

# workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY JULY 7, 1972 ● No. 811 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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# SPIES IN COURT

BY PHILIP WADE

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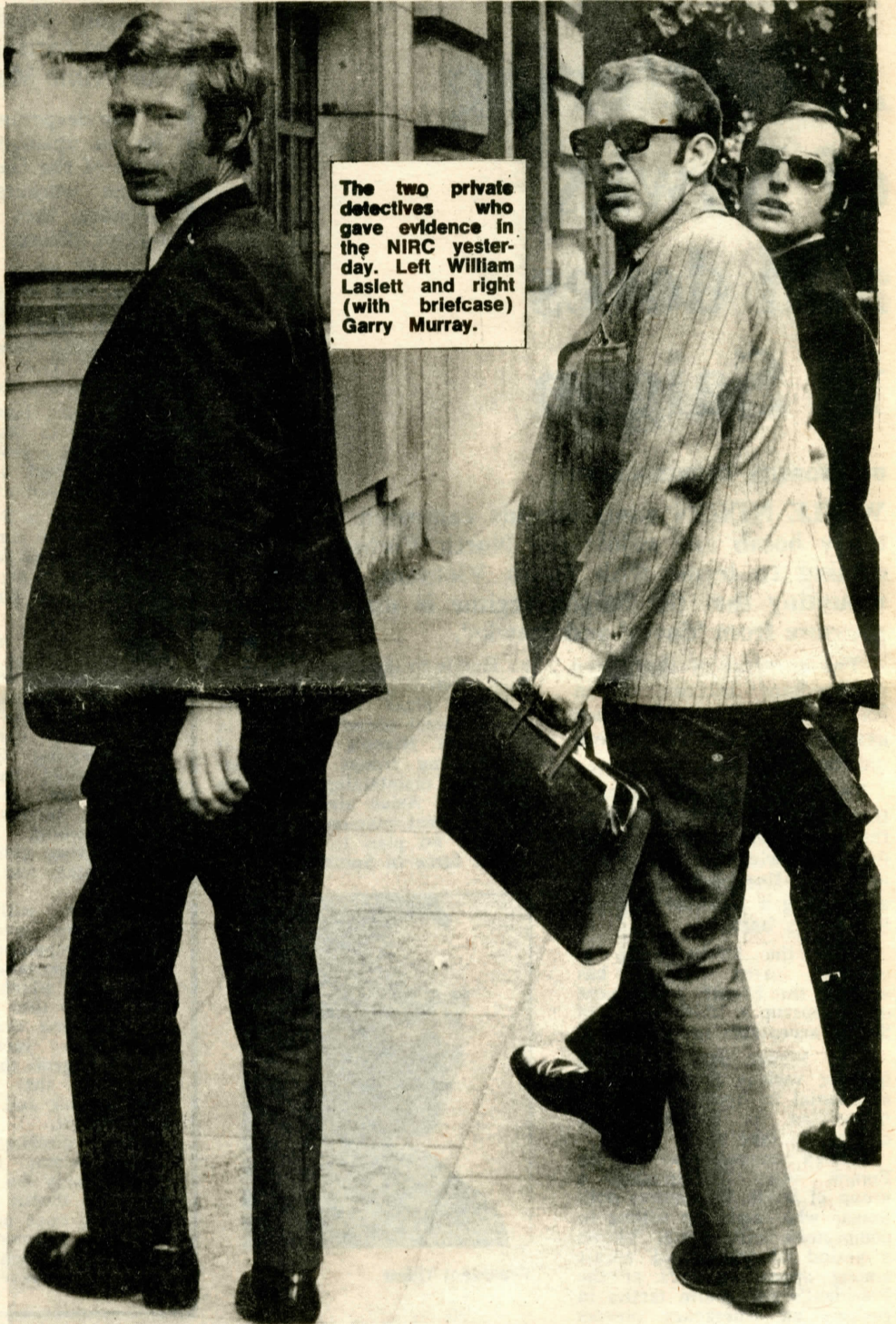
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The two private detectives who gave evidence in the NIRC yesterday. Left William Laslett and right (with briefcase) Garry Murray.

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BY PETER JEFFRIES

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This is the real purpose of the talks — both open and behind closed doors — which the TUC leaders are now conducting both with the Tory government and the employers.

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tionary crisis will meet with a favourable response when it comes before the TUC Economics Committee at next Wednesday's meeting.

As Wednesday's 'Financial Times' noted: 'While they (the TUC) have no intention of agreeing voluntarily to restrain wage increases . . . they are unlikely to refuse to hold talks with the government which might help to take the heat out of the situation.'

The capitalist class, however, is acutely conscious of its great weakness. Even if the revisionists cannot see that conditions of dual power are rapidly emerging in Britain, the financial commentators can.

Writing in Wednesday's 'Evening Standard' City Editor David Malbert commented: 'Those who observe us from overseas are now saying: Britain has two governments, the formal one and the other, unelected group, that wields the real power.'

As if to underline the point, 'The Guardian' also stated, commenting on the slight recovery made by sterling on Wednesday:

'There was also some evidence that the market regarded the outcome of the talks between the Prime Minister and the TUC leaders at Downing Street on Tuesday as 'not discouraging'. The same

Turn to p.12



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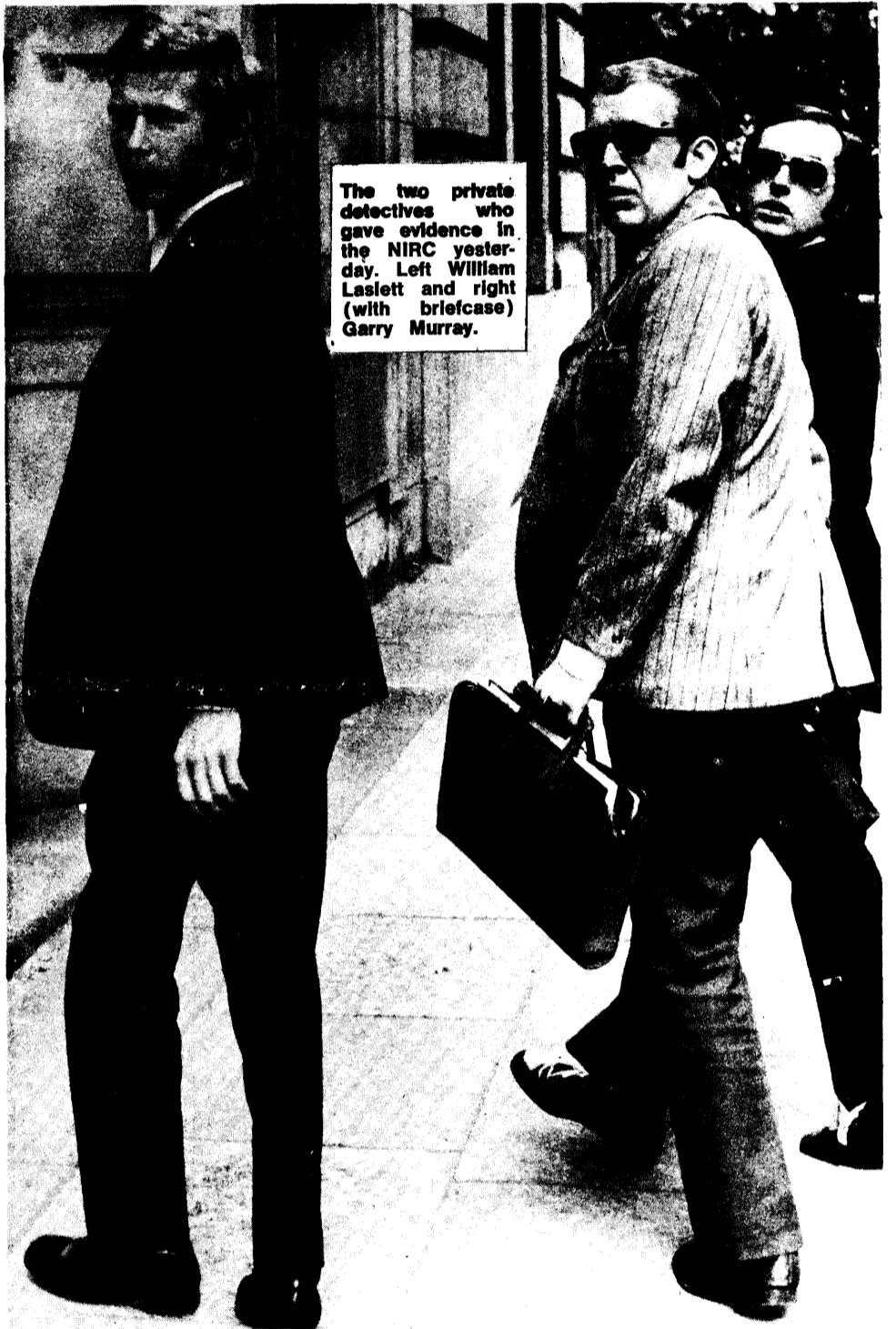
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## Briefly...

**CLASHES** between police, troops and groups of workers and students continued in the Peruvian town of Lima yesterday. Since trouble began last week, three students have been shot dead by police. In the south-west Peruvian town of Puno the chief of the civil guard has been dismissed in an effort to placate rioters after a series of violent clashes.

**GENERAL J. C. Monie** yesterday made a nationwide radio appeal to Argentina's 'silent majority' to help his regime deal with urban guerrillas. This came after nearly two weeks of sporadic fighting between troops and groups of workers and students.

**AUSTRALIAN** oil companies will make a new offer to striking refinery workers today after a week-long stoppage in which oil and petrol supplies to four states have virtually ground to a halt.



Above: Messmer, specially picked by Pompidou (below right)

# Messmer to lead tough team

AROUND THE WORLD

# Pompidou preparing for major class battles

BY TOM KEMP

**PRESIDENT Pompidou** is tooling up the forces of repression and forming a new, tough team for the big class battles due in France this autumn.

This is the meaning of the sacking of Jacques Chaban-Delmas and the selection of hard-line Gaullist Pierre Messmer for Prime Minister.

The deepening economic crisis sets the stage for an upsurge of the working class on the scale of the General Strike of May-June 1968. When workers return from their summer holidays, they will find every item in their budget affected by soaring prices.

A real cut in their standard of living will have taken place behind their backs. The class feeling against the employers and the Gaullist state, only held in check by the Communist Party and the trade union bureaucracy with phoney slogans like a 1,000 franc minimum wage per month, will explode into a 'hot autumn'.

Pompidou, learning from the mistakes made by de Gaulle in May 1968, when he was Prime Minister, wants a governmental team prepared for action to smash back at the working class—something de Gaulle had not achieved in ten years' rule.

He wants a Prime Minister whom he can trust completely to carry through such a policy. Messmer is ideally suited for the task. A long-standing Gaullist who came up through the army, he was selected by the General to build up France's independent nuclear striking forces.

Since 1971 he has held the post of Minister of Colonies, but his real power derives from the fact that he heads a movement dedicated to preserving Gaullist purity called 'Presence de Gaullism'. It is a tight-knit movement of stop-at-nothing politicians having close ties with military and police circles.

A man with his record can give the forces of repression the unity of purpose and confidence which they need to go into battle. At the same time, he gives the vacillating petty bourgeois the feeling that the strong state is back and under firm control.

The ditching of Chaban-Delmas is no surprise, only the timing was. The former Prime Minister's once popular, healthy, sportsmanlike image was much tarnished by the revelations

of the methods he used to avoid paying any income tax, despite his large fortune. He can also be made the scapegoat for other scandals, affecting Gaullist politicians in the past year. Pompidou has timed the move to have the new government in position before the next phase of the currency crisis and at a time when workers are beginning to disperse for holidays. Many factories will, in fact, be wholly or partly closed during the next two months.

Instead of preparing the working class to face the tremendous dangers which loom ahead the Communist Party, assisted by the Socialist Party and the trade unions, is striving to disarm it.

The new governmental agreement between the two parties is intended to prevent the strength of the

## battles



working class from finding expressions. Instead it is fed with a stream of illusions, notably that its problems can be solved through elections.

The 'left' parties thus co-operate with Pompidou in holding back the working class instead of warning against the great dangers which it faces from the Bonapartist state.

'L'Humanité' the CP daily, in the past few days has hardly mentioned the world crisis of capitalism. There is no call for preparation for the autumn struggles. Expositions of the new programme, which fill its pages, show how reasonable and moderate it is.

Marchais and Mitterand, now united in an electoral pact, are at one in declaring that the change of government represents the 'bankruptcy' of the

regime. Once again they lose no opportunity to disarm the working class.

In reality, it expresses the determination of Pompidou, on behalf of the ruling class, to settle accounts with the working class.

The dangerous situation opening up in France makes it imperative that the working class should demand that its leaders and organizations mobilize every ounce of strength for a decisive battle against the regime.

What is required is preparation to throw back the government's offensive on a programme of socialist demands based on the formation of a Social Democratic - Communist Party government to take the power. Only in this way can the Stalinists and reformists be exposed and a new leadership built.

# A fluttering of hawks and doves in Saigon

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

**WHILE NIXON** continues his campaign to alternatively bomb and cajole the North Vietnamese into coming to terms with South Vietnam, evidence is mounting that the Saigon regime is under political pressure from 'doves' and 'hawks'.

The survival of the Thieu regime hangs increasingly on its ability to win victories against the North Vietnamese on the battlefield.

The large Catholic population, many of whom fled from the north 25 years ago, has lined up with the Buddhists in a hard-line coalition aimed at keeping a political bayonet in Thieu's back.

While the hawks begin to organize, even Thieu has accused the French government of promoting a 'third force' in Saigon acceptable to Hanoi.

Both France and the USSR have at various times been instrumental in opening doors in Indo-China for diplomatic exchanges to take place.

Thieu's announcement that the French were 'encouraging' a group of South Vietnamese politicians who might be willing to compromise with Hanoi follows a period of widespread unrest among opposition MPs at the President's strong-arm tactics in rushing an emergency powers decree through the Senate.

Some senators claimed they had been openly terrorized by Thieu's security agents from attending the vote on the new measures.

The new emergency powers will make it even riskier for opposition elements to speak out and look like assuaging the Catholic-Buddhist alliance, at any rate for the time being.

But opposition is clearly growing and even army generals who favour a ceasefire and talks with the north have put about petitions calling for Thieu's resignation.

The Quang Tri offensive, carried out in the face of only token North Vietnamese resistance, will almost certainly achieve the aim hoped for by Thieu and Nixon of restoring Saigon's credibility and increasing its bargaining power in Paris next week.

Yesterday South Vietnamese troops were in control of all but the heavily fortified citadel at the heart of Quang Tri city occupied two months ago by Hanoi troops.

Hanoi continued its artillery and rocket bombardment of Hue yesterday in the heaviest blitz on the city since the Tet offensive. Observers say the pressure

on Hue is to discourage any new Saigon offensives.

While plans for a Korean detente went ahead yesterday in line with Nixon's strategy of withdrawing troops from Vietnam but maintaining America's south-east Asian ring of steel, the President announced that the US has no plan to reduce its 43,000 force in South Korea.



President Thieu

# Schiller goes—Moves against the dollar

A FURTHER severe tightening of West German exchange regulations now seems certain to follow the resignation of Economics Minister Karl Schiller. An announcement giving effect to the resignation is anticipated in Bonn today.

Schiller, one of the chief architects of the Washington currency realignment talks of last December, bitterly opposes the measures which the Brandt coalition has already been forced to take to halt the flood of unwanted dollars into the Frankfurt money market.

Schiller feels that such re-

strictions threaten the free movement of capital throughout western Europe and could lead rapidly to a savage trade war.

But Bonn's hand has been forced by the Swiss. Already, on Tuesday, Geneva announced the imposition of an 8 per cent surcharge on all dollar purchases by Swiss firms.

Now a new decree has been issued requiring that all loans raised abroad by Swiss companies or individuals must be approved by the Swiss national bank.

In future all banks will be obliged to deposit minimum reserves related to their increases in foreign currency holdings. The minimum reserves can run as high as 90 per cent of these increases.

With France already operating tight controls on dollar imports, the Swiss and German moves are certain to intensify speculation against the weaker European currencies, notably the Italian lira.

But all European bankers and governments must be awaiting with some apprehension the publication of the American half-yearly balance of payments figures.

Even a slight worsening of the American external deficit would certainly prove a fatal blow at Europe's already tottering currency system.

# Castro ends six-week eastern tour

CUBA'S Fidel Castrol has flown out of Moscow after ten days of meetings, banquets and visits in which Soviet leaders treated him as an honoured guest.

His stay climaxed a six-week tour of East European countries in which he gave the full sup-

port of his personality and popularity to the bureaucracy.

Castro, who rushed to support the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, is increasingly dependent upon East European aid. The Soviet bureaucracy will insist on more

detailed control of the Cuban economy as part of the price.

Castro's antics during this tour and his prostration before the parasitic bureaucracies in these countries should put paid to any remaining illusions that he can play a revolutionary role in Latin America.

# Peking orders ten Boeing planes

CHINA is expected to buy ten Boeing 707 jets in a £60m deal to be concluded next month. Chinese pilots may be trained in

the US and an order for jumbo jets may follow. The French are also hoping to sell planes to China, including Concorde.

Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann is at present in Peking and is expected to include Concorde in his talks with Chou En-lai.

## Latest CAV offer rejected

SHOP STEWARDS' leaders at CAV Acton, London, have rejected the management's latest offer of a £2.70 general rise.

Pat Power, the Acton site's senior Transport and General Workers' Union shop steward, has resigned as secretary of the shop stewards' executive and a new secretary elected. It is understood he felt there was a clash of interests between the executive and his own members.

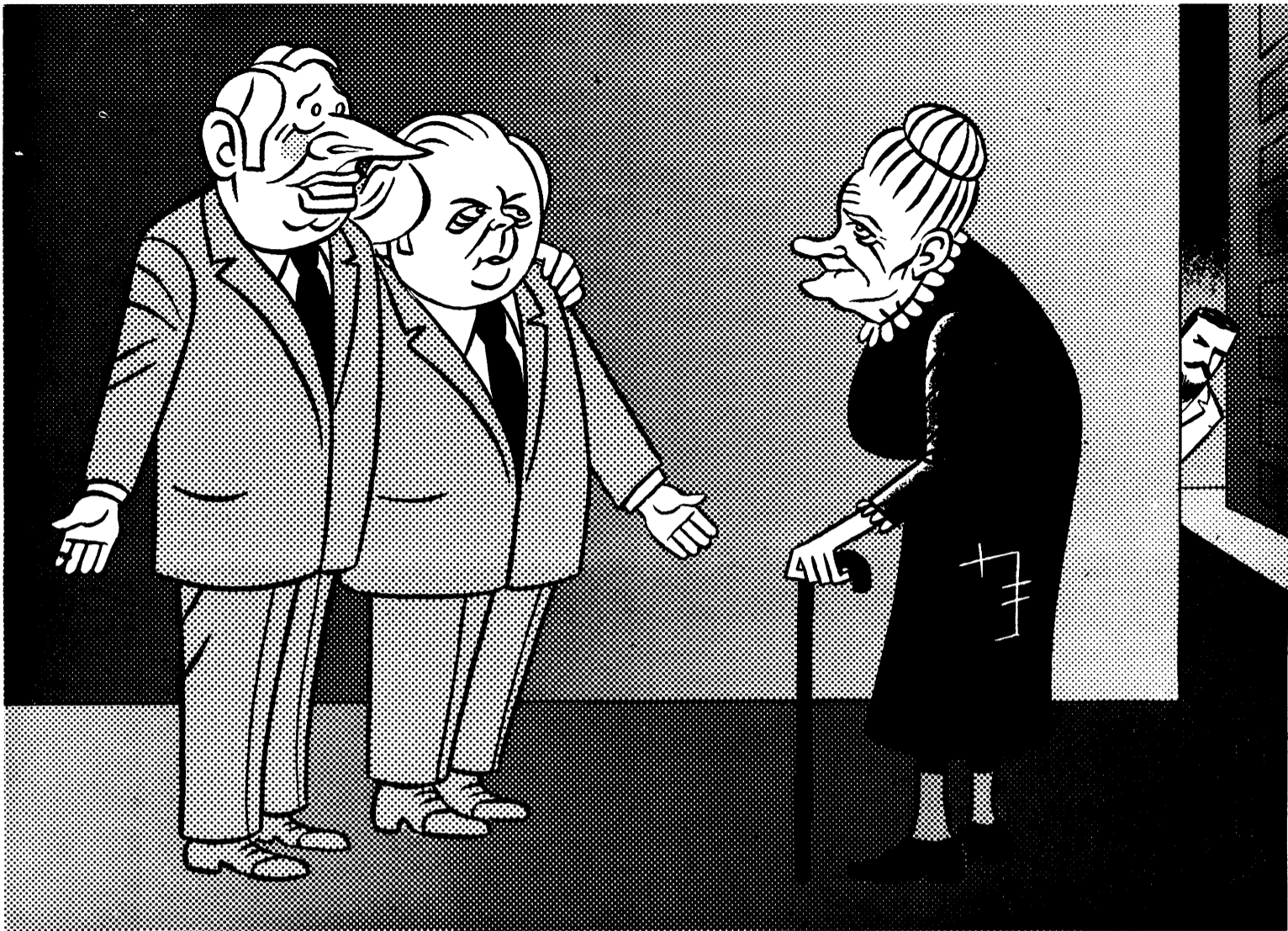
This is because departmental claims have now been dropped in favour of a site claim.

Stewards representing store keepers and works engineers have not yet agreed to this majority decision until they consult their members about their individual claims.

Clearly, some stewards feel, both groups are in a strong position, and have decided on industrial action.

But some also think the management could use this action to justify holding up the site pay claim, and divide the workforce over pay.

One way of overcoming this, they feel, is that the stewards' committee refuse to accept any wage freeze in the pay deal—a 'normal' clause in CAV deals—allowing groups a free hand to fight for other claims after the general increase has been settled. LABORATORY assistants at Acton are in the 10th day of their sit-in against management's withdrawal of a pay deal for their section.



**Look Madam, don't blame us for the reduced value of the pound in your pocket—you should have used your initiative and invested in empty office buildings!**

# Swindon trade unionists vote for Council of Action

TRADE UNIONISTS, shop stewards, tenants and members of all political parties in the labour movement will meet in Swindon soon to set up a Council of Action in the town.

A decision to go ahead with setting up the council was taken at a meeting of engineers and railway workers on Wednesday night.

Called by the local Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, the meeting had a dual purpose.

First three Labour councillors reported back to trade unionists on a deputation they had led to see Tory ministers in London over the rundown of the railway works.

They brought no message of jobs, having been given the cold shoulder at Whitehall.

'It's a very poor picture we have to paint you. I can't report any success at all,' said Ald Alf Brown, leader of the Labour council.

'There is no money in the pipeline nor any new factory projected. As far as we can see the situation looks grim.'

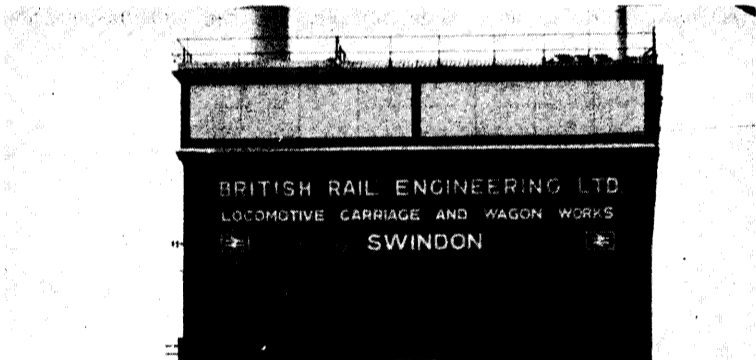
But other speakers from the floor pointed out that the situation could not be looked at in a narrow way, just in reference to Swindon.

'The situation is far worse than the way it has been seen,' said Frank Willis, steward at the railway works. 'What dominates politics in every country today is the instability of the currency system.'

'If you don't understand this, you end up chasing your tail. We are heading today for an insoluble, world economic slump.'

'With devaluation we're faced with a downward spiral of world trade. It's not just a question of what the local council can do. Unemployment is now a life-and-death issue.'

'A great change has to take place in the way we think about it. I don't believe you can solve one part of our problems without getting rid of this Tory government,' he told the meeting. 'The working class is looking



Swindon's threatened railway workshops

for a lead. We have to mobilize every worker to make the Tories resign and put back a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.'

Ray Howell, AUEW district secretary, said he saw whole factories in the town staggering to a halt and was expecting bad news from Plessey's any day.

'Now the dismantlers are moving in, buying up factories and selling them for their land values. But with the currency crisis the whole system of credit was on the point of collapse.'

'This is the weakest government we've ever had, and they know it. Yet we have the strongest working class, but they don't yet know their own strength. We need unity in a campaign to get rid of the Tory government.'

Ron Perritt, president of the district committee then moved the following motion:

The AUEW district committee calls upon this meeting to institute itself as a Council of Action and to campaign in conjunction with other similar bodies nationally a campaign locally for:

1. Complete opposition to all lay-offs and closures.
2. To force the resignation of the Tory government and for its replacement by a Labour government pledged to socialist policies of nationalization under workers' control and without compensation. For the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act and for the legislation of a basic Charter of Rights.
3. There should be no bans or proscriptions, all working-class

organizations being invited to take part, including tenants' associations, and un-employed workers etc.)

John Gingell, AUEW railway works' steward, said what annoyed him was people offering moral sympathy for the unemployed.

'They don't recognize the crisis facing society today. It is a situation where the working class and the Tory government are fighting in a dual power situation.'

'It is an extremely dangerous

situation, one where one side has to be victorious at the expense of the other. Anyone who doesn't point out these things is treacherous and leading the working class to defeat.'

'We have to decide if we're going to mobilize the working class in a call to action. What they need is leadership.'

'The reformists in the TUC refuse to take up a political fight against the Tories. They don't want to fight for political power,' he said.

An amendment calling for a campaign for the right to work among all those 'interested in the well being of the community' was defeated. And the meeting went on to pass the Council of Action resolution by 20 votes to 11.

THE BRADFORD Thornbury branch of the AUEW has passed a resolution supporting the building of a Council of Action. The resolution also called for a fight to force the Tory government to resign and the election of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

Bradford No. 4 AUEW and Bradford UCATT (building workers) have passed a resolution on Councils of Action.

## Two pay walk-outs at Havant plant

WORKERS at Goodman's loud speaker plant, Havant, Hants., staged two token stoppages this week in defence of the principle of a £3 across the board cost-of-living increase.

The 200 Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers members at the factory staged walk-outs on Monday and Wednesday.

Management has offered increases of £3 to skilled workers, £2.75 for semi-skilled, £2.50 for labourers and £2 for women.

Richard Logan, AUEW convenor, has pointed out that their principle is a £3 increase for all workers. The cost-of-living is escalating equally for all members, he said.

The workers successfully picketed the factory gates on Wednesday stopping lorries from going into the plant.

SHOP STEWARDS at CAV Simms, Finchley, London have rejected management offers of £3.75 a week extra for skilled men, £2.55 for semi-skilled and £2.25 for unskilled.

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# LETTERS

## WHAT HEGEL HAD TO SAY

Dear Editor,

At the end of his excellent four-part series on 'Marx and Classical Political Economy' (Workers Press, May 29 to June 1), Peter Jeffries calls for a return to studying 'Capital' alongside Hegel's dialectical method in order to preserve the real content of Marx's work.

In this connection your readers may be interested to study that part of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right' which deals with 'Civil Society' and in particular the section of 'The System of Needs'. (G. W. F. Hegel 'Philosophy of Right', translated by T. M. Knox, Oxford University Press, 1967; paragraphs 182-208, pages 122-134.)

It is under the heading 'Civil Society' that Hegel discusses the social relations of capitalist society, i.e. the first appearance of **universal** social relations.

He describes the first 'moment' of civil society as 'The mediation of need and one man's satisfaction through his work and the satisfaction of the needs of all others—the System of Needs.'

Individual, subjective need, he says, 'attains its objectivity, i.e. its satisfaction, by means of (a) external things, which at this stage are likewise the property and the product of the needs and wills of others, and (b) work and effort, the middle term between the subjective and the objective. The aim here is the satisfaction of subjective particularity, but the universal asserts itself in the bearing which this satisfaction has on the needs of others and their free arbitrary wills. The show of rationality thus produced in the sphere of finitude is the Understanding [Hegel's term for formal, undialectical thinking], and this is the aspect which is of most importance in considering this sphere and which itself constitutes the reconciling element within it.'

Hegel goes on to give a brilliant anticipation of Marx's discovery of **abstract human labour** and the universal interdependence of social production under capitalism:

'An animal's needs and its ways and means of satisfying them are both alike restricted in scope. Though man is subject to this restriction too, yet at the same time he evinces his transcendence of it and his universality, first by the multiplication of needs and means of satisfying them, and secondly by the differentiation and division of concrete need into single parts and aspects which in turn become different needs, particularized and so more abstract . . .

'Needs and means, as things existent *realiter*, become something which has being for others by whose needs and work satisfaction for all alike is conditioned. When needs and means become abstract in quality, abstraction is also a character of the reciprocal relation of individuals to one another . . .

'The means of acquiring and preparing the particularized means appropriate to our similarly particularized needs is work. Through work the raw material directly supplied by nature is specifically adapted to these numerous ends by all sorts of different processes.

Now this formative change confers value on means and gives them their utility, and hence man in what he consumes is mainly concerned with the products of men. It is the products of human effort which man consumes . . .

'The universal and objective element in work, on the other hand, lies in the abstracting process which effects the subdivision of the needs and means and thereby *eo ipso* subdivides production and brings about the division of labour. By this division the work of the individual becomes less complex, and consequently his skill at his section of the job increases, like his output. At the same time, this abstraction of one man's skill and means of production from another's completes and makes necessary everywhere the dependence of men on one another and their reciprocal relation in the satisfaction of their other needs.'

It is clear that Hegel is here on the verge of identifying **universal commodity production**, despite the fact that he hardly travelled at all outside Germany, where industrial capitalism had barely started, and even commodity exchange was very restricted. Earlier, supporting the development of freedom of property, he writes (paragraph 63, page 51):

'This, the thing's universality [i.e. 'thing' as an object of exchange on contract] whose simple determinate character arises from the particularity of the thing, so that it is *eo ipso* abstracted from the thing's specific quality, is the thing's **value**, wherein its genuine substantiality becomes determinate and an object of consciousness. As full owner of the thing, I am *eo ipso* owner of its value as well as its use.

'The distinctive character of the property of a feudal tenant is that he is the owner of the use only, not of the value of the thing.'

He also counterposes **purchase and sale for money** to simple, **barter** (paragraph 80, page 62).

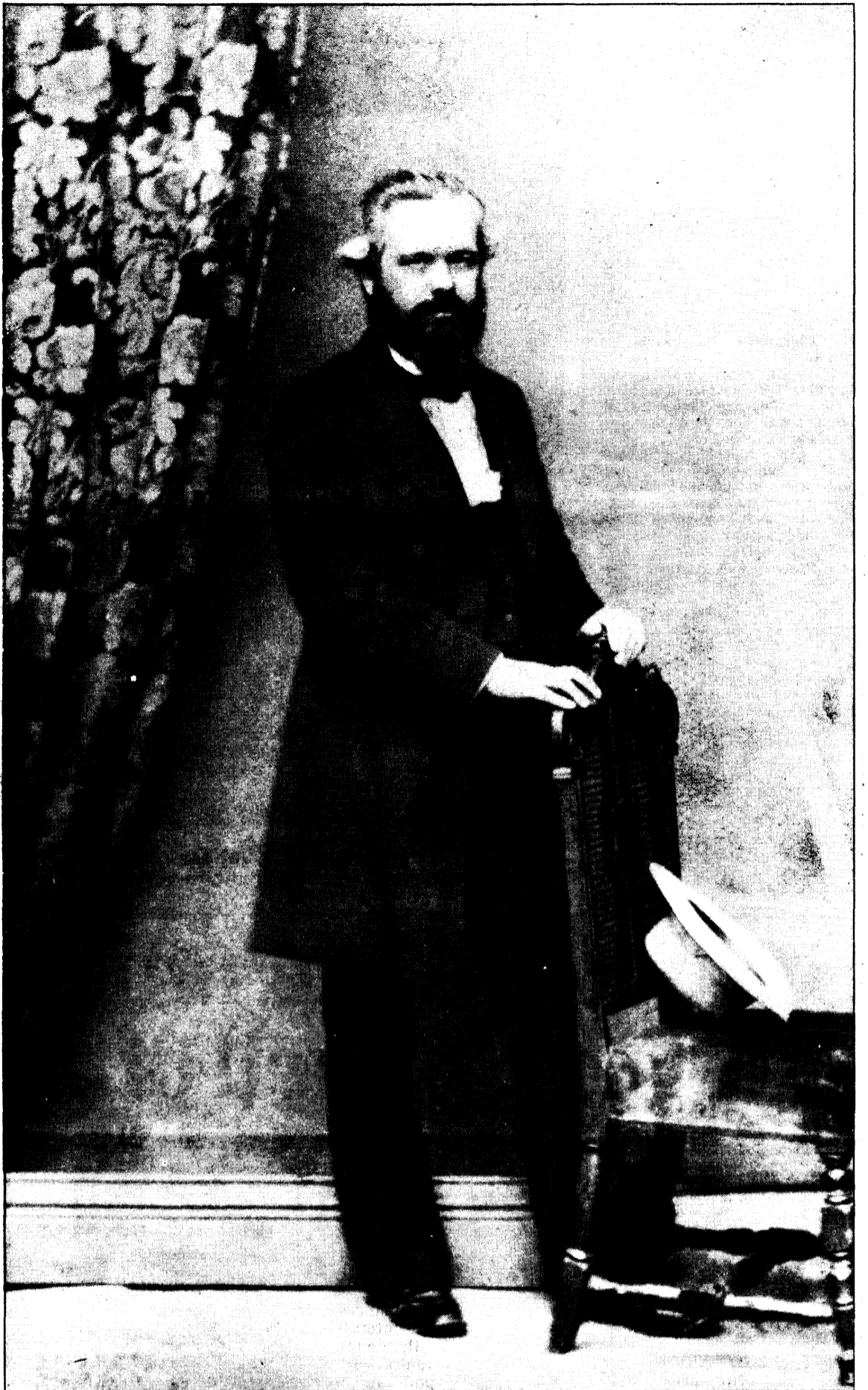
'Exchange of a specific thing for one characterized as universal, one which counts as value alone and which lacks the other specific character, utility—i.e. for money.'

Money, he later remarks, is 'this extreme character of universality'; 'the really existent and universal value of both things and services: . . . money is not one particular type of wealth among others, but the universal form of all types so far as they are expressed in an external embodiment and so can be taken as "things".' (Paragraph 299, pages 194-195.)

Thus not only is it true that the method of 'Capital' is to be found in a **general sense** in Hegel, but the germs are there of the **concrete analysis** in Volume 1 of 'Capital', of the **commodity, value and money**.

These first glimpses provide a standing reproach to empiricists such as Dobb and Mandel who, even with the benefit of Marx's mature work and a century and a half of capitalist development to draw upon, still insist on giving empirical 'proofs' and 'justifications' of Marx's theory of 'value' as a **purely economic category**.

Even more interesting, however, is that Hegel traces the effects of division and abstraction of labour upon consciousness, and the **necessary appearances** this produces in the realm of economic categories. Under the heading 'The Kind of Work (typical of Civil Society)' he describes how:



Top: Karl Marx. Above: Friedrich Hegel

'The multiplicity of objects and situations which excite interest is the stage on which theoretical education develops. This education consists in possessing not simply a multiplicity of ideas and facts, but also a flexibility and rapidity of mind, ability to pass from one idea to another, to grasp complex and general relations, and so on. It is the education of the **understanding** [my emphasis] in every way, and so also the building up of language.' (para. 197, page 129.)

By 'understanding' Hegel means abstract and formal thought, as opposed to dialectical **reason**. A little earlier he clearly indicates the limits of the understanding within the field of political economy, thereby anticipating Marx's critique of Ricardo and (by

implication) opposing himself to Dobb and Mandel's empirical, quantitative approach:

'Political economy is the science which starts from this view of needs and labour but then has the task of explaining mass-relationships and mass-movements in their complexity and their qualitative and quantitative character. This is one of the sciences which has arisen out of the conditions of the modern world. Its development affords the interesting spectacle (as in Smith, Say and Ricardo) of thought working upon the endless mass of details which confront it at the outset and extracting therefrom the simple principles of the thing, the Understanding effective in the thing and directing it. It is to find reconciliation here to discover in the sphere of needs this show of rationality lying in the thing and effective there; but if we look at it from the opposite point of view, this is the field in which the Understanding with its subjective aims and moral fancies vents its discontent and moral frustration.' (para. 189, page 126.)

The reference to 'moral frustration' is particularly apposite. In 1821 Hegel had already answered those 'New Left' economists who seek the essence of Marx's work in a theory of exploitation, in empirical 'realism' and so on.

These extracts single out only one line of thought from a much more complex dis-

cussion, in which Hegel tries to analyse as a whole both relations of production and the legal and political relationships arising out of them. Since, unlike Marx, he does not consistently start from the standpoint of materialism, he does not commence with the production relations, and consequently much of his argument is concerned with supporting bourgeois economic, legal and political forms as against those of feudalism.

Nonetheless he views all things in terms of the unity and conflict of opposites within them—particular with universal, specific with abstract, individual will with social necessity splitting-up with dependence.

The fact that, believing as an idealist that 'all that is real is rational', he often speaks of these conflicts being 'reconciled', cannot obscure the **objective dialectics** which he brings to bear. It is the adoption of **this method** which brings him to the central notions which the revisionists are attempting to amputate out of Marx's work, and which underline for us now the fact that without dialectical materialism 'Capital' is reduced to a shell.

Without exaggeration it is possible to say that Hegel was on the verge of grasping that the 'inner logic' of capitalism is—socialism.

Yours sincerely,  
A London reader.





# THE ROAD TO MODERATION

With the full support of the Soviet Union the Chilean Communist Party is insisting on a moderate policy for President Salvador Allende's Popular Unity coalition government.

It is the leading exponent of the policy of a dialogue with the Christian Democrat opposition, backing Allende's moves towards an 'understanding' over the question of nationalization and economic policy.

The recent visit to Moscow of a Chilean government delegation led by Carlos Altamirano, general secretary of the Socialist Party and José Cadematori, a member of the political commission of the CP Central Committee, showed Kremlin endorsement for Allende's rightward turn.

The CP fears Allende will not survive unless big concessions are made to the middle class and Christian Democrats. It notes that the coalition has tended to lose support as the Allende regime fails to grapple with the inflation and economic crisis gripping the country.

In the absence of a determined revolutionary policy by the government, and seeing no alternative, many workers are turning to the Christian Democrats. At the same time big sections of the bourgeoisie and middle class are looking to the extreme right.

Instead of drawing the lessons from these developments — that they arise from the bankruptcy of Allende's reformist course—the Stalin-

ists call for an alliance 'with all those who are interested in the progress of the country'.

This opportunist, counter-revolutionary policy opens the way for the return of reaction and a savage repression against the working class such as followed the Banzer coup in Bolivia last year.

After 15 days of talks between the government and the opposition on nationalization had broken down on June 30, the President called for further discussions to avert a crisis. It seems likely that a behind-the-scenes deal will be made so that part of the Popular Unity proposals can go through, but excluding a number of banks and the paper industry.

The left-wing MIR (Left Revolutionary Movement) is calling for the dissolution of parliament and the establishment of a representative body highly reminiscent of the ill-fated Popular Assembly set up during the last stages of the Torres regime in Bolivia.

This is a sop to parliamentarism which evades the main question of power. It is still tied to the Popular Front concepts upon which the Allende coalition is built and it is unlikely to win the support of large masses of workers and peasants.

The only way forward in Chile which can prevent a repetition of the tragic defeat in Bolivia is for the establishment of elements of dual power which already exist in embryonic form. This means a complete break with the bourgeoisie and with the tactics of popular frontism and reformism.

## CALL FOR CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

The Chilean Communist Party has called for a dialogue between the Popular Unity coalition and the main opposition party, the Christian Democrats.

The need for a broadening of the basis of the government was the main theme of a Central Committee plenum which was wound up by Mario Zamorano, National Organization Director of the party on June 28.

He said that there was a wide consensus in favour of changes. 'The organized action of the masses,' he proclaimed, 'does not rule out the participation of workers, peasants, urban poor, women and students who are Christian Democrats or Independents, but who favour change.'

He urged the coalition to win over medium and small farmers. He called for 'rational, collective and anti-bureaucratic' participation by workers in the economy.

The Communist Party is pushing President Salvador Allende's regime further along the road of compromise with its eyes on the 1973 elections. He also called on the party to make maximum efforts in the forthcoming elections in the State Technical University and the Students' Federation, as well as in parliamentary by-elections.

# THIRD WORLD PEOPLES WILL STARVE

The mass of the peasantry in the underdeveloped countries face a future of continued impoverishment and dispossession according to the leading French agronomist, René Dumont, in a newly-published book.\*

The book is a searing indictment of present agrarian policies based on experience in many countries and particularly on investigation carried out in Ceylon, Tunisia and Senegal.

In the countries wrongly described as 'developing', a great section of the peasantry is losing its land or being forced onto a subsistence economy to the advantage of landlords and capitalists in league with imperialism.

## PAUPERIZED

The so called 'green revolution' based on improved seeds, use of fertilizers, pesticides and modern tools and machines much favoured by the Americans enriches landlords and capitalists while making millions of peasants still worse off than before. They are forced to join the pauperized masses crowded into urban slums and shantytowns living completely without hope.

Dumont recalls that when he was in Iran at the time of the sumptuous ceremonies put on by the Shah he met peasants who had been expropriated and forced to leave the lands which their families had cultivated for centuries so that a big land company could irrigate them and turn them over to large-scale agriculture.

While clearly seeing the desperate plight imposed on masses of peasants—still the majority of the world's population—by capitalism, Dumont's approach remains completely Utopian.

He sees rightly that what is required is world economic planning. This would, for example, leave certain forms of cultivation to the less-developed countries while in areas like Europe the emphasis would be on livestock, fruits and vegetables and the secondary cereals. There would be planned use of limited resources and priority satisfaction of basic human needs to ensure a decent life for every inhabitant of the planet.

He speaks of the need for the control of population growth, the rationing of rare minerals and even the control of the climate as being necessary if mankind is to survive. He says that for this a supra-national authority, a world government is necessary. He claims that the world is not facing famine but that part of the world's population is already there.

What he does not admit is that the programme he wants requires nothing less than the overthrow of capitalism as a world system. Planning of the kind he envisages will not be carried out by the present ruling classes, nor could it be on the basis of capitalist property relations.

So his indictment, based upon irrefutable technical data, fizzles out into a suggestion for irrelevant reforms. What he ends up with is a programme for improved education of the rural population and an increased supply of agronomists and agricultural economists capable of aiding the peasantry to improve its methods.

In fact this kind of policy has exactly the same result as the 'green revolution' — it speeds up the advance of capitalist relations in the countryside and favours the richer peasants at the expense of the rural poor—unless it is preceded by a thorough transformation of agrarian relations. The lessons of the Russian Revolution must be taken as the point of departure.

## REVOLUTIONARIES

The task of solving the agrarian question in the backward countries and the realization of a world economic plan is one for revolutionary leadership. This requires the building of working-class parties which can win the support of the peasant masses and take power from the national bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped countries.

Only then, under the leadership of the working class, will it be possible to expropriate the landowners, the usurers and the big capitalist farmers and carry through a thoroughgoing agrarian revolution.

With all respects to Professor Dumont, what the backward countries require is not a supply of agronomists but Marxist revolutionaries.

\* 'Paysanneries aux abois'. To be published in France by Editions du Sueil.

## BUTTER DUMP FEARED

As the trade war heats up, dumping is triggering strident protests from recipient states and rival suppliers.

The chairman of New Zealand's Dairy Board Mr Francis Onion said that the country's dairy industry could not survive for long if her export markets were subject to dumping by wealthy subsidized foreign dairy industries.

Mr Onion said that despite the Luxembourg agreement in which the EEC countries undertook not to frustrate New Zealand's efforts to diversify her industry and trade, milk and butter stocks had risen steeply under the influence of higher levels of price support.

He went on: 'The EEC has recently shown a disposition again to seek a solution to their domestic surplus problems by exporting them to our markets.'

'European export subsidies on bulk butter and milkfat have been increased since January last to about £300 per ton of bulk butter—and £400 a ton for milkfat, with the clear implication that these subsidies are intended to enable European exporters to re-enter markets from which they withdrew last year.'



On at least two occasions in the period 1917 to 1920 the Russian Revolution inspired British workers to form workers' committees as organs to defend their conditions and overthrow the capitalist order. This series by Alan Clinton and George Myers (reprinted from 'Fourth International', November 1967) examines the building of these committees, the 1917 'Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates' and the 'Councils of Action' in 1920.

# THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS

## PART 3

### THE POLISH WAR AND THE 'JOLLY GEORGE'

It was in the spring of 1920, when the war against Poland began, that the issue became further inflamed. It was clear to everyone that 'the Marionettes are in Warsaw but the strings are pulled from London and Paris'.<sup>50</sup> At first 'Labour's protest in parliament lacked fire'.<sup>51</sup> But, on May 10 'two years of tremendously hard and unremitting work on the part of a devoted band of comrades in London', mainly members of the WSF, bore fruit when dockers refused to load a cargo marked 'HMS Munitions for Poland' on to the *Jolly George* at the East India Dock.<sup>52</sup> This action transformed the situation.

In the weeks that followed the BSP turned its campaign against intervention towards the TUC and the Labour Party. Opposition to the Polish intervention was described as 'Labour's Acid Test' and the party helped to organize a national appeal to the TUC and the Labour Party for strikes against the intervention, signed by, amongst others, Robert Smillie, President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and Alex Gossip, General Secretary of the Furniture Trades Association.<sup>53</sup> At the Labour Party annual conference in July BSP members campaigned for a General Strike against intervention. Ernest Bevin, however, persuaded the delegates to pass a purely formal motion on the subject.

Very soon, however, events were to take a more serious turn when the British army threatened to intervene in defence of the beleaguered Poles. This produced the

famous telegram from Henderson to every local Labour Party: 'Extremely menacing possibility extension Polish Russian war. Strongly urge local parties organize citizen demonstrations against intervention and supply men and munitions to Poland. Demand peace negotiations immediate raising blockade, resumption trade relations. Send resolutions Premier and Press. Deputize local MPs.'<sup>54</sup> On Saturday and Sunday, August 7 and 8 there were demonstrations in every part of the country. The 'Daily Herald' on August 9 and 10 mentions about 70 meetings run by local Labour Parties and Communist Party branches, as well as many resolutions from union branches and executives. On August 9 there was a special conference of the TUC and Labour Party which called for 'the whole industrial power of the organized workers' to be used against the war, and set up a national Council of Action which included Clynes from the right, Purcell from the left and many others. On August 10 the Council saw the Prime Minister, who made no verbal concessions, but was later to give no help to the Poles. A call was issued on the same day for local Councils of Action to be set up. On Friday 13 at a national meeting of the Council of Action there were 1,044 delegates from 689 trade unions and 355 labour parties and trades councils. Men who had done nothing to oppose the war in 1914 now felt that they could exonerate themselves by making statements as extreme as possible, and doing as little as they could. Jimmy Thomas, whose respect for the constitution bordered on religious mania, said that unconstitutional measures were necessary because 'the disease is so desperate and dangerous that it is only desperate and dangerous methods that can provide a remedy'. The conference passed a motion calling for the withdrawal of British troops from the war, for the recognition of the Soviet



Union and authorizing the Council of Action 'to call for any and every form of withdrawal of labour which circumstances may require to give effect to the foregoing policy'.<sup>55</sup> In the weeks that followed a national campaign was initiated where 350 councils were set up, usually accompanied by big meetings, millions of leaflets calling for peace with Russia were printed and distributed, and national demonstrations were run on August 27 and October 17.<sup>56</sup> It seems most likely that this had little effect on the Government's policy, since they probably had little intention of helping the Poles anyway. The fact is they did not do so.<sup>57</sup> Winston Churchill, however, thought that the 'violent agitation' of the Labour movement 'under Communist influence and guidance' forced Lloyd George to tell the Poles that 'the British Government could not take any action against Russia' even if the Poles were defeated.<sup>58</sup> These assertions are, however, of less interest than the developments in the working class associated with the Council of Action.



Opposition to British intervention in the Polish war against the Soviet Union. Top: Robert Smillie, miners' leader who signed an appeal and helped organize strikes. Above left: Arthur Henderson, who sent out his famous telegram calling for demonstrations. Centre: Lenin. Right: Ernest Bevin who at the 1920 Labour Party conference tried to keep it to a formal motion.

Lenin, in a speech delivered some weeks later, said that 'the entire British Bourgeois Press declared that the Council of Action meant soviets. It did not call itself by that name but actually that is what it was. It was the same kind of dual power as we had under Kerensky from March 1917 onwards'.<sup>59</sup> No one was clearer about this than the right-wing leaders of the Council of Action themselves. On August 17 the National Council of Action issued a leaflet to the local councils under the militant title *Form Your Councils of Action*, but which went on 'care should be exercised as to the functions of the Local Councils. They are not in any way to usurp the powers of the Trade Unions' Executives, especially so far as withdrawal of labour is concerned, but are to act as centres of information'. The national leadership boldly declared in October that 'there appears no likelihood of [peace with Russia] being secured by direct action', and refused local requests to extend the campaign to other issues such as the demand for Irish independence by claiming that 'the Council's mandate is strictly limited'.<sup>60</sup> Josiah Wedgwood, a recent convert from Liberalism and a member of the National Council, was clear about the Council's need for restraint: 'It has the necessary unanimity which ensures moderation... unanimity is not often achieved in action. Its power will be measured by its ability to avoid action'.<sup>61</sup>

Such leaders could not, however, prevent local initiatives of all kinds. After the Hyde Park demonstration of August 8 for instance 'a crowd of about 4,000 assembled on the Edgware Road... blocking the thoroughfare. Police were called in to restore order, red flags were waved and there were cries of "Hands off Russia!", "We don't want any war!", "Down with organized force!", "Three cheers for Sinn Fein!". As a result four arrests were made'.<sup>62</sup> Other local initiatives were of a more organized nature though they varied with the circumstances. There were councils of action in London, Manchester, Birmingham and other cities. In Sheffield, the Council of Action was set up on August 15 and included the General Executive of the Trades and Labour Council, local shop steward convenors, union district committee members and two representatives from the Co-operative Societies. Later the Council was calling for its activities to be extended to the questions of Ireland, unemployment and trade with Russia. The Council continued in existence until the following February.<sup>63</sup> In Merthyr Tydfil every organized worker was represented on the Central Council of Action, which had a complicated network of committees to deal with such matters as transport, propaganda and finance. This organization was set up at a special meeting at the end of August when its role was outlined. 'Trade Unions... function only in time of industrial peace'. When there is a crisis in industry then 'the normal functions of trade unions are over, and there is no machinery to take up the problems in a systematized way, preserve order and carry on the administrative work that is necessary then'.<sup>64</sup> This was precisely the role the Councils of Action were to play during the General Strike in 1926.

The revolutionaries, though to some extent aware of the possibilities existing in the situation, did little to seize the initiative. The WSF, by now calling itself the Communist Party (British Section of the Third International) made the correct propaganda point but did little to act on it. 'It now rests with the rank and file to see that these councils do not

become dead bodies, but that they infuse them with life and energy so that they are really Revolutionary Councils, which will work for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Communist Commonwealth. The mere setting up of Councils is not enough. They must be permeated with the Communist spirit, and to that end, all communists should endeavour to be represented on them'.<sup>65</sup> Some members of the month-old Communist Party of Great Britain, just formed from the BSP and sections of the SLP, tried to act on this advice, but they clearly thought their membership of the local Councils was a right to be expected, rather than a privilege to be won.<sup>66</sup> A year later a leading member of the Communist Party explained how it was that little had been achieved: 'The Central Council... maintained its hold on the situation. This was not a result of any brilliant measures on their part, but simply because no effort was prepared which would lead to their removal as the crisis developed. Had a vigorous criticism of their policy been maintained, had the idea of a new leadership representing the local councils of action been steadily forwarded, the possibility of securing new leadership would have been advanced enormously, and its main effect would have been to force the central authority to a more vigorous policy'.<sup>67</sup> It was the political immaturity of the British Marxists which made them unable to seize the initiative at this high point in the militancy and internationalism of the working class.

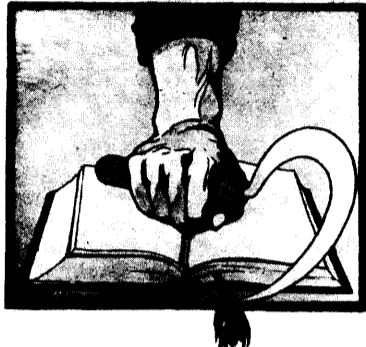
In 1917 and in 1920, when soviets were begun in Britain, they could only have been developed through a struggle against centrism and the rapidly expanding bureaucracy. On these two occasions the defence of the Russian Revolution was an important event in the development of the working class and the revolutionary movement. In the future it could have led either to an appreciation of the gains which were being defended or to the mechanical defence of all things Russian later characteristic of the Stalinized Communist Party of Great Britain. A British October revolution will be carried forward only by those who can defend the gains of the last October revolution, and carry out that struggle against centrism and betrayal so lacking fifty years ago in Britain.

50 *Daily Herald*, April 30, 1920.  
 51 S. R. Graubard, op. cit., p. 93.  
 52 Pollit, op. cit., pp. 111-118.  
 53 *The Call*, May 20 and June 10, 1920.  
 54 W. & Z. Coates, *A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations* (1943), p. 42.  
 55 Council of Action, *Report of the Special Conference on Labour and the Russo-Polish War* (1920).  
 56 F. Bramley, J. Middleton and H. Lindsay, *Report of the Council of Action* (October 18, 1920), pp. 6-7.  
 57 See S. R. Graubard, op. cit., pp. 111-114 for a discussion of this point.  
 58 W. Churchill, *The World Crisis: The Aftermath* (1929), p. 269.  
 59 V. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Volume 31 (London, 1966), p. 308.  
 60 F. Bramley, et al., op. cit., pp. 8-7.  
 61 Article entitled *The Council of Action: Triumph for Labour Unanimity in Review of Reviews*, September-October 1920, p. 170.  
 62 *Willesden Chronicle*, August 13, 1920.  
 63 Sheffield Federated Trades and Labour Council *Executive Minutes for August 15 and 17 and September 14, 1920*, and January 14 and February 1, 1920.  
 64 W. Paul, *Communism and Society* (1922), p. 174-175. *The Pioneer* (Merthyr Tydfil), September 4 and 18, 1920.  
 65 *Workers' Dreadnought*, August 21, 1920.  
 66 *The Communist*, August 26, 1920.  
 67 Article entitled *On Leading the Masses in the Communist Review*, February 1922, p. 271.



# ANECDOTAL LOOK AT THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

REVIEWED BY JANE BROWN  
BOOK REVIEW



**REVOLUTION! France 1789-1794**  
by Sarcel Eimerl. Macmillan  
£1.85 and TWELVE WHO RULED  
by R. R. Palmer. Princeton paper-  
backs £1.30

The French Revolution of 1789, though not the first of the bourgeois revolutions which destroyed the political and social structures of feudalism in western Europe, was the most explosive and far-reaching in its international effects.

In 1789, King Louis XVI was forced to summon a meeting of the Estates General (representatives of the church, nobility and people) for the first time in over 100 years.

The government was bankrupt, and hoped that this meeting would legitimize new forms of taxation, without interfering with the customary hierarchy of wealth and privilege.

Instead, the meeting was to precipitate a revolution.

Though the peasants and workers, who had suffered the worst forms of oppression under feudalism, were not directly represented, the middle-class 'Third Estate' took it upon themselves to express the pent-up frustrations of the poor, as well as their own. The result was that they were able to mobilize the oppressed classes behind essentially bourgeois demands for 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity'.

The leaders of the church and nobility were driven out of the elected parliament, the King was stripped of his dictatorial powers and his aura of 'divine right'; then eventually executed in January 1793.

By this stage the Revolution seemed to have acquired a momentum of its own. Successive 'moderate' middle-class politicians and their policies were toppled, through radical pressure from the workers of Paris, and at the same time France was threatened with invasion by well-equipped Austrian and Prussian armies intending to restore the monarchy.

The bourgeois leaders were in disarray. Only a strong government could restore order—in other words regain control of the workers and peasants, win the war, and salvage those reforms which would enable the French bourgeoisie to move into a new era of capitalist economic expansion.

This was where the 'Reign of Terror', 1793-1794, came in. For a period of a few months, France was dominated by a Committee of Public Safety,

composed of 12 Jacobins. It established its authority by mass executions, then proceeded to rule by decree. It overrode the elected government, yet it did so with the support of the most radicalized sections of the French working class.

It is not surprising that many bourgeois historians and novelists have chosen to concentrate on this phase of the Revolution, to the exclusion of any serious consideration of what came before and after.

In a sense, the Terror did mark the culmination of the Revolution. Robespierre and the other Jacobin leaders were forced by the circumstances of 1793 to undertake very far-reaching reforms, many of which were retraced by the governments of the 'Thermidorian reaction', 1794-1799, and by Napoleon Bonaparte.

Yet it is the image of Robespierre as a bloodthirsty monster, and of the Revolution as a vehicle of uncontrollable violence and destruction, which so fascinates writers nourished by the 'stable' bourgeois democracies of Britain and the USA—especially in a period when this 'stability' is once again under attack.

Eimerl provides a particularly clear summary of their fears. The French Revolution is 'a picture of noble aspirations . . . horribly transmuted into the triumph of tyranny, and it is a story of considerable relevance to the uses of violence in our own world'.

This is indeed true! For in the course of capitalism's world economic crisis, 'The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself' ('Communist Manifesto').

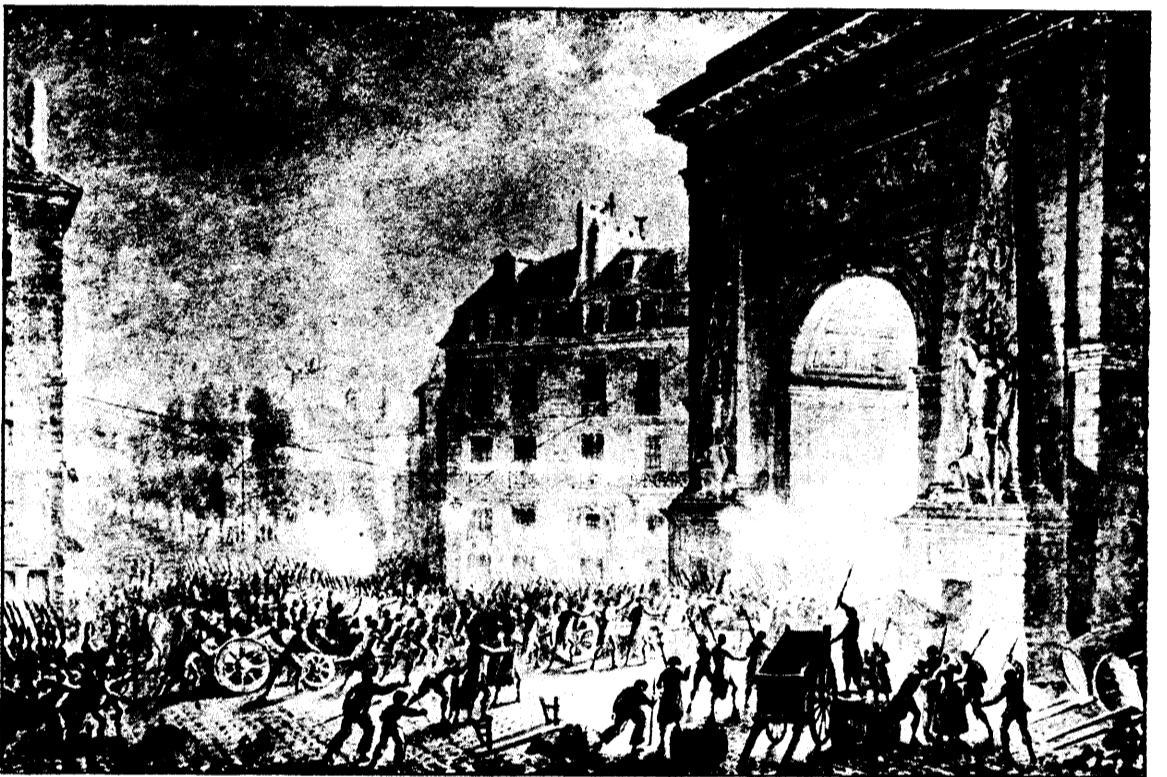
The crude falsifications of Eimerl's book are a symptom of the crisis of bourgeois historians. Their static, or 'evolutionary', view of history is daily belied by the rapid, contradictory developments of the class struggle; their propaganda for capitalist parliamentary democracy as the embodiment of 'freedom' is fast losing all credibility.

In an attempt to recapture 'objectivity', Eimerl resorts to an anecdotal type of history. Selected incidents of the Revolution, particularly the sufferings of the Royal Family and the bloodiest episodes of the Terror, are described minute-by-minute.

We have also a collection of pen-portraits of leading revolutionaries. Robespierre was 'obsessed with a lust for power'; Marat was 'a diseased, hate-filled dwarf'; while Carrier 'sometimes suffered from fits in which he would fall to the floor, howling like a dog. He was a maniac . . .'

These lurid descriptions are hooked together into some kind of a narrative by such well-worn clichés as 'unfortunately' and 'unluckily' (referring to the downfall of royalists and moderates).

Describing the downfall of the loathsome Jacobin extremists, Eimerl simply resorts to 'by coincidence . . .!' As for the Parisian workers, men-



tioned rarely and with revulsion, they were 'toughs and rowdies'; 'on the whole an ill-mannered, foul-mouthed and vicious lot'; or, repeatedly, 'hoodlums'.

It is a sign of the times that history written on this level is being imported from America and circulated in Britain, 1972.

The author of the second book, R. Palmer, is a 'liberal'.

His weaknesses as a bourgeois historian writing on the subject of revolution show through in a more subtle way.

As the title suggests, he begins with a biographical approach. In tracing the early lives of the 12 men who were to make up the Committee of Public Safety, he does not become completely submerged in the quagmire of 'psychological' history. The backgrounds shed some light on the deeper causes of the French Revolution.

With one possible exception (Collot d'Herbois), the Committee members were solidly bourgeois, coming from comfortably-off, well-educated homes. However, many of them had been frustrated in their careers by the aristocratic hierarchy which, for example, denied promotion in the army above the rank of captain to all members of the bourgeoisie, however talented and brave they were.

No less than eight of the Committee were lawyers. They had played a role in the numerous 'literary clubs', at which the basically political works of Rousseau, Voltaire,

Diderot and other writers of the 'Age of Reason' were discussed.

Palmer attaches very great importance to the ideas of these rationalist authors, who had found their inspiration in the materialist doctrines and scientific discoveries of the 17th century, as well as in the 'unreasonable' state of economic, social and political life in 18th century France.

Indeed, his attitude towards these writers betrays him as an idealist himself. He does not explain that without the underlying economic and social changes of the past 200 years (including the English Civil War), such writers could not have thought and written as they did. Nor was it out of purely abstract interest that their works aroused so much debate in 'literary clubs'!

Nevertheless, Palmer's account of the Year of Terror shows something of the relationship of conscious thought to revolutionary action. Amid the chaos of revolutionary France in 1793, he correctly defines the role of the Committee of Public Safety as an instrument of bourgeois rule.

Though they took 'Liberty' and 'Equality' as their slogans, the Jacobins aimed at the overthrow of the monopoly of power and wealth amassed by the monarchy and church, not at the achievement of equality between the bourgeoisie and the workers and peasants.

All classes were swept up in the activity of the Revolution, none more so than the

workers (craftsmen, servants, shopkeepers etc.) of Paris and other large towns.

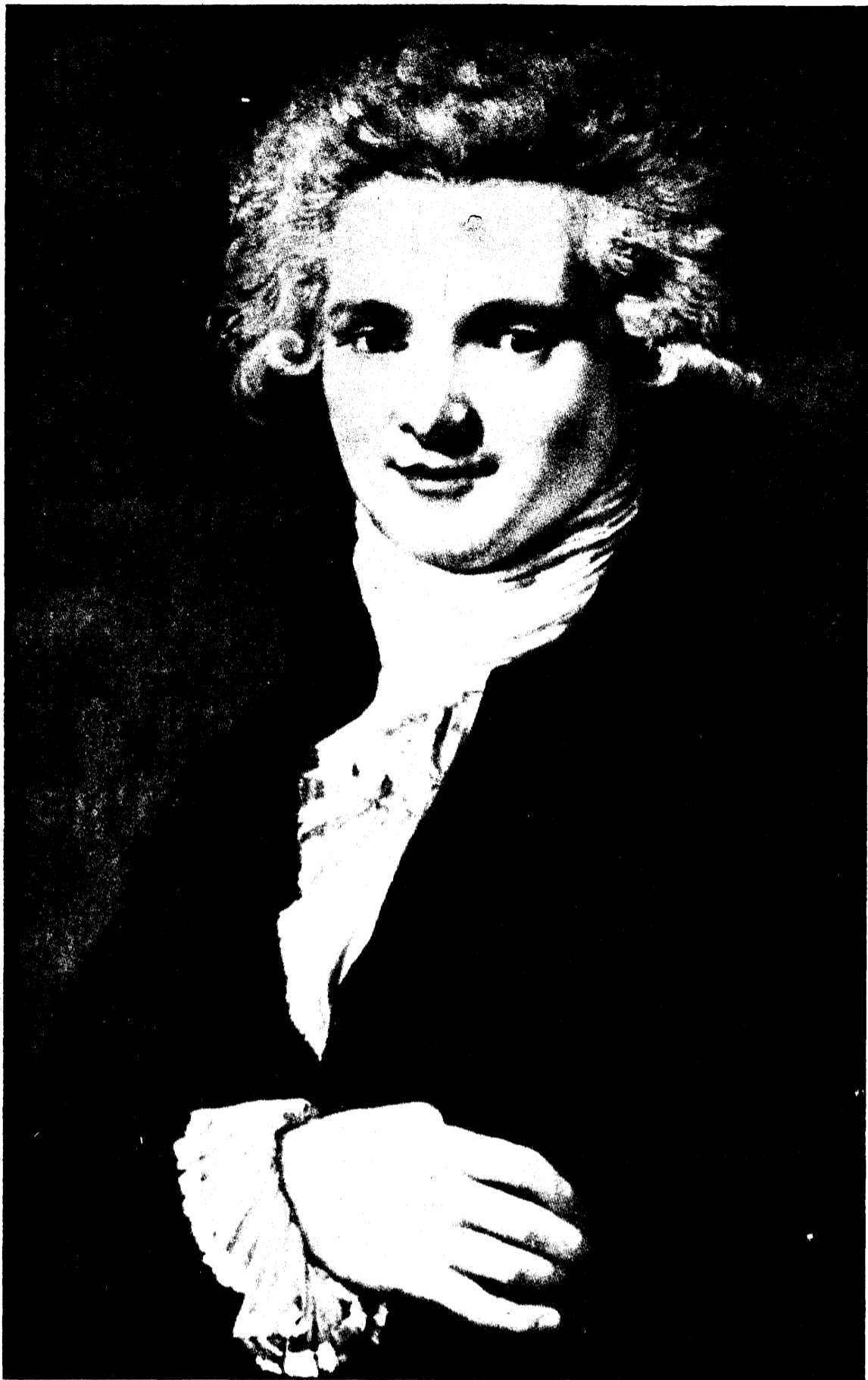
Eimerl's 'hoodlums' in fact played a crucial role in forcing the hands of middle-class reformers at certain stages of the Revolution. On occasions they invaded the debates of the elected parliament to set forward their own demands—for the fixing of food prices, for the formation of a revolutionary army, for revenge against 'traitors' such as the King and the aristocrats.

As we have seen, such activity by the masses, as well as foreign invasion, laid the basis for the highly-centralized government of the Committee of Public Safety.

The Committee did not merely execute people. Its government was highly efficient in other respects. It did forge the 'revolutionary army' which was later to defeat half the monarchies in Europe. It averted the immediate threat of famine by trying to impose the kind of war economy restrictions which have become familiar in the 20th century. Food prices were fixed; in some cases food was requisitioned; while 'hoarders' found their way to the guillotine as fast as priests and nobles.

Yet it cannot be emphasized





too often that, despite the caricature of the Terror presented by Eimerl and others, the bourgeois basis of the Revolution had not been overthrown. No cohesive industrial proletariat, and no independent working-class party, existed to replace the bourgeoisie, so that the 'Thermidorian Reaction' against Robespierre's expedient concessions was really inevitable, once the immediate threat of invasion had been repelled.

As Marx wrote in 1848: 'At this stage the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies . . . every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.'

Instead of concentrating on this important and correct general conclusion, Palmer treats the policies of the Committee of Public Safety mainly from the point of view of the individual beliefs of its members, especially Robespierre.

Many of the comparisons of Robespierre's speeches with the writings of Rousseau are relevant, but only if they are related to the concrete situation of the French Revolution itself.

For the historian, the issue at stake is not whether Robespierre was 'sincere' in his beliefs, but rather where those ideas stemmed from, and their underlying implications. Palmer follows in the footsteps of the 18th century rationalists when he discusses and compares 'ideas', as if they were devoid of social content.

Some aspects of Rousseau's theory of 'The Social Contract' could in fact conveniently be fed back into the revolutionary situation of 1793.

Robespierre announced: 'The sovereignty of the people demands that the people be unified; it is therefore opposed to all factions and all faction is a criminal attack upon sovereignty.'

Rousseau had written: ' . . . what makes a will general is not so much the number of voices as the common interest that unites them', and opposed democracy on the grounds that 'so perfect a form of government is not for men'.

Here was the ideological justification for dictatorship by the Committee of Public Safety. So long as the Committee served the public interest, it might be said to rule by the 'general will', in Rousseau's sense of the term, even if a numerical majority of citizens opposed it and had no say whatsoever in the government of the country.

Similarly, Rousseau's emphasis on the importance of 'individual liberty' was inextricably linked with a belief in man's right to individual ownership of property, as it had been in the philosophy of Hobbes and Locke.

Robespierre made it quite clear that his government-directed war economy was only intended to be temporary. In fact, though cloaked in the language of the 'Age of Reason', Robespierre's political application of the theories of

Rousseau comes down squarely in favour of a form of rule suited to the early development of bourgeois capitalism.

The successive governments of the 'Thermidorian Reaction' merely made explicit many of his claims to bourgeois supremacy. They replaced state control of the economy with 'free enterprise', and class resistance to this step.

The fact that the reaction was resisted shows that a process of political education had begun in the working class.

Babeuf, killed in 1796, has been called one of the first communists, because he advocated communal control of the distribution of all goods.

Meanwhile, broad layers of workers (especially in Paris) reached a higher level of political consciousness during the Revolution. The meetings of the 48 Sections of the Paris Commune were open to all citizens, and were the scene of fierce debate.

Even if only a tiny minority broke from the essentially middle-class doctrines of Jacobinism, this example of working men talking, thinking and acting as a semi-organized force in the nation's political life offered inspiration to workers in many other countries in the early 19th century.

Nowhere was the example more eagerly taken up than in Britain, where the economic demands of capitalism were already inexorably welding workers into a unified class, facing a common capitalist enemy.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## REFLECTION

Working-class people in Northern Ireland who are embattled by unemployment, poverty and the terror of the British army, might well reflect on the fortunes of the Duke of Westminster, the former leader of the Ulster Unionists.

His company, Grosvenor Estates, is planning a further move into property development in Hawaii and the United States. The company has linked with Jardine Matheson, the Hong Kong-based trading and investment group, to form a new company for the venture.

Initially each group will pump around £300,000 into the new company which already has three projects under review for residential and commercial development in the Hawaiian islands worth more than £20m.

Grosvenor Estates has sizeable interests in Britain. It owns a large slice of property in Belgravia and Mayfair and also has a big holding of agricultural property in Cheshire. Other property is held in Canada and Australia as well as Hawaii.

One of Grosvenor Estates' trustees, the Fifth Duke of Westminster, 'Pug', was a former Ulster Unionist MP at Westminster from 1955 to 1964, representing Fermanagh and South Tyrone. He was also a Senator in the Northern Ireland parliament, from 1964 to 1967.

## HAPPINESS

Stand by for the appearance of yet another whiz-kid on the British industrial and financial scene. You may not have heard of Jeffrey Bonas yet, but you soon will.

Only 28 years old, he is already involved in at least five companies making rubber thread for trunk and pyjama topping, fireproof doors and importing of swimming pools.

His latest acquisition is Edward Webb and Son (Worcester) where he has acquired virtual control and the chairmanship in just over a month.

Webb make interlining for clothes and will be the launching pad as a publicly-quoted company for Bonas's industrial and financial interests.

Interestingly enough it was the whiz-kid of them all, Jim

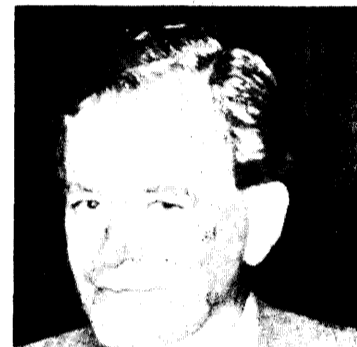
Slater, who got him started in business. For it was the head of Slater Walter Securities who sold Bonas United Latex for the proverbial song in 1971.

Although the unquoted Melton Mowbray firm was losing money heavily, it had £800,000 of net assets and 25,000 sq.ft. of factory space. So a bargain was struck.

On his first weekend with the firm as managing director, Bonas fired 50 to 60 workers. And only last week he was quoted as saying:

'I hope you're not going to call me one of those awful young men. I've spread happiness wherever I've gone.'

And considering United Latex, through its main trading subsidiary Girflex, controls nearly all the UK rubber thread manufacturing, the total



Top: Slater. Below: Walker

labourforce of 175 must really be working for their money.

Bonas is certainly learning from the masters of the trade. His financial director, Roland Chandler, is an ex-Slater Walker man.

And his property firm Bonas Securities, another subsidiary with about £100,000 in investments, is being lined up for more property development through acquisitions.

And, with Slater's techniques in mind, Bonas considers this subsidiary as an embryonic merchant bank. No doubt it will be happiness all the way.

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# YOUNG SOCIALISTS' REGIONAL RIGHT-TO-WORK CAMPAIGN

## WIGAN WEDNESDAY

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS ON THE MANCHESTER-LIVERPOOL MARCH

'Unemployment figure drops in the North West'—the local Wigan paper announced the good news. But it didn't make Mike Hindley smile today when he stopped to chat to the marchers at Wigan market place.

He is one of the 136,000 working people in the North West who are still on the dole. The Tory Minister's announcement that jobless queues has shrunk since the New Year meant little to Mike—a draughtsman, made redundant nine months ago by a Wigan paper machinery firm, and still looking for a job.

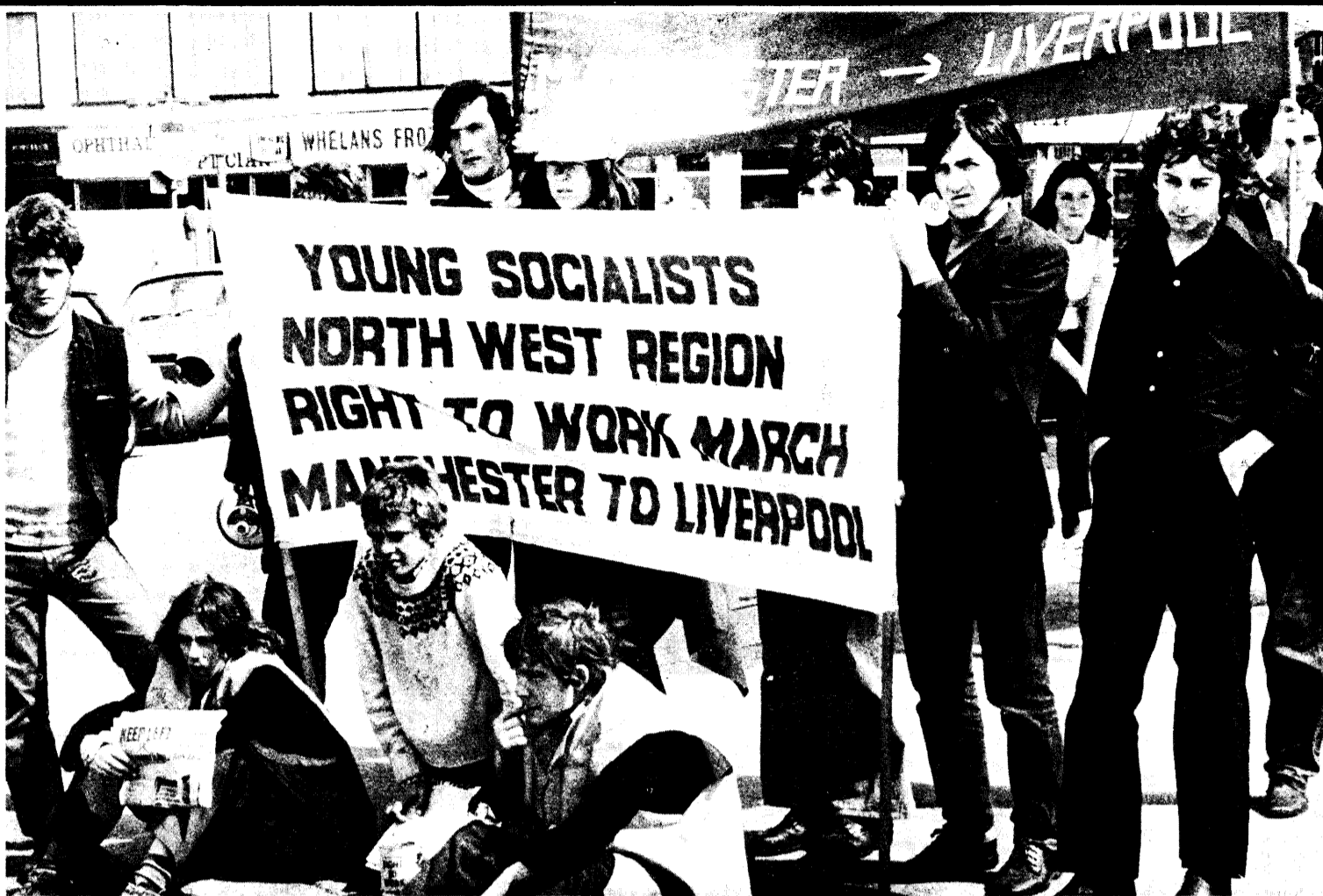
'It's impossible for me to get placed,' he told me when he bought a Workers Press: 'There are no openings for draughtsmen in this area. In fact I'm not fussy. I've applied for jobs on the production line but with no luck.'

He held up the sole of his rather shabby shoe: 'These are my last.'

There are 3,761 people like Mike in Wigan—once the coalmining centre of the North West and now a depressed area with an average jobless rate of 5.7 per cent.

Unemployment in the town is worse than at the winter peak. In January the rate was 5.5 per cent, in April and May it was 6 per cent, and June has only seen a minor reduction in the dole queue of 177 bringing the rate to 5.7 per cent. Youth unemployment fell by a tiny 29.

Wigan has been hard hit by



the decline in mining and textiles but the town also suffers from being surrounded by so-called development areas like Merseyside and the new town of Skelmersdale. New industry goes there to enjoy limited grants and financial concessions and not to Wigan. The trip from Bolton is through solid working class territory and sales and collection reflect this. A magnificent total of 140 Workers Press was sold on the way with 61 'Keep Left'. Street donations came to £9.50, the

second highest collection of the march.

At the old mining town of West Houghton we held our best open air meeting of the campaign. The shoppers bought scores of papers and the tins were quickly filled.

The effort was marred by an unprovoked police attack on one of the marchers. One constable zoomed up in a traffic patrol van, piled into the sellers yelling 'move on' and seized a lad, half his size, by the throat and shook him about. We made a complaint to

a local sergeant but to no apparent effect.

At Wigan another open-air meeting in the market place raised more money and support. Ribble busmen's shop steward Jimmy Ashcroft came over and arranged for a collection at the Wigan depot between 11 a.m. and lunch-time tomorrow, when the drivers and conductors collect their weekly pay.

Other financial support came from the local General and Municipal Workers' Union and Ken Jackson, official of the

**Above: A section of the marchers on their way to Wigan. They have won support from all sections, including old aged pensioners (below)**

electricians' and plumbers' union, promised to try and raise money in the local branches.

Tomorrow we move on into the Liverpool area via St Helens and Kirkby new town which has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country.

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## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

The currency crisis and the working class  
WILLESDEN: Monday July 10, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, Willesden High Road, NW10.  
ACTON: Monday July 10, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Rd.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday July 11, 8 p.m. 'Aberfeldy', Aberfeldy Street, E.14. (nr Blackwall Tunnel).  
BRADFORD: Tuesday July 11, 8 p.m. 'Shoulder of Mutton', Kirkgate. 'Build Councils of Action'.

NEWARK: Wednesday July 12, 7.30 p.m. 'Rutland', Newark. 'Fight redundancies. Build Councils of Action.'  
NORTH LONDON: Thursday July 13, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Rd. (nr White Hart Lane).



# The Poulson affair

## raises questions in the House



Reginald Maudling (right) listens intently to his former business partner Jerome D. Hoffman, who is now serving a two-year jail sentence in New York

BY ALEX MITCHELL

THE PRIVATE business affairs of Mr Reginald Maudling received an airing in the House of Commons yesterday. It was not the first time. And it may not be the last.

For some months now there has been persistent parliamentary pressure for some explanation about business ventures which bore the ultimately respectable imprint of Mr Maudling, the deputy Prime Minister and Home Secretary.

When he was chosen for the Home Office Maudling was obliged by law to sever his various business directorships. These included very lucrative posts with the international Dunlop rubber monopoly and the powerful merchant banking group, Kleinwort Benson. (Sir Cyril Kleinwort was recently knighted by the Heath government.)

Although he had resigned from them by June 1970, two other business associations remained closely connected with Maudling's name.

One was his chairmanship of the Real Estate Fund of America (REFA), an offshore property fund started by American hustler, Jerome D. Hoffman. (Hoffman is now serving two years in a New York penitentiary for charges connected with the fund.)

The other was his chairmanship of International Technical

and Construction Services, an offshoot of the engineering and architectural empire of Mr John Poulson.

Poulson, a Yorkshire architect, built up a multi-million pound group which built housing estates and sold its professional services to overseas clients, particularly in the Middle East and Africa.

It was the connection with Poulson that sparked off yesterday's Commons scenes.

Poulson is currently appearing before the Wakefield bankruptcy court under public examination. During one of the hearings this week he revealed the extent of fees paid to Maudling and other advisers, including three MPs.

After giving this evidence Poulson 'collapsed'. He was taken to hospital and later allowed to go home.

Meanwhile the Liberal Party decided to take up the facts which had emerged in the court. Supported by Labour MP, Mr William Hamilton, they want to know how MPs, including Maudling, who is a Privy Councillor, became involved in receiving exorbitant fees from the Poulson empire.

In court Poulson disclosed that he made payments of £334,722 over eight years. These included:

£22,000 to the Adeline Genee Theatre Trust, East Grinstead—£8,000 a year at Maudling's request to his wife's favourite charity, instead of his salary as chairman of International Technical and Construction Services, one of Poulson's firms.

Mrs Maudling was president of the production company which went into liquidation in 1968. The last payment made by Poulson was in March, 1969.

Referring to payments made to the Adeline Genee Trust, Poulson said it was a deed taken out by him at Maudling's request instead of payments made to him as chairman of ITCS. He wanted to help this theatre fund of his wife's and he preferred it to be done this way.

A letter from Maudling was read in court which said: 'I enclose another covenant as arranged. I would be most grateful if you could arrange for it to be sent to the Trust before we leave for Liberia.'

(Maudling's offshore venture, REFA, was registered in Liberia.)

● £155,518 to T. Dan Smith, then chairman of the Northern Economic Planning Council.

(Last year Smith, a leading figure in the Labour Party hierarchy, was acquitted at the Old Bailey on corruption charges.)

● £11,508 to Albert Roberts, Labour MP for Normanton, for help with a contract for hospital building in Spain.

Referring to the sum given to Roberts, Poulson said that he seemed very friendly with the Spanish and Portuguese governments.

He was recommended to him by the Spanish authorities as a person who might be able to help with a contract he had got for building a hospital in Spain.

Roberts is an NUM-sponsored MP.

● £21,419 to W. G. Pottinger, permanent secretary of the Department of Agriculture at the Scottish office. This included about £10,000 expenses while building him a £20,000 house. He also provided him with a Rover car, but denied paying £90 for him to have a suit made at his personal tailors.

● £5,928 to John Cordle, Tory MP for Bournemouth East, and secretary of the House of Commons Anglo-Nigerian group.

He is a member of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Evangelism, a director of the Church of England Newspaper and freeman of the City of London.

● £2,972 to A. J. Merritt, who retired in 1968 as the Ministry of Health's principal officer with the Leeds Regional Hospital Board. In a letter Poulson asked Maudling to arrange a cruise for Merritt who had been 'extremely helpful'.

● £21,666 to the late Sir Herbert Butcher, MP for Boston and Holland, Lincs.

● A private car for his brother C. A. Poulson, then manager of Barclays Bank in Horbury.

The Liberals' attack is not the first time they have barked at Maudling's heels. On February 21 last, John Pardoe asked the Attorney-General, Sir Peter Rawlinson, 'when he expects to receive the report of the Director of Public Prosecutions about the International Investors Group or

its subsidiaries'.

(IIG was the parent management company of the Real Estate Fund of America. It was registered in Britain and Maudling, Lord Brentford, a former Tory Minister, and his son, Crispin Joynson-Hicks, were all directors.)

Rawlinson's written reply was sensational—although it was unreported by the capitalist press. He admitted: 'An investigation into the affairs of the Group and its subsidiaries by the police and investigators of the Department of Trade and Industry, in consultation with counsel, is progressing. When these investigations have been completed, a report will be sent to the Director of Public Prosecutions for his consideration.'

In other words the Scotland Yard fraud squad and John Davies' department are actively investigating the companies once presided over by the Home Secretary! So far there is no hint if the DPP, Sir Norman Skelhorn, has received the papers or whether he intends to launch prosecutions.

Meanwhile, in the United States, civil action has been taken against the fund's founder, Jerome D. Hoffman, and the British directors. A civil action is still pending in New York in which Maudling, Brentford and Joynson-Hicks are named in a \$10m fraud case.

Yesterday's rumblings in parliament may be only the start of much wider and more explosive politically explosive developments.



Rupert Davies (l) as Baker and Robert Cawdron as Chief Supt Corner in 'Hawk Street Horror' in BBC 1's 'Man Outside' series tonight

# TV

## Regional TV

**CHANNEL:** 1.45 Racing. 4.05 Happy house. 4.18 Puffin. 4.22 Jimmy Stewart. 4.50 Flintstones. 5.20 Primus. 5.50 News. 6.00 News. What's on where? 6.15 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 10.35 Film: 'The Rise and Fall of Legs Diamond'. 12.15 News, weather.

**WESTWARD.** As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.18 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 10.32 News. 12.15 Faith for life.

**SOUTHERN:** 2.30 London. 3.45 Cartoon. 3.55 Weekend. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Paulus. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Voyage. 5.50

## BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 4.15 Wimbledon.

7.25 **NEWSROOM, Weather.**  
7.55 **THE MONEY PROGRAMME.** Strike village—Clipstone (Notts) during the national coal strike.

9.00 **GARDENERS' WORLD.**  
9.25 **ONE PAIR OF EYES.** Tom Stoppard Doesn't Know.

10.10 **SPORT TWO.** Colin Welland and Ian Wooldridge presenting Match of the Day from Wimbledon; Billy Casper—golfer.

11.30 **NEWS, Weather.**  
11.35 **LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.**

News. 6.00 Day by day. Scene South East. 6.30 Who do you do? 7.00 In for a penny. 7.30 Weekend. 7.35 Sale. 8.05 FBI. 9.00 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather. Guideline.

**HTV:** 2.15 Racing. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Woobinda. 5.20 Flaxton Boys. 5.50 News. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart. 7.00 In for a penny. 7.30 Comedians. 8.00 Cade's County. 9.00 London. 10.30 Cinema. 11.00 Film: 'Diplomatic Corpse'. 12.15 Scales of Justice. 12.45 Weather.

**HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except:** 4.15 Cantamil. 6.01 Y Dydd.

**HTV West as above except:** 6.18 Report West.

10.30 Film: 'They Died with Their Boots On'. 1.00 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 1.45 Racing. 3.45 University challenge. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Happy house. 4.50 Skippy. 5.15 Funky phantom. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.30 Riptide. 7.25 In for a penny. 8.00 Protectors. 8.25 Comedians. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Passionate Summer'.

**TYNE TEES:** 1.45 Racing. 2.15 Under these roofs. 2.30 Yoga. 3.00 Racing. 3.45 Jimmy Stewart. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Partners. 7.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Bunny Lake is Missing'. 12.35 News. 12.50 Epilogue.

**BORDER:** 1.45 Racing. 3.40 Headlines. 3.45 Kate. 4.40 Happy House. 4.55 Lidsville. 5.20 Rovers. 5.50 News. 6.00 News. Lookaround. 6.25 Sports review. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 In for a penny. 8.00 Shirley's world. 8.25 Comedians. 9.00 London. 11.00 Name of the game. 12.25 News.

**SCOTTISH:** 1.45 Racing. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Animaland. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 Cartoons. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Love, American style. 7.00 In for a penny. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Saint. 8.30 Helen McArthur. 9.00 London. 10.30 In camera. 11.00 At odds. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Marcus Welby.

**GRAMPIAN:** 1.45 Racing. 3.38 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 Bush boy. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Mr and Mrs. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 UFO. 8.30 London. 10.30 Hogan's heroes. 11.00 Job look. 11.05 Film: 'The Mummy's Hand'. Road report.

## ITV

11.30 We Was All One. 12.25 Women. 12.50 Freud on Food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.30 Dan. 1.40 Bush Boy. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Racing. 3.45 Delta (New Series). 4.40 Happy House (New Series). 4.55 Land of the Giants. 5.50 News.

6.00 **MIDSUMMER MONTY.** Monty Modlyn.

6.30 **THE NEW DICK VAN DYKE SHOW.**

7.00 **THE SKY'S THE LIMIT.**

7.30 **THE FBI.** Breakthrough.

8.30 **IN FOR A PENNY.** (New Series). Comedy.

9.00 **BUDGIE.** Brief Encounter. With Adam Faith and Margaret Nolan.

10.00 **NEWS.**

10.30 **POLICE FIVE.**

10.40 **THE FRIGHTENERS.** (New Series). Ordinary people threatened by situations out of control.

11.10 **SHADOW OF THE GUILLOTINE.** A story of the French Revolution.

12.30 **CAN BUSINESS AFFORD A CONSCIENCE?**

## BBC 1

9.20 Camberwick Green. 12.55 Eu Tyb A'u Tebyg. 1.30 Fingerbobs. 1.45 News, weather. 1.53 Wimbledon. 4.50 Magic Roundabout. 4.55 Monkees. 5.20 Cabages and Kings. 5.44 Parsley. 5.50 News, weather.

6.00 **LONDON THIS WEEK.**  
6.15 **WIMBLEDON 1972.**  
7.15 **THE VIRGINIAN.** A Small Taste of Justice.

8.30 **LOOK—MIKE YARWOOD.**

9.00 **NEWS, Weather.**

9.20 **THE MAN OUTSIDE.** Hawk Street Horror.

10.10 **DAVE ALLEN AT LARGE.**

10.55 **POINTING THE WAY.** Harold Macmillan in conversation with Robert McKenzie.



# Labour co-operation means new betrayals

**NOWHERE** in the draft programme to be put before the Labour Party conference in October is there even the whiff of an answer to the burning problems facing the working class.

Published amid a fanfare of carefully-staged publicity yesterday, the programme and its so-called keynote, national co-operation, are a gigantic political fraud.

All the reader is left with after ploughing through the densely-packed type of the 16-page programme is several thousand words of double-talk and an angry headache.

With national co-operation, the programme claims, Britain under Labour in ten years could mean:

- Jobs for all;
- People before profits;
- State price fixing; and
- National building societies, motor insurance and a take-over of development land.

The programme, Labour Party chairman Anthony Wedgwood Benn claimed yesterday, was 'a germane and practicable alternative to the policies of the present government'. The Party was renewing its demand for a General Election as soon as possible.

Internal evidence in the programme (a final draft election manifesto is not envisaged until next year's Party conference), suggests that in reality an election is the last thing the Labour leaders want.

Public-relations men were busy assuring journalists yesterday that the document is very much a provisional look-ahead. 'It's an interim report and must be regarded as such,' said Party treasurer James Callaghan MP.

Even on that level, however, it can only be seen as a deliberate preparation for fresh reformist betrayals.

On the ECONOMIC CRISIS, a fine-print section buried in page three describes the Tories' decision to float the pound as

BY DAVID MAUDE

'the complete collapse of their economic policies'.

But nowhere does it warn that the float is part of and intensifies the world crisis of the whole capitalist system, or that its political implication is war on working-class jobs and living standards.

The section makes the comment that 'severe price restraint' should have accompanied devaluation—a measure which would in fact only intensify the crisis.



Anthony Wedgwood Benn: Practicable alternative

Callaghan blandly told a press conference yesterday that we had been 'importing inflation', through Eurobonds and Eurodollars. The Common Market countries had been looking at the problem too narrowly, he claimed. What was needed was an international settlement on currencies.

Strict controls on PRICES, the document says on the same page, but in even smaller print, would be supplemented with a voluntary incomes policy. All sectors of society would have to co-operate in the fight against inflation.

'Our current talks with the General Council of the TUC on industrial relations policy give us confidence,' it goes on, 'that once we have reached agreement with them in this crucial field, we shall be able to go on and

work out agreed industrial and economic policies.'

An early declaration on these talks is promised, but there were hints from Labour leader Harold Wilson yesterday that work in this particularly sensitive area may not be completed by the time of the Party conference. This may herald an attempt by the right-wing leadership to avoid even the muted clashes with the unions on this issue which have occurred for the last two years.

But the programme states, ominously: 'The extent of government intervention [on incomes] will have to depend on how successful voluntary efforts are.' The carrot may be favourite, but the whip is still there.

The Labour leaders, in fact, are proposing to subsidize out of the public purse firms they tell to keep down key prices. Wedgwood Benn yesterday tried to explain away this astonishing proposal as merely paralleling investment aid in development areas.

On the COMMON MARKET, the draft programme insists strongly on the position that the Party is only opposed to entry on the present terms.

If, on a Labour return to office, Britain was already in the Market, it argues, the government would be able to renegotiate the terms from a position of strength. New terms if obtained would go to an election or consultative referendum.

Failure to get new terms would mean that the people would be consulted on 'the advisability of negotiating our withdrawal from the Communities', the draft programme says.

**ONE IMPORTANT omission from the draft programme is . . . Ulster. Callaghan—the man who sent the first troops there—said yesterday that this was deliberate. 'I don't think we ought to try to set down the position on Northern Ireland until we get much closer to a general election', he said.**

This is obviously a long way from the specific pledge of withdrawal demanded by many unions. An October clash on this issue may be expected.

On TRADE UNION LAW, the draft programme promises repeal of the Industrial Relations Act, but also to 'do more than this'.

Part of the move is the proposed Conciliation and Arbitration Service on which substantial agreement has been reached with the TUC leaders. This, says the draft programme, would operate under rules laid down by a national council made up of employers, trade unionists and others with 'industrial relations experience'.

National co-operation here has an even more jaundiced complexion than in the section on prices.

The programme devotes a whole page to NATIONALIZATION. Looking for specific pledges there, however, is like finding the proverbial needle in a haystack.

We are told that a future Labour government would:

1. Reverse, without compensation, the denationalization process carried out by the present government;
2. Introduce 'measures of industrial democracy' in the public sector;
3. Reintroduce a ports nationalization Bill (this, it is said elsewhere, would bring all 'important' ports and port functions into public ownership);
4. Consider plans which will lead to 'an element of public ownership' in pharmaceuticals, and give a 'high priority' to public ownership and control of financial institutions;
5. Set up a State Holding Company for 'integrating firms into the public sector', with a Co-operative Development Agency to modernize and provide capital for the Co-operative movement.

'Labour's commitment to public ownership does not mean a rigid adherence to the 1940s form of nationalization,' the document says.

All in all the draft programme in fact means a rigid commitment to very little.

# Close Chrysler ballot accepts new pay offer

CHRYSLER car workers at Coventry have accepted a £3.60 a week pay increase against shop stewards' advice in a secret ballot.

The ballot—first of its kind in the Midlands motor industry—was called by the stewards after a close vote on the offer at a mass meeting last week.

Conducted by the Electoral Reform Society, it showed an 831 majority among the 4,000 workers in favour of acceptance. Voting was 2,193 for, 1,344 against.

The factory concerned was the US-owned firm's key engineering factory at Stoke, Coventry, which supplies engines and transmissions both to the Avenger assembly plant at nearby Ryton and to the Imp factory at Linwood, Scotland.

While the ballot decision covers most of the Stoke workers, talks have still to be con-

cluded with toolroom workers, electricians and sheet metal workers.

A pay-and-conditions agreement is also outstanding at Ryton. Talks began on Wednesday after a three-week deadlock over the negotiating procedure to be followed.

Also at Ryton, 250 workers who struck on Tuesday over dirty conditions caused by the dripping of vehicle underseal have returned to work.

The Stoke workers, whose top production wage will now be £44.76 for a 40-hour week on Measured-Day Work system, had originally claimed increases of up to £6 a week in line with the national engineering claim.

An original management offer of £1.60 brought a threat of strike action from the beginning of this month.

The stewards were also recommending strike action against the latest offer. Nevertheless it was they who called the secret ballot.

# Big business hopeful about the TUC

From p.1

paper went on to quote one dealer as saying that the union leaders would 'try hard to save the government's bacon on wage inflation'.

TUC general secretary Victor Feather continued to tread this same road of betrayal when he was involved in further discussions with Confederation of British Industry chiefs in an attempt to hammer out some voluntary wages and prices deal. But the biggest betrayals are being carried out by all those 'lefts' and darlings of the Stalinist Communist Party who accompanied Feather to Downing Street on Tuesday.

These 'lefts' are involved now in a conscious conspiracy with the right wing and the Tories against the working class.

This is why the Stalinist 'Morning Star' has kept its mouth tightly shut on the role of these 'lefts' in the Heath-TUC discussions. Because it, too, is also a party in the unholy alliance now lined up against the working class.

It is for this reason that the 'Morning Star' has deliberately dropped all reference to the demand for a recalled TUC.

It knows that such a conference would enormously intensify the crisis for these 'lefts' who have refused at all stages

to mobilize the strength of the working class against this hated government or to take up the widespread demand that exists inside the movement for the immediate reconvening of the TUC.

In other words, the recent Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions conference was a political fraud.

We ask every Communist Party member who wishes sincerely to fight for the removal of this government: how is a real struggle against the National Industrial Relations Court possible without a recall of the TUC which would deal with all those collaborationists on the General Council—both left and right—who refuse to fight this Act or the government which created it.

Is it not time that you repudiated the policies of your leaders like Gollan and Ramelson who have continually covered up and excused the 'lefts'?

We appeal to every worker in this time of great crisis: join the All Trades Unions Alliance lobby next Wednesday when the TUC leaders meet to decide their attitude to the Heath proposals.

Flood Congress House with resolutions which will instruct every General Council member to

- Break off all talks with Heath.
- Recall the TUC immediately.
- Force the Tory government to resign.

## JULY FUND HAS A GOOD START-KEEP IT UP!

SO FAR you have raised £263.02 which gives us a good start to our July Fund. Maintain this great record and you will certainly raise our target of £1,750 in good time.

Support for our regional YS Right-to-Work marches has proved very encouraging. In every town financial support, well attended meetings and a warm welcome have greeted the youth on these marches. The feeling to make this government resign is growing in each district.

We know that this determination lies behind your support for our paper. This is why we are confident that you will raise everything you can. However, we must not rest back in any way. Keep up this great effort. Collect more donations wherever possible. Post these immediately to:

Workers Press July Appeal Fund,  
186a Clapham High Street,  
London SW4 7UG

SCOTLAND, Wales and western England will be mostly cloudy with rain at times during the morning.

Eastern England will be bright at first, becoming cloudy by afternoon with some rain in places. Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Sunny periods and showers. Probably mainly dry in the south-east. Rather cool generally, but normal temperatures in the south-east.

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## Carr wants Poulson papers

THE GOVERNMENT has called urgently for a transcript of the bankruptcy proceedings in Wakefield which have mentioned certain moneys paid to Home Secretary Reginald Maudling.

Leader of the House, Mr Robert Carr, said:

'They will be examined with great urgency and we shall be in the appropriate way of informing the House of the action we think it right to take'.

● See full story of Maudling and his business ventures on p. 11.

## Briefly...

ITALIAN telephone workers struck 55,000 strong yesterday and chemical workers marched through Milan as 500,000 stopped work. Both stoppages were over pay and hours. Most major newspapers failed to appear because of the continuing strike by print workers and journalists.

TINPLATE strikers' leaders yesterday decided at a meeting in West Wales to continue the pay dispute which has led to the lay-off of 4,000 workers at five British Steel Corporation plants. Strike committee chairman Vernon Davies said they were 'not interested' in a BSC statement that talks could begin 'immediately following a return to work'. The committee is not expected to meet again until next Wednesday.