 'The Port', the 'independent' newspaper sponsored by the Port of London Authority.

The NAPE chief told the paper he was 'concerned about the degree . . . to which the stewards accurately reflected views of their members'.

Without a shred of evidence, a by your leave or an explanation of why he thought the subject his business in the first place, he started sounding off about not enough men voting in the elections for stewards at some ports.

Because of this, delicate industrial relationships could end up in the hands of a 'vociferous minority', he said. They could even be placed at the mercy of 'irrelevant side winds' from outside the industry.

If stewards were to assume more responsibility, he went

on, they must speak for as many men as possible.

This required a change in the election rules encouraging more men to vote.

To some dockers, who missed the nasty whiff of witch-hunting about the phrase side winds from outside the industry, this may have seemed to a large extent merely a discussion of a technical problem.

### 'Absorbed'

But 'The Port' itself let the corporatist cat out of the bag.

Here is how the paper dragged the issue up again on May 24:

'Do shop stewards truly represent the views of the majority of men in dockland?'

'This was the important question posed by national port employers' chief Mr Donald Redford when he declared publicly that before shop stewards would be absorbed into management as part of a new career structure for dockers, changes ought first to be made in the rules governing their election.'

The key phrase, of course, 'shop stewards would be absorbed into management'.

This, 'The Port' admits, is the real purpose of the proposed career structure.

Behind all the phrases of employers like John Lurch, PLA director-general, about 'every docker should have a director-general's baton in his overall pocket' lurks the aim of depriving dockers of any real representation.

First the employers want to take away from the docker his independent union organization.

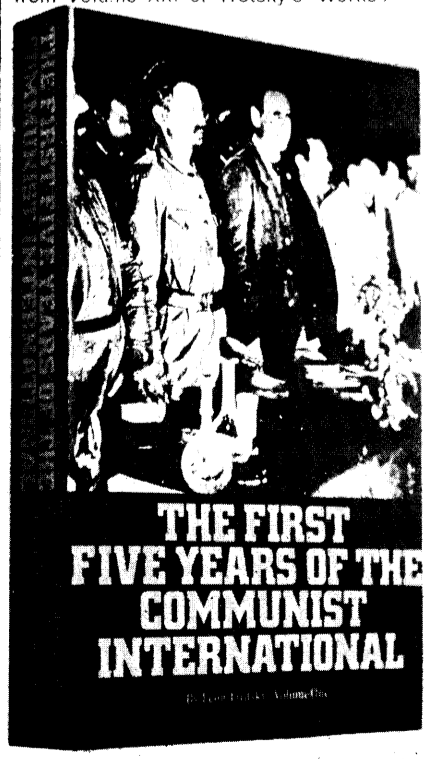
Then they want to take away from him his job-security under the Dock Labour Scheme. And then, the Redfords, Lurches and Peytons think, they will have the troublesome fellow where they want him.

Of course they know dockers themselves will fiercely resist these moves.

But they are relying in both cases on the treacherous policies of the union leaders to see them through.

The 'workers' participation' garbage being so enthusiastically peddled by the leadership of the Transport and General Workers' Union, in particular, is one of the biggest dangers in this context.

A new English edition of the 'First Five Years of the Communist International' incorporating hitherto unpublished material from Volume XIII of Trotsky's 'Works'.



## NEW EDITION

**The First Five Years of the Communist International**  
This first volume of Trotsky's writings and speeches for the Communist International covers the period of its first three Congresses when the post-war revolutionary upsurge reached its peak and then began to recede. It establishes, without fear of contradiction, the important role which he played in the foundation of this, the Third workers' International, and in the formation and early development of the French, German and Italian Communist Parties. At this time the theory of 'socialism in one country' had not been invented and Joseph Stalin was still a second-line Bolshevik leader who played no part in the international movement which he was later to pervert and eventually destroy.

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# TRANSFORMING THE SOC INTO A REVOLUTIONARY

## THE DISCUSSION GOES ON

**'But money isn't made from money. It's made off our backs'**

Jim Evans (46), is a General and Municipal Workers' Union shop steward at the South East Gas Corporation's plant in Croydon. He says:

I first met the Socialist Labour League when people came selling Workers Press at the gate during the strike. I went to a meeting of the All Trades Unions Alliance and I disagreed with a few of their things, but there were more that I agreed with.

I call our strike the 'waste-of-time strike'. The union took us for mugs, they had no intention of winning the strike. If you go in, you go in to win.

But even when we were called out on a 24-hour strike, the production men were sent in. They said it was 'for safety', but it definitely wasn't; it was to keep the stocks up.

Why did they call it in the first place? The real reason was the men were agitating for a strike and it got too big for the union. I don't see why a union should ever be beaten. They've got the strength, if they use it.

We should have fought together with the hospital workers. Instead, our union was the first to give in.

The TUC has given the Tory government *carte blanche* to do what they like. The unions' leaders are doing a better job for the Tories than the Tories could do for themselves.

Our union accepted £2.80, but if we start any further industrial action to reduce overtime, or if we ban overtime, we lose 56p off it. The leaders say they didn't agree with that, but they had to accept it! They didn't have to accept anything.

We would have had a General Election if the union leaders had refused to accept the Tory pay freeze. Pay is frozen, but not prices. The unions should step in now.

Look at the Lonrho men. One got £130,000. Our men might get £2,500 to £3,000. After 30 years' service they get chucked out like old tow-rags.

And take Lambton and Jellicoe — people we're supposed to look up to. They've had to resign, but they won't be on the dole, will they?

It's time the working man was put first, and that's what I like about Workers Press.

The only way you're going to beat the Tories is by a General Strike. Our jobs are threatened all the time. Four years ago 350 to 400 men could produce 25-30 million cubic feet of gas a day. Now 50 can make 190 million cubic foot a day. That's progress for you. But our wages haven't gone up.

We've got redundancies hanging over our heads all



The Lonrho men at the Westminster Hall meeting last Thursday. Says Jim Evans 'Look at the Lonrho men. One got £130,000. Our men might get £2,500 to £3,000. After 30 years' service they get chucked out like old tow-rags.' Above: Gasmen during their strike earlier this year.

the time. We know North Sea gas will shut us down in two or three years' time.

The capitalist says 'I must

have a return on my money.' But money isn't made from money. It's made off our backs.

There's not a lot to choose between Labour and the Tories now, as far as I can see. I was brought up in the Welsh

valleys where you never saw a Tory get his nose in. But the last Labour government was never a socialist government.

The first thing they did was put MPs' salaries up, then freeze wages. As an Opposition, they've done nothing, nothing at all.

I've always been Labour. I was brought up on Labour. Now it's not enough. I think it might have been enough, if only Labour had been stronger in what they're doing. But 'weak' isn't the word for it. You have to dig deep to find a word for them.

The leaders have let down every working man in the country. The May Day strike, for instance, was a flop, but it needn't have been a flop.

The way things are going, there's got to be a revolutionary party. There's nothing else for it.

The Workers Press is a good paper, though I would like to see more news of developments in this country rather than on foreign news. I don't suppose everybody will agree with that, though.

I think we've got to form a revolutionary party, but on the basis of what's happening in this country.

# SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE Y PARTY

## 'Tories want workers on their knees to beg for work'

John is a driver in London and a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union. He said:

I came from a very big family and from the early days it was a struggle for a living. There were 12 of us and we were very poor.

In those days, especially in the big cities if you had a big family, you had such small accommodation that you either went in the army or into service. I went into service.

I started off as a kitchen boy and worked my way up to butler working for rich people and even Royalty. It was just slavery when I first started. I used to get 7s 6d (37½p) a week and I had to sleep in the kitchen.

I used to visit back to my parents and see how they lived. They never had anything. My father was a taxi driver and I remember he gave my mother 4s (20p) a day.

I used to go out when I was very young in the early hours of the morning—say one or two o'clock—to the local bakers, catch the night shift and buy six penny worth of stale bread. That was for the family and it really opened my eyes.

Later on, working for rich people you could really see the difference in the way people had to live.

I used to say to myself 'Is this fair?' That's how I came into politics. And politics came into the whole family. Any spare money we had went to educate the eldest boy. That happened in most families. He went into politics and was a Labour councillor for 25 years.

We all had to do our bit and go on the streets canvassing for the Labour Party. This was in the early 1930s.

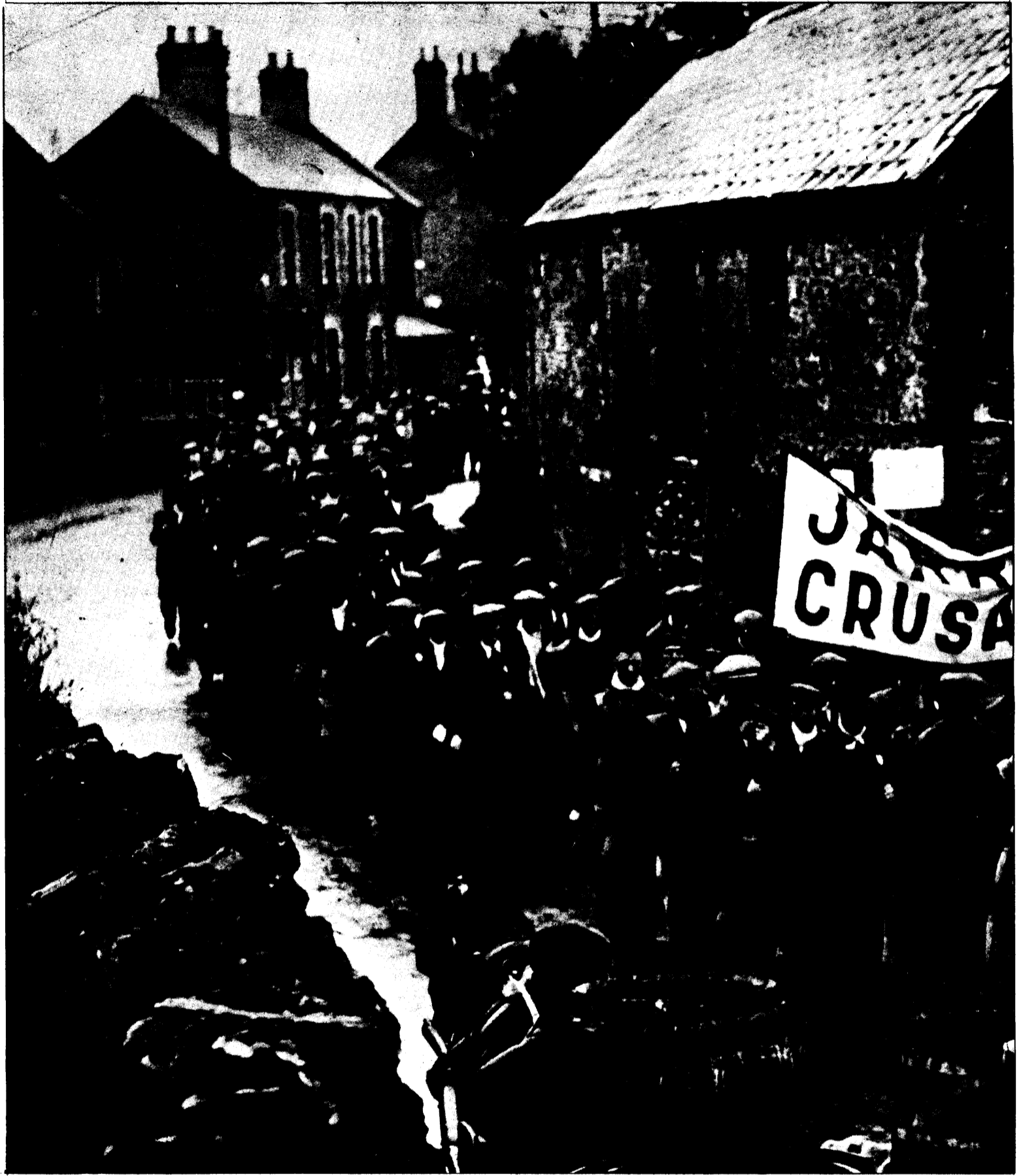
In those days Labour was the party for the workers. The old leaders in those days were true socialists. But it's miles different today. This is what shocks us.

When I was 16, I went on a march from Fulham to meet the hunger marchers from Jarrow. That was another turning point to see all those people coming towards you with pieces of old rags on their feet and covered in blood.

Then, another thing, we used to have miners coming into London. Anywhere you went you could see groups of them singing and even though I was young I said to myself 'This isn't right. Good strong men having to go begging'.

Now the Tories have unleashed a vendetta against the workers. There was always talk before the Tories got in that all the workers were doing was playing bingo, buying televisions and wanting two cars. Tories said workers were getting too much and they said they would put a stop to it.

It's the old vendetta against the workers—the Industrial Relations Act, rents and everything else. There was a period when they obviously felt the workers were taking too big a



Jarrow hunger march—'That was another turning point to see all those people coming towards you with pieces of old rags on their feet . . .'

slice of their cake. Now they've got a policy to make them poor again, to divide them and to break up the unions.

They want the workers down on their knees so that they can go back to the 1930s and have workers begging for work so that they can state their own price.

If they can get the unions where they want them, which they're trying to do now, they'll be wage-cutting and sacking men just like in the old days.

I've been a Labour man all my life and I am very disappointed in the labour leaders. They are the people. If they had stood together like true socialists they could have stopped this government before now.

If Jenkins and his crowd hadn't voted with the Tories after the House of Commons debate on the Common Market they would have been out a year.

This is where I get disillusioned with these people calling themselves socialists because they're not socialists at all. If they were, they'd have got this government out before now.

The TUC leaders are the same as the Labour Party. You've got these right wingers who I call traitors to the working class. These are the people who are letting us down.

I think these officials have been spoiled so much with high salaries that the money has gone to their heads. They couldn't care less about other people. They're way above them and they are frightened to lose their jobs.

That is the reason why I support the League. It's the only alternative. With these right wingers holding the power, we're never going to get anywhere. They've got to be chucked out.

The League has got to organize to get these right

wingers out and put a Labour government in that will be truly socialist.

If Labour doesn't follow the League's policies, then there will be a break with them. There will have to be an alternative party come in and lead the working class.

If these right wingers are half capitalist and support the system, they might as well be whole capitalists.

I've read the documents about the crisis and transforming the League into a revolutionary party and I agree something drastic has got to be done.

There's only one thing I disagree with and that's probably because I don't understand. That's when it mentions 'revolution'.

A lot of people would be worried by that because they think it means get up in armed struggle and start shooting. They think there's violence coming all the time.

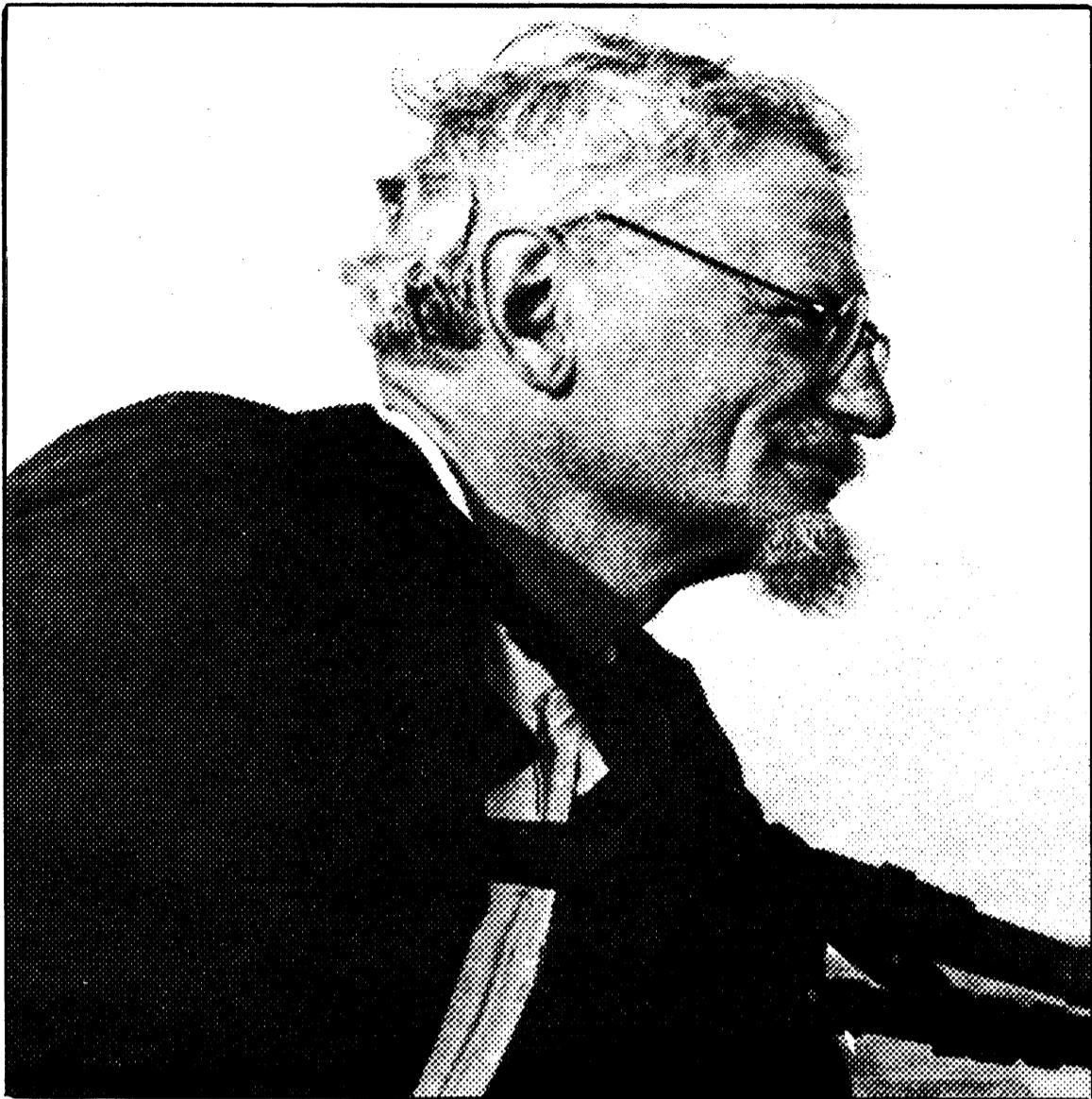
If it came to it that workers' rights were being taken away all the time and living standards going down those people who do not understand now will understand then that there will have to be drastic measures taken.

Nobody wants force, but if your standards are so low that you're starving, then you've got to fight to live. The workers have got to organize. There's no doubt about that. They can't rely on the right wingers in the Labour Party and the TUC.

If we rely on them our standards will be so low in the end we won't have anything left to fight with.

These people will do nothing for us. In my opinion the League is definitely the only party which can.

Somebody's got to organize the working class, especially the youth. If the Tories get away with what they're doing, the future for youth is finished.



# TROTSKY'S WRITINGS 1932-1933

BY TOM KEMP

'WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY (1932-33).' Edited by George Breitman and Sarah Lovell. Pathfinder Press, New York, pp. 364. Paper £1.45.

This volume of Trotsky's writings spans the period of the historic defeat of the German working class and the coming to power of Hitler which made necessary a fresh assessment of the tasks of the Left Opposition.

It was one which furnished further evidence of the degeneration of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the disastrous consequences of the working out of the policy of 'socialism in one country'. At the same time, the capitalist world was plunged into its worst slump and the drive to fascism and war was proceeding at full speed.

Trotsky was aware that a heavy responsibility lay on his shoulders as the only surviving leader of the Bolshevik Revolution able to make use of all its experience to resist the Stalinist tide and rally the cadres for rebuilding the international communist movement.

The struggle of the Left Opposition had begun in the Soviet Union in 1923-1924 when, in the closing stages of Lenin's life, Stalin, as representative of the rising bureaucracy, took command of the party apparatus and went on to make a major revision of Marxism with the theory and policy of 'socialism in one country'. This struggle was continued over the question of the failure of the German revolution in 1923 and taken into the Communist International when Stalin's policy led to a series of disasters in China, Britain and other countries.

After the exile of Trotsky from the Soviet Union in February 1929, the forces of the Left Opposition began to grow, mainly by individual selection, under very special and extremely difficult conditions against the whole weight

of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Stalinists and the Social-Democracy.

From his exile in Turkey, Trotsky followed very closely the internal life of these groups, giving them constant counsel and advice, from his immense store of experience, in overcoming their problems. He was well aware of the shortcomings of many of those who proclaimed themselves his supporters.

In an article written in December 1932 'On the State of the Left Opposition' after his visit to Copenhagen where he had the opportunity of meeting many Oppositionists, he reviewed its problems in some detail. At this time the Left Opposition still considered itself to be an organized faction within the official Communist Parties and the Communist International working to oust the Stalinist leadership and bring them back to a Leninist course. Trotsky was firmly opposed to the formation of new parties or the call for a new International.

The sections of the International Left Opposition faced considerable internal difficulties which arose largely from their composition and isolation from the mass movement. The task facing Trotsky was to select and train the most promising cadres and confront them with the task of penetrating the trade unions and establishing solid links with the working class.

The view which Trotsky expressed before Hitler took power and while there were still good grounds for expecting that the German working class would fight, despite its rotten leadership, was that 'to counterpose the adventurist slogan of a second party to the existing party, as the Stalinists accuse us, would mean to block our way to the communist workers themselves. But to blur our difference with centrism in the name of facilitating "unity" would mean not only to commit political suicide, but also to cover up, strengthen and nourish all the negative features of bureaucratic centrism, and by that fact alone help the reactionary currents

within it against the revolutionary tendencies'.

By bureaucratic centrism, Trotsky meant the policy of the Stalinized communist parties. In a document which he prepared for the pre-conference of the International Left Opposition, published in December 1932, he made a lengthy analysis of what he meant in applying this term to the Soviet bureaucracy at that time. He insisted that while 'bureaucratic centrism signifies the worst degeneration of the workers' state . . . even in its bureaucratically degenerated form the Soviet Union remains a workers' state'.

From this followed a basic programmatic principle of the movement:

'Unconditional defence of the Soviet Union against world imperialism is such an elementary task of every revolutionary worker that the Left Opposition tolerates no vacillations or doubts on this question in its ranks.'

It was rejection of the principle of unconditional defence of the gains of the October Revolution which resulted in splits with a number of groups and individuals who had been attracted towards the Left Opposition. This same rejection made the split with Shachtman and Burnham in the Socialist Workers' Party in the United States irrevocable in 1940, as it did a decade later with the adherents of the so-called 'state capitalist' theory, the present-day International Socialists.

In the theoretical guidelines which he offered to the forthcoming conference, Trotsky pointed out that it was false to regard the evolution of the Comintern as merely a reflection of the factional struggles within the Russian Communist Party.

'There were,' he insisted, 'reasons rooted in the development of the international workers' movement which drove the young sections of the Comintern to the Stalinist bureaucracy.' In fact none of these sections had really been parties of a Bolshevik type. The defeats and disappointments which they suffered

Left: Trotsky wearing deep-sea fishermen's harness on the waters of the Sea of Marmara.

when the post-war revolutionary wave receded in the early 1920s prepared the way for a new political orientation.

'When the Soviet bureaucracy, exploiting the disappointment of the Russian workers in the delay of the European revolution, set forth the national-reformist theory of socialism in one country, the young bureaucrats of the other sections breathed a sigh of relief; the new perspective offered them a road to socialism independent of the process of international revolution.'

The not-so-young bureaucrats of a later generation, hand-picked for their fidelity to the bureaucracy, who head the Communist Parties today have gone still further in establishing a national base for policies of class collaboration and reform. Their interests as a bureaucracy coincide on all the main issues with the men in the Kremlin.

In his statement to the International Left Opposition Trotsky made it clear that it 'stands on the ground of the first four Congresses of the Comintern' and rejects the revisionist decisions of the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses. He went on to outline a number of basic principles, the essence of which has passed into the heritage of the Fourth International: in particular, 'irreconcilable hostility to the Stalin faction'.

Readers of this volume will note that right up until the German defeat Trotsky sharply rejected the idea of setting up parallel Communist Parties which, in the Soviet Union would, he said, mean a policy of armed insurrection and a new revolution. At the same time: 'In contradistinction to Stalinism, the Left Opposition is the bearer of the theory of Marxism and of the strategic achievements of Leninism in the world labour movement.'

It would be right to say, therefore, that while Trotsky did not think that the time was ripe for the proclamation of new parties and a new International, such a change in policy might be required if objective conditions changed. Until the German defeat, however, all the possibilities of the original tactic of the Left Opposition had not been exhausted and still promised to yield fruit.

Trotsky had to intervene in a number of questions involving the internal life of the International Left Opposition and its sections. In particular, part of the German leadership had become bitterly opposed to his uncompromising criticism of Stalin's economic policy made in the course of a comment on a book by an American businessman who had worked as a technical adviser in the USSR and reported the extended conversation which he had had with Stalin.

In this, foreshadowing recent deals, Stalin made it clear that he was not interested in the spread of revolution and did not intend to interfere with the form of government in the United States.

In this conversation Stalin sharply contrasted his policy towards the capitalist world with that of Trotsky and displayed great cordiality towards his interviewer. The article containing Trotsky's criticism, the first item in this book, entitled 'With Both Hands', was one of the reasons for a sharp conflict with two of the German members of the Secretariat of the International Left Opposition, one of whom went under the name of Roman Well, later to be unmasked as a GPU agent.

Well was one of the two Sobolevich brothers, both of whom were Stalinist undercover men. Well, later to be known as Dr Robert Soblen, committed suicide after he was deported to the United States for trial as a Soviet agent.

Well expressed disagreement with the position of the Left Opposition on a whole series of issues and Trotsky proposed that he should be expelled. The factional dispute blew up at a critical time, and no doubt not by accident, almost on the eve of Hitler's coming to power. Trotsky devoted a short but important article to the Well case which showed that the GPU was specially concerned with the disintegration of the Left Opposition from within, utilizing people like the Sogolevich brothers.

Since this volume is compiled in such a way as to exclude writings which are otherwise accessible, it may appear that Trotsky gave insufficient attention to the developments in Germany at the end of 1932 and the beginning of 1933. This, of course, was not so, and the reader should take into account that simultaneously with following the developments in the Soviet Union and the other parts of the capitalist world Trotsky was especially concerned with Germany. (See 'Germany 1931-1932'. New Park Publications.)

While alerting the working class to the consequences of the suicidal policies of the 'third period' and 'social fascism' in Germany, Trotsky also raised a cry of alarm about the dangers threatening the workers' state from Stalin's internal as well as foreign policy. The First Five-Year Plan had only been completed at the price of incredible sacrifices on the part of the working class.

Trotsky pointed to the great dangers facing the Soviet economy as a result of the forcing through of collectivization against the opposition of the mass of the peasantry and the tremendous disproportions resulting from forced draught industrialization, with its rapid building up of heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods production. The result had been to destroy all incentive to work on the part of the peasantry, shortages of food and consumer goods, high labour turnover, careless work and malingering in the factories.

'In the midst of newly-constructed factories, plants, mines, electric stations, collective and Soviet farms, the workers and peasants begin to feel more and more as if they are in the midst of gigantic phantoms indifferent to the fate of humans. The populace, as consumers, can no longer understand to what end they strain their energies as producers.'

Under Stalin repression had become the chief method of economic management. Exaggerated claims of economic successes went side by side with isolation and the dangers of capitalist encirclement. The disastrous mistakes and crimes of the Comintern had culminated in the German defeat.

In putting forward a Marxist alternative to the Stalinist course, Trotsky was still firmly of the opinion at this time that 'No new revolution is necessary to save and strengthen the dictatorship. Profound and all-sided and fully thought out reform will completely suffice. The whole question lies in who will carry it through. This question touches not persons or cliques but the party'.

## NEW PARTY

But reflection on the consequences of Hitler's victory convinced Trotsky that there was no possibility of reforming the German Communist Party (KPD) and that it was necessary to call for the building of a new party in Germany which could 'seize the Comintern from the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy'.

The failure of the KPD to mobilize the working class against Hitler after he became Chancellor on January 30, 1933, leading to its own suppression without a fight on March 5 was, Trotsky said, the

party's August 4—the date on which, in 1914, the Social Democratic Party had voted for war credits in the Reichstag.

The KPD leadership remained blindly obedient to the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and, despite its 6 million votes, became isolated from the working class. The question of 'which factor would win out in the KPD—the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy or the logic of the class struggle'—had been settled.

Trotsky now had to fight for the policy of building a new party against resistance from the majority of the leadership of the German section. He also had to combat the Brandler-Thalheimer group which opposed the ultra-left course of the KPD from an opportunist position. The Brandlerites refused to recognize that the Stalinist policy of the Comintern was based upon a struggle against Trotskyism, which they accepted as being 'in and by itself correct'.

Another problem was posed by the SAP (Socialist Workers' Party) which was strongly represented among the political émigrés from Nazism. The call for a new party had removed one point of difference between the Left Opposition and the SAP. But the SAP, although it contained healthy elements, was corroded by centrism. The task was to find a bridge to these elements.

In the same way, the pressure of events was propelling members of the socialist organizations towards communism and offered the Left Opposition new possibilities. Up to then, recruitment had mainly been on an individual basis, but the new situation offered the opportunity of winning over groups or local organizations of the mass workers' parties.

A number of Trotsky's writings represented in this volume were directed towards this task, which was intimately related to the struggle against centrist politics. One such opportunity was presented by the Austrian situation. He devoted particular attention to this after the Hitler victory had ended the period in which, in the title of one of his pamphlets, Germany was the key to the international situation.

In Austria the mass of the working class followed the Social Democratic Party and the influence of the Stalinists was limited. The situation in Austria resembled that of the pre-Hitler years: one of 'semi-Bonapartist dictatorship which maintains itself by mutual neutralization of the proletariat and fascist camps'.

The Social Democrats, under Otto Bauer, made the struggle one between 'democracy' and fascism. But as Trotsky pointed out: 'In fact, if democracy was indeed above the social regime that engendered it, if it was indeed capable of reconstructing bourgeois society into a socialist society, then this should have been revealed first of all in Austria, where the constitution was created by the Social Democracy, where the proletariat composes the decisive force in the nation, and the Social Democracy represents the decisive force in the proletariat. Yet today, what Austria is living through demonstrates in action that democracy is flesh of the flesh of capitalism, and decomposes with it.'

In Austria the Social Democracy could not blame the Stalinists because it had entire responsibility for the fate of the working class. But Bauer was not warning the workers and preparing for the taking of power. Even his threat of a General Strike to avert a fascist victory was an empty one if confined to defence of 'democracy'.

On the other hand, as Trotsky pointed out, a successful struggle for power in Austria could provide the

German workers with the lever for overthrowing the Hitler regime. Trotsky's warnings, unfortunately, were to go as unheeded by the Social Democracy, as they had been by the KPD leaders a few years before. Bauer's policy paved the way for the defeat in 1934 of the Viennese proletariat.

In reply to some Austrian Social Democrats who asked for his political advice, Trotsky said that the first thing that was necessary was uncompromising struggle against the Bauer leadership which had capitulated to the Dollfuss regime and had thus already betrayed the working class as surely as the German Social Democracy had done.

In March 1933, in a final appeal to the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he offered the co-operation of the Left Opposition in reviving the party. This required that it should be offered the possibility of normal work within the party as a recognized faction. No reply was received.

### CRITIQUE

In his article on 'The Degeneration of Theory and the Theory of Degeneration' Trotsky made a fundamental Marxist critique of the claims of the bureaucracy to be building socialism in the Soviet union. This should have meant the disappearance of class differences and the 'withering away' of the state.

In fact, Trotsky pointed out: 'The USSR is, of course, not a socialist society, but only a socialist state, that is a weapon for the building of socialist society; the classes are as yet far from abolished; the question of who will prevail is not decided; the possibility of capitalist restoration is not excluded; the necessity of a proletarian dictatorship therefore retains its full force.'

By 1933 Stalin had destroyed the Bolshevik Party, the Soviets had lost their independence, the trade unions had been geared to the needs of the bureaucracy and a complete perversion of Marxist theory had taken place. In exposing the theoretical pretensions of the bureaucracy and its apologists Trotsky made a highly important contribution to theory which was to be pursued later in 'The Revolution Betrayed'.

Thirty years after Trotsky wrote this article, the bureaucracy is as incapable of solving the problems created by its own policy of 'socialism in one country' and its mismanagement and parasitism as it was then.

When all allowances have been made for the passage of time, Trotsky's analysis conserves all its value while the hollow claims of the Stalinism to be building socialism have been amply exposed. What Trotsky says about the transitional stages of the planned economy conserve all their validity and might have been written precisely for the present crisis of the Soviet Union.

He emphasizes, for example, the need to establish a stable monetary system as an objective instrument of planning:

'Increase in the productivity of labour and improvement in the quality of goods, in particular, are absolutely unattainable without an exact measuring instrument which penetrates freely into all the pores of the economy, that is, without a stable monetary unit.'

As Trotsky shows, when the working class takes power money cannot be instantly abolished. Like the state it withers away in so far as planning frees itself from the operation of the law of value.

'The Soviet economy today', Trotsky wrote, 'is neither a monetary nor a planned one. It is an almost purely bureaucratic economy.'

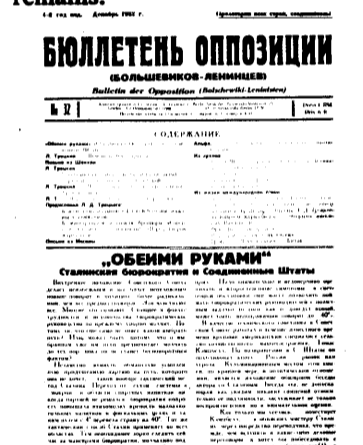
That is why attempts at 'economic reform', giving greater play for the operation of market forces and more initiative to the plant managers have proved abortive, still leaving the economy a prey to chronic disproportions and imposing further burdens on the working class.

As this volume shows, Trotsky studied and wrote authoritatively upon a variety of political and theoretical questions. A few of his subjects may be picked out for special mention for the reader to look for.

He will find, for example, an article entitled 'Japan Heads for Disaster' which appeared originally in the 'Bulletin of the Russian Opposition' but was later reproduced in the bourgeois Press. At the time Japan had been pushed by enormous economic pressures into a programme of expansion on the Asiatic mainland, and, in line with the famous Tanaka Memorial of 1927, was preparing with all speed for an even greater confrontation with the Soviet Union and the United States.

Trotsky explains Japanese expansionism from the history of the country, but he also showed how internal weaknesses were driving it to inevitable disaster.

'The hasty mixture of Edison with Confucius'—which arose from the way in which Japan had been transformed into an industrial country after the Meiji Restoration of 1868—'has left its mark on all of Japanese culture'. After 30 years of tremendous change and upheavals these contradictions of uneven and combined developed remains.



Bulletin of the Russian Opposition.

How to explain the Japanese enigma? Trotsky suggests that it can be found in a signal feature of Japanese history: 'Present-day Japan has behind it neither a religious reformation nor an era of enlightenment, nor a bourgeois revolution, nor a real school of democracy'.

Much of the old feudal heritage was thus carried over into the period of expansive capitalist development, giving it an explosive and aggressive character. Obviously Trotsky could not foresee the actual course of Japanese history. The disaster came right enough in the war of 1941-1945, but still Japan has had no revolution and the old traits persist, combined now with a still more advanced type of capitalist industrialization geared to an ever-increasing need for markets with the next stage being one of a drive for imperialist expansion and renewed militarism.

By the summer of 1933 the defeat of the German Communist Party and the inability of the Comintern to draw any lessons from that defeat had convinced Trotsky that it was necessary for the Left Opposition to abandon its former policy of working as a faction within the Communist Parties. Already convinced, by the banning of the KPD in March and its failure to mobilize the workers to fight back against Hitler, that it was necessary to work for a new party in Germany, he now declared that it was necessary to begin the construction of new Communist Parties and a new International. It was to this

task that he was to devote all his energies until his assassination in August 1940.

The German situation had provided the final and decisive test which exposed the betrayals of Stalinism. The Comintern had not only imposed a suicidal policy on the KPD, but it had stamped out all discussion of that policy.

It persisted, after Hitler's triumph, in maintaining that the policy had been correct. By its bankruptcy it had condemned to a colossal defeat the strongest and best-organized proletariat in Europe. The need to build new parties was not a question of personal disillusionment or dissatisfaction, but was imposed, as Trotsky put it, 'by the objective march of the class struggle'. It was the great lesson snatched from the German debacle.

The decision by the Left Opposition to break with the Comintern immediately brought forward the question of policy and programme, which had to be discussed openly with all revolutionary socialist organizations. This had to take place on the basis of 'principled irreconcilability' capable of attracting reformist workers into the camp of revolution by showing them that there was no other road.

Instead of turning away from the Soviet Union, as many of the 'lefts' who had broken from Stalinism had done, Trotsky insisted all the more on the need to defend the conquests of the October Revolution. This meant grasping the parasitic nature of the bureaucracy and the reasons for the degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin which, in turn, had weakened the whole world proletariat and led to terrible defeats.

'The existence of the Soviet Union, despite the far-advanced degeneration of the workers' state, remains even now a fact of immeasurable revolutionary significance. The collapse of the Soviet Union would lead to terrible reaction in the whole world, perhaps for decades to come. The struggle of the first workers' state is indissolubly bound up with the struggle of the world proletariat for the socialist revolution.'

The defence of the Soviet Union could only be ensured by a genuine revolutionary organization 'independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy, standing on its own feet and enjoying support among the masses', but ready, if needs be 'for a united front with the Stalinists against intervention and counter-revolution'.

This was the completely dialectical assessment of the situation as Trotsky diagnosed it shortly after the German defeat and for which he fought for the rest of his life.

### THEORETICAL

Besides working out the consequences for revolutionary strategy of the defeat of the German working class and warning of the dangers flowing from the Stalinist course in the Soviet Union he took up a number of important theoretical questions in the year covered by this volume.

He discussed the law of uneven and combined development with some American comrades. He gave an interview to the Belgian writer Georges Simenon, then an aspiring journalist, but later to be famous as the creator of Maigret. He answered questions about the Party's policy in the field of art and philosophy and wrote his impression of life on the small Turkish island of Prinkipo on which he had lived as an exile for over four years shortly before leaving it for France.

In an article entitled 'What is Historical Objectivity?' he made an important statement about the relation between thought and action in the social sciences.

What he calls for is a grasp

of the objective forces which determine historical development: which can only be done through an understanding of the historical method:

'History is not a dumping ground for documents and moral maxims. History is a science no less objective than physiology. It requires not a hypocritical "impartiality" but a scientific method. One can accept or reject the materialistic dialectic as the method of historical science, but one must reckon with it. Scientific objectivity can be and must be lodged in the very method itself.'

In his own 'History of the Russian Revolution' published a year or so before, Trotsky had given a brilliant example of this method in practice. We can say that in this still unsurpassed account of the most important historical turning point in the 20th century, he achieved what he set out to do, 'to give the key to all the events of that revolution'.

'A historical work is scientific', Trotsky insists, 'when facts combine into one whole process which, as in life, lives according to its internal laws.' And in his history 'he merely wished to interpret . . . the verdict of the historical process itself'.

It is no accident, of course, that neither 'objective' bourgeois historiography nor the Stalinist hacks have been able to write a history of the Russian Revolution which bears comparison with Trotsky's. That is not a question of skill in research or talent in writing. It is that the position which they adopt, and are bound to adopt, makes it impossible for them to depict, far less understand, 'the revolution as a process, conditioned by all the past, of the direct struggles of classes for power'.

When Trotsky was writing these words, the monstrous machinery of historical falsification operated by the Stalinists had only begun its work. The criticism he makes of it in 1933 are, 40 years later, justified a hundred-fold.

Trotsky gives just one example of a tell-tale distortion intended to disparage his own role in the revolution. Within a short time the history of the Revolution was to be shown in writings and films in a way which completely distorted the events, eliminating Trotsky and other leading figures completely and thrusting Stalin into a position which he never held in the preparation and direction of the Revolution.

Readers will be interested to notice that in May 1933 Trotsky sent greetings to the first Trotskyist paper in Britain, the monthly 'Red Flag'. He calls on the comrades producing it to make a critical examination of the policy of the Communist Party and expose its oscillations between opportunism and adventurism.

'We can say without the least exaggeration', he wrote, 'that the British Communist Party has become a political thoroughfare and retains its influence only in that section of the working class which has been forcibly driven to its side by the decomposition of both capitalism and reformism.'

Like the other volumes in this series, this book is of great value for understanding Trotsky's contribution to the theory and practice of Marxism. In particular we see Trotsky at work as a dialectical materialist conscious of the responsibilities which history had thrust upon him.

The year it covers was a great historical turning point. It stood at the beginning of defeats for the working class heralded by the triumph of Nazism in Germany.

It was also the start of the struggle to build new revolutionary parties and the Fourth International and the lessons of these writings are directly relevant to the tasks in Britain today.



# TROTSKYISM AND STALINISM

Since May-June 1968, the Soviet Stalinists have been haunted by the spectre of revolution in western Europe and the growth of Trotskyism in the advanced countries in the west. Fearful of losing their parasitic privileges at home and their control of the labour movement abroad, the Soviet bureaucracy has begun a campaign to once again discredit and distort the principles and history of Trotsky's struggle for the regeneration of the USSR and the world-wide revolution of the working class. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1972 published 'Against Trotskyism', a compendium of documents, articles, extracts, speeches and resolutions aimed at discrediting Trotskyism and distorting completely the truth about the relations between Lenin and Trotsky. In this series of articles MICHAEL BANDA replies to this book.

## PART THIRTEEN

Quotations from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism's own biography of Lenin, published eight years ago, show that the differences were unbridgeable on the 'national' question and that Stalin's acquiescence was only a temporary manoeuvre which was abandoned immediately after Lenin's death.

The extracts do not bring out the essence of the dispute which was the brutal, cynical and autocratic manner which Stalin and Orjonikidze adopted towards the Caucasian communists in particular. Nor do they say anything about Lenin's great—and hardly accidental—reliance on Trotsky during the course of this dispute. The book says:

In the spring and summer of 1922, the central Party bodies of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian Federation requested the CC of the RCP(B)<sup>1</sup> to formalize relations between the independent republics and the RSFSR.<sup>2</sup> They pointed out that the federative bonds between the Soviet Republics had to be developed and strengthened. In view of this the Political Bureau of the CC RCP(B) suggested to the Organising Bureau on August 10, 1922, that a commission be appointed to prepare the question of relations between the RSFSR and the independent republics for discussion at the next Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee.

J. Stalin, V. Kuibyshev, G. Orjonikidze, Kh. Rakovsky and G. Sokolnikov were made members of the commission, which also included S. Agamali-ogly of Azerbaijan, A. Myasnikov of Armenia, P. Mdivani of Georgia, G. Petrovsky of the Ukraine, A. Chervyakov of Byelorussia, and other representatives of the national republics.

The draft of the resolution 'On Relations Between the RSFSR and the Independent Republics' was drawn up by Stalin. He advanced the idea of 'autonomisation' of the independent national Soviet Republics, providing for their inclusion in the Russian Federation as autonomous republics. Clause 1 of the draft read: 'The formal entry of the independent Soviet Republics of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia into the RSFSR is considered desirable.' Accordingly, Clause 2 of the draft

suggested the 'formal extension of the competence of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars and the Council of Labour and Defence of the RSFSR to the corresponding central government bodies of the republics listed in Clause 1.'

Stalin's draft was then submitted for discussion to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the various Soviet Republics.

Stalin's idea of 'autonomization' of the independent Soviet Republics was wrong. It conflicted with the Leninist national policy and, in effect, belittled the rights of the national Soviet Republics. Furthermore, it was inconsistent with the task of strengthening the friendship of the peoples, of uniting them, and of promoting co-operation between them in the building of socialism.

Lenin was ill at that time and had gone to Gorki. He was not informed until the end of September of how the preparations of the question of relations between the RSFSR and the independent national republics were proceeding, and had no chance of influencing the work of the commission.

However, Lenin's attitude on this issue was expressed in his works and letters, and in the Central Committee decisions he had helped to frame. Lenin urged a close



Lenin in Gorki, 1922.

political alliance of the republics, but called continuously for supreme caution and for respect of the rights and sovereignty of the independent Soviet Republics. . . .

Before the independent republics could be joined in union, Lenin stressed, their peoples had to consent to it, and every provision should be made to secure their complete equality and sovereignty. This would pave the way to greater

unity and the coming together of the peoples, lacking which socialism and communism could not be built in a multinational country.

Stalin ignored the principles set out by Lenin on this score and suggested abolishing the independent national Soviet Republics. This was not accidental. In 1920, Stalin had disagreed with Lenin's proposition, which drew a distinction between the federative bonds of Soviet Republics based on autonomy, and federative bonds between independent Soviet Republics. At that time he said in a letter to Lenin with reference to Lenin's theses on the national and colonial questions that there was, in effect, no difference between these types of federative bonds. 'There is no difference,' he wrote, 'or else it is so small that it is equal to naught.' Stalin also flaunted the propositions on federation set out in the Tenth Party Congress decision, 'The Current Tasks of the Party on the National Question'.

On September 22, 1922, in reply to a note by Lenin, who had evidently inquired about the attitude of the CC to the question of relations between the Soviet Republics (Lenin's note is not extant), Stalin set out his point of view and tried to reason the necessity of the 'autonomization' of the independent Soviet Republics. He misconstrued the national policy of the Party, maintaining that the independence of the national Soviet Republics was no more than formal.

Stalin opposed the independence of these republics to the need of unifying them effectively in 'an economic whole'. He contended that the only way to secure the 'actual unity of the Soviet Republics' was to turn them into autonomous republics within the framework of the RSFSR. 'It is my plan,' Stalin wrote, 'to recognize autonomization as desirable with respect to . . . the five independent republics (Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia).'

The 'autonomization' plan was approved by the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Azerbaijan and Armenia. The Georgian Communists opposed it. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia favoured relations based on formal agreement. The Ukrainian Communist Party did not even discuss the project. Earlier, in March 1922, the Political Bureau of the CC, Ukrainian Communist Party, noted in its decision concerning relations between the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR that it was acting upon the resolution of the Eighth All-Russia Party Conference 'On Soviet Power in the Ukraine' which stressed that the Communist Party of Russia 'maintains the view of recognising the independence of the Ukrainian SSR'.

Stalin submitted his 'autonomization' plan to the commission of the Organizing Bureau of the Central Committee. The commission, which convened on September 23 and 24, with Molotov in the chair, accepted Stalin's draft resolution as a basis. On the

following day, September 25, the documents of the commission and the resolutions of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia were dispatched to Lenin, who was in Gorki, while the commission's resolution was circulated as a preparatory paper for the plenary meeting scheduled for early October, among the members and alternate members of the CC without Lenin's knowledge and consent.

Lenin studied all the material closely and conversed with Sokolnikov, Stalin, Orjonikidze, P. Mdivani, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Georgia, M. Okujava, L. Dombadze and K. Tsintsadze, who were members of the CC, Communist Party of Georgia, and Myasnikov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Armenia. He was strongly opposed to the idea of 'autonomizing' the independent Soviet Republics and levelled caustic criticism at Stalin's proposal. In a letter, 'The Question of Nationalities or "Autonomization"', which he wrote later, he described 'autonomization' as an act of great-power policy and a deviation from the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Lenin stressed that the 'whole business of "autonomization" was radically wrong and badly timed. I think,' Lenin wrote, 'that Stalin's haste and his infatuation with pure administration, together with his spite against the notorious "nationalist socialism", played a fatal role. In politics,' Lenin added, 'spite generally plays the basest of roles'.

Lenin set out a fundamentally different plan for unifying the Soviet Republics. He based it on the principles of Soviet federalism which he had worked out earlier, and on the summed-up experience of national development in our country, and defined the specific form of union—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—based on the voluntary unification of equal and independent Soviet Republics.

This was a major contribution to Marxist theory and to the practice of socialist construction. He conceived of a new type of multi-national state and, at once, a new type of federative proletarian state—a united multi-national socialist state, a voluntary union of equal and sovereign nations governed by the principles of proletarian internationalism.

On September 26, 1922, in a letter to the members of the Political Bureau, Lenin criticized the commission's resolution on 'autonomization' and set out his own plan for the union of the Soviet Republics.

Stalin did not take Lenin's criticism in the right spirit. He was opposed to Lenin's suggestion of unifying the Soviet Republics on the basis of equality and sovereignty. His letter to that effect addressed to Lenin and the other members of the Political Bureau on September 27, 1922, referred with intolerable rudeness to Lenin.

Although he accepted

Lenin's proposal of forming the USSR, the terms in which he couched his consent indicated that it was purely formal. He objected to the idea of a union-wide Central Executive Committee along with the All-Russia Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR and suggested reorganizing the latter into a federal Central Executive Committee. Stalin did not grasp the internationalist substance of the idea of forming the USSR, and qualified Lenin's attitude as 'national liberalism'.

Evidently Kamenev and Stalin exchanged notes at that time (the notes are not dated). In his reply to Kamenev, who wrote, 'Lenin has made up his mind to go to war in behalf of independence,' Stalin said: 'In my opinion we have to be firm against Lenin.'

However, Stalin knew that the Central Committee would back Lenin and did not dare to insist on his own point of view. So he revised the resolution of the commission of the Organizing Bureau of the CC to bring it into line with all of Lenin's proposals.

The new draft, signed by Stalin, Orjonikidze, Myasnikov and Molotov, was sent to the members and alternate members of the Central Committee. The preamble to the draft did not say that it had been revised in accordance with Lenin's principles and the fundamental difference between the 'autonomization' project and Lenin's plan of forming the USSR was obscured. The preamble said that the commission's resolution on 'autonomization' was 'basically correct and definitely acceptable', but that it 'had to be made more specific in some parts, chiefly those concerning the structure of the union-wide central bodies and partly, concerning their functions'.

The new resolution, the preamble added, was a 'somewhat revised and more precise exposition of the decision passed by the CC commission'.

On October 6, when the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee convened, Lenin, who was indisposed and could not attend, wrote the following note to Kamenev:

'I declare war unto death on Great-Russian chauvinism. As soon as I get rid of my toothache I'll eat it up with all my good teeth.'

'It is absolutely essential to insist,' Lenin added to his proposals of forming the USSR, 'that the Union Central Executive Committee should have as chairman in rotation

'a Russian,  
'a Ukrainian,  
'a Georgian, etc.  
'Absolutely!'

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee ranged itself behind Lenin's proposal. It passed a resolution based on his proposals and circulated it as a CC directive. It also appointed a new commission to draft a law on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was to be submitted to the Congress of Soviets.

### CONTINUED TOMORROW

<sup>1</sup> Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik).

<sup>2</sup> Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics.

# HAITI AND ITS US 'ADVISORS'

**Jean-Claude Duvalier (Baby Doc) of Haiti enjoys even closer relations with the United States than his father used to when he was dictator.**

To all intents and purposes the American ambassador in Haiti is an acting colonial governor and plays a decisive role in the country's politics.

The almost monarchic Duvalier dynasty has proved to be a blessing for the Nixon administration because it ensures more stability and control than any attempt at 'Duvalierism without Duvalier'.

By passing the dictatorship to his son, Papa Doc saved Nixon the trouble of breaking in a new team of rulers and spared the US the necessity of military intervention to prop up the regime.

Clinton E. Knox, the then US ambassador, supported Jean-Claude's succession to the 'throne' at Port-au-Prince with great fervour.

On April 22, 1971, when Papa Doc died and his son took over, Knox gave a Press conference saying the US should aid the new administration and that he had asked Washington urgently for a \$750,000 loan for Haiti.

Knox is a black millionaire who has worked closely with Nixon for years. He retired to enjoy his fortune earlier this year after he had been kidnapped and held to ransom by anti-Duvalier commandos.

Colonel Joseph Edward Roy, who represents the Central Intelligence Agency on the island, is military attaché to the US embassy. He has great influence with Duvalier.

In May last year a group of Haitian students living in the United States exposed the presence in Haiti of a secret US mission which was training the notorious Ton-ton Macoutes, the secret police.

Members of this mission included Major Edward Gordon, Capt Evans, Lts Maxwell and Griffith, Sgt McKennie and a European mercenary linked to the CIA who uses the name of Jean Dufour.

On Armed Forces Day (November 18) last year, when Jean-Claude Duvalier reviewed a march-past of the military, he was accompanied by ambassador Knox and Chuck Neale, a US marine officer and veteran of Korea and Indo-China.

Neale is under contract to the Haitian government from a private company based in Miami called Aerotrade. His



repression. In June 1971 the Alliance for Progress [sic] sent a delegation to Haiti, headed by Carlos Saenz de Santamaria.

The visit resulted in a \$1.8m 'aid' programme for Haiti, financed through the Inter-American Development Bank.

The total aid from this source was \$10m in 1972.

Under pressure from Washington the ten-year breach in diplomatic relations between Haiti and Costa Rica was healed. Haiti's Minister of the Interior Luckner Camborne visited the neighbouring Dominican Republic, another US client state, and received top decorations.

Then in March 1972 Duva-



**Wearing the uniform of the Leopards Jean-Claude Duvalier greets a US adviser from the Aerotrade Company, a CIA front, which supplies helicopters and weapons to Haiti. Above: Galo Plaza, secretary-general of the Organization of American States (OAS), with Haitian president Jean-Claude Duvalier.**

job is to train the Leopards, the regime's special security troops.

Aerotrade, which has close ties to the US administration, has sold the Duvalier regime jeeps, trucks and M16 rifles and has provided five instructors to train crews for flying T6 and DC3 planes.

The next day an Inter-American Defence Board delegation headed by General Eugene B. Le Bailly of the United States army arrived in Port-au-Prince.

Duvalier welcomed them with a speech calling for harmonization of arms and military systems in the area 'to defend the continent against the communists' repeated

threats to use violence and arms to take power'.

After a certain amount of bickering over arms sales, the Secretary of State William Rogers received a delegation from Haiti in March 1972 to finalize military aid.

The delegation, headed by the then strongman Luckner Cambronne and Foreign Minister Adrienne Raymond, was allowed six patrol boats at a cost of \$1.2m.

The Aerotrade company was given the go-ahead to make 'modest' sales of weapons to the Haiti government. Later Duvalier's government received six helicopters and training advisers.

Reorganization of the mili-

tary is closely linked with the overhaul of the police. The US has attached permanent advisers to General Breton Claude, chief of the Dessaline police and Luc Desire, secret police chief charged with suppressing communism and all shades of opposition.

As a result of these activities the Leopard corps has been built up from 400 men to 800. Courtesy visits to Port-au-Prince and Cap-Haitien by US warships have become more frequent with the sailors taking shore leave in the country's tolerated brothels.

Economic benefits have also begun to flow in for the ruling clique who have long held power by savage brutality and

**With Coca Cola's in their hands, Minister Francisque and Foreign Minister Raymond make a toast to the secretary-general of the OAS, Galo Plaza, during the latter's visit to Port-au-Prince.**

lier was visited by General Anastasio Somoza, Jr, president-for-life of Nicaragua, who signed a military co-operation treaty.

These ties led the Alliance for Progress to hold its 1972 annual meeting in Haiti, attended by Galo Plaza, secretary-general of the Organization of American States, another imperialist stooge organization.

Besides Plaza, others at the meeting included representatives of the Aid for International Development (a US government organization), the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The meeting decided that from 1972 to 1976 Haiti would receive credits of \$150m against the country's own pledges to sink \$66m in development projects.

The bulk of this money is destined to find its way into the pockets of the ruling clique because imperialism has not the slightest interest in improving the lot of the working people of Haiti, who have one of the world's lowest living standards.

Nixon stands behind Duvalier and he is determined that Latin America be kept safe for imperialism come what may. That means keeping Duvalier on his throne and maintaining a regime held in universal contempt and hatred for its savage and bloody-thirsty repressions.

## WORKERS NOTEBOOK

### CHARLES' FARE

Prince Charles' recent three days of shore leave cost £1,691 in scheduled air fares. He flew back to his ship from Heathrow airport, London.

The Prince flew from Balmoral in a special RAF Andover to connect with a BOAC 707 jet to Antigua, switching there to another scheduled flight for Puerto Rico.

The return fare for the prince was £422.90, but his aide-de-camp and detective travelled with him — also first class.

A fourth seat in the same row was ordered to be left



empty. And that had to be paid for as well.

Strict security precautions included a test of the aircraft water for poison.

### CHILD LABOUR

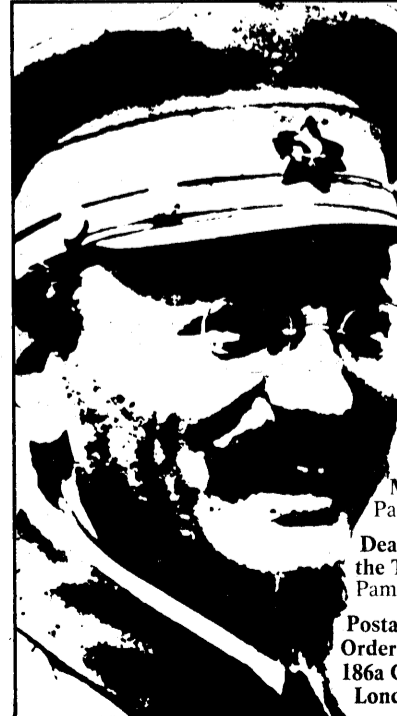
Valor Partridge, makers of Valor paraffin heaters, was recently fined £650 at Smethwick magistrates court on nine charges of employing child labour and six charges of allowing defective machinery to be used after being notified of its defects.

The court was told that the firm had employed 13-year-old boys at 16p an hour, to work on 'highly-dangerous and defective power presses'.

In the year ending March 31, 1972, the Valor Company increased its trading profit by over 50 per cent to £1.03m and doubled the dividends paid to shareholders.

The seven directors shared £45,175, with the chairman of the company, Mr M. Montague, taking £15,000.

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## PUTTING A STOP TO BUREAUCRATS' FUN

Hungarian bureaucrats have been asked to draw a tighter rein on their expense accounts for entertainments and other functions.

A decree of the Ministry of Finance lays down that: 'Official entertainments should take place only when they promote the tasks of the entertaining bodies—and even then only at moderate expense and on a level befitting the occasion. Costly congresses and conferences with the entertainment involved must be restricted.'

The decree stipulates that on domestic occasions—with the exception of congresses, conferences and jubilee occa-

sions—only refreshments, i.e. coffee and soft drinks, can be served. Participants will have to pay for their own meals.

Evidently the entertainment to which the bureaucracy has been treating itself has reached such extravagant proportions that a brake had to be imposed for its own safety and well being.

Meanwhile the People's Control Committee in Budapest has complained that shops are stocking so much alcohol that bottles of wines and spirits are ousting groceries from the shelves. The shops are also accused of overcharging customers.

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# SPAIN: THE HAVEN FOR THE CAR-MAKERS

Spain will produce more than a million cars by 1976, more than doubling the production figure reached in 1971. This will be one of the results of decrees promulgated by the fascist regime in November last year and in February.

Ford has already built a plant not far from Valencia to produce some 250,000 cars a year. On May 14, Lord Stokes announced a major investment programme to mark the 50th anniversary of the British-Leyland combine.

A large slice of the company's foreign investment is earmarked for the jointly-owned Auti plant near Pamplona. In full operation this plant could produce from 100,000 to 250,000 vehicles a year.

Having announced his expansion programme, Stokes significantly set out for an official visit to Madrid on May 15.

All five major car companies manufacturing in Spain are multi-national.

The largest, Seat, is largely in the hands of the Italian combine Fiat. The February decree favours Seat, which is currently the only firm of the big five large enough to qualify for the special tax concessions offered by the government.

The most important condition for these concessions is that production must exceed 500 cars a day, at least 100 of which must be exported. The conditions for tax concessions are slightly less stringent in cases where the firm involved

is producing only one or two models.

The aim of the new laws is to encourage further foreign investment in the Spanish motor industry, which the government has declared a 'special development' industry.

Wages in Spain are among the lowest in Europe and union organization is strictly outlawed. These conditions are calculated to make the country a Mecca for the capitalists of western Europe.

The Renault subsidiary, FASA-Renault, the second largest car company, has plans for expanding its capacity. Spanish Chrysler has already announced that it will enlarge its plant in the country. Similar plans have been made by Citroën-Hispania.

Under the new decrees these groups are specially favoured by the fascist regime. In future any other manufacturer who wants to start from scratch in Spain must export two-thirds of his production and invest



Lord Stokes.

a minimum of about £60m.

This is not, however, likely to deter the competition for long. Peugeot and General Motors, neither of which has any Spanish interests as yet, are both eager to enter the Spanish car industry, with hopes of turning it into a major source of supply for Africa and Latin America.

1,600 Spanish and Portuguese workers out of a work-force of 5,000 had been demanding the right to have their holidays in one block, instead of two separate shorter holidays, since the beginning of the year.

Two short holidays rather than one long one would involve greater travelling expenses to get to their home countries and less time to spend there.

Despite opposition from the Works Council leader Martin Nardmann, who gave them no support, the immigrant workers won their demand for one continuous holiday, although they did not obtain the four week holiday.

## IMMIGRANT WORKERS WIN BLOCK HOLIDAYS

Volkswagen's Karmann body plant in Osnabruck, West Germany was hit by a two-day strike of immigrant workers recently.

It was the first important dispute involving the specific demands of immigrant workers in Germany.

ping up of co-operation between the two countries since Leonid Brezhnev's visit to Paris in October 1971.

They included space technology, aviation, the oil industry, nuclear power, motor manufacture and ferrous metallurgy. The authors of the article quoted the President of the National Assembly, Edgar Faure, as being very satisfied with the present state of Franco-Soviet relations.

The Soviet bureaucracy has always been a keen supporter of General de Gaulle and his successor Georges Pompidou. In the light of this the policy of the French Communist Party in holding back the working class and wearing down its militancy acquires its full significance.

on the ownership of property that would be smaller than for those outside the Party.

It would not be normal for us to foist some kind of forced poverty on ourselves, but neither is it desirable that communists, even a minority of them, should lead the way in any kind of race for personal enrichment or in promoting a social climate favourable for such a situation.'

The point is that it is precisely the policy and habits of the Yugoslav bureaucracy, beginning with Tito himself, hardly noted for his abstemious way of life, which has created this social climate. The many cases of fraud and embezzlement which have come to light recently amply demonstrate this.

The bureaucracy is now becoming increasingly aware that it is hated by the masses for its ostentatious parasitism in a country where hundreds of thousands of workers have to emigrate and seek work in the worst jobs available in capitalist Europe.

## POMPIDOU'S KREMLIN PALS

The foreign policy of the Pompidou regime is being extolled by Soviet commentators as a model for the other capitalist countries.

The willingness of the French government to back the European Security Conference has been of great assistance to the bureaucracy in carrying through its policy of detente. No wonder it was relieved and satisfied when the Gaullists were returned to power in the March General Elections.

An article in the Soviet government daily 'Izvestia' on May 16 listed the fields in which there had been a step-

## YUGOSLAV ROGUES

Dishonesty and corruption are rampant in the Yugoslav League of Communists, according to a speaker at a joint session of the Central Committee of the League in Croatia with the Council of the trade union federation.

Dr Stipe Suvar accused a minority of Party members of leading the race for personal enrichment. Dishonesty had crept into the League and it was an illusion to think that it could be stamped out quickly.

He went on: 'I think in particular that in our country we have more rogues than class enemies, that is to say rogues are probably the most dangerous of the class enemies. Perhaps we as members of the League of Communists could fix special limits by way of publicly proclaimed Party norms on annual income and

## LESSONS OF UCS

REFORMISM ON THE CLYDE

REFORMISM ON THE CLYDE  
The Story of UCS



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## Feather praised for Phase Three manoeuvres

VICTOR FEATHER, general secretary of the TUC, has arranged with premier Edward Heath to hold a further round of talks on Phase Three at 10 Downing Street on June 13. City editors said at the weekend that Feather's promise of getting a deal over Phase Three had helped the share market. Patrick Sargeant of the 'Daily Mail' gave enthusiastic praise to Feather for his statement which pushed the index up 9.2 points. But if the share speculators believe that Feather can deliver the whole labour and trade union movement into a further stage of the state pay laws, they are clutching at straws. Or feathers!

## BSC quizzed on Africa

A COMMONS committee investigating conditions of South African workers will interrogate executives from the British Steel Corporation. Earlier this year BSC announced a joint deal to establish a plant in the apartheid state. The investigators will be asking - why the corporation wants to invest there. Other concerns to give evidence before the committee will be Slater Walker Securities, Tate and Lyle, Barclays Bank, Cadbury Schweppes and Courtauld. All of these companies have South African subsidiaries which pay wages that are below the poverty line.

## Walls to raise meat prices

THE TORY Prices Commission has given Walls the go-ahead to raise the price of its pies, sausages and canned products by 8.9 per cent.

Walls is part of the mammoth Unilever combine which declared £64m profit for the first quarter of the financial year. The firm has a virtual monopoly of the sausage trade.

**CORRECTION:** In Friday's 'What We Think' on Labour and nationalization, we incorrectly reported Harold Wilson as disowning the NEC decision to form a state-holding company. What Wilson did disown was the reference to 25 major companies as the first target for the holding company in which to buy a controlling interest.

## Builders start Councils of Action campaign

OVER 100 delegates to the Yorkshire regional biennial conference of The Union of Construction and Allied Trades Technicians agreed unanimously at the weekend to unite with members of other trade unions in the area in setting up Councils of Action to defend trade union rights.

All UCATT branches are to

## campaign

be asked to initiate immediate action in local trades councils aimed at getting Councils of Action set up.

Delegates noted with concern the prosecution and show of

police force at Shrewsbury and the police escort of scabs at the St Thomas's hospital, London and at other sites.

The conference also called upon the executive council to take every step possible including industrial action, to defeat labour-only, self employment and private employment agencies, commonly known as the 'lump'.

# Ulster repression brings awards

PROFESSOR Alfred Cross, a member of the Diplock Commission which last year recommended the continuation of detention and trial without jury in Northern Ireland was knighted in the Queen's Birthday Honours List.

Other representatives of British imperialism in Ireland are also honoured.

Lt-Gen Sir Harry Tuzo, military chief in Ulster for two years, is made a GCB and Lord Grey, the Queen's 'representative' in Northern Ireland since 1968, is made a Knight Grand Cross.

Mr Austen Laing, the man who led the campaign for Royal Navy support for British trawlers fishing in Icelandic waters, has been made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

As director-general of the British Trawlers' Federation he has been vociferous in his attack on Iceland's measures to defend her fishing industry.

Britain's chief arms salesman since 1969, Mr Lester Suffield (62) is knighted. A former British-Leyland sales director,

Mr Suffield is head of Defence Sales.

Mr Michael Clapham, President of the Confederation of British Industry is also knighted. Clapham recently said that Britons risked becoming 'the peasants of the western world' unless higher productivity was achieved.

Mr James Calder, now conducting the public inquiry into the Lofthouse colliery disaster, is made a Companion of the Bath.

Two ex-members of the revamped Rolls-Royce company are honoured—Mr Ian Morrow becomes a knight and Lord Cole is made a GBE.

Mr John Laurence Pumphrey,

a central figure in the 1957 'Bank Rate Leak Scandal' becomes a KCMG.

A remark by a girl relative who worked at Conservative Central Office led him to believe that confidential information about bank rate was common knowledge at the Tory headquarters and he reported this to Hugh Gaitskell.

A tribunal found that the girl's remark was 'a joke' which shouldn't have been taken seriously.

Mr Eric Cheadle, deputy managing director of the Thomson organization, has been awarded the OBE 'for services to the Newspaper Society'.

**SOCIALIST LABOUR  
LEAGUE LECTURES  
Merthyr Tydfil**  
Given by Gerry Healy  
national secretary  
of the  
Socialist Labour League  
**Wednesday June 6  
7.30 p.m.**  
Questions and Answers on  
Marxism, Philosophy  
Economics and History  
**St David's Church Hall  
Church Street, Merthyr**

**SOCIALIST LABOUR  
LEAGUE  
PUBLIC MEETING  
Wythenshawe**  
**Wednesday June 6,  
8 p.m.**  
**'The Cock O' Th' North'  
Portway, Wythenshawe,  
Manchester**  
Registered as a newspaper at the  
Post Office, Published by Workers  
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**NEWSDESK  
01-720 2000**

**CIRCULATION  
01-622 7029**

## TODAY'S TV

**BBC 1**  
9.38-11.25 Schools. 12.25 Eisteddfod yr urdd. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Joe. 1.45 Look, stranger. 2.05 Schools. 3.10 Sky at night. 3.30 Holiday 73. 4.00 Huckleberry hound. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Blue Peter. 5.15 Man dog. 5.40 Hector's house. 5.45 News. Weather.  
6.00 NATIONWIDE.  
6.50 TOP OF THE FORM.  
7.15 Z-CARS. Hi-jack.  
8.00 PANORAMA.  
9.00 NEWS. Weather.  
9.25 PLAY FOR TODAY: 'Three's One'. By Penelope Mortimer. With Hywel Bennett, Caroline Mortimer. Fulton Mackay.

10.25 MOVIE QUIZ.  
10.55 SKY AT NIGHT. Colours of the Stars.  
11.15 LATE NIGHT NEWS.  
11.20 MAN IN HIS PLACE. City of Cycles and Slums.  
11.45 Weather.

**ITV**  
9.30 Schools. 10.30 World War I (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Up and down, in and out, roundabout man. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Melody inn. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 Schools. 2.20 Cartoon. 2.30 Harriet's back in town. 3.00 Doing things. 3.25 Father's help. 4.25 Clapperboard. 4.50 Tomorrow people. 5.20 Thirty minutes Worth. 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY.  
6.40 DAVID NIXON SHOW.  
7.30 CORONATION STREET.  
8.00 MY GOOD WOMAN. New series.  
8.30 WORLD IN ACTION.  
9.00 HUNTER'S WALK. Disturbance. New police series.  
10.00 NEWS AT TEN.  
10.30 WILD, WILD WEST. Night of the Skulls.  
11.30 ART OF THE CRAFT. Upholstery.  
12.00 WORLD WAR I.  
12.25 CLERGY AT LARGE.

**BBC 2**  
11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open University.  
7.05 PARENTS AND CHILDREN.  
7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.  
7.35 INSIDE MEDICINE. A World of Their Own.  
8.00 HIGH CHAPARRAL. The Assassins.  
8.50 FACE THE MUSIC.  
9.25 TWO RONNIES. Ronnie Corbett and Ronnie Barker.  
10.10 ONE PAIR OF EYES. Lord Soper.  
10.55 NEWS EXTRA. Weather.  
11.25 OPEN DOOR. Transex Liberation Group.

**REGIONAL TV**  
CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Survival. 6.45 London. 10.30 Theatre. 11.15 Towards the year 2000. 11.40 Protectors. 12.05 News, weather.  
WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 6.20 Sports desk. 6.35 Date with Danton. 10.30 News. 10.33 Format for June. 11.20 Happiness business. 12.05 Epilogue.  
SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Afloat. 11.00 News. 11.05 Streets of San Francisco. 12.00 Farm progress. 12.25 Weather. Guideline.  
HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.00 At your service. 2.30 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'Five Branded Women'. 12.20 Weather.  
HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 6.01-6.22 Y dydd. 8.30-9.00 Yr wythnos.  
HTV West as above except: 6.22-6.45 This is the West this week.

**ACTON:** Monday June 4, 8 p.m. 'Six Bells', High Street, W.3. 'Stalinism and the fight to defend democratic rights'.  
**CRAWLEY:** Monday June 4, 8 p.m. Council for Social Services, 19 Station Road. 'The trade unions and the Tory government'.  
**LEWISHAM:** Monday June 4, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Road. 'The way forward—build the revolutionary party'.  
**BRIXTON:** Monday June 4, 8 p.m. (Please note date change). Control Room, Brixton Training Centre. 'Build the revolutionary Party'.  
**DARLASTON:** Monday, June 4, 7.30 p.m. 'The Nag's Head', The Green, Darlaston. 'The Fight against the Tory pay laws'.  
**BATTERSEA:** Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m. 'Nag's Head', Wandsworth Road. 'Build the revolutionary party'.  
**BRADFORD (Engineers' meeting):** Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m. Talbot Hotel, Kirkgate. 'Engineers and the fight against the Tory government'.  
**DAGENHAM:** Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue. 'Build the revolutionary party'.  
**HACKNEY:** Wednesday June 6, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, Mare Street. 'Unite in action to defend basic rights'.  
**TOTTENHAM:** Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', High Road, near White Hart Lane. 'Stalinism and the trade unions'.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

**SLOUGH:** Wednesday June 6, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'The economic crisis and the rising cost of living'.  
**WEMBLEY:** Wednesday June 6, 8 p.m. Copland School, High Road. 'Build the revolutionary party'.  
**WOOLWICH:** Wednesday June 6, 8 p.m. 'The Castle', Powis Street, S.E.18. 'TUC and Stalinists—supporters of corporatism'.  
**LEEDS:** Thursday June 7, 7.30 p.m. Peel Hotel, Boar Lane. 'Forward to ATUA Conference and the fight to defend democratic rights'.  
**FULHAM:** Thursday June 7, 8 p.m. 'The Swan', Fulham Broadway. 'Force the Tories to resign'.  
**HOLLOWAY:** Thursday June 7, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.  
**HEMEL HEMPSTEAD:** Monday June 11 (please note date change), 8 p.m. Adayfield Hall, Queen's Square. 'Build the revolutionary party'.  
**EAST LONDON:** Monday June 11, 8 p.m. Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road, E.3. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'.  
**BERMONDSEY:** Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Havelock Arms', Balclava Street. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'.  
**CAMDEN:** Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross. 'Trade unions and the revolutionary party'.  
**PADDINGTON:** Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Prince of Wales', Harrow Road, corner of Western Road. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.  
**TOOTING:** Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. Tooting Baths, Tooting Broadway. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.  
**LEAMINGTON:** Tuesday, June 12, 7.30 p.m. The Commonwealth Club, Church Street. 'The Tory government and the trade unions'.  
**HARROW:** Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall (Small Hall), Masons Avenue, Wealdstone. 'Forward to ATUA conference'.  
**WANDSWORTH:** Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Foresters', All Farthing Lane. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

**SLOUGH:** Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'Force the Tories to resign'.  
**SOUTHALL:** Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.  
**WALTHAMSTOW:** Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. 'Crooked Billet', North Circular Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.  
**HULL (Special meeting of engineers' section):** Wednesday, June 13, 8 p.m. 'The Windmill Hotel', Witham.  
**BASILDON:** Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. Barnstaple Community Centre. 'Make the Tories resign. Force a Labour government to carry out socialist policies'.  
**CROYDON:** Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Force the Tories to resign'.  
**FELTHAM:** Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. 'Three Horse Shoes', High Street. 'Labour to power, pledged to socialist policies of nationalization of land and property'.  
**WILLESDEN:** Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. Brent Labour and Trades Hall, High Road, N.W.10. 'Force the Tory government to resign'.  
**GOOLE:** Thursday, June 21, 8 p.m. The Station Hotel. 'The Revolutionary Party and the Fight against the Tories'.

# Revisionists and CP blame workers for racialism

BY IAN YEATS

**THE RACE RELATIONS** conference backed by the revisionists in Birmingham at the weekend played straight into the hands of the right wing.

At the very moment the National Front and Enoch Powell are intensifying their campaign against immigrants, the 500-strong conference was told white workers were racist and weak in class consciousness.

Speakers from the Communist Party and the International Socialism Group in particular jumped in with both feet with revelations about the 'hopelessness' of the fight.

The central clash in the profoundly anti-working class one-day debate came on the question of whether black workers should form a ginger group in the trade unions.

Conference organizers, the Mansfield Hosiery Mills Strike Committee, heavily influenced by IS supporter Bennie Bunsee, thought they should.

Committee chairman Mr Jayanti Naik said they were opposed to a separate black trade union, but he said that a black caucus was needed in the unions to force them to fight for the interests of coloured workers.

In the discussion which erupted after the main speakers had finished, the need for a black separatist organization was quickly extended from blaming trade union leaders to blaming the entire white working class.

It is as much nonsense to talk about clashes between white and



**Bennie Bunsee . . . for a ginger group in unions.**

black workers on the shop floor without mentioning the capitalist crisis as it is to discuss the problem of Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland.

Yet at no time during the five-hour conference was the crisis even referred to.

Struggling to live against a storm of rising prices and working alongside the spectre of unemployment, lack of leadership from either the trade unions or the Labour Party drives some workers to a fierce but backward defence of their jobs and conditions against all-comers.



**Mike Cooley . . . workers don't understand class.**

The central question in politics today is to understand the crisis and the effect of the traditional labour leadership's reformism and to struggle to build a new revolutionary Marxist leadership capable of uniting black and white workers in the fight against the common enemy.

Bunsee criticized the trade union leaders—but exclusively in the context of their backing for white workers he claimed were riddled with racism and supporters of the National Front and Enoch Powell.

His speech was the cue to the



The picket line during last year's Mansfield Hosiery Mills strike in Loughborough.

Stalinists and the revisionists to ignore the crisis, brush aside the question of building a revolutionary party and concentrate instead on hammering the working class.

'Left' winger and ex-TASS (AUEW) president Mike Cooley said British imperialism had trained workers to despise coloured people.

He said: 'The working class did not understand then and they don't understand now that it is not colour that matters, but class.'

'Unless the working class can free itself from the cancerous philosophy of racialism, it will never be able to free itself from this economic system.'

The delegate from the London district of the Communist Party said a campaign against racialism throughout the labour movement was needed urgently.

He said: 'Forces are coming into struggle which we will ignore at our peril. There have been bombings all over south London. The working class is weak, but it is the only working class we have. We have got to inspire the labour movement.'

AUEW assistant general secretary Mr Ernie Roberts said

racism could only be fought through the TUC and the Labour Party.

But he added: 'The TUC is unfortunately a reflection of our movement. The TUC has a job to do and it is not doing it. It can only be made to do it as a result of pressure from below.'

Winston Pinder of the Black Workers' Co-ordinating tee accused white workers being two-faced. He said: 'The same people who link hands with you on the picket line are voting for the National Front.'

Some groups of immigrant workers without traditions of class or trade union organization fall into the trap of blaming white workers for the plight they find themselves in when in reality it is the collaborationist policies of the trade union leaders that pave the way for racialism.

Instead of fighting that viewpoint the Birmingham conference can only deepen it and intensify the resentment of white workers.

The capitalists will use racialism to divide the working class, but unity between white and black workers will only be achieved through the building of the revolutionary party to put an end to their vicious system.

# Slater Walker: New Tory scandal?

**THE SLATER WALKER** takeover of merchant bankers, Hill Samuel, has been thrown into jeopardy by disclosures in yesterday's 'Sunday Times'.

The paper's City staff has issued a series of warnings about the state of the Slater Walker empire. The revelations are so serious that it is difficult to see the government avoiding a special Department of Trade and Industry inquiry—except that the Trade and Industry Secretary is Peter Walker, one of the founding partners of Slater Walker Securities.

It means, however, that the Tories are saddled with yet another scandal, hot on the heels of Poulson (Reginald Maudling), Lonrho (Duncan Sandys and Edward du Cann), the Lambton-Jellicoe affair and Lord Polwarth's close business interests in the North Sea boom.

The City editor of the 'Sunday Times', Graham Searjeant, and Lorana Sullivan, formerly of the 'Wall Street Journal', make these observations:

'More than a year ago, we warned of the dangers of a system where Slater Walker's dealing in shares dominated by Slater Walker produced a major

BY ALEX MITCHELL

part of its profits, while at the same time the price of some of those shares, inevitably influenced by the dealings, constitutes a major part of its assets. This has not stopped.

'Since then, the world-wide operations of Slater Walker have become immensely more complex, particularly in the Far East. Even senior Slater Walker executives find great difficulty in keeping up with them. In parts of the empire, indeed, subsidiaries of Slater Walker companies tend to appear and disappear at will.'

'In journeys abroad to Slater Walker companies in Hong Kong,



**Slater . . . Administers**

Singapore, Australia, Fiji, America and Canada, we have collected hundreds of documents and amassed quantities of information about how Slater Walker operates.

'In examining some of these activities, we have found further disturbing evidence that the profits and assets of the group are more than usually inter-related and, in fact, significantly depend on the switching of major assets from one part of the group to another.'



**Walker . . . Minister**

'Apparently randomly-applied accounting treatment can thus make significant differences in the balance sheet and profit and loss accounts of the group.'

'At the same time, the information available to shareholders in the disparate parts of this far-flung empire has, in some areas, sharply diminished, and in many more become impossible to understand.'

'Certainly, few people reading the group accounts of Slater Walker Securities and the limited

information contained in its offer document for Hill Samuel could grasp the full nature of the group's operations.

'We give some examples of unusual happenings and worrying gaps which may cause shareholders of Hill Samuel to question whether they should become involved at all.'

Although the 'Sunday Times' article is written from the standpoint of 'advice to the investor', its implications go way beyond this narrow question.

It has long been true that Slater Walker has optimized its asset value by massaging its share market prices and by up-valuation of its property assets.

If this form of business practice and accounting is now being attacked, then a section of the City has clearly decided to lower the boom on the money manipulators.

In recent weeks the share price in Slater Walker has fallen from 170p to 157p. When the markets open today it must be expected that a further fall will occur.

And if Slater Walker starts to slide, who will it take along?

All Trades Unions Alliance Conference: To discuss defence of democratic rights

# BELLE VUE

TUC must break off all talks on Phase 3  
Make the Tory government resign!  
Transform the Socialist Labour League into the Revolutionary Party!

Kings Hall: Belle Vue Zoo Park: Manchester—Sunday July 1: 3 p.m.—9 p.m.  
Special showing of the Pageant film 'THE ROAD TO WORKERS POWER' and songs and scenes from history

Tickets £1: Available from R. Smith, 60 Wellington Street West, Salford 7, Manchester.