INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • TUESDAY DECEMBER 29, 1970 • NUMBER 338

THE DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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Since the year-old split in her Congress Party, Mrs Gandhi has ruled with support from 'left-wing' parties. including the pro-Moscow

Communist Party. Now, in the hope of winning back a majority, she demagogically proclaims: 'Time will not wait for us. The millions who demand food, shelter and jobs are

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ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

(AGGIIII)

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Saturday January 2, 1971 at 2.30 p.m.

East India Hall

East India Dock Rd, London E14

Report to be given by Aileen Jennings, Editor of Keep Left

Dance to 'the Uptights' in the evening

TICKETS 7s 6d

Apply to: 186a, Clapham High Street, London SW4.

National

**Speaking** 

Contest

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# BY A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

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The latest OECD Report welcomes the government's measures, in particular the Industrial Relations Bill, and states:

degree of influence which the government is in a position to exert, if it fully maintains its stand, should not be underestimated. It may well have an important effect in lowering the pace of inflation compared with what might otherwise have hap-

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In sharp contrast to the Tories' brutally decisive manner stands the pathetic protest of the Labour leaders.

This is most clearly expressed by the statement of the T&GWU 'Record' and the divisionary manoeuvres of the Fabians, who are far more concerned with the growth of working-class militancy and the possibility of a new leadership arising than they are of the

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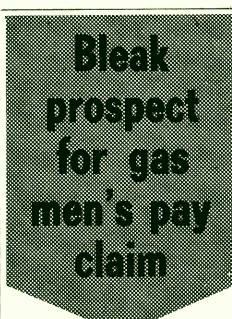
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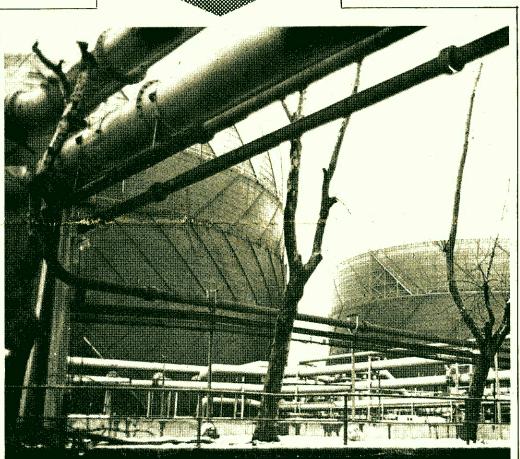
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In case any worker might mistakenly imagine that January 12 was the signal for strike action the 'Record' leaves nothing to chance:

'. . . it is appreciated that some cases the meetings will extend into working hours with employers being notified'! The Tories have positively nothing to fear from this phoney war of the TUC.

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FULHAM gas works under

# Sheffield engineers to discuss Devey

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Batchelor's part of the massive Unilever - Bird's Eye

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Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Continuing cold with sleet or snow at times.

• PAGE FOUR COL. 8

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A large proportion of Soviet musicians are of Jewish origin. Earlier this month Oistrakh Burgos. No official reason was given had felt unwell . . . and re-

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BOMBERS of Emperor Haile Selassie's Air Force have killed 500 people near Keren village in N Ethiopia, according to a statement in Damascus by an Eritrean Liberation Army spokesman.

# Tory mouths shut over 'unofficial' HOLIDAY spirit had far from holiday

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30 per cent of miners in the Yorkshire coalfield stayed at

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In the Barnsley area, five

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collieries will not be back

'Relatively heavy' absentee-

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NCB closed

the National Coal Board offices

in London could hardly be

telephone operators — at Hobart House had the extra

Also on holiday were staffs at the head offices of Central

Electricity Generating Board

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The Confederation of Brit-

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Angola

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The statement also de-

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Most civil servants in White-hall were officially off.

Civilians massacred in

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All personnel - including

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A complete shut-down at

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The men were demanding the Sunday rate for operating Sunday service. Mining districts had one of

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In the course of Novem-

ber 2,000 were taken from the prisons of St Paul-

Luanda to an unknown

'All the evidence leads

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row when unions will press the Gas Council to raise its offer of just under 10 per

cent.
Manual workers' average
earnings for a 49-hour week
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BY GARY GURMEET agreed to walt for the outcome of the electricity pay dispute which had been the biggest number of abexpected by now. The retreat of the power men's leaders into a govern-Between 25 per cent and

> Inquiry has probably dragged the gas workers up the same cul-de-sac. Gas workers' opposition to the government's 10 per cent celling on public industry pay increases has been stiffened by the Gas Boards

ment-sponsored Court of

raising their prices far in excess of this level.

Next month domestic consumers in 11 out of 12 areas face gas bills an average of 8 per cent higher but some will rocket up by 14 per

# Ceylon wants Heath meeting on surcharges

CEYLON has asked for an urgent interview with British Prime Minister Edward Heath to discuss increases in vital freight rates between Ceylon and Britain of 25 per cent for shipments to Ceylon and 15 per cent for shipments to Britain.

the Ceylon-United Kingdom Shipping Conference. The High Commission in to ask for an interview with Mr Heath for Mr P. B. G.

They were imposed by

London has been directed Kalugalla, Shipping Minister, and probably Plantations and Industries Minister Colvin R. de Silva

### winter snow symbolizes the bleak prospects for the pay Snivelling apology claim submitted by the gas industry's 60,000 manual for new pogrom Pay talks re-open tomorof Soviet Jews

THE BRITISH Communist Party statement on the Leningrad trial is nothing more than a snivelling apology for judicial murder.

Its main purpose is to clear the Kremlin of all charges of anti-Semitism:

'We repudiate those in Britain and elsewhere who imply this trial was inspired by anti-Semitism.'

Of the death sentences with two exceptions, the first to have been passed by a Soviet court for 'political' crimes since Stalin's death in 1953—the statement says:

#### 'Friends' 'Many friends of the Soviet

Union will be gravely con-cerned at the death sentences imposed and hope that the higher authorities will commute these death sentences without delay.' How much lower can the Stalinist leaders of the British

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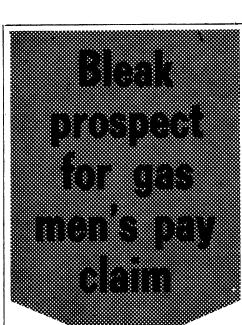
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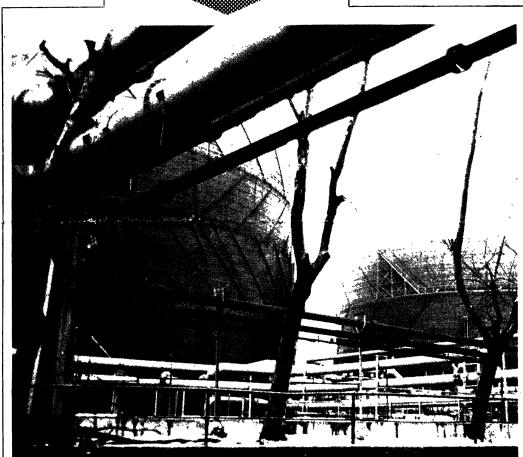
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'Relatively heavy' absenteeism was reported among the 37,000 S Wales miners.

A complete shut-down at the National Coal Board offices complete shut-down at in London could hardly be described as 'unofficial'. All personnel - including telephone operators — at Hobart House had the extra

Also on holiday were staffs at the head offices of Central Electricity Generating Board and the Gas Council. The Confederation of British Industry and the government's Department of Trade and Industry were among those to extend the holiday.

## Civilians massacred in Angola MPLA, the Popular Move-ment for the Liberation of

day off.

Angola, has denounced the treatment of civilians imprisoned by the Portuguese army in Angola. In the course of November 2,000 were taken from the prisons of St Paulnounced the use defoliants against

'All the evidence leads

us to believe,' says the MPLA statement, 'that they have been massacred out of hand.' The statement also de-

over wide areas of

Portuguese colony.

Edward Heath to discuss increases in vital freight rates between Ceylon and Britain of 25 per cent for shipments to Ceylon and 15 per cent for shipments to Britain. They were imposed by the Ceylon-United Kingdom Shipping Conference.
The High Commission in

London has been directed

to ask for an interview with Mr Heath for Mr P. B. G. Kalugalla, Shipping Minister, and probably Planta-tions and Industries Minister Colvin R. de Silva.

#### 'We repudiate those in Britain and elsewhere who imply this trial was inspired by anti-Semitism.' Of the death sentences -

snivelling apology for judicial murder.

Snivelling apology

for new pogrom

of Soviet Jews

THE BRITISH Communist Party statement on

the Leningrad trial is nothing more than a

with two exceptions, the first to have been passed by a Soviet court for 'political' crimes since Stalin's death in 1953—the statement says:

Its main purpose is to clear the Kremlin of all charges of

How much lower can the Stalinist leaders of the British

wretched 'statement'?

# No objection

anarchism that the real theore-

tical lessons of the new situa-

The centre of the theoretical fight against Bakunin was the

Marx insisted that the state arose on the basis of definite

social relations of production as

the instrument through which

the ruling class maintained its

power and privilege over the

exploited classes.

The state would only disappear

when economic conditions had

been created through the devel-

opment of socialism for the disappearance of antagonistic

The aim of the working class

had, therefore, to be one of

smashing the capitalist state and

replacing the old state machine

with a new one through which

Only after a transitional period and the development of a social-

ist consciousness would the state

begin to wither away.

Bakunin was totally opposed

to this theoretical conception.

For him, the state was the 'main enemy'. The aim of revolutionaries (basing themselves not

on the working class but upon

the petty-bourgeosie and 'lumpen

proletariat') had to be the over-

throw of the state and thus the

abolition of all authority.

it would maintain its power.

conception of the state.

# MARX

THE CONTINUITY in the fight for Marxism in the British working class consists of a continual fight for principles and theory.

This fight has been waged by the Socialist Labour League in the teeth of hatred by all the revisionists of Marxism.

This hostility centres, naturally enough, on Leninism, with its concept of a centralized, disciplined, party to lead the working

class to power. These groups are wrong to think they can attack Leninism with impunity and remain 'true followers' of Marx and Engels.

For all Lenin's theoretical concepts along with his struggle to build the Bolshevik Party and later the Communist Inter-national, were direct developments of the teachings of Marx

and Engels.

This is above all true of Marx's concept of the vanguard party, its relationship to the working class and the critical importance

of the fight for theory within it. Historically, although there was a tradition of international activity in the British labour movement from the French Revolution on, it was only when the International Workingmen's Association (First International) was formed in 1864 that there was a stable and permanent organization to represent the interests of labour throughout Europe.

### Centred

The possibilities of this new development was closely con-nected with changes in the British trade union movement.

After the defeat of Chartism in 1848 trade unionism tended to be confined to a narrow layer of privileged workers, the 'labour aristocracy' centred on the en-

But even in this stratum changes occurred by 1860. The building trade was the centre of these developments.

After a boom in the 1850s, by the end of the decade the industry was in the midst of a recession in which unemployment was growing and employers were

These changes were significant for the renewed campaign within the industry for a nine-

delegates to the International came from the building trade, many of them close collaborators of Marx. The creation of the London Trades Council, in 1860, was of equal importance; its first Secretary, George Odger, was to be the International's only Presi-

ber 4, 1864):

'I knew that this time real 'powers" were involved both on the London and Paris sides and therefore decided to waive my usual standing rule to decline

Marx saw that in England and France something new was emerging after the defeats of 1848: the working class, if only in a limited way, was entering politics as an independent force.

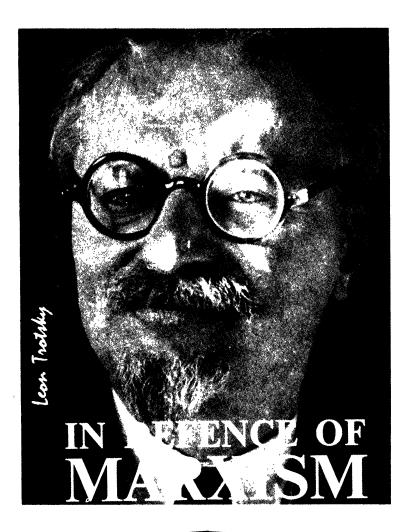
new developments taking place among English trade unions. But he knew that many trade union leaders saw the International merely as an extension of trade unionism onto a European plane to prevent the use of

strike action. Marx exercised great patience with leaders such as Odger who tended to look at all things through the narrow eyes of trade unionism: but such patience was vital if the International was to successfully launched and Marx was to get nearer to the

'It was very difficult', he wrote to Engels on November 4, 1864, 'to frame things so that our view should appear in a form acceptable from the present standpoint of the workers' movement. In a be holding meetings for the fran-chise with Bright and Cobden. It will take time before the reawakened movement allows the old boldness of speech. It will be necessary to be fortiter in re,

Marx and, later Engels realized that the newly emerging





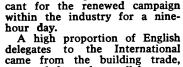
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Although Marx knew the limi-

tations of trade unionism he was equally aware of its significance and involved himself in the work of the International even though he was engaged in the preparation of 'Capital'.

He wrote to Engels (Novem-

any such invitations.

The inaugural address of the International, drafted by Marx, was directed, principally, to the

foreign blacklegs in times of

developing movement.

few weeks the same people will

sauviter in modo. conditions gave an opportunity



#### Emancipation In his discussion on the future

to destroy politically and theore-tically the many semi-socialist sects which, particularly in

France, had inevitably dominated the movement in the aftermath

had demoralized the European

labour movement.

the 1848 Revolution. These

Marx's alliance with the best

elements of the English trade

union movement was designed to

defeat the Proudhonists and

Bakuninists in Europe and pre-

pare the ground for working-

class parties striving for the dic-

As Marx wrote later to one of his supporters, Bolte, (Novem-

in order to replace the socialist or semi-socialist sects by a real

organization of the working class

for struggle. The original Statutes

and Inaugural Address show this

the International could not have

maintained itself if the course

smashed sectarianism. The devel-

opment of socialist sectarianism

and that of the real labour move-

ment always stand in inverse ratio to each other.

And again in the same letter:

so long as the working class is

not yet ripe for an independent

historical movement. As soon as it has attained this maturity all

sects are essentially reactionary.

Nevertheless, what history estab-

lishes everywhere was repeated

in the history of the Inter-

national. What is antiquated tries to re-establish itself and

maintain its position within the

While Marx, in his polemic against the old Owenite Social-

ist Weston, demonstrated that trade unions were capable of

Marx's refutation of Weston's

sectarian position) he also made clear the weakness of the trade

'They fail generally by accept-

ing the present relations of capital and labour as permanent instead of working for their

'Value Price and Profit'

improvements in living standards (see

newly acquired form.'

effecting

workers'

unions.

'Sects are justified (historically)

a glance. On the other hand,

history had not already

'The International was founded

tatorship of the proletariat.

of the unions Marx said they would have to break out of their narrowness if they were to

'Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centres of the working class in the broad interests of its complete emancipation. They must aid every social and political move tending in that direction.'

This attitude contrasted with

that of the Anarchists who were

either indifferent or hostile to unions. Proudhon, for example opposed the 1864 Act which had legalized the French unions: 'I especially object to the new law: association for the purpose

of increasing or lowering wages entirely the same as association for the purpose of increasing the prices of food and other commodities.' Proudhon and his followers also voted against the adoption of the demand for the eight-hour

day as an aim of the Inter-

national, on the ground that this

would only further encourage 'state intervention'. Yet this slogan anticipated the campaigns of the late 1880s when thousands of unskilled workers took up the demand as part of their struggle to unionize. It also became one of the slogans of the Second International on

its foundation in 1889. Proudhon was opposed to political action and emphasized the 'free exchange' of products between independent producers as the means of emancipating

the independent artisan. After Proudhon's death in 1865 Bakunin went further with his opposition to all forms of authority and centralism in the inter-

It was in this struggle against

It was significant that Marx was to draw the greater part of his support from the most capitalist countries notably England and Germany. But Bakunin's chief followers

came from countries such as Italy and Spain, where the peasantry still predominated, or from groups of highly-skilled and privileged, semi-independent artisans, like the Jura watch-makers of the most conservative and non-revolutionary outlook.

Marx fought a long, often bitter and tenacious battle to destroy Bakunin's ideas in the International. And it was only in the course of this struggle that the nature of the International was established.

The correctness of Marx's position was confirmed by the Paris Commune of 1871. It was only through the fight with the Anarchists in the International that its historical significance for the working class was grasped.

What the Commune showed and made concrete was that the capitalist state could not be peacefully transformed but must be smashed and that once having smashed the old state the working class could only retain power through the exercise of the greatest centralism against the deposed class.

1871 was a landmark in the development of the Marxist theory of the state, a landmark hobby horses, Bakunin's new balderdash had not so much as come into being in his own head, and even the leaders of the English trade unions thought the programme laid down in the preamble to the Rules gave them

'The first great success was

the events of 1871, just as the

which was an indispensable the-

oretical prerequisite for Lenin's

successful struggle against Kaut-

The second part of a series by Peter Jeffries.

The first part of which appeared on Decem-

ber 15, 1970.

The struggle against Bakunin in the years after 1864 were a great theoretical anticipation of fight against revisionism inside the Trotskyist movement since Second World War has been an indispensable theoretical preparation for the revolutionary situation now developing throughout Europe.

In other words, the Commune made and broke the International in its old form. Engels explained this in an important letter to Sorge (September 12-17,

'Actually in 1864 the theoretical character of the movement was still very unclear everywhere in Europe, that is, among the masses. German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party, Proudhonism was too weak to be able to trot out its particular basis for entering the move-



junction of all factions. This success was the Commune, which was, without any doubt, the child of the International, intellectually, although the International did not lift a finger to produce it, and for which the International to a certain extent was quite properly held responsible. When, thanks to the Commune, the International had become a moral force in Europe,

bound to explode this naïve con-

# Witch-hunt

the row at once began. . . . Dis-

integration, which was inevitable,

Matters came to a head at the Hague Congress of 1872. By this time many of Marx's erstwhile trade union collaborators had deserted the International in the face of the savage witch-hunt that followed in the wake of the Commune's defeat.

It was at the Hague, after a bitter struggle, that Bakunin's followers were thrown out of the International, the powers of the General Council were increased and its headquarters removed to America from London.

This marked the end of the International's effective life: Marx and Engels insisted that its centre of operations move across the Atlantic only so the Anarchists would be unable to regain control. Four years later Marx and Engels had waged had

the International was formally

and the FIRST

wound up.

But the deliberations at the Hague show very clearly that the theoretical battles which

hands of a few, and that of the free federation of those whom the homogeneity of the economic conditions in each country has united behind the idea of com-mon interests in all countries. 'The movement cannot represent the conception of a single

brain. For the leadership of the movement there is required no General Council with authority.
... If it is asked "does the IWA" require no head?" we answer On the other hand one of

Marx's supporters attacked the following terms: 'After the Commune, how can one still speak against authority?

'Are these good people so unscientific as to believe that one can make revolutions? Do they still not know that revolu-

INTERNATIONAL

not been in vain. This was recognized by the Bakuninists at the Congress, notably by Guillaume: . . two great ideas run side

by side in the movement, that of centralization of power in the

We German workers, at least, hold that the Commune was overthrown mainly for want of authority in its usage. . . . Furthermore, the nonsense of the anti-authoritarians shows up glaringly in the charge against the General Council of not having made a revolution.

tions arise only in a natural way and are stages of historical



### **Bakunin**

development? Have these people not even surpassed barricadology?'

So although organizationally the International ceased effectively to function after 1872 and was not revived until 1889 with the formation of the Second International, the theoretical continuity of Marxism had been preserved.

These lessons formed foundation for the creation of a Second International on a much wider basis at the end of 1887, a creation in which the English

trade union movement, to which Marx and Engels gave such close attention, was to play a significant part.

But they were by then in the process of a rapid transformation, turning outwards to the previously unorganized unskilled workers and adopting a specifically socialist programme as their aim.

The next part in this series will deal with 'Engels and the Second International' and the fourth part 'Lenin and the Communist Party of Great Britain'.

12.55 p.m. Fo a fe. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45 News. 1.55-3.00 Out of school. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Animal magic. 5.20 Perils of Penelope Pitstop. 5.40 Seeing stars. 5.44 Magic Roundabout, 5.50 News and weather.

6 00 YOUR REGION TONIGHT.

6.20 TOM AND JERRY.

6.30 QUIZ BALL.

6.50 Z CARS, 'Let Nothing You Dismay'. 7.20 THE LAUGH PARADE. 'Follow a Star'. With Norman Wisdom. Norman attempts to become a pop singer.

9.00 THE NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather. 9.20 'THE TRUTH ABOUT HOUDINI'. Documentary about the great

escapologist. 10.10 MANITAS AT THE BULL RING. Manitas de Plata in Birming-

10.40 QUIZ OF THE YEAR.

11.20 A JEW LOOKS AT THE NEW YEAR. 11.25 Weather.

# REGIONAL BBC

Midlands, E Anglia: 6.00-6.20 Midlands today. Look East, weather. 10.10-10.40 Contact. (Midlands only.) 11.27 News, weather.
North, NW, NE, Cumberland and Westmorland: 6.00-6.20 Look North, weather. 10.10-10.40 Great road show. (NE only.) 11.27 News, weather.

show. (NE only.) 11.27 News, weather. Wales: 5.20-5.44 Telewele. 6.00-6.20 Wales today, weather. 6.30-7.50 Heddiw. 10.10-10.40 This world of

Wales. 11.27 Weather.
Scotland: 6.00-6.20 Reporting Scotland. 10.10-10.40 She shall have music. 11.15-11.40 Scottish viewpoint. News, weather.
N Ireland: 6.00-6.20 Scene around six, weather. 10.10 In question. 10.40-11.20 Replay 70. News, weather. weather.

SW, South, West: 6.00-6.20 Points
West. South today. Spotlight SW,
weather. 10.10-10.40 Sound of the
South. (South only.) 11.27 News,

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL. 7.30 p.m. NEWSROOM and weather.

11.45 NEWS ON 2 and weather.

8.00 INTERNATIONAL GOLF. The best 18. Tony Jacklin v Arnold 8.50 WHEELBASE.

9.20 HOLLYWOOD STAR PARADE. 'The Man in the Gray Flannel Sult'. With Gregory Peck, Jennifer Jones, Fredric March. Ten years after the end of World War II Tom Rath is still trying to adjust himself to life.

# ITV

11.05 a.m.-1.00 p.m. Out of School. 4.17 Hatty town. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Junior showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News

6.02 THE FLINTSTONES. 'Dripper'. 6.30 THE GHOST AND MRS MUIR, 'Martha Meets the Captain'.

7.00 TUESDAY FILM. 'Ladies Who Do'. With Peggy Mount, Robert Morley and Harry H. Corbett. An investor finds a bizarre way of making money on the stock exchange.

8.30 NEVER MIND THE QUALITY, FEEL THE WIDTH. 'Twenty 9.00 PLAYHOUSE. 'Up School'. With John Standing and Sarah-Jane Gwillim. Old Boys' Reunion at Sidgwick School is an

excuse for high spirits. 10.00 NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 BERNARD LEVIN IN A THINK TANK. Herman Kahn is commissioned by the US government and industries to foresee the

11.30 PEOPLE TO PEOPLE. 'A Place in the World'. From Great 12.00 midnight. OUTLOOK 71. Alexander Walker and Irving Wardle talk about 1971 and the Arts.

# REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 4.00 Puffin's birthday greet-fings. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.25 Sur-vival. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Look-around. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'Disorderly Orderly'. With Jerry Lewis. 8.30 London. 11.15 Aquarius. 11.55 Gazette. 12 midnight News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 11.00-1.00 London. 3.58 News. 4.00 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 12 mid-night Faith for life. 12.05 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.05-1.00 London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Hymn for child-

ren. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.40 Suspense and intrigue. 'Tiger in the Sky'. With Alan Ladd and June Allyson. Story of a famous American flyer. 8.30 London. 11.15 News. 11.25 Farm progress. 11.55 Weather. Action 70

HARLECH: 11.05-1.00 London. 4.12
Bugs Bunny. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report
Wales. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Champions. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 London.
12 midnight Weather.
HTV (West) colour channel 61 as above except: 4.10-4.12, 6.01-6.35
Report West.
HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except: 6.01-6.18 Y dydd.
HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 10.30-11.30 Dan sylw.

ANGLIA: 11.00-1.00 London. 4.05 Granny gets the point. 4.30 News. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia, Police call. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 "The Bandit of Zhobe". With Victor Mature, Anthony Newley and Anne Aubrey. A tribal chieftain on India's frontier is wrongly accused of murder. 8.30 London. 11.15 Conceptions of murder. 11.45 Reflection.

tions of murder. 11.45 Reflection.
ATV MIDLANDS: 11.05-1.00 London.
1.00 Granny gets the point. 3.49 Horoscope. 3.52 Women Today. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 Origami. 4.50 Flaxton Boys. 5.15 London. 6.00 ATV Today.
6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Last of the Comanches'. 8.30 London. 11.15 Music Room, weather.

Music Room, weather.

ULSTER: 11.00-1.00 London. 4.30
Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: "The Naked Spur. With James Stewart, Janet Leigh and Robert Ryan. Western. 8.30 London. 11.15 White line.

YORKSHIRE: 11.05-1.00 London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Wind in the willows. 4.30 Matinee. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.30 Nanny and the professor. 7.00 Movie: 'Wake Me When the War is Over'. With Ken Berry, Eva Gabor, Werner Klemperer and Jim Backus. An American officer is led to believe the war is still on long after it has ended. 8.30 London. 11.30 All our yesterdays. 12 midnight Reading at Christmas. 12.05 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.05-1.00 London. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.02 Newsday. 6.15 Ghost and Mrs Muir. 6.45 Film: 'The Thirty-Nine Steps'. With Kenneth More and Taina Elg. Mystery, intrigue and murde 8.30 London. 11.15 Four just men.

TYNE TEES: 11.05-1.00 London. 4.10 News. 4.15 Mad movies. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Film: 'Strange Lady in Town'. With Greer Garson and Dana Andrews. A pioneer lady travels west in 1880, 8.30 London. 11.15 News. 11.30 Reading at Christmas.

BORDER: 11.05-1.00 London. 4.10 News. 4.12 Survival. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: "To the Shores of Tripoli". 8.30 London. 11.15 Shooting. 11.40 News, weather. 11.45 Reading at Christmas.

SCOTTISH: 11.05-1.00 London. 3.40 Dateline. 3.50 Horoscope. 3.52 Women today. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Film: 'A Matter of Who'. With Terry-Thomas, Sonja Ziemann and Alex Nicol. 8.30 London. 11.15 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 11.02-1.00 London. 3.49 News. 3.52 Women today. 4.15 En-chanted house. 4.25 Wally Whyton style. 4.55 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.10 Flintstones. 6.35 Cross-roads. 7.00 Western: 'Guns of Wyom-ing'. With Robert Taylor and Joan Caulfield. 8.30 London. 11.15 Epilogue.

London, N22 **TORYISM** 

**ALEXANDRA PALACE** 

Wood Green

Young Socialists and All Trades Unions Alliance **GREAT NATIONAL** RALLY AGAINST

**BOOK THIS DATE NOW!** 

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1971. 11 a.m.

**RIO LOBO** 

**Directed by Howard Hawks** 

Starring John Wayne

FROM THE MAIN street in Rio Lobo a girl rushes to tell a young man and his girl who are in her house: 'They're coming to search the place. You'd better hide.'

The young man and the girl crawl under the bed, but first the man pours water over the first girl's hair.

When two thug deputies break in they find her wash-ing her hair. They look round the room, and satisfied that there is no one else there, leave.

The couple crawl out from under the bed and the girl begins to laugh. She says: 'Do you know what he said to me under there? He said, last kiss before dying".

And she bursts into uncontrollable laughter, while the young man looks at her puzzled.

It's a scene that's very characteristic of the picture as whole, a conventional Western situation, which is given a wry turn.

'Rio Lobo' is Howard Hawk's latest film.

He is now aged 74 and this is his 45th feature film. He made his first in 1926.

It's an impressive span of film-making.

There are certain things to note about him. For instance he has never once made a film outside of the confines of a commercial genre form.

By this I mean that he has concentrated on Westerns, gangster movies, musicals, domestic comedy, all tried and trusted Hollywood products. In no sense is he an innovator of style or form.

The stories that he has made are conventional enough, yet there is no evidence of a tension in his films to suggest that he is hampered or limited by the form. In fact he derives an obvious

strength from the convention; he is at home in it, a master of it. And at the same time he is able to mark all of his films with a very personal and distinctive stamp.

In this respect he cuts right across contemporary notions of creative expression, where innovation and originality are considered to be of paramount importance.

He is much more in the tradition of a craftsman, grasping the technical requirements of his trade, and working within this confine.

I don't think it is too fanciful to compare him with, say, a pre-Renaissance painter, who could paint Madonna after Madonna within the conventional style and express himself through it.

This seems to me to be an aspect of Hollywood filmmaking which is too often disregarded. Critics of commercial film-making ignore this particular process and denounce the product as soap opera rubbish. but it is one of the few cultural forms of this epoch which has created certain traditional

forms. The genre film is an expression of American bourgeois mythology. It is the dramatic form which tries to resolve the contradiction between the capitalist mode of production and the ideology of the American dream, in which every man is equal, independent and a pioneer, where every Cinderella is the potential first lady of the land and every

newsboy the president. The Western, therefore, is the fight to make order out of chaos through the gun. Yet that order itself threatens the 'liberty' that created it.

In the metropolis the gangster embodies the thrusting dynamism of individuality and self help. Yet he must be



Reviewed by BRIAN MOORE

Showing at the RIALTO, London

to justice and punished. The contradiction emerges in every kind of this

Now Hawks has worked exclusively through genres.

He has concentrated on men of action, on gun fighters, gangsters, pilots, hunters, racing drivers. It is a world of men-or rather a bourgeois puritan notion of a world of men-who battle with difficult situations, who have, above all, a code of morality professionalism dictates.

Being 'good enough' is a constant theme and requirement.

From this flows a determination, a courage, a coolness and resourcefulness.

Cary Grant, John Wayne, Humphrey Bogart, Hawk's classic heroes and stars, all embody this. His women can vye with

men only by entering their world morality, they are in every sense supporting roles, either domineering and assertive to prove themselves an equal, or resourceful props. His best work is the most

complete expression of this. His camera work is simple and direct; he uses the cut from one shot to the next to further the story or emphasize a fresh piece of information.

There is a great sense of movement and drive forward in his work.

He works with his actors in such a way as to discover the nuances as he goes along. The



more intimate they become with the character they portray, the richer and more inventive the performances

That sense of discovery through the actor is a characteristic of his work, which generates surprise and elevates his work above the run of the mill and the predictable.

Although he chooses conventional forms, the creative surprise is in the reaction of the characters to their situations. It is this more than anything that gives a personal quality to his work.

But what is the social and economic soil of the genre film? Its growth accelerated in the 1930s during the depression, continued through the war and into the post-war period.

The Hollywood system of production, of big studios and stars and contract directors and writers broke up at a point in the mid-1950s where an economic boom was beginning and television entered the mass media arena.

The genre film then is the form of these earlier workingclass defeats. It is the creation of a whole mythology and mythical figures out of these defeats.

Today we have a changed situation, a developing crisis of capitalism, particularly in America, a whole new political development and the emergence with completely different cultural demands.

One would expect to see, therefore, this change reflected in the work of Hawks, whose very creative axis is in the genre film. And this is precisely what we see in his last two films 'Eldorado' and now 'Rio Lobo'.

The confidence of the experienced craftsman is, of course,

Both these films bear his

own special stamp. What is important though is that he is no longer able to accept at face value the values that have previously been the generating power of his work. In 'Eldorado' and 'Rio Lobo'

the heroes are merely ageing and wry shadows of his former archetypes. John Wayne is ageing, fat,

squeezed into his uniform. He

still fights the same good fight, still banishes the powers of evil and darkness. But what dominates in the films is the humour and irony.

And central to it is that in many ways Wayne is past it. When Wayne wakes up one

morning on the trail to find the young girl sleeping next to him, he says: 'Why didn't you sleep with him?', pointing to the younger man. She says: 'Well he's young

able.' He laughs and he accepts it wryly, but later it is his last remark in the film, as he stumbles away, wounded in the leg, leaning for support on a

and you're sort of comfort-

scar-faced girl. The old is giving way to the new. Wayne himself expresses a whole past mythology, but in a sense he's like the Dinosaurus, and Hawks is very conscious of this.

There are no regrets in this film, no bitterness, merely a calm wryness, a man still involved in life but questioning his values, his age in the light of new experience.

It would be too easy to hold merely Hawks' own old age responsible for this, though this is, of course, an important factor. What has changed is the

very social and economic basis of his work. This is what 'Rio Lobo' reflects. And is of more significance to my mind than most other critics allow, who merely see in this film evidence of a craftsman's waning powers.

# GENERAL

MOST decisive danger confronting the working class is the absolute refusal of the Labour and trade union leadership to fight the Tory government.

If these leaders have their way, the enormous potential strength of the organized working class will be prevented from stopping the anti-union laws and forcing the Tories to resign.

This would only be the first step taken by the Tories towards a whole series of dictatorial decrees and legal devices, with the aim of putting the working class in a totalitarian strait-jacket. The Labour leaders, blinded by their subservient faith in the capitalist class, can see ahead only a continuation of the capitalist system they have always known and in which they fondly suppose themselves to be indispensable as bureaucratic negotiators and as the 'alternative government'.

In the fight agains the anti-union laws, therefore, it is ab-solutely essential that the working class comes face to face with the question of leadership, with the question of how the great strength of the labour movement is to be mobilized to defeat the

defeat the laws and force the

Tories to resign.
Alongside this campaign, we

This Charter takes up all the

attacks made by the Tories, and

In the December issue of 'Socialist Worker' (organ of Tory government. For this reason, Workers Press 'International Socialism'), there and the Socialist Labour League is an attempt to deceive the readers that these revisionists have, from the very day the antiunion laws were proposed, camhave moved over to campaign for paigned to force the union leaders and the Labour leaders to the unions to call a General Strike against the anti-union fight, insisting that they mobilize their followers by all methods, including a General Strike, to

But these 'state capitalists' have not changed their line to a revolutionary one. They remain within the limits of radical protest, and they are adapting even the slogan of a General Strike to have developed, in the All Trades Unions Alliance, the Charter of these politics of protest.

shows that defence of basic rights

against these attacks requires new methods of struggle leading

to the taking of working-class

The demands of the Charter-

that all the rights under attack, and all the cuts imposed, be re-

stored - form the socialist pro-

gramme for the only way out of the present crisis, the programme

for a government to replace the

be a Labour government, brought

ary experience and electioneering

It is imperative therefore

that we raise now the question

of the responsibility of the Labour and trade union leaders

in the fight against the Tories.

on the anti-union laws to the level of protest—particularly the Stalinists, with their 'Liaison Committee for Defence of Trade

Unions', and the 'International

Socialism' group—refuse to raise

these political questions. They let

The Stalinists welcome their

verbal bleatings as some sort of

'contribution', while the IS group

dismisses them as irrelevant, lav-

ing all the stress on the 'rank

The IS group goes further in

taking the heat off the Labour

leaders by repeating that a

Labour government would be no

different from the Tories.

leaders off the hook.

trade union and Labour

All those who restrict the fight

into power not by its parliament-

but by mass struggle.

But the next government will

power.

Tories.

Why does not 'Socialist Worker' call on the TUC to call a General Strike against the laws, but NOT

to force the Tories to resign? They are full of talk about democratizing the unions and forming councils of action, better pay and conditions, mass action, and now even forcing the TUC to call a General Strike, but not for forcing the Tories to resign. Presumably all these fine things can be achieved with the Tory government still in power.

Marxists, Trotskyists, intervene in every working-class struggle always from the point of view of preparing for the battle for working-class power, through winning leadership of the masses in the course of their experience. The state capitalists are oppor-

tunists. They call for a General Strike purely to add weight to a protest on a single issue, the Industrial Relations Bill. After the protest, the ruling class retains its direct hold on the government, and the reformist Labour and trade union

leaders are left free of any

challenge. It is, in reality, a fatal illusion to suppose that in this period we could have a Tory government without anti-union laws, a Tory government under whose eyes the unions are 'democratized'!
An organized working class which is strong enough to force the TUC to lead a General Strike, strong enough to force the withdrawal of the laws-is this work-

ing class then going to leave the Tories in office? Of course not! But this is always the line of the opportunist. In the recent miners' strike, the Stalinists used the great militancy and anti-Tory determination purely as 'protest' backing for their own manoeuvres, and handed victory to the National Coal Board and

the right-wing leadership. Now the 'state capitalists' want to take advantage of the feeling of militants for a General Strike, and use it to drive them back into the path of protest, again leaving the reformist leaders

According to 'Socialist Worker': 'Neither a General Strike nor a commitment to nonco-operation will be decided without pressure from the rank and file. Unless an independent rank-and-file movement can be built and developed, no official action capable of defeating the Tory proposals will be taken and the way will be cleared for a "reluctant" surrender by the

General Council' 'Socialist Worker' puts forward no plan for a campaign in the unions, in branches, trades councils and factory committees to force the trade unions themselves to fight. It puts no demands on the trade union leaders except that they do not co-operate after

the Bill becomes law. We thus have simply the General Council being 'pressurized' by some 'broad' rank-and-

T&GWU Gen.

Sec. Jack Jones talks to

Edinburgh on 23 Nov. 1970

file movement on the radical-sounding slogan of General Strike. We have seen in earlier issues that the state capitalists advocate that the 'rank-and-file' movement affiliated to the Stalinist-controlled Liaison Committee, whose leadership is composed of sup-

porters of the 'left' union leaders. Without the fight at every level to force the union leaders to mobilize the full strength of the trade unions, without the de-mand to force the Tories to resign, without the demand that the Parliamentary Labour Party fight the Bill and an Emergency Labour Party Conference be called, the call for a General Strike is a fraud.

A General Strike called by the trade unions would be a powerful mass movement of the working class which would have to have

a programme for power.
The British working class has built up its strength and fought for its basic rights through centuries of struggle on the industrial and the political field, and alongside these forms of struggle there has had to take place a fight on the theoretical front, for Marxism.

It is wrong, and a character istic of opportunism, to restrict the working-class movement to any one of these spheres. To take out the 'General Strike' just as a slogan and separate it from the political and theoretical fight for working-class rule and for Marxist theory is to collaborate in the preparation of defeats.

This is precisely the role of revisionist groups like 'Inter-national Socialism'. They are full of left phrases, but they use them to push back all those forces who come forward in the working class seeking revolutionary theory and revolutionary policies.
January 12 must see the maximum mobilization of opposition to Carr's Bill. In every meeting, demonstration and strike, we must raise the demand: Force the TUC to call a General Strike to defeat the Bill and force the Tories to resign! Make the Parliamentary Labour Party fight every word of the Bill, thus giving

maximum support to the mass movement. Call an Emergency Labour Party Conference to decide on the mobilization of the whole trade union and Labour movement to defeat the Bill and get the Tories out, pledging that the next Labour government will restore all the cuts made in welfare, education, health, housing, as well as renouncing all anti-

# The death agony of The Transitional Programme and the of the tasks of the 4th International A SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PAMPHLET

86A Clapham High St., SW4.

PRICE: 1s4d POST INCL

# Introduced by a Labour govt

# Another Tory blow at workers'

ON MONDAY, February 15, 1971, Britain officially 'goes decimal'. From that date onwards, 13,400 tons of newly-minted bronze coins will join the now familiar 5p, 10p and 50p pieces and quickly replace the old pennies, threepenny pieces and sixpences in our pockets.

on the 'good will' of capital

and there will be no legal

great faith in the manufac-

harking back to the old £sd.'
Indeed, attempts at conversion will quickly become

difficult because weight, size and quantity will soon become

100s is far simpler than our

in a square mile? How many

gills to the gallon? How many

pounds in a ton? We are sure

But the answer to the query 'How many pennies in

a pound?' is by no means a

inextricably bound up with the value of the wage packet

and the crushing burden of rising prices, while for the

employers decimalization, as a prelude to metrication, is a

The time table, as laid out

1971. Decimalization of cur-

mmon

throughout the European

Economic Community (in-

The introduction of these

new systems is, therefore, by

no means a 'worthwhile operation in itself', as the DCB

tries to convince us, but, first

and foremost, an integral part of measures that mean an

attack on the working class

in terms of soaring prices,

rationalization and produc-

tivity speed-up.
Even before these moves are

made, inflation is taking its

Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

toll of workers' wages.

has been eaten away. Common Market

rency. This is expected to

at present, is as follows:

operative by 1973.

different industries.

cluding Britain).

For the working class it is

question of pure arithmetic.

answering such questions!

How many acres are there

present imperial system.

in grams and

expressed

The DCB obviously has

restraint of any kind.

turers and its advice is:

To prepare us for the £41 million flood of ½p, 1p and 2p coins, every household is to receive an explanatory booklet and will be subjected to an £800,000 television and press campaign over six weeks.

However, workers will search the official handouts in vain for any analysis of the attacks on living standards and working conditions of which decimalization is part or its impact on the thinking of millions of people. Here is part of the Decimal urrency Board's copious

material published in question and answer form:
'WHAT DOES DECIMAL CURRENCY REALLY

'Decimal just means counting in tens and hundreds. The new system will be quicker and easier than £sd where most sums involve counting in twelvės and twenties.' From the standpoint of the changeover after D[ecimal]-Day to a more raional monetary system,

next step-the introduction of and measurements. The profusion of different units of money, weight, length

against decimalization and the



and area and the varying numl wildering and chaotic nightmare of figures to the unnitiated and are an obstacle to the education of young

The new system of currency is based on 100 new pence to the pound, i.e. £1 = 100p. This means that the familiar shilling is to go and 1p made the basic unit, equivalent to

In order to avoid fractions of a new penny (other than the 1p), the DCB has suggested a 'Shoppers' Table' in which fractions are rounded up or down in a 'fair and consistent' way.

S	HOP:	PERS'	TABLE
sd		£p	Rounding
ld		₽p	(+0.2d)
2d		ĺρ	(+0.4d)
3 <b>d</b>		lp	(-0.6d)
4d		1½p	(-0.4d)
5d		$\hat{\mathbf{2p}}$	(-0.2d)
6ď	=	$2\frac{1}{2}p$	(,
7d		3p	(+0.2d)
8a		$3\frac{1}{2}p$	(+0.4d)
9d		4p	(+0.6d)
)d		4p	(-0.4d)
ld		41p	(-0.2d)

= 5pls However, the need for such a table is considered purely

'The conversion table may not always be the long-term answer to re-pricing problems. 'Manufacturers of low-priced goods may produce something slightly different to sell at near decimal prices. In many cases the product may be changed in weight, size quantity so as to give the same value for money as However, this will depend government White Paper

LATE NEWS

**YUGOSLA**V

**CONSTITUTION AMENDED** 

The Yugoslav National Assembly yesterday endorsed President Tito's proposal to

amend the federal constitution

and set up the Presidency of the Republic, a supreme col-

the 78-year-old president as

head of state, but he is ex-

pected to stay on as a mem-

ber. It is to be drawn equally

from Yugoslavia's six repub-

lics and proportionally from

the two autonomous provinces.

**NEW AIRBUS DEAL** 

Holland yesterday joined W

Germany and France in the

development of a European

airbus.
Holland has allocated 100

million guilders (about £11,500,000) for the project.

to begin flight trials in September 1972...

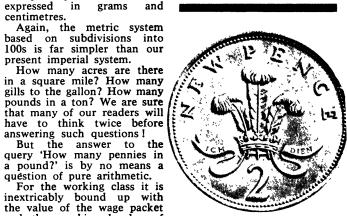
The first airbus is expected

The Presidency will replace

lective ruling body.

(Cmnd. 4289) as follows: 'On the basis of the present price differentials at the wholesale stage, the retail price index for food might be 18 to 26 per cent higher than Don't get too conversion minded. The quicker everyone begins thinking in the new money the better, rather than would otherwise have been, which would mean a rise in the cost of living of 4 to 5 per cent.'

Such estimates undoubtedly underestimate the full impact of entry on the cost of living. Firstly, the official index in-



cludes many items which do necessary part of preparations for Common Market entry. not enter into the budgets of poorer families or old age pensioners and is thus distorted and, secondly, it leaves out the considerable expense of decimalization and metrica-

be completely accepted and The former will cost around 1975. Completion of metrica-£128 million and the latter has tion. This is proceeding at present at different rates in been estimated to run to

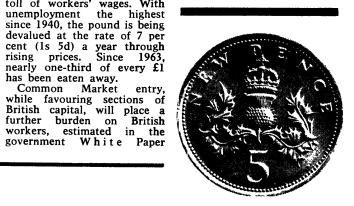
Therefore, despite the expressions of good intention from various sections of industry, who insist that much of this cost will be 'absorbed', fierce international competition and economic crisis, the main weight of the change-over will be shifted to the working class, which-the employers hope—will be shackled by the Tories' anti-union laws and weakened by unemploy,

It is precisely the impact decimalization on class relations that the employers and the Tories fear, for no amount of propaganda has been able to convince workers that the changeover will mean anything other than another blow at their standard of living.
In January 1970, a national

survey carried out by the Psychology Research Council showed that three out of every housewives expected decimal currency to mean higher prices.

particular choice of decimal currency indicates what price trends are ex-

When the Halsbury Committee reported in favour of the decimal changeover in



1963, it suggested one of two systems. A majority of the committee proposed the retention of the pound, divided up into 200 pennies, while a minority favoured 10s made

up of 100 units. In each case, the new penny would have been equivalent to 1.2d. However, the Labour government decided in 1966 that £1 should equal 100p, so that each penny is equivalent

This means that the halfpenny is to reappear, but it is clear that this anachronistic reemergence is to be temporary. In other words, it was foreseen that the new penny would very quickly be devalued, the 1p piece abolished, and price rises of lp (nearly 21d) would become the norm. The decision to bring in the

p piece also brought com-

plaints from vending machine

manufacturers who insisted that it would be too light for the machines and would increase conversion costs, estimated at £10 million.

living standards

**Analysis by MARTIN ZARROP** 

Coupled with the proposed abolition of the 6d, this brought a stormy debate in the House of Commons, which undoubtedly reflected wide-spread feeling that the vanishing coin meant a transition to a situation in which the 5p piece (1s) would rapidly become the basic unit for fares and food prices. At this point the Labour

government 'retreated' and promised to keep the 6d for 18 months after D-Day. However, the decision of the London Transport Executive to 1s at the beginning of 1971 showed that nothing had been

Fares will go up in multiples of 1s and vorkers will derive little comfort from being able to travel farther for the extra cost. In addition, half-fares are to be rounded up.

In a letter to 'The Times',
John Bedford, chairman of Debenhams Ltd, stated:

'The recent announcement the London Transport Executive makes it quite clear that the 6d piece is to vanish, even though it is the coin with the largest circulation.' (January 10, 1970.)



Other basic price rises are coinciding with decimalization. The recently announced rise in gas prices of nearly 10 per cent over most of the country mean that the 5p and 10p in your meter will buy less of this basic fuel.

Decimalization costs

add other rises to the list. The changeover is costing British Rail £13 million and £3 million is needed to convert telephone boxes.

look forward to the new 2½p and 3p post, i.e. 6d and 7.2d to replace the present 4d and

Currency Board have to say? 'The Board maintains that there is no reason why the change should cause an overall rise in the cost of living although sometimes it may be for price increases when other factors are really the cause.

'But the best safeguard on prices is the intense competition in our High Streets, coupled with the goodwill of the trading community. . . .'
As we have said, decimalization cannot be separated out from 'other factors'.

changeover is dealing a big blow to the small retailer, The cost to large manufac-

turers may appear substantial
—e.g. Imperial Chemical Industries £200,000 and Sainsbury's £325,000—but decimalization can mean 6 per cent of the gross profits of the small shopkeeper, faced with the expense of new machines

and display material. Some shopkeepers have already gone bankrupt, placing hands of big business. The monopolies are to be the real beneficiaries of these

measures. Here is the Board's secretary, Mr Noel Moore:
'There are undeniable advantages for trade and tourism. . . . It is an important aid to productivity within our own country regardless of what happens elsewhere.... 'It is becoming increasingly clear in fact that one of the main advantages of the changeover to decimal cur-

izations, large and small, to take a fresh look at practices and procedures which have gone on unchanged for years and often results in a considerable streamlining of them. As the Halsbury Committee said in their report, "the changeover will compel a fresh look at certain basic commercial and accounting practices and such a fundamental organization and methods

rencu is that it compels organ-



approach will inevitably provide occasion for improve The Metrication Board

agrees: 'As a result of reconsidering their uses of weights and measures, many organizations in industry find that they have reconsider and undate manu aspects of the enterprise, notably the rationalization of designs and products, stocks and procedures.' Rationalization and produc-

tivity speed-up are at the fore-Faced with growing working-class resistance to produc-

legislation, the British ruling class is introducing decimalization and metrication with some trepidation. Taken in the context of owing hostility to the con-

tinual undermining of mone-

tary values, the direct tamperng with the currency system that D-Day entails brings with sharpened class tension and the possibility of an explosion. While inflation breeds increased feelings of insecurity in the working class, at one blow traditional standards are to be swept aside and the emloyers' guarantees of 'fair

play' must suffice! Yet as the new 'bronzes' appear in circulation, millions workers will be coming into conflict with these same employers and their parliamentary representatives.

Already the Tories seem to having second thoughts about the speed at which metrication is to be introduced. The deadline for changing road signs is to be put back from 1973 to some more remote date and a similar fate may befall the proposals for eliminating the 'pint'

The constant references to the difficulties of introducing some other measure for beer and milk show that there is a great deal of uncertainty about the effect that taking this step will have on the workingclass family.

The 'natural' conversion for milk is 5p per  $\frac{1}{2}$  litre (about 1s 2d a pint), more in line ith Common Market prices, but the Tories are sensitive to the dangers of tampering with a commodity so bound up with the health of workers' children.

The success or otherwise of these fundamental changes is therefore not just a question 'education' in a formal

It is dependent on the course of the class struggle in the immediate period ahead.

The revolutionary implicatios of 'going decimal' are not lost on the ruling class, but the Tories and their European counterparts are forced conflict with the working class in the drive to bolster falling profit rates. To derive the benefit from

rational systems of measurement, the working class must first expropriate the capitalist monopolies without compenNew plans

• FROM PAGE ONE

In fact we should not be surprised if some Tories welcome it as Heath did in parliament, in an indirect way, when he attacked December 8.

The trade union leaders' role is becoming increasingly clear as the Tory onslaught be foolish and dangerous, however, if we were only to fight the retreat of the bureaucrats and ignore the equally sinister activities of the Fabians who supplement the activities of the TUC and union 'lefts' with political diversions and manoeuvres designed to perpetuate right-wing domination of the wing domination of the Labour Party—and a future Labour government.
The Fabians are acutely

sensitive to changes in the parliamentary political arena. When the credibility of the traditional gladiators of Labour and Conservatism begins to fade and, more so, when the pate in the proceedings, the Fabians are greatly agitated that the fraud of simulated anger and pain will be exposed in all its venality.

That would be the end of

the parliamentary fetish.
In the December 4 issue of the Fabian gazette—the 'New Statesman'—this dilemma was carefully examined by Mr Richard Crossman.

Ever since the war, he rites, political leaders of vrites, both parties have based their tactics and policies on 'concensus politics' or 'centre politics' which presupposed the end of recognizable leftand right-wing alternatives and an alteration of class

Mr Wilson, he continues, consciously cultivated the 'concensus'—neither too far to the left nor too far to the

But now in six short months concensus politics have been destroyed! The Tories, he writes, are not just content depart from Labour's

'They are determined to break away from the whole Butler-Wootton approach of post-war Conservatism as

The Tories by putting an end to Keynesian expedients reforms borrowed from the late Lord Beveridge have demolished for ever the 'middle-ground' of British politics. There is now only right and left in politics. The radicalization of the

working class and the inten-sification of class contradictions in Britain is Crossman's major concern. If the working class is moving to the left and the

traditional party leadership remains rooted in the middle, how can a fake left be organized in time to prevent a revolutionary alternative from

### *Militancy* 'Already there are symptoms

of a new syndicalist militancy abroad-which Labour's lead ers must know they will or lead . . . Labour politicians really cannot have it both Referring to the December

8 strike Mr Crossman cautions the Labour leaders and particularly his Fabian colleagues in the shadow cabinet not to ignore or belittle 'the dangerous gulf that now exists between Labour's parliamentary leadership and what has been the bedrock of its national support. 'Somehow or other in the

next few months bridges will have to be thrown across the gulf. . . . Since the centre can no longer hold, can Labour establish for itself a firm position on the left? . . .' This is the desperate hope

of the Fabians as they race against time to prevent the industrial militancy of working class from being ex-pressed within the Labour Party and the spectre of Trotskyism rising once again.
This explains the present

Fabian campaign prominently advertised in 'The Guardian' which 'is seeking quite deliberately to arouse attention, and publicize dissent within the Labour Party, so that con-structive policies may be formulated for the 1970s'. The Fabian agenda includes

private conference this weekend at Ruskin College, another meeting in the spring on foreign policy, a seminar on social inequality at the Kenilworth Hotel in January and a pamphlet by Crosland called 'A Social Democratic Britain'

The sole purpose of this activity is to divert the growing Labour Party dissent and the revulsion against the leadership of Wilson and Jenkins into centrist channels. Labour Party members and

all affiliated trade unionists

must be on their guard against the combined manoeuvres of the Fabians and TUC left, which is to allow Tories their full five years of rule and then right-wing labour government. There must be no let-up in the campaign for an emergency conference of the Labour Party to discuss not every vital issue facing the working class and to take action against the Tories. This campaign must go hand-in-hand with the campaign in the trade unions to make the leaders fight for a General Strike to force the

This is the only answer to the Fabian conspiracy.

# Collaboration with Catholics urged in Poland

CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI, Archbishop of Warsaw, has wasted no time in replying to the offer of collaboration with the Catholic Church made by Poland's new Stalinist rulers.

He ended a Warsaw Christmas Mass with the following

'Do not accuse. Be understanding. Forgive. Feel compassion.'

advice to his flock:

'Turn the other cheek' has, for nearly 2,000 years, been the message of the established church to all those who rise in revolt against their oppressors.

## Special role

The Polish hierarchy has been allotted a special role for holding down the working class and youth in this traditionally Catholic

country. The ousted Party leader Gomulka, though ready to play off the Church against the most advanced workers. always kept a certain distance between himself and leaders of Polish

Catholicism. His ultra-Stalinist cessors, especially those allied with the chauvinist, anti-Semitic 'Partisan' faction of security chief General Moczar, will be far less inhibited.

# 'Dialogue' in practice

Gunnar Jarring.

coalition.

nition.

The full cabinet dis-

cussed the question

yesterday following

the dropping of objec-

tions from within the

National Religious

Party, second largest

party in Israel's ruling

And yesterday Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, in a

statement released in New York, set forth his conditions

for 'peace' in the Middle East.

withdrawal from all territories

occupied during the 1967 six-

grant Israel diplomatic recog-

But he promised access to

Israeli ports through the Gulf

of Aquaba, and said Israel

could use the Suez canal as

soon as 'the Palestinian refugee problem is solved'.

Whatever differences may

appear to exist before the

talks, therefore, both sides are

already (if tacitly) agreed that

the Palestinian people are to be forced to yield their home-

And both sides certainly see

the mass movement, spear-headed by the armed Pales-

tinian guerrillas to the East of

Israel, and the Arab resistance

in Gaza, as the main enemy of

their hopes for a 'settlement'

Diplomatic activity was un-interrupted by yesterday's

savage Israeli attack on a

Palestinian settlement six miles inside Lebanon.

In a five-hour operation

Israeli infantry blew up houses

and claimed to have captured

Palestinian guerrillas are

now under siege on three fronts — from the Zionist troops, from the repeated

provocations and attacks by

Jordanian forces of King Hussein (who has just received a

United States government) and from the treachery of such

leaders as Yassir Arafat, ready at all times to kiss

Hussein's blood-stained fist in

this conspiracy against the

edly the Soviet bureaucracy.

A strong Egyptian delegation headed by Vice-President Aly

Sabry spent last week in Mos-

cow in talks with Brezhnev,

Kosygin and Podgorny.
The joint protestations of

'support' for the Arab peoples

struggling to liberate the occu-

pied territories could not con-

ceal the Kremlin's determina-

Arab revolution is undoubt-

The most important part in

renewed 'friendship'.

million loan from the

Russian-built weapons

Ya'Atar village.

He still insisted on Israeli

Already the pro-Stalinist Catholic group 'Pax', notorious for its connections with war-time Nazi collaborators, has published a

Arab lands

pawn in

'peace' talks

ISRAELI, Prime Minister Mrs Golda Meir is

expected to announce today in the Tel Aviv

Knesset (parliament) that Israel will re-enter the

Middle-East 'peace' talks under UN envoy

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

statement endorsing televised policy Gierek's speech.

Stalinist-Christian 'dialogue' advocated and practised by the British

Communist Party leaders is now being applied with a vengeance in Poland. A 'dialogue' with Cardinals — but bullets and tanks for the working class.

# Snivelling apology

• FROM PAGE ONE

apologists of Stalinism are in truth friends of the bureau-

Their plea is not for these of Stalinist justice, but for their own opportunist relations with 'left' (and often pro-Zionist) Labourites, trade union bureaucrats, liberals and gentlemen of the clergy.

'Shoot if you must, but please, do it the decent, British way' sums up the position of the CP leadership.

Gollan must know from long experience that following strikes and fighting in Poland, a new Stalinist crackdown is under way throughout E Europe and the Soviet

# Last purge

He was, as a delegate to the 19th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, present in Moscow at the height of Stalin's last purge, climaxed by the so-called 'Jewish doc-tors' plot' and the anti-Semitic Slansky trial in

Prague.
Then, as now, Gollan's

anti-Semitism, despite the fact that 11 out of the 14 defenwere Jews. The 'Daily Worker' of December 22, 1952, claimed:

'Gentiles and Jews stood in the dock together accused of hostile acts against the people's democracy of Czechoslovakia.

'The number of Jews involved' the 'Worker' went on, was decided by the number who participated in the antistate conspiracy and not by

Only the 'conspiracy' never existed-except in the minds of those police bureaucrats who concocted the script for

### Rampant

In 1956, a British CP delegation to the Soviet Union established that anti-Semitism had been rampant under Stalin, and though more muted since his death, was still connived at by the government.

Its findings were published in 'World News', January 12,

ANOTHER nine Jews are to be tried in Leningrad and another 12 in Riga and Kishinev, the capital of Soviet Moldavia.

This is nothing less than a pogrom, a deliberately insti-gated terror campaign against Jews and any intellectual who can be tarred with the same 'cosmopolitan' brush. British Communist Party

members, many of whom are deeply disturbed about their leadership's evasion of the Polish question, must force Gollan out into the open on this issue as well. It is the duty of every

socialist and communist to expose and denounce anti-Semitism, that foulest weapon of reaction, wherever and

# Three Persian trials

THE TRIAL of 18 Iranian political prisoners has begun in Tehran. The Shah's regime alleges

that the 18 were linked with the banned Tudeh (Communist) Party and elements within the Confederation of Iranian Students in Europe, as well as the Ba'athist regime in Iraq. The trial of a further 25 opponents of the regime is to

take place within the next r five months. A third group, said to be

composed of 20 pro-Chinese students, is to stand trial soon on similar charges of 'antistate activity'. One of the accusations

made against this group is that they opposed the regime's alliance with the Soviet government. Earlier this month, the Shah's wife visited the Soviet

Union for an official tour, where she was wined and dined by the Kremlin leader-

# Elements of Marxism

Lecture by G. Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League

BEXLEYHEATH: Roberts Hall, Christchurch, Proadway. Tuesday, January 5, 8 p.m.

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