

With two days to go

Heath funks Powell clash

TOP TORIES have clearly decided to drop a black-out over the inner-Party crisis sparked by their official candidate for SW Wolverhampton.

BY DAVID MAUDE

Speaking to Conservative supporters in the Labour-held marginal of Putney yesterday afternoon, Tory leader Edward Heath made no direct reference to Powell, but urged them not to be diverted 'by any other distraction'.

'My message to you is "keep at it right up to the last minute on polling day!"' he said.

But if there is crisis in the Conservative Party there is apparently a more insidious, but equally dangerous growth—complacency—in the Labour leadership.

Knowing full well that press and television will continue to give maximum exposure to Powell's extreme right-wing utterances and, no doubt, shrewdly estimating that three days of silence—even embarrassed silence—will lose it little of the Powellite vote, Tory Central Office has apparently issued the order: 'Clam up on Enoch!'

In any event, Tory leader Edward Heath gave a very convincing imitation of that tropical shell-fish at his London news conference yesterday.

'Our views'

A statement issued by the Shadow Cabinet on Sunday night, he told reporters with an air of studied finality, 'was absolutely clear and reflects the whole of the views of the Shadow Cabinet and of the future Conservative government and the Conservative Party.'

'I have nothing whatsoever to add to that, nothing whatsoever.'

The statement claimed that the Tories never had and never would divide class from class or one community from another.

£31m trade deficit

THE POUND slipped back on foreign exchanges yesterday and stock prices fell as Britain's latest trading deficit was announced.

Trade with the rest of the world in May showed a plunging deficit of £31 million—£21 million worse than in April.

Although imports were cut back by £20 million from the record £750 million the previous month, exports dipped sharply by £46 million to £633 million.

The surplus on invisibles—including services like banking, insurance and tourism—was estimated by the Central Statistical Office to have been running recently at about £40 million a month.

National Party—as candidate for Chorley bore 'no resemblance' to the Powell case.

Someone had never been accepted by the Party's standing committee on candidates.

Clearly rattled, the Tory leader then blundered into refusing a question from the London editor of the Dublin 'Irish Press'—a paper circulating in both Britain and N Ireland—on the grounds that he was answering British papers first.

Short shrift

'I'm an Irishman,' the questioner—an accredited lobby correspondent at Westminster—had begun, half-jokingly.

Other questioners received almost equally short shrift.

Would the Tories denationalize all or part of the telephone service?

The Conservative Party had put forward no proposal for any such measure, claimed Heath.

Perhaps the Tory leader would care to comment on Harold Wilson's challenge, made at the Labour news conference earlier yesterday morning, to 'state categorically that no Paisleyite MP, if any are elected—and certainly no Unionist elected with Paisleyite support, will be accepted as members of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons?'

The question didn't arise, said Heath.

The Prime Minister of N Ireland had denied that there had been any electoral deal between Paisleyite organizations and official Unionist candidates.

Impression

Besides his attempt to throw the Paisleyite spanner into the Tory works, Wilson had little to offer journalists yesterday—except an overwhelming impression of his own belief in remaining Prime Minister.

There are dangers here. Having prepared the ground for both Powell and Paisley, with their immigration, anti-union and Ulster policies, the Labour leaders remain incapable of rousing the working class against the threat they pose.

While the Tory leaders—despite their crisis—work might and main to whip the middle class in behind their anti-union, 'law-and-order' programme, the reformists exude the feeling that everything is in the bag.

We say it again:
● Vote Labour on June 18!
● Fight Toryism and defeat every attempt by Wilson to betray!

Central election issue—the workers' fight

—meeting told

By Workers Press reporters

'WE ARE not abstentionists. We are dedicated participants.' With these words Workers Press editor, Mike Banda opened the Trotskyist movement's London meeting on the political significance of the General Election.

A capacity audience of 700 in the St Pancras Town Hall listened attentively as the speakers outlined the tasks facing the working class and the revolutionary movement in the coming period.

Alan Thornett, leading member of the All Trades Unions Alliance, said that the Young Socialists were proved right when they insisted in 1964 that the Labour government would be a government of crisis.

The central issue in this election remains the independence, the combativity of the working class.

'No one should underestimate the role that the struggle against Measured-Day Work has played in this period,' he said.

Stiffened

The fight had stiffened the resistance of workers and the employers had begun to realize that the answer 'lies in something much more ruthless, much more brutal.'

'The offensive of the working class dates back to Heath's Selsdon speech in January.' Workers knew then that there could be no return to boom-time Toryism.

'The working class is going to vote Labour, but there is no enthusiasm for Wilson. They vote for Wilson on the basis of their successes against him.'

On wages, the employers were on the run, but this raised all the weaknesses in the working class, warned Cde Thornett.

'It appears to them that they can solve their problems without politics.'

'But there is a layer coming forward in the working class which can be decisive. They are militant on wages, but they realize the limitations of this struggle.'

The training of Marxist cadres in the factories was the central task, he said.

Youth

Young Socialists' national secretary, John Simmance, told the audience the YS was calling on all youth over 18 to vote Labour.

'The ruling class is turning towards Powellite policies to solve their crisis,' he said. 'Powell's policy is to whip up racialism amongst youth.'

● PAGE FOUR COL. 5



G. Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League (left), speaks to Sunday's meeting (above).



Token pay strike at Westland (Hayes)

HOURLY-PAID workers at Westland Helicopters Ltd and the precision castings division of Westland, Hayes, walked out yesterday morning to a thousand-strong mass meeting called by their stewards after long negotiations over their claim for a 2s-an-hour increase.

The management has made two offers: the first of £1 a week with productivity strings which included full work measurement and complete flexibility of labour.

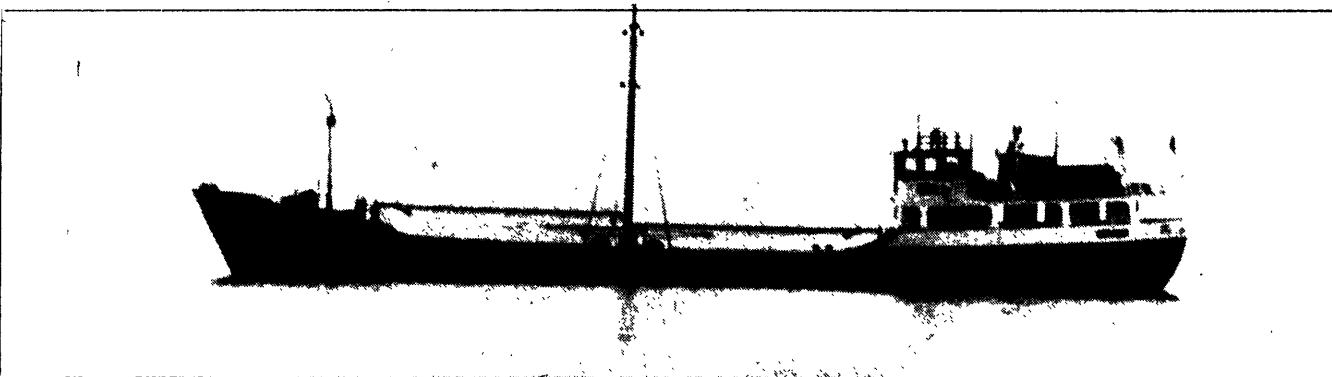
This had been rejected because of unwillingness to accept productivity on the basis of the present payment-by-results system through better flow of work etc.

The second offer was £2 with a 40 per cent reduction in piecework times which meant a 6 guinea loss in bonus to a worker

Soyuz breaks record

Moscow, Monday—Russia's two-man Soyuz-9 spacecraft apparently broke the world space endurance record today. But at 2.35 BST, when it was due to surpass the 13 days, 18 hours and 35 minutes record set by the US Gemini-7 craft in 1965, there was no official confirmation that Soyuz-9 was still in space.

Launched on June 1, Soyuz-9 has covered well over five million miles in: more than 220 orbits.



The Danish scab ship 'Sara' approaching Merville with its cement cargo

Polish cement imported to break Irish strike

STRONG CLAIMS that Polish-made cement has been imported into the Irish Republic during the 20-week-old cement workers' strike have been made by residents of Merville, a small port in Donegal.

Fourteen miles away, across the border in N Ireland, Derry dockers have refused to handle cement supplies, in solidarity with their Southern brothers.

Their decision, taken last week, follows concerted attempts by building employers in the Republic to import cement through the six counties.

Scab shipments were stoned out of the northern port of Newry two weeks ago by an angry crowd of dockworkers and students.

CLOSED

The Derry decision means that almost all the major ports in Ulster are closed to cement, as are the main ports in the South.

Shipments are still being brought into the Republic, however, through Merville.

Queues of lorries from all over the area were waiting on the Merville quay two nights ago to take cement from two Dutch vessels in the harbour.

GUARDED

The ships, the 'Anholt' and the 'Sara', each carried about 800 tons of cement. The lorries were guarded by police and a strong force of black-legs.

Local people say that more than 2,000 tons has been brought through the port over the last fortnight. At least one of the shipments, they say, was of Polish-made cement carried on a Danish freighter.

The silence of dock officials over this question is understandable.

There is very good evidence from several quarters that a ship called the 'Kolgar' did berth at Merville with a cargo of Polish-made cement, which local workers say was hidden under coal.

STRIKE-BREAKING

Polish coal was used by Franco to break the month-long strike of Asturian miners last January.

Now Gomulka offers his

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

strike-breaking services to the Irish employers and the reactionary crisis-ridden Lynch government.

Members of the British as well as Irish Communist Parties must denounce these Stalinist Pinkertons, on hire to international capitalism for scabbing throughout W Europe.

The cement strike can still be won, but only by the open and complete exposure of this latest example of Stalinist treachery.

Provincial print claim talks

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

PRINT UNION leaders met representatives of the Newspaper Society and the British Federation of Master Printers yesterday for talks on their demand for a £5 5s 6d-a-week pay increase.

Enough said...

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

EUROPEAN unity involving all the nations on the continent and not just the Common Market six was advocated by Mr Maurice Costin, Communist Party candidate for Acton yesterday.

Speaking to workers outside the CAV Lucas factory, Acton, Costin did not go on to explain how fascist Spain and Portugal, the Colonel's regime in Greece and the anti-working-class governments of Italy and France would fit into this cosy arrangement.

'The Communist Party calls for a conference of all the 36 nations and not just the six. This would really bring the people of Europe together,' cried Costin.

'We will discuss co-operation, the expansion of trade, and the securing of the peace of Europe,' he added.

'We want to abolish all the blocks—the Warsaw Pact, Comecon and NATO because they only jeopardize peace.'

This chauvinistic hostility to the Common Market is now one of the CP's major election platforms.

The kind of get-together they advocate, involving everything from Ulbricht's Stalinist regime in E Germany to the Colonels' in Greece, is every bit as reactionary as the Treaty of Rome itself.

'Well I think I've said enough, you know where we stand now,' said Costin closing his address: we do indeed.

£1,000 June Appeal Fund reaches £238 17s 10d

THE BATTLE IS ON to break the back of our June target as soon as possible. Yesterday's post brought in £108 17s 10d which brings the total to £238 17s 10d. This leaves us with a balance of £761 2s 2d to find. It would be splendid if we could be over the half-way mark of £500 by next weekend. Can we do it? Post your donations at once to: Workers Press Appeal Fund, 186A Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Workers' councils shut down

ALL THE workers' councils established in Czechoslovakia after the fall of Novotny have now been closed down, according to a Belgrade Radio report.

A recent statement by the Husak regime claimed that the democratically-elected bodies 'followed the wrong conceptions on the autonomy of enterprises'. At the height of the anti-bureaucratic movement just prior to the Soviet invasion of August 1968, over 200 workers' councils had come into being.

Revoked

Now they have all been wound up and their decisions on workers' control of production revoked.

It was against this movement for workers' democracy, and not a mythical imperialist-inspired 'counter-revolution', that the Kremlin intervention and occupation was directed.

RELEASED PRISONERS FLY OUT

RIO DE JANEIRO, Monday—Forty political prisoners, whose liberation was demanded by the kidnappers of W German Ambassador Ehrenfried Von Holleben in exchange for the diplomat's release, left here today for Algiers in a government-chartered airliner. The organization that kidnapped Von Holleben after a street gunbattle last Thursday is expected to release him when the prisoners have arrived safely in Algiers. The flight is expected to take ten hours.

NOW IT'S UP TO YOU SPECIAL ELECTION OFFER

We are absolutely convinced that our circulation can be considerably increased over the election period. You have the opportunity to introduce new readers by using our special election offer of 18 issues by post for 15s from June 1-20 (back issues still obtainable). Get your new reader to fill in the form below and post with 15s to: Special Election offer, Workers Press, 186A Clapham High Street, London S.W.4.

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5 Reform and Revolution in Britain

THE 1850s MARK a decisive turning point in both the development of the labour movement and of British capitalism.

It was a decade which saw the effective end of Chartism as a mass movement and of the emergence of a group of 'New Model' unions which were to be radically different from the revolutionary trade unionism which existed before and during the years of Chartism.

The basis of this change is not difficult to seek. It lay in the great increase in production and exports which occurred after 1850 — the years of the 'mid-Victorian boom' and the period in which Britain established a virtual monopoly as the 'Workshop of the World'.

WAGES

Although the share of wages as a portion of national income continued to fall, real wages, even allowing for unemployment, began to rise, and rose sharply in the early 1860s.

As a rough estimate we can say real wages rose by one-third in the 25 years following 1850.

But the lion's share of these increases went to a small and privileged section of the working class — a 'labour aristocracy'.

This was true both of the engineering industry and the building industry, two key sections, where decisive changes were to take place in the development of the labour movement.

SKILLED

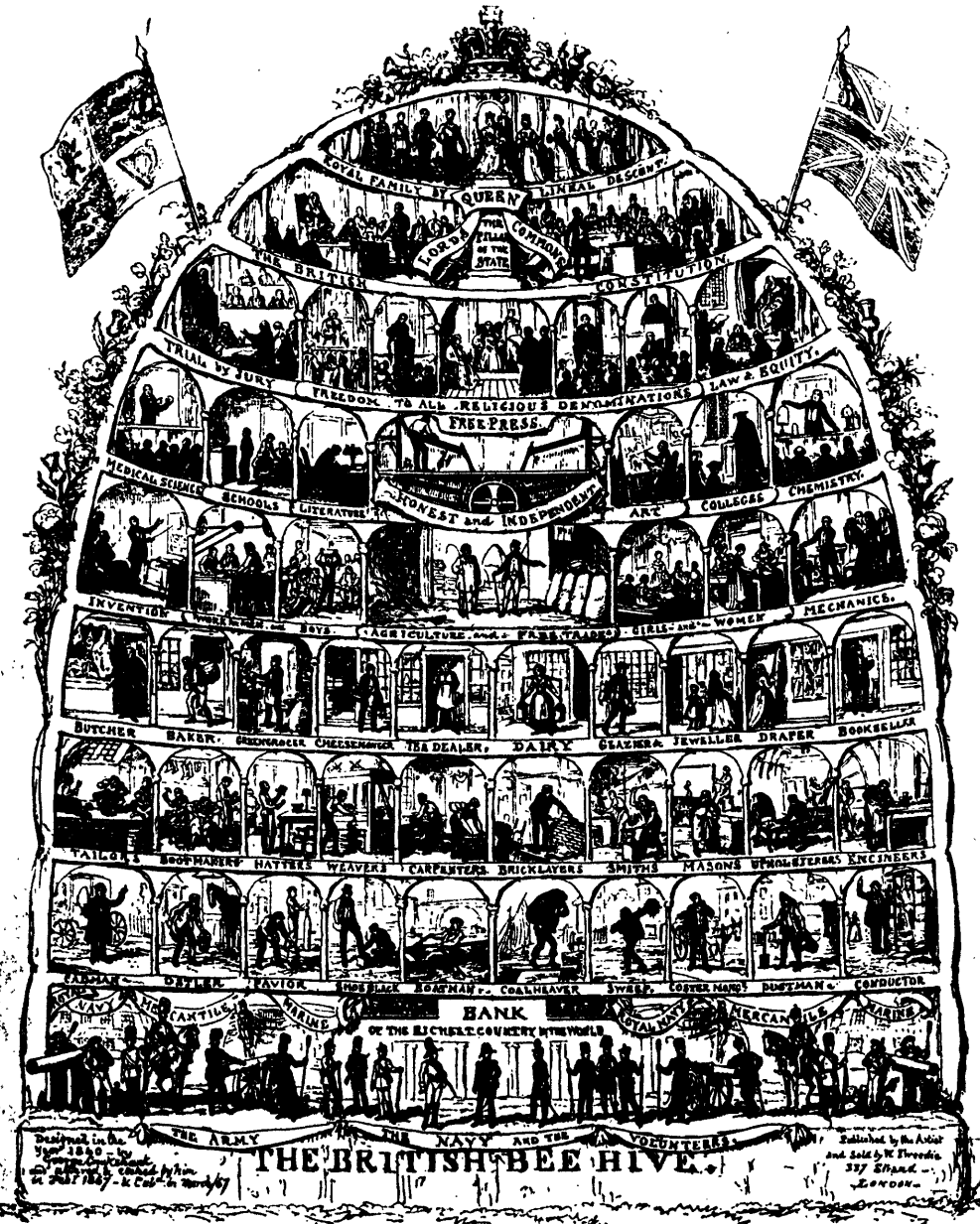
Technical changes in engineering increasingly demanded a skilled and trained labour force and around 1860 roughly three-quarters of the labour force in the industry were skilled men. Similarly in building where the figure was only slightly lower.

It was largely around these skilled, privileged layers that a new type of trade unionism, so admired by the Webbs and other Fabians, began to emerge.

It was characterized by an attitude to the employers summed up in the phrase 'Defence not Defence!'; a craft exclusiveness which, as a deliberate act of policy, sought to exclude all unskilled workers from its ranks; a high level of contributions matched by equally high levels of benefit and, crucially, the growth of a permanent, salaried layer of full-time national officials who were quite different from their largely amateur, unpaid predecessors of the earlier period.

The Webbs, in their classic history of the unions, were aware of the importance of this latter change:

"During these years," they write, "we watch a shifting of leadership in the trade union world from the casual enthusiast and irresponsible agitator to a class of permanent salaried officers expressly chosen from out of the rank



A PENNY POLITICAL PICTURE FOR THE PEOPLE, WITH A FEW WORDS UPON PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. BY THEIR OLD FRIEND GEORGE CRUICKSHANK

"The British People's Beehive." George Cruickshank's view of the stratified class structure of Britain in 1867.

and file of trade unionists for their superior business capacity.

Newton of the engineers, Robert Applegarth of the carpenters, Edwin Coulson of the builders, Daniel Guile of the ironfounders and George Odger from a small and highly-skilled union of shoemakers, were amongst the first group of such officials whom the Webbs were to name 'the Junta'.

This Junta, according to the Webbs:

"... accepted, with perfect good faith, the economic individualism of their middle-class opponents, and claimed only that freedom to combine which the most enlightened members of that class were willing to concede to them... their understanding of the middle class [that is, capitalist] point of view and their appreciation of the practical difficulties of the situation, saved them from being mere demagogues..." In Allan and Applegarth, Guile, Coulson and Odger, the traducers of trade unionism found themselves confronted with a combination of high personal character, exceptional business capacity, and a large share of that official decorum which the English middle class find so impressive.

CONDITIONS

Alfred Marshall, later to become Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge, and teacher of Keynes, and who first turned to the study of economic matters

as a result of the brutal conditions he saw prevailing in the large towns, summed up the differences in the working class:

"There is a tendency," he said in 1873, "to regard somewhat slightly the distinction between skilled and unskilled labour. But the fact remains that artisans whose manual labour is not heavy, who are paid chiefly for their skill and the work of their brains, are as conscious of the superiority of their lot over that of their poorer brethren as is the highest nobleman in the land..."



Beatrice and Sidney Webb.

They are steadily striving upwards; steadily aiming at a more liberal preparation in youth; steadily learning to value time and leisure for themselves, learning to care more for this than for mere increase of wages and material comforts... they are steadily accepting the private and public duties of a citizen... They are steadily becoming gentlemen."

And Marshall went on to contrast this comforting picture with 'that darker scene which the lot of the unskilled labourer presents'.

GROWTH

It should be stressed that this growth of a number of national, stable unions, aiming at a policy of conciliation with the employers, was confined to an extremely small section of the working class.

Until the next wave of unionism in the late 1880s and 1890s, the 'labour movement' is largely synonymous with a small layer of skilled workers.

The vast majority remained unorganized, casual labourers living in squalor and poverty. This distinction in the ranks of the working class was, we shall see, very important in determining the attitude of the employers and the government to these changes.

The conscious policy of this new labour aristocracy was, in fact, to attempt to make these divisions permanent. By fixing contributions at a high level and insisting that only time-served apprentices be eligible for membership and vigorously controlling the entry of ap-

prentices into their ranks, these new unions sought to safeguard their privileges against the rest of the working class. As the rules of the Journeymen Steam Engine, Machine Makers and Millwrights' Friendly Society pointed out in 1845:

"The youth who has the good fortune and inclination for preparing himself as a useful member of society by the study of physics, and who studies the profession with success so as to obtain his diploma from the Surgeon's Hall or College of Surgeons, naturally expects, in some measure, that he is entitled to privileges to which the pretending quack can lay no claim; and if in the practice of that useful profession he finds himself injured by such a pretender, he has the power of instituting a course of law against him."

"Such are the benefits connected with the learned professions. But the mechanic, though he may expend nearly an equal fortune and sacrifice an equal portion of his life in being acquainted with different branches of useful mechan-

'There is a tendency, to regard somewhat slightly the distinction between skilled and unskilled labour. But the fact remains that artisans whose manual labour is not heavy, who are paid chiefly for their skill and the work of their brains, are as conscious of the superiority of their lot over that of their poorer brethren as is the highest nobleman in the land...'

(Herbert Marshall 1873)

THE EMERGENCE OF THE LABOUR BUREAUCRACY

(1)

ism, has no law to protect his privileges.'

But it would be a serious error to imagine that such an attitude to the rest of the working class and to the employers amongst such skilled sections grew simply out of the economic conditions of the period.

While it is certainly true that the 'gap' between the skilled and unskilled began to grow and that this gap was recognized by the leaders of the unions, the more far-sighted employers were also aware of these changes.

The period after 1850 is thus also marked by the appearance of a group of large and influential employers, usually supporters of Gladstonian liberalism, who deliberately set out to win the confidence of the new breed of 'responsible' trade union officials.

Far from opposing the existing unions they sought, often in conflict with other sections of the capitalist class, to give them legal status and draw them into the orbit of public life.

As a commentator, Leon Levi, himself a prominent employer, reflecting on the level of earnings and living standards of the working class, could write in the 1860s:

"Some are startled with the thought that, in the aggregate, the working classes far outnumber the middle and upper reaches of society. But how many are there who are only a shade below the middle class? Where is the difference between an ill-paid school master and a foreman in a factory?—between a small tradesman and a mason or carpenter?"

LEGISLATE

This attitude was increasingly typical amongst sections of the employers and groups within the Liberal Party. W. E. Forster, who was to be the architect of the first Act of Public Education in 1870, warned the House of Commons in 1866 that the great task facing the capitalist class was:

"to fight against a class much more dreaded than the holders of the £7 franchise—I mean the dangerous classes in our large towns. If we can get into parliament those who are more immediately above them, we shall be able to legislate more effectively for them."

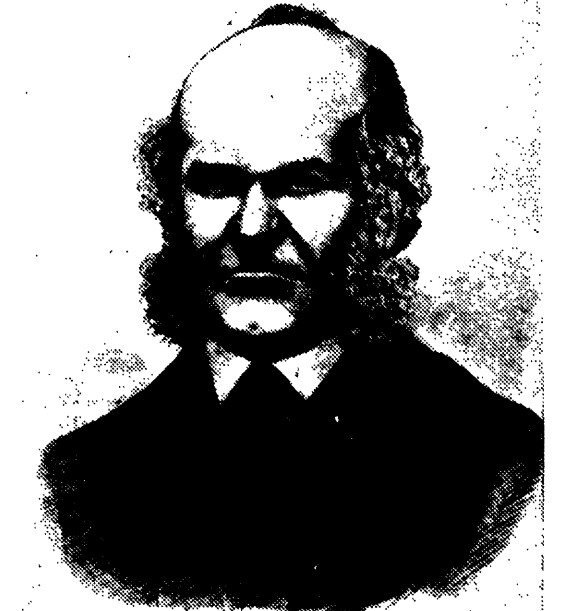
And this attitude applied not only to questions of parliamentary reform but also to the unions, as we shall see in the next article next Tuesday.



Robert Applegarth, secretary of the Amalgamated Carpenters.



William Allan, secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers.



George Odger, an official of the Ladies Shoemakers.

TV

BBC 1

9.15 a.m. Schools. 10.45 Watch with mother. 11.00-12 noon Schools. 1.00-1.25 p.m. Dyn a wall. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05 Schools. 2.25-4.35 Royal Ascot The principal races and the fashion scene. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Shazzan. 5.20 Hector's house. 5.25 Summer search. 5.50 News and weather including BBC campaign report. 6.00 WORLD CUP GRANDSTAND. Preview of the semi-finals. 6.25 ON TOP OF THE WORLD. International Ice gala. 7.10 THE LAUGH PARADE. 'Born Yesterday' with Judy Holliday, William Holden and Broderick Crawford. A crooked millionaire hires a writer to educate his dumb girlfriend. 8.50 NEWS and weather including BBC campaign report. 9.10 'EUROPE—A Continent Fit To Live In'. Tuesday's documentary about the wildlife of Europe and the threat to their existence from pollution. 10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Labour Party. 10.10 24 HOURS. 11.00 THE SKY AT NIGHT. 'Steering By The Stars'. 11.15 Viewpoint. 11.40 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Midlands and E Anglia: 5.25-5.50 Midlands today. Look East, weather. 11.42 News, weather. North of England: 5.25-5.50 Look North, weather. 11.42 News, weather. Wales: 4.55-5.25 Teletext. 5.25-5.50 Wales today. 6.25-6.50 Beddw. 6.50-7.10 On top of the world. Scotland: 5.25-5.50 Reporting Scotland. 10.10-11.00 Current account. 11.15-11.35 Scottish viewpoint. 11.35 News, weather. N Ireland: 5.25-5.50 Scene around six, weather. 11.00 12.15 General election, news, weather. South and West: 5.25-5.50 Points West, South today. Spotlight South-West, weather. 11.42 News, weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL. 7.05 p.m. MAKING OUT. 7.30 NEWS and weather including BBC campaign report. 8.00 CODENAME. 'Appointment in Prague'. 8.50 HOLLYWOOD IN THE SIXTIES. 'Man's Favourite Sport' with Rock Hudson and Paula Prentiss. Comedy about an author of angling books who has never fished in his life. 10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Labour Party. 10.10 'MAN'S FAVOURITE SPORT'. Part two. 10.55 NEWS and weather including BBC campaign report. 11.00 LINE-UP.

ITV

11.25 a.m. Cricket. Durham v Staffordshire. 12 noon-1.40 p.m. Hook-up. 2.45 Cricket. 3.55 The enchanted house. 4.10 Crossroads. 4.35 The Sooty show. 5.00 Magpie. 5.30 The Lone Ranger. 5.45 News. 5.55 WORLD CUP 1970. 7.00 TUESDAY FILM. 'Along Came Jones' with Gary Cooper and Loretta Young. A cowboy is mistaken for a notorious outlaw and doesn't correct the mistake. 8.30 FATHER, DEAR FATHER. 'A Man About The House'. 9.00 A FAMILY AT WAR. 10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Labour Party. 10.14 NEWS. 10.50 WORLD CUP 1970. 11.20 'RAGGED REVOLUTION'. A unique film of the Mexican civil war at the beginning of the century never shown before. 12 midnight Magic man.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 3.42 Puffin's birthday greetings. 3.52 Hatty town. 4.05 Survival. 4.35 London. 5.30 Houseparty. 5.45 London. 5.55 Lookaround. 6.20 News, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'Happy Thieves'. 8.25 London. 10.00 Life in France. 10.13 London. 11.55 Gazette. Midnight news, weather. CHANTEL: 3.42 Puffin's birthday greetings. 3.52 Hatty town. 4.05 Survival. 4.35 London. 5.30 Houseparty. 5.45 London. 5.55 Lookaround. 6.20 News, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'Happy Thieves'. 8.25 London. 10.00 Life in France. 10.13 London. 11.55 Gazette. Midnight news, weather. WESTWARD: 3.40 News. 3.42 Gus Honeybun. 3.52 Hatty town. 4.05 Survival. 4.35 London. 5.30 Houseparty. 5.45 London. 6.30 Day by day. 7.00 Father, Dear Father. 7.30 Film: 'Paths of Glory' with Kirk Douglas. A battle-weary French division is forced to make a suicidal attack on the Germans during First World War. 9.00 London. Midnight news. 12.05 Weather. Action 70.

HARLECH: 4.05 News. 4.35 London. 5.30 Report. 5.45 London. 6.30 Election special. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Bonanza. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 London. 10.50 Election West. 11.35 World Cup 1970. 12.05 Weather.

HTV (West) colour channel 41 as above

Women today. 5.45 London. 5.50 News. 5.55-6.30 Scene West. 6.30-6.35 Peter. 5.55-6.30 Scene West.

HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above

6.30-6.35 Cartoon. 10.50-11.35 Yr etholiad yng nghymru.

HTV Cymru/Wales black and white

service as above except: 5.30 Y dydd. 5.40-5.45 News. 6.30-6.35 Eplodid crefyddol 1970. 10.50-11.35 Yr etholiad yng nghymru.

ANGLIA: 4.10 Newsroom. 4.20 Enchanted house. 4.35 London. About Anglia. 4.35 Crossroads. 7.00 'Song of the Thin Man' with William Powell and Myrna Loy. Mick Nora and Asta investigate the murder of a band leader. 8.25 London. 11.20 Election probe. 11.35 News. 12.05 Weather.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12 noon-1.40 London. 3.55 Peyton Place. 4.20 Origi. 4.30 Flaxton boys. 5.00 London. 5.25 Women today. 5.45 London. 6.25 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Western: 'Sugarfoot' with Randolph Scott, Adele Jermans and Raymond Massey. A former Confederate officer arrives in a small Arizona town intent on leading a peaceful life. 8.25 London.

ULSTER: 4.10 Romper room. 4.30 News. 4.35 London. 5.30 Summer season. 5.45 London. 6.30 News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'Port Afrique' with Pier Angeli and Phil Carey. Adventure story set in Morocco. 8.30 London.

YORKSHIRE: 11.25-1.30 London. 2.45 London. 4.05 Houseparty. 4.20 Tingha and Tucker. 4.35 London. 5.30 Calendar and weather. 5.45 London. 6.30 Election calendar. 7.00 Father, Dear Father. 7.30 'The Battle Circus' with Humphrey Bogart and June Allyson. A mobile hospital unit operating near the Korean battle line. 9.00 London. Midnight All our yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

TYNE-TEES: 11.25-1.30 London. 2.45 London. 4.20 Newsroom. 4.22 Enchanted house. 4.35 London. 5.20 Today. 5.45 London. 6.30 Election special. 7.00 Film: 'Valley of the Kings'. 8.30 London. Midnight news. 12.17 Epilogue.

BORDER: 12 noon-1.40 London. 3.52 High Living. 4.18 News. 4.20 Origi. 4.30 Florida. 5.01 London. 5.30 News. Lookaround. 5.45 London. 6.30 News. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Election report. 7.45 Cartoon. 8.00 Opportunity knocks. 8.30 London. Midnight news, weather.

SCOTTISH: 4.00 Scotland early. 4.10 London. 5.25 Scotland now. 5.45 London. 6.30 High living. 7.00 Western: 'The Quick Gun' with Audie Murphy and Merry Anderson. 8.25 London. Midnight. Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 4.05 High living. 4.35 London. 5.30 News. Farming news. 5.45 London. 5.55 Election special. 7.00 Western: 'Springfield Rifle'. 8.30 London.

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Name

Address



Leon Trotsky.

Trotsky on Ireland

THE FORMER prominent colonial bureaucrat of Great Britain, Sir Roger Casement, by conviction a revolutionary Irish nationalist, the go-between for Germany and the Irish uprising, on being sentenced to death declared 'I prefer to sit on the bench of the accused than in the seat of the accuser', before the reading of the sentence, which ran according to the old formula that Casement should be 'hung by the neck until dead, at which God was invited to have mercy on his soul.'

Should the sentence be carried out? This question must have given Asquith and Lloyd-George many troubled hours. To execute Casement would make it even more difficult for the opportunist, nationalist and purely parliamentary Irish party, led by Redmond, to ratify a new compromise with the government of the UK on the blood of the insurrectionaries. To pardon Casement, after having carried out so many executions, would mean an open 'display of indulgence to a high-ranking traitor'. This is the demagogic tune of the British social-imperialists of the Hyndman type—downright blood-thirsty hoodlums. But however the personal fate of Casement is resolved, the sen-

tence on him will bring to a conclusion the dramatic episode of the Irish uprising.

In so far as the affair concerned the purely military operations of the insurrectionaries, the government, as we know, turned out comparatively easily to be master of the situation. The general-national movement, however it was expressed in the heads of the nationalist dreamers, did not materialize at all. The Irish countryside did not rise up. The Irish bourgeoisie, as also the upper, more influential layer of the Irish intelligentsia, remained on the sidelines. The urban workers fought and died, together with revolutionary enthusiasts from the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. The historical basis for the national revolution had disappeared even in backward Ireland. Inasmuch as the Irish movements in the last century had assumed a popular character, they had invariably fed on the social hostility of the deprived and exhausted pauper-farmer towards the omnipotent English landlord.

But, if for the latter Ireland was only on object of agrarian plunder and exploitation, for British imperialism it was a necessary guarantee of their dominion over the seas. In a

pamphlet written on the eve of the war, Casement, speculating about Germany, proves that the independence of Ireland means the 'freedom of the seas' and the death blow to the naval domination of England. This is true in so far as an 'independent' Ireland could exist only as an outpost of an imperialist state hostile to England and as its military naval base against the English supremacy over the sea routes. It was Gladstone who first expounded with full clarity the military imperialist consideration of Great Britain over the interests of the Anglo-Irish landlords and laid the basis for the wide agrarian legislation by which the state transferred to the Irish farmers the landlords' land, very generously compensating the latter, of course. Anyway, after the agrarian reforms of 1881-1903, the farmers turned into conservative small property-owners, whose gaze the green banner of national independence is no longer able to tear away from their plots of land.

The redundant Irish intelligentsia flowed in their thousands into the towns of Great Britain as lawyers, journalists, commercial employees, etc. In this way, for the majority of them, the 'national question' got lost. On the other hand, the independent Irish commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, in so far as it has formed over the past decades, immediately adopted an antagonistic position towards the young Irish proletariat, giving up the national revolutionary struggle and entering the camp of imperialism. The young Irish working class, taking shape in an atmosphere saturated with the heroic recollections of national rebellions, and clashing with the egoistic, narrow-minded, imperial arrogance of English trade unionism, naturally swing between nationalism and syndicalism, ever ready to unite these two concepts in their revolutionary consciousness. It attracts the young intelligentsia and individual nationalist enthusiasts, who, in their turn, supplied the movement with a preponderance of the green flag over

the red. In this way, the 'national revolution', even in Ireland, in practice has become an uprising of workers, and the obviously isolated position of Casement in the movement only serves to emphasize this fact still deeper.

In a pathetic and shameful article, Plekhanov recently pointed to the 'harmful' character of the Irish uprising for the cause of freedom, rejoicing that the Irish nation 'to their credit' had realized this and not supported the revolutionary madmen. Only complete patriotic softening of all the joints could lead anyone to interpret the situation as if the Irish peasants had declined to participate in the revolution from the standpoint of the international situation, thus saving the 'honour' of Ireland. In actual fact they were led only by the obtuse egoism of the farmer and complete indifference to everything beyond the bounds of their plots of land. It was precisely because of this and only this that they supplied the London government with such a quick victory over the heroic defenders of the Dublin barricades. The undoubted personal courage, representing the hopes and methods of the past, is over. But the historical role of the Irish proletariat is only beginning. Already into this uprising—under an archaic banner—it has injected its class resentment against militarism and imperialism. That resentment from now on will not subside. On the contrary, it will find an echo throughout Great Britain. Scottish soldiers smashed the Dublin barricades. But in Scotland itself coal-miners are rallying round the red flag, raised by Maclean and his friends. Those very workers, who at the moment the Hendersons are trying to chain to the bloody chariot of imperialism, will revenge themselves against hangman Lloyd George.

(From 'Nashe Slovo', July 4, 1916.)

Roger Casement was executed, along with other leaders of the uprising, on August 3, 1916.



Roger Casement.



Dublin 1916: The uprising.

behind THE NEWS

HUSAK MEETS TRADE UNION RESISTANCE



Gustav Husak.

LAST WEEK saw the launching of a new offensive by the Husak regime against the Czechoslovak trade unions.

Meeting on June 10, the Plenum of the Central Council of Czech Trade Unions removed four prominent union leaders from its Presidium and four others from the post of plenum members.

Summing up the state of the purge in the trade unions, Prague Radio commented the same day: 'To date, 37 members and alternates have left [sic] the Central Council, 181 members have left the Central Committee of Czech Unions, 74 have left the Slovak Unions, 47 members and alternate members have left the Czech Trade Union Council and three members and alternate members have left the Slovak Trade Union Council.'

By the middle of May, claimed Jan Pillar at the Plenum meeting, '503 members left the district trade union councils in the Czech lands and 52 in Slovakia'.

But these dismissals only affect the top and middle layers of the trade union leadership.

The actual confrontation with the working class in the factories and mines has not yet begun.

The 'card exchange' campaign has almost ground to a halt, as in district after district it has been revealed that the interviews are being conducted by Party members who themselves sympathize with the anti-Husak opposition.

Many such 'hearings' have been invalidated because the expulsion rate has been far too low. A target of 50-60 per cent has been upheld as the minimum permissible expulsion rate.

So the bureaucracy has now shifted its attack directly into the unions. But here the problems are even greater. It is not a matter of 'interviewing' individual Party members, but confronting a mass working-class movement embracing millions.

And this is openly admitted by the Stalinist Pillar:

'... in cleansing its own lines the trade union movement has

always borne in mind that the resolute struggle for a Leninist [read 'Stalinist'] conception of the trade unions... must be waged in the primary organizations [i.e. in the place of work], in which the rightist [read 'anti-Stalinist'] forces exerted their influence every day and straight away millions of members.' (Emphasis added.)

So after nearly two years of Soviet occupation, and more than a year of hard-line Stalinist rule under Husak, the Czech working class openly defies the bureaucracy in its millions.

The Stalinist purge proceeded relatively smoothly while directed only against students, intellectuals and leading supporters of Dubcek.

But try as they may, the pro-Kremlin Stalinists simply cannot either buy over or intimidate even a small fraction of the Czech working class. The remarkable bluntness of Pillar's statements are the most eloquent testimony to the plight of the bureaucracy, which is unprecedented in the entire history of Stalinism.

ARISTOTELIAN



A wedding: Aristotle Onassis and Jacqueline née Bouvier, ex-Kennedy.

A MAN of parts is Mr Onassis, Greek millionaire shipowner and enthusiastic supporter of the colonels' regime. In addition to being a fan of grand opera, and an eager collector of private yachts and archipelagos, he is, as is well known, the most recent spouse of Jacqueline, née Bouvier, lately Kennedy.

The budget of which connection is currently running, as we reported in a recent edition, at \$20 million a year.

But Mr Onassis' monetary relations with the American Presidency do not end there.

He recently signed, on behalf of his own Olympic Airlines, a valuable contract with the

LOGIC

Marriot Corporation, who are to provide catering services on the airline.

The other signature was that of Mr Donald Nixon, Marriot's executive vice-president and beloved brother of Richard.

What you lose on the round-

THE SHORT ANSWER

MRS RENEE SHORT, Labour candidate for Wolverhampton N.E., has been saying some very harsh things about the National Front, skinheads, factory closures and other issues that are of importance, not only to the working class of Wolverhampton, but to workers everywhere.

Standing in a constituency which she held for Labour at the last election with a majority of over 8,000 and in which she is opposed by a right-wing Tory and also a National Front candidate, one would think that it was a heaven-sent opportunity for clarifying the class nature of Powellism before workers in both of the Wolverhampton constituencies.

Not so. Here is an indignant letter, penned by Mrs Short recently and published in the local press ('Express & Star', June 4):

'Sir—I do not normally have to correct reports of my speeches in the "Express and Star"; but the report of my speech at my adoption meeting in Monday's paper calls for some correction. "As I have said in the House, I believe firmly in vigorous control of immigration into the United Kingdom from anywhere, including the Commonwealth, and I have always supported the Labour government's success in this."

'Contrary to your report, I pointed out that we never admit anyone to work in this country unless they are essential to the national economy...'

'I also pointed out that the largest number of work vouchers, 30,000, was issued in 1963 under a Tory government, of which Mr Heath and Mr Powell were leading members.'

'Last year, under the Labour government, the number of work vouchers was the lowest ever. Figures for the first quarter of this year showed a further decline—they equalled just over 6,000 for people with work vouchers and dependants...'

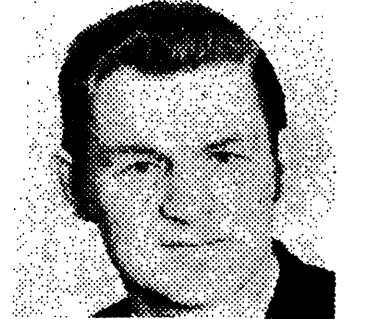
One might only add that the Wolverhampton N.E. Labour Party Young Socialists are very proud of Mrs Short and completely back her call to the Home Secretary for 'an immediate inquiry into the recent, deplorable and alarming clashes between skinheads and Asians'. With such friends...!

STRANGE FRIENDS

DR DOOJEN NAPAL is probably not very well known outside Wolverhampton.

A lecturer in Social Psychology at the Bilston College of Further Education, Dr Napal earned himself some space recently in the local 'Express & Star' by clashing with some of his skinhead students.

Having been pelted with bacon,



Standing for Wolverhampton N.E.: (From top to bottom) Mrs Renee Short (Labour), Geoffrey Wright (Conservative)

bread and ham rolls in his lecture room by 'Paki-bashing type' students (according to the E&S), Dr Napal had the following comment to make:

'I am pleased to note that the skinheads appear to be attracted to Mr Enoch Powell. In my view it's far better for these types to be attracted to Mr Powell, a scholar and a gentleman, than to the real extremist organizations which get their inspiration from the Nazis.'

Surprising? Not to those who have followed Dr Napal's political activities over the last few years.

According to one Wulfrunian, the doctor's reactionary statement in praise of Powell is completely in line with his position on the Tories in general and the right-wing Powell in particular since the latter's speech on immigration at the beginning of 1968.

From that time on, Dr Napal publicly associated himself with the Powellite position and even went one step further in calling for a ban on all immigration.

While openly supporting this position, he formed an organization called the Afro-Asian Minorities' Association and launched a paper—'Pardesi'—which was printed in English, Punjabi and Urdu, 'the first multi-lingual paper in Britain'.

This finally folded last October after the Afro-Caribbean Circle—which had opposed Napal's claim to represent local West Indians—produced information on his political activities.

Tory councillors defended him against this 'communist-inspired witch-hunt' and the 'Express & Star' expressed their 'regrets' for the demise of this 'multi-racial experiment'.

With such friends as Dr Napal...!

