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It was a victory for—to use the Prime Minister's own words—'the ugly face of capitalism'.

After voting to keep Rowland as chief executive the meeting went on to purge eight directors who had led the revolt against him. Those ousted by a huge majority included Sir Basil Smallpeice, the former chairman of Cunard.

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BY ALEX MITCHELL

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Details also emerged of fat fees to directors paid into tax havens in the Cayman Islands and Jersey.

Although he has defeated Smallpeice, Rowland's problems are far from being over. It was revealed yesterday that the South African police have sent documents to the Attorney-General's Department in London about dropped fraud charges against several Lonrho directors.

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failing you by his conduct of the company's affairs—conduct which falls far short of that required for a company of Lonrho's present size of complexity.

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Sandys asked shareholders to give Smallpeice a 'fair chance'.

Another shareholder was booed to silence when he raised some political issues about the Lonrho affair.

He said: 'All my voting life I have actively supported the Conservative Party. Every vote for resolution one (in favour of Rowland) will rebound against the Party and the next election. I have peace of mind you have not.'

He shouted above the rising crescendo of noise, 'You have joined the Maxwells and the Poulsons. Now you follow the German messiah (Rowland was born in Germany) of no fixed address.'

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Lofthouse: Smell warned miners of water danger

BLAME for the Lofthouse colliery disaster moved closer to top NCB management on day two of the official inquiry at Wakefield, Yorkshire.

The court heard that officials up to the pit manager were told water was seeping on to the death face up to a week before the disaster.

They knew Division S9B was approaching old workings but decided not to halt mining operations unless production was affected.

The day before the inrush of water which trapped and killed seven miners, an abnormal smell at the coal face associated with an increase in water was so bad that men and under-officials gathered to discuss it.

Face worker Mr Walter Stubble told the inquiry there

was no smell like it in any other part of the colliery.

As it got worse speculation grew that the smell was linked to the presence of an old borehole.

Keith Stone (26), who ran out of S9B only yards ahead of a killer wall of black water and slurry, said that the entire previous shift had complained about the smell and about growing dampness.

Earlier, pit under-manager Mr John Oliver (47), disclosed that he had inspected the coal face three times before the disaster, but decided against halting work because production was unaffected.

Senior overman Mr Gerald McWalters confirmed that the face had been inspected, but only to ensure that production

FROM IAN YEATS
IN WAKEFIELD

would not be affected and not from the point of view of safety or determining the source of the seepage.

He said: 'I thought the majority of the water was coming from chocks and the cutting machine. I saw no reason to conduct an investigation for safety.'

'It crossed my mind that the water could be connected with the old shafts which were marked on our working plans as being 50 yards away.'

'But I had no reason to be apprehensive because of the cover given by the plan.'

'I always had it in mind that we wouldn't be allowed to work there if there were workings at our level.'

Mr Oliver confirmed he knew of old workings in seams above and below the face where the seven men died.

But he denied knowledge of workings or shafts in the same seam.

Plans, including the old workings, are certain to become the subject of fierce controversy later in the inquiry.

Already serious discrepancies have arisen over the exact location of the workings. One chart shows them 35 yards away from the face of S9B while Mr McWalters put them at 50 yards.

But Mr Oliver claimed he was told by the pit surveyor Mr Peter Wood that there were 100-120 yards to go before a stop mark would be reached.

The inquiry heard that Mr Wood sent pit manager Mr Tom

Mapplebeck a warning that the S9B face was approaching a 'cautionary area'.

In a critical statement, Keith Stone, who was at the face minutes before the water broke in, said an unusual smell like rotten eggs was coming out of the coal as the machine.

Minutes before the tragedy Mr Stone said the smell intensified and fellow worker Mr Walter Stubble said he turned round and saw water coming out of the face 'full bore' (the width of the seam).

He said: 'I was in the packing hole. I heard a heavy rumbling and then a queer noise like an explosion. The water picked me up and flung me onto the stage loader. A deputy picked me up. He said run . . . and I did.'

The inquiry continues.

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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WHAT WE THINK

Labour and nationalization

NATIONALIZATION in any shape or form is completely off the agenda as far as the leaders of the Labour Party are concerned.

Harold Wilson made this clear yesterday in a public statement issued to disown Wednesday's NEC decision to form a state holding company which could 'buy into' private firms.

Wilson's intervention at the NEC meeting had secured the dropping of earlier proposals to renationalize without compensation sections of nationalized industries 'hived off' by the Tories.

And now Wilson has declared that the Labour Shadow Cabinet 'would not hesitate to veto left-wing plans on nationalization'.

He assured the capitalist class that both on renationalization without compensation and on state intervention in private companies, 'it was inconceivable that the Party or its leader would go into a General Election on this proposal'.

So much for the claims of every national newspaper yesterday that the Labour leaders had decided to nationalize 25 leading manufacturing companies! (Lining up with all the others was the Communist Party's 'Morning Star' which proclaimed: 'Labour Sketches Out the Face of Public Ownership'.)

Right from the start the real decision was not to nationalize industries at all, but to set up a state holding company—the National Enterprise Board—which would be empowered to buy into, in varying degrees, a limited number of private companies.

Although the number 25 had been bandied about, in reality not a single firm has been named.

And even that weak decision was taken by seven votes to six, although there are 29 NEC members.

Sixteen of Labour's leading elected body either did not bother to attend, abstained on the issue or wandered out of the meeting before the vote was taken.

The most prominent advocate of this substitute for nationalization—Mrs Judith Hart, leader of the so-called 'Public Enterprise Group'—said in a radio broadcast yesterday that what was proposed was 'not nationalization, but state control'.

She also declared that 'fair' compensation would be paid and that it was impossible to name any firms now because they 'might become more effective in the next two years' and therefore wouldn't need to be taken over.

All that was being proposed, Mrs Hart explained, was that 'by moving into' leading firms a Labour government would have 'a way of influencing more effectively' what happened in the economy.

Wilson placidly abstained in the vote secure in the knowledge that nobody need take any notice of it and, moreover, that the right wing had the co-operation of the old guard 'lefts'—Michael Foot and Ian Mikardo.

Both have argued in joint NEC-Shadow Cabinet meetings against any extension of nationalization, and on Wednesday Foot lined up with right-wingers Denis Healey, James Callaghan, Shirley

Williams, Walter Padley and Sidney Weighell to vote against Judith Hart's proposals.

And Foot dutifully trotted out the hoary old right-wing line that mention of nationalizing specific companies 'would be a weapon for the Tories'.

Mikardo did not even attend the meeting.

It is quite clear that, despite all the Press hysteria worked up to alarm the middle-class, the Labour leaders have no intention whatever of touching any part of the profits, property and power of capitalism.

Wilson has now taken up the fight begun by his predecessor—the right winger Hugh Gaitskell—to drop nationalization from the Labour Party's programme entirely.

The fight for socialist policies is now clearly inseparable from a fight against not only the openly pro-Tory Jenkins wing, but also against Wilson and those on the so-called 'left' who cover up for him.

This underlines once more the need to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party which will fight to mobilize the working class to return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

These would include specific pledges of nationalization without compensation and under workers' control.

A fight around such a programme would create the conditions for driving out the right wing and exposing the real nature of social democracy once and for all.

West Germans up bank rate to 7p.c.

THE WEST GERMAN government is moving towards more stringent measures to create a recession as the only cure for inflation. On Wednesday the Bundesbank put up its discount rate by 1 per cent to 7 per cent and cut off loans to the commercial banks. Its president, Dr Carl Klasen, said: 'We are prepared to go to the limit in our restrictionist policy to combat inflation.'

Inflation in Germany has been accelerating in recent weeks. The Brandt government, re-elected with workers' support, has so far avoided making use of a statutory wages policy. Millions of workers have just received increases of at least 10 per cent.

The new move is aimed at depriving business of the cash to meet wage demands and thus throw it into a fight with the unions. It could have the effect of further encouraging the influx of foreign funds into Germany, which would force a further mark revaluation to the detriment of German exports.

Tanks in battle

TANKS were in action for the first time since the start of the Vietnamese ceasefire when National Liberation Front forces fought Saigon troops on the outskirts of Hué.

The International Control Commission set up under the ceasefire agreement has suspended all plenary meetings of delegation chiefs owing to a deadlock over the forwarding of reports. The Hungarians and Poles have refused to forward reports of interviews with North Vietnamese soldiers alleged to have entered the South after the ceasefire. Canada has already announced that it will withdraw from the Commission at the end of the month and a replacement is being sought.

Nixon's Praetorians

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

WITH HIS back to the wall, President Nixon is seeking military backing for his planned presidential dictatorship.

All the revelations in the Watergate affair show that Nixon was attempting to consolidate virtual White House rule in defiance of the American constitution.

His emotional appeal to returned Vietnam prisoners of war showed a continuing sinister trend towards the establishment of a praetorian guard of the most reactionary officers in the armed forces, backed by the Pentagon itself.

The presidential crisis has reached such depths that powerful sections of the American ruling class are now looking to army support to stop the rot. They are alarmed by the dizzy rise in the price of gold and the prospect of a panic wave of selling which could bring about a Wall Street crash.

Firm signs of a clean-up under the direction of Nixon's new chief of staff, General Alexander Haig, would, they hope, stop the rot and rally the support of 'middle America' which is confused and shocked by the Watergate affair.

The appearance of a military man in this office is a sign of the times.

Senator William Proxmire has called upon Haig either to resign from the army or to give up his White House job. The leading Democrat said: 'Two hundred years of military tradition and good sense have been violated by General Haig's acceptance of a political post in the White House. It compromises the military and it compromises the political process.'

The fears of Nixon's political opponents are perfectly justified and indicate the existence of deep divisions in the US ruling class over the rule of the military establishment centred on the Pentagon.

Nixon is spending much time discussing strategy with his close advisers and men from the army and the security agencies. A way is being sought to stifle as much as possible about the burglaries and bug-

He seeks military backing for presidential dictatorship

ging operations—including Watergate—on grounds of national security.

At the same time, the revelations so far show that enormous powers were being concentrated in the hands of secret intelligence agencies under the control of a 'Special Investigations Unit' set up by Nixon in the White House.

This was aimed to suppress political opposition and make the President a virtual dictator, using secret information culled from all quarters.

A fantastic network of agents were planted in the left-radical and student movements.

It is now openly suggested that the shootings at Kent State University in 1970, when four students died, started when an FBI agent planted among the students opened fire and had been planned in advance.

Nixon's Attorney-General, John Mitchell, now indicted for his part in Watergate, refused to convene a Grand Jury to

inquire into the killings.

A similar cover-up has been tried over Watergate, but with little success.

One of the aides Nixon threw to the wolves, John Ehrlichman, has told a Senate sub-committee that on Nixon's instructions the Central Intelligence Agency was asked to get the Federal Bureau of Investigation to call off its Watergate probe on grounds of national security.

Money found on the five Watergate burglars was found to have come through a Mexican bank from the Republican campaign funds. Ehrlichman was told to explain that investigations might reveal the extent of CIA involvement in Mexico.

Ehrlichman, however, has denied that he asked the CIA to provide technical assistance in 1971 for E. Howard Hunt, one of the convicted Watergate conspirators, despite an allegation to that effect by General Robert Cushman who was its deputy director at the time.



Nixon (right) seen with General William Haig after a recent visit to Vietnam. Behind them are Dr Henry Kissinger (l) and Melvyn Laird.

Arms annoy Israelis

ISRAELI Foreign Minister Abba Eban has denounced the United States for supplying Phantom jets and other sophisticated arms to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

He told an economic conference in Jerusalem that Israel was particularly concerned about safeguarding its outlet to the Red Sea through the port of Eilat.

'Israel will protect this outlet at any price', he said.

The question of the arms deliveries is being taken up in Washington, but an official stated that Israel might be compelled to re-appraise its peace boundaries in the light of the arms deliveries.

Anti-monopoly strike in Italian media

JOURNALISTS, printers, radio and television workers will strike next Tuesday in Italy against the monopolization of the information media.

The National Federation of Newspaper Workers claims that the strike measures are to draw attention to 'the grave crisis affecting the information services in Italy.'

'This crisis has recently become more serious with the change of the ownership of several newspapers: the "Corriere della Sera", "Messaggero", and "Secolo XIX".'

'Radio, television and Press unions have declared a day of protest against the attacks on freedom of the Press, and for a democratic reform of the media and radio and television.'

Last week a mass meeting of journalists working for 'Corriere della Sera' unanimously approved

a statement condemning the monopolization of the ownership and control of the communication media.

Edilio Rusconi, extreme right-wing newspaper proprietor, has acquired 50 per cent of the 'Messaggero' and 'Secolo XIX' shares. Fiat bought a large section of shares in 'Corriere'.

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Lambton-Jellicoe affair

It didn't really happen

Q. What happened to the Lambton-Jellicoe affair?

A. Nothing, it's still with us.

Q. Well why isn't it in the papers and on television?

A. Because there's been a great cover-up.

Q. But Mr Heath said he would bring out all the facts—he wouldn't hide anything.

A. Yes, he also said he would build good relations with the unions, reduce prices 'at a stroke' and give everyone the chance to live in comfortable housing.

Q. What will happen to Lord, I mean, Mr Lambton and Earl Jellicoe?

A. They will write articles for important newspapers like 'The Times' and the 'Daily Express' and will shortly be elevated to sainthood. They will become symbols of decency and integrity.

Q. But I thought they did something wrong?

A. They may have. But this is completely subordinate to the fact that, like thoroughly decent chaps, they owned up. They owned up after they were caught, of course, but they owned up. This makes them splendid fellows and much to be admired.

Q. What about the third man?

A. He is still in Heath's Cabinet.

Q. Why didn't he have to resign too?

A. Because he wouldn't.

Q. Why didn't Heath make him leave like the others?

A. Because he couldn't.

Q. If Heath is worried about national security, why has he left the third man in his Cabinet?

A. Search me.

Q. Are there any more people in this scandal still to be investigated?

A. Yes, Mr and Mrs Levy. In his statement last Monday Heath said the police wanted to see them 'in connection with criminal offences'.

Q. Where are they?

A. They're with two reporters

from the 'Sunday People' in Morocco.

Q. What is the 'People' doing with two fugitives from the law?

A. Search me. Read the 'People' on Sunday.

Q. You mean the capitalist Press is consorting with people wanted for questioning about 'criminal offences'?

A. It looks that way.

Q. Isn't Heath worried that Mr and Mrs Levy will give the name of the third man to the 'People' and they'll publish it on Sunday?

A. The 'People' is owned by International Publishing Corporation whose chairman is Sir Don Ryder. The editorial director is Sir Hugh Cudlipp. I don't think there's much chance of the name getting out.



Q. What about the German connection? There's been a court case, hasn't there?

A. Yes, Hans-Ulrich Althoff has been giving a year's jail for pimping.

Q. Did anything come out about his involvement with the London end of the scandal?

A. No, the state prosecutor specifically said that what went on in London 'wasn't the concern of this court'. Evidence of conversations with London clients 'had been deliberately left out'.

Q. You mean this could be another cover-up?

A. Heath saw Brandt on Tuesday for a private lunch.

Q. Then this could have been cooked up?

A. What a shocking, outrageous allegation! Of course, it is true that the trip was marred by Heath's urgent phone call to No 10 Downing Street to clear the third man.

Q. But how can they jail a man in Munich yet not do any-

thing about his connections in London?

A. They can do it all right, they can do it.

Q. But won't Lord Diplock and his Security Commission bring all this out into the open?

A. No. It's a secret committee meeting behind closed doors.

Q. Why don't they put it on television like the Watergate inquiry?

A. Because it's a secret.

Q. But everyone around Fleet Street and Whitehall knows who the third man is anyway and everything that's been going on.

A. Yes, I know, but it's best to be secret about what's public knowledge.

Q. I don't understand...

A. Neither do I. Shut up and go to bed. Before you do, close the wardrobe doors. There may be a 'News of the World' photographer in there.

Clyde conference planned on yards' future

SHIPBUILDING unions and shop stewards on Clydeside are to organize a conference on the future of their industry which, according to experts, faces massive redundancies and big productivity increases.

Those invited include the Powellite Tory MP Teddy Taylor, member from Glasgow Cathcart. Unions say they have invited him to show the conference will 'not just be about nationalization'.

The summit, which will take place this summer, involves stewards and union officials representing workers at the yards on the upper and lower reaches of the river.

The Labour Party view will be presented by Anthony Wedgwood Benn who, as a Minister in Wilson's government doggedly resisted all calls to nationalize the ailing industry.

The main talking point will be the Booz-Allen and Hamilton report—the employers' charter, prepared by top consultants who aimed to make British industry competitive.

They recommended the sacking of between 14,000 workers in the industry within four years or 25,000 redundancies within ten years.

This rationalization would run parallel with the closure of up to three firms and a 50 per cent increase in every worker's product-

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

ivity. Booz-Allen said that if Britain was to compete with Japan, the speed-up would have to reach 100 per cent.

The axe is likely to fall hardest in the areas of highest unemployment, like the Clyde, and the Tyne in the north-east.

Already management at Govan Shipbuilders, now the only merchant shipbuilding operation on the upper reaches, says productivity must be increased by 120 per cent.

Many shipyard workers on the river are extremely worried over their future. So far unions have forced the pace in productivity which has increased despite a ban on wage and bonus increases under the government's pay laws.

At the Scotstoun division of Govan Shipbuilders, the boilermakers, led by Sammy Barr—the Communist Party leader of work-in fame—have agreed to allow men to time other workers in preparation for a deal which will boost output.

The main target of abuse and criticism has been the boilermakers who have resisted attempts by employers to break down their wage rates and conditions built up over decades of struggle.

The latest to suffer are the Marathon boilermakers at Clydebank who have agreed to accept men from other trades into their ranks after retraining.

Even then a secret ballot revealed a tiny 31 majority



in favour out of 800 votes cast. Some boilermakers walked out of the meeting in disgust before the poll.

Management at Marathon see this victory as a first step in breaking down all demarcation in the yards.

They want an entirely mobile, super-productive pool of 'steel workers' to build oil-rigs.

All these issues will come up at the summer meeting organized by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

Anthony Wedgwood Benn seen with Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' convenor and Communist Party member Jimmy Reid at the Labour Party conference last year.

Narrow vote halts tractor pay strike

MASSEY FERGUSON tractor workers in Coventry have deferred a strike decision until June 7.

The 4,700 workers object to attempts by the management to link payment of the state pay limit of £1 plus 4 per cent to the introduction of a new wages structure in place of piecework.

With only hours to go before the strike was due to begin, T. Jayne, Director of Personnel, told local AUEW officials the company wished to enter 'meaningful discussions' on the £2.50 across-the-board wage claim.

A meeting of the National Joint Negotiating Council has been convened for next Thursday, June 7.

At the mass meeting on Wednesday afternoon to discuss the position, many workers demanded that the strike should go ahead.

But J. Dunne, T&GWU convenor, said the strike should be called off to allow the discussion to proceed.

By a narrow vote the strike was called off. Most workers are prepared to permit discussions on the pay claim but many fear strings—Measured-Day Work—will be linked to the pay offer.

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TRANSFORMING THE SOC INTO A REVOLUTIONARY

'My illusions about the Labour Party bringing socialism were shattered'

Mr Singh (28), is a teacher and a member of the National Union of Teachers. He said:
 I was born in India during the years of independence and I was intensely patriotic. But as I grew up I found that Gandhi and Nehru or God even, whom I believed in, didn't help me.

I wanted education, but I couldn't get it because my dad couldn't afford it.

I had a religious upbringing. I used to believe that God was responsible for everything that happened and that there was no point complaining about it.

In my own case I have suffered poverty. My dad was a policeman. At least he had a monthly salary coming in, but it was too little to support a family—especially to send a kid to school.

I used to have to go to schools where my dad went to the headmaster and pleaded with him to give me a free seat.

The headmaster being a middle-class liberal bloke would say: 'All right, we'll do it'. But the school would be owned by a private individual and he wouldn't have it.

I was at most of my schools without my name on the register.

These experiences and all the poor people I could see around living and dying in suffering made me into a liberal or a social democrat.

The Nehru government had plenty of slogans. I used to go on demonstrations shouting 'Long live Gandhi!' and 'Long live Nehru!' But when I went to school I was a second-class kid.

I wasn't on the register and I couldn't get any of the pocket money the rich kids got.

I remember once, particularly when the school was going on a picnic. All the kids had to pay two rupees, but I couldn't afford it and my dad couldn't afford it. I wanted to go and the teacher, being a nice person, said 'All right you can come', but I felt it all the time I was there. I was treated as a person who had not paid.

Gandhi and Nehru only talked about socialism. They never did anything about it. They didn't mean it. This led me to start looking around for something else.

I could see there was no medicine for the sick, no proper jobs, nobody worrying about those who were starving to death.

One summer I discovered that my dad's best friend who was very nice to me killed himself. He jumped into a well.

I asked people why he killed himself and they said he was in debt. So much in debt that he couldn't bear it any more and he killed himself.

These experiences made me think more and more about Nehru and Gandhi's socialism and about the idea of God as well. I thought 'Well, if there is a God, he would have stopped that bloke jumping in the well'.



Nehru represented the liberal people of India who talked about doing good to the ordinary people and who talked about socialism, but they had no clue.

Socialism in India required a revolutionary party, a party of the peasants and the workers.

No other party could bring socialism to India. The other parties were based on the so-called intellectuals and liberals and people who were supported by big business.

Gandhi used to worship at Birla temples and Birla is one of the biggest capitalists in India. He owns probably 80 per cent of the wealth in India.

The Gandhi-Nehru clique represented this sort of big business. That's where they went wrong. They represented the Indian bourgeoisie.

I always wanted to get away from India with all the misery and poverty and I thought I would probably be better off in England. That's why I came here.

When I came, I was a liberal and full of hope. I didn't support Nehru and social democracy, but still I thought that democracy could work in England.

I have worked in all sorts of jobs here. I have done



'Nehru (above) talked about doing good but had no clue.' Top: Police disperse anti-British demonstrators in the years just prior to Indian independence.

sweeping, catering work, I have done night-shift for day after day and week after week.

With all these experiences it came out that the idea I had about democracy in England was wrong. It was a painful experience for me.

Then I thought the Labour Party would represent the right sort of democracy.

I supported the Labour Party. I thought they were the

party of the working man, but events, one after the other, disillusioned me.

In 1966 when the Labour government came for the second time they put up prescription charges, even though they had said they wouldn't.

Then they brought in 'In Place of Strife' against the trade unions and now the Tories have used the same paper to put their Industrial Relations Act into practice.

More recently there have been the betrayals of Jenkins and his group over the Common Market. The Tories could have been chucked out.

Jenkins and his group kept the Tories in power, but all Wilson was interested in was keeping the party together.

These events shattered completely any illusions I had about the Labour Party bringing socialism because I could see they were only interested in keeping the capitalist system going.

I was influenced by the Communist Party because I thought they would be for poor people everywhere.

For a long time I was very interested in the Soviet Union and its achievements and the October Revolution.

The Communist Party has

given up any desire to overthrow capitalism. The people in the party don't have the interests of the working class at heart. They are not prepared to take up a struggle on behalf of the working class.

It goes back to the development of communist parties all over the world in the last 20 years or so. All the parties guided by the Soviet Union want peaceful co-existence with the capitalist system.

They don't want to overthrow capitalism. They just want to reform it somehow and that, I think, is the reason for the betrayals.

It was the rise of Stalin in the Soviet Union which set the whole thing going. I saw it in the CP of India and now I can see it in Britain. They have no role to play at all in overthrowing the capitalist system.

Then I studied the Chinese Revolution. When I came to this country ten years ago, I was anti-Chinese because of the war between China and India in 1962.

Later on, when I compared India with China, I could see China was definitely better than India.

Now I can see that Maoism is essentially a Stalinist ten-

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE TORY PARTY

gency. Mao never broke with Stalin.

The Socialist Labour League is the only party which fights for a principled leadership. The political correctness of the League impressed me.

The League is not interested in slogans, but purposes. They are putting the real question—the question of power; to take the working class to power by overthrowing the capitalist system. They do not simply talk about socialism or call for more and more protests. I have heard this all my life.

That is the essential difference between the League and all other tendencies on the left in Britain, including the International Socialists.

I have been in contact with the IS in the NUT. They are, once again, the protesters.

At our last branch meeting they had a motion down about South Africa. These people think that by withdrawing your money from Barclays you can get rid of South Africa.

But the real question is capitalism. Capitalism is responsible for South Africa, not my investment or my account at Barclays.

The coming to power of the Tory Party and one after another the betrayal of the labour leaders made me think that the building of a socialist party was very urgent.

The Tories have brought out legislation against the working class and prices have gone up. Now they are forcing the trade union leaders to play a part in controlling the working class and the leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party are helping them all they can.

On the question of Phase Two, instead of taking up a fight against the government, they have accepted it and now they are talking to them about Phase Three.

The whole capitalist class the world over is passing through one crisis after another.

At the moment there is no monetary system in the capitalist world. All the arrangements they have tried to make have broken down, beginning with Nixon's scrapping the dollar's convertibility into gold in 1971.

The crisis is growing sharper every day. One of the reasons is that the struggle of the working class over the years has meant that they are not able to exploit the working class as much as they used to. It has weakened them.

The fight for more wages and the fight for better conditions has forced the employing class into a position where their economic system is less and less profitable.

I think this has a lot to do with the crisis, but I have read the economic document and I don't yet understand fully the economic arguments in it.

In the world generally the trade war between Britain, the United States, Japan and West Germany is getting faster. These big monopoly capitalist countries are competing for the same markets and as a result the trade war is developing more and more.

As the monopolies fight for bigger profits the only thing they can do is drive down the working class: get them to work harder and longer hours for less money. That's the only way they can put value back into the world's currencies.

There is clearly a need for the revolutionary party now because the Tories will be forced to be harder and harder on the working class. They cannot give any concessions to the working class.

There will be more and more repression and taking away the rights of the working class. In this struggle the Tories will use the Labour and trade union leaders.

That is why it is most urgent now that the Socialist Labour League transforms itself into a revolutionary party to provide the leadership to the working class.

It must be a leadership which will fight on behalf of the working class in the face of the betrayals by the present leaders of the class.

It is very important to make workers aware of the philosophical method which differentiates the Socialist Labour League from any other tendency on the left.

Only then can workers see that there is a clear alternative. There is so much left talk that at the moment workers don't see any difference between Labour and the CP, or anyone else.

It isn't possible to understand what is happening to us—to the whole working class—without understanding Marxism. The objective conditions which surround us can't be explained away as a temporary phenomenon or like something else that has happened in the past.

Marxism is the only way to explain the steps the Tories are taking against the working class. Capitalism is trying to survive, but the only way it can is by taking away the rights of the working class and suppressing them.

I think there will be difficulties in building the party, but there is class consciousness already among the working class. Their vote for the Labour Party is a class vote. But to explain the Marxist basis of the party will be difficult.

I believe it can be explained because in the coming period



'Mao (above) never broke from Stalin. Now I can see that Maoism is essentially a Stalinist tendency'. Top right: Teachers on a demonstration in London during the recent strikes over their pay claim and the London allowance which the Tories are trying to take away.

the experiences of many people will make them see that the League has an explanation for what is happening and that it is the right one.

We have all been trained as individuals, but I think individuals will begin to see that

the end of the road has come for them as individuals and that the only way they can fight this tyranny of the capitalist system and overthrow it is by joining the party and fighting for the philosophy and analysis of Marxism.

I have only just joined the League but I can see a lot of difficulty for myself. I can understand the analysis of the party, but I can see a difficulty in carrying it into practice. At the same time I can see a clear need for me to overcome this difficulty in the light of the deepening crisis.

I can't do anything on my own except capitulate more and more to what the Tories want to do.

The clear question is either I work and contribute and be part of the party which is preparing to take the working class to power, or be left alone to do my own thing.

I agree in principle with democratic centralism, but I find that when it comes to practice my upbringing as an individual comes into conflict with it.

People like me will have to overcome this conflict.

Democratic centralism is one of the best structures because it gives room for factions while the majority decisions have got to be carried out and people have to stick to them. The minorities have the right to fight for their views.

The conflict really arises for me personally in this way.

Politically I completely agree with the party.

In my life and I imagine in the lives of many other working men, you want to stick to the little bit of freedom you have, the job, the house, the family you have got.

If the party knocks at the door and says this has got to be done, I might say I've got to see a friend or family and that's where the conflict arises.

Politically I see that there is a clear need for me to go and work for the party, but at the same time the little life that I've got, friends and family, that also is important for me.

I think the problem can be resolved because it is only a question of seeing that my future and that of my family is with the party and that therefore the work for the party is important.

At the same time the party will have to be considerate to people and be understanding and wanting to know about people's difficulties and their desires.

The two documents under discussion are available from Socialist Labour League, 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG. Price 5p each.



ON THE SEVENTH DAY

ISRAEL/PALESTINE
An occasional series

by Charles Parkins

The Six-Day War of 1967 once more brought terror and destruction to the Palestinian Arabs, as Israeli forces, seizing fresh Arab territory, were once again used to pursue a policy based on denying the Palestinians all rights to the land of Palestine.

Villages were destroyed, land seized, people again driven out as refugees from their homes.

Amos Keinan, an Israeli writer serving in the forces, protested to Israeli politicians over some of the things he had seen, and his letter was later published abroad.

The unit commander told us that it had been decided to blow up three villages in our sector; they were Beit Nuba, Amaos and Yalu.

We were told to search the houses of the village, to take prisoners any armed men. Unarmed people were to be allowed to pack up their be-

longings and to be told to go to the nearby village of Beit Sura. We were ordered to block the entrances of the village and prevent inhabitants from returning . . . the order was to shoot over their heads.

Beit Nuba is built of fine quarry stones; some of the houses are magnificent. Every house is surrounded by an orchard, olive trees . . . they are well kept.

At noon the first bulldozer arrived and pulled down the first house at the edge of the village. Within ten minutes the house was turned to rubble, including its contents . . . after the destruction of three houses the first refugee column arrived from the direction of Ramallah. There were old people who could hardly walk, murmuring old women, mothers carrying babies, small children. These children wept and asked for water. They carried white flags.

We told them to go to Beit Sura. They told us that they were driven out everywhere, forbidden to enter any village, that they were wandering about like this for four days, without food, without water, some dying on the road. They asked to return to the village

and said we had better kill them.

. . . We drove them out. They go on wandering in the south, like lost cattle. The weak die. In the evening we found that we have been taken in, for in Beit Sura, bulldozers had begun to destroy the place, and they were not allowed to enter.

'We found that we had been taken in.' That is the way a number of Israelis—perhaps as yet small, but nevertheless increasing—have begun to feel, in the last few years, not only about particular incidents, such as described above by Amos Keinan, but about the whole Six-Day War, and the policies of which it formed part.

The Israeli leaders told their people that they must go to war to defend themselves against invasion and, probably, extinction, by the neighbouring Arab states. Moshe Dayan said: 'We have no invasion aims. Our only target is to foil the Arab armies' aim of invading our country.' On the eve of war, he declared: 'Soldiers of Israel, we have no aims of territorial conquest.'

Of course, it must be said, that the Israeli plans were aided by the sabre-rattling

bombast of the Bonapartist Nasser, and the bloodthirsty demagoguery of reactionary Arab leaders like Ahmed Shukairi, who spoke of a war of extinction. But Israeli commanders have admitted since the war that all the evidence showed that the Egyptian forces in Sinai had not been prepared for an offensive.

The Israeli leaders claimed that the war, and the occupation of Arab territories which has followed it, would bring new security and the prospect of peace for the Israeli people. But far more Israelis have been killed in action maintaining the occupation than were killed in the actual war itself. Every week brings fresh incidents, clashes, ambushes, roads mined, acts of sabotage, bomb explosions, as the Palestinian youth, both young men and girls, take up the fight against the oppressor.

For young Israelis, the loss of lives, and the need to be in a permanent state of tension and militarization, goes with the demoralizing effect of having to serve in an army of occupation, repressing a subject population.

As regards territorial conquest, both statements and

actions by Israeli leaders and forces have belied any claims to have no expansionist aims. On the day that Israeli forces went into action in 1967, Levi Eshkol declared: 'We do not demand anything except to live in tranquillity in our present territory.'

After the war, however, Eshkol stated: 'A new political reality in the Mid-East has been created. Israel intends to keep the former Jordan part of Jerusalem and the Gaza strip. Israel without Jerusalem is Israel without a head . . .'

Explaining that he was 'not an annexationist', Moshe Dayan told a Kol Yisrael radio programme on March 9, 1969:

'I am not in favour of annexation now, and certainly not in favour of total annexation.'

'But there is a difference between annexation—meaning a Knesset resolution that Israeli sovereignty shall be extended to all areas which we today call "the occupied areas"—and linking the inhabitants of these areas to Israel through economic ties, and the creation of physical facts in the areas, such as new settlements and the like.

'These latter things can be done without extending Israeli sovereignty legally to those areas.'

As to what 'facts' should be created, Dayan explained: 'The decision must be based on a certain view of what the future





situation, the final settlement we desire, shall be . . . Indeed, the facts constitute a basis for the settlement which we desire and which we could more easily attain by creating the facts . . .

'I do not want to draw a map, I merely want to say that anyone who thinks that the map of the new borders should include a certain area must also support the creation of Israeli settlements in that area. Anyone who thinks that no settlements should be established anywhere makes a withdrawal from all the areas easier.'

Recently, there was a well-publicised row between Dayan and other Israeli political leaders over the issue of acquisition of land for Zionist settlement in the occupied territories. Some reports—perhaps deliberately—tried to convey the impression that the issue was one of principle, with Dayan alone for taking over the land. This was not so.

The difference was that Dayan had come out for the right of private interests and individuals to buy up land wherever they wished.

(This laissez-faire policy, as well as their chauvinism, may help to explain why Zionist leaders in Britain tended to side with Dayan in this row.)

The Israeli government, however, was mainly in favour of a planned policy of acquisition, so that colonization would be

Israeli troops during the Six-Day war of 1967, fighting to capture the city of Jerusalem. The Israeli leaders surround the war with a cloak of mysticism, with the myth of 'lands crying out and places calling out for liberation.'

carried out selectively, at strategic points.

This 'creation of facts' has been proceeding for a few years now. In June last year, it was reported that 600 dunams of land in the Jericho area had been confiscated by the occupation authorities and fenced off with barbed wire.

In the same month, the Israeli forces radio announced that the Nahal Sinai outpost was to be made into a settlement. On July 3, a new settlement, Ba'q'on was reported established in the occupied Jordan valley.

On August 1, Israeli Minister without Portfolio Israel Galili announced that 15 Jewish settlements had been set up in the Golan Heights since the 1967 war, and declared: 'Settlement of the Golan Heights will continue.'

Later in the month, Israeli radio reported that the groundwork was being completed for a new village in the Golan, about two kilometres south of Ramat Magshimim, and also that the 54th Nahal outpost in the Jordan valley, named Gitit, had been established.

On October 11, the 'Financial Times' reported from Jerusalem that Jewish com-

panies had set up 145 new industrial plants in the territories occupied since the June war. The 'Daily Telegraph' reported that the Israeli government was offering low interest loans, grants, financial aid for building and working capital up to 50 per cent, to encourage businessmen to set up in the occupied territories.

On February 3 this year, Israeli radio announced that 42 new settlements had been established in the occupied territories since the June 1967 war and also that plans had been drawn up for the port at Sharm El Sheikh, at the southern tip of Sinai. These would include a number of military camps, a naval harbour, a domestic airport, an industrial zone and a power station.

There is another side to this 'creation of facts', of course. In 1968, Israeli forces took over half the land of the Arab village of Akrahbeh, south-west of Nablus. In 1971, the confiscated area was extended to take in a further 1,250 acres of best arable land.

The people complained to the Israeli government that this was the main acreage from which they derived a living, and they organized a delegation to the military governor of the area. They were given permission to pasture animals on the land, but only to enter it by day, and then they must carry an army permit.

In December 1971, seeing their land lying fallow, the villagers decided to sow it. By the beginning of March, the wheat could be seen coming up. So that month, Israeli army vehicles were sent out to flatten it. Then, in the middle of April, an army plane went over and sprayed the crop with chemicals to destroy it. On July 8, 1972, after questions had been asked in the Knesset, it was officially admitted that this had been carried out on orders from the military government of the occupied West Bank.

On November 25, 80 Israeli demonstrators who protested at the treatment of the Akrahbeh villagers and the establishment of a Nahal settlement on the confiscated land, were arrested. On March 11, five of them, members of the left-wing Siach group, received sentences of six-months for 'incitement' from a military court.

Also last year, the Israeli commander of the Southern Front, General Arik Sharon, decided to implement army contingency plans for deportation of the Bedouin from the area of the southern Gaza strip and the adjoining parts of Sinai.

The plans called for the removal of the tribes, the blocking of water-holes and wells, and the fencing off of pasture. Eight different areas were fenced off and from one of these alone, Pithat Rafeah, 4,800 Bedouin were evicted.

Sharon also ordered the bulldozing of houses in Gaza refugee camps to clear a path for so-called 'strategic roads' to be patrolled by Israeli soldiers; the hunting down of Palestinian resistance men in the camps, who are either sentenced to life imprisonment or shot, and the deportation of wanted men's families to special camps, so that they cannot give food or refuge to the resisters.

Military censorship was used to try and keep the Israeli public 'in the dark' about what was going on in the Gaza area. The news eventually got through when the Israel Labour Party's weekly review 'Ot' carried an article—using paraphrase to dodge censorship—revealing details of the Pithat Rafeah action, and criticizing it.

Defence Minister Moshe Dayan threatened to have the editor, David Shaham, sacked from his job and even to have the Labour Party close down the paper!

It can be seen that the re-

pressive methods and apparatus used in the occupied territories threaten to reach back also into Israeli political life itself.

In fact, the increasing number of arrests, both of Arab and Jewish opponents of the government, inside Israel itself; the use of Shin Bet infiltration and of police torture against them; and the use by Israeli leaders of terms like 'saboteurs' and 'Fatah' against Israeli workers striking to defend their living standards, show that this is happening.

Already the British Mandate Emergency Laws, which the Israeli government has maintained on its own statute books, have been used first to jail Arab socialists (in 1968) and then to end a strike by Israeli postal workers (in 1969).

The continuation of the repressive policies in the occupied territories means danger for the democratic rights of the Israeli working class.

In the ideological field as well, the aftermath of the 1967 war has been an upsurge of reaction. This is no small matter in a state where clericalism and chauvinist ideology have always enjoyed a privileged position.

Although the Ultra-Orthodox religious fringe has never recognized secular Zionism or gone along with the state, and many Israelis, for that matter, are non-religious, the Zionist movement, with its use of traditions such as the 'Chosen People', the 'Promised Land' and the very idea of 'Return to Zion', has interwoven some of the most backward aspects of Judaism with modern chauvinist attitudes to produce a highly reactionary mixture.

Furthermore, not only have the religious parties been able to exercise an influence in Israeli politics and legislation out of all proportion to their electoral support—in 1966, for instance the National Religious Party was able to secure a ban on Sabbath working in agricultural settlements—but also, the clergy has been given legal power in such matters as marital law.

In 1964, Mrs Rina Eitani, a well-known figure in the Israeli Labour Party, who had escaped from the Warsaw Ghetto, and served in the Israeli forces in 1948, was told that she would have to give up her Israeli citizenship, because it had been discovered that her mother was a Protestant.

The Israeli Law of Return of 1950 and the Nationality Law of 1952 both give legal recognition to the concept of a 'Jewish nationality', with special rights to Israel as a 'Jewish homeland'.

At the same time, the definition of 'who is a Jew' has been based on religious tradition—is the mother Jewish—and on recognition by the rabbinical establishment.

In 1968, a Lieutenant-Commander Benjamin Shavit caused a row by demanding that his children be entered as 'of Jewish nationality' on their identity cards, being told that they could not, because their mother was a Christian.

(A special anomaly concerns anyone born of a Jewish father and Arab mother. Under Jewish law they are not acceptable as Jews, while under Moslem law they cannot be accepted as Moslem either! Of course, in a secular state—which Israel is not—this would probably not bother them much, but in the context of Israel's archaic legal system it could prove a real problem.)

In September 1971, it was reported that a number of Falashas—Black Jews from Ethiopia—who had emigrated to Israel were applying for conversion to Judaism. In actual fact, the Falashas, who number some 30,000 in Ethiopia, have practised the Jewish religion for many centuries. But neither the rabbinate nor the Zionist authorities would recognize them as Jews and it is an attempt on their part to get

through the discrimination that this entails, and gain acceptance, that has led some of them to seek to be 'converted' to their own religion!

In 1962, there was the issue of the Bene Israel, a Jewish community from India. (The fact that it is Afro-Asian Jews who are affected in these cases is probably not accidental. There is more than one type of racism in the Israeli blend.)

The Bene Israel demanded an end to discrimination in marriage questions and full acceptance as Jews. It was only after they had staged demonstrations and sit-down strikes and the Israeli authorities had been embarrassed by the prospect of the Indian government raising their case, as well as the threat by the Bene Israel (who said that their first experience of discrimination had been in Israel), to return to India, that on August 18, 1964, the Knesset voted that they should be given full Jewish status and affirmed their equality.

While many Israelis resent the power of the rabbinate in the life of their country, and even the government finds it an embarrassment and a nuisance at times, the fact remains that Zionism, the official ideology of the state, has drawn much of its mystique from backward religious ideas; that the state's patriotic literature and culture glories in the nationalist 'traditions' of the remote tribal past, in all its brutality, culled selectively from the pages of the Bible; and that the conquests of 1967 have been consecrated by deliberately whipping-up nationalist-religious hysteria and artificially-created emotion about Jerusalem, the 'Wailing Wall' and so forth.

After saying 'The Land of Israel, the Land of our Fathers becomes a reality', one writer, Avi Porat, describes his feelings as his unit camps down for the night under Mount Gilboa:

'I sense it in my very being. They're all with me tonight, the Macabees, Bar Kochba, Joshua, and all the Judges. My thoughts fly to Gideon and his men, who fought at Harod's Well . . .'

(Extract from 'At Harod's Well', in 'The Seventh Day—Soldiers Talk about the Six-Day War.' Penguin edition 1971.)

It is perhaps not surprising after this sort of stuff, and its use by the Israeli leaders to surround their practical actions with a cloak of mysticism, that after the Six-Day War the National Religious Party has gained a new strength and arrogance. It has been noticeably associating with the extreme right-wing chauvinists of Herut in its pronouncements.

Not that all Israelis go along with the religious-nationalist cult. In another part of the book quoted above, another young soldier, Amos Oz, describes a visit to the parents of a paratrooper who had been killed:

'A few of the kibbutz members were there and the mother was crying. The father was biting his lips to hold back his tears. One of the older members tried to comfort them: "Look, after all, we've liberated Jerusalem", he said, "he didn't die for nothing". The mother burst into sobs and said: "The whole of the Western Wall isn't worth Micha's little finger as far as I'm concerned . . ."

And Oz himself goes on to say:

'If dynamiting the Western Wall today would bring Micha back to life, then I'd say "Blow it up!" That's how I feel about it.'

Later he adds: 'Today, I'm completely opposed to all this myth of lands crying out and places calling out for liberation. It's worth dying to liberate people. But to liberate places? It's not worth anyone's little finger.'

TROTSKYISM AND STALINISM

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

PART ELEVEN

Passing in silence over Trotsky's outstanding record as Commissar for War and builder of the Red Army, the book 'Against Trotskyism' moves to the other major conflict in which Lenin and Trotsky stood on opposite sides.

There is no attempt at any objective portrayal of the period, not even a chronology to guide the reader, who might well be excused for thinking that the only communication between the head of state and his minister for war in the course of two years' bloody conflict consisted of two brief, cryptic and slightly critical telegrams.

These occupy 14 lines of type in all and are the only documents offered to cover the period from March 18, 1918, to December 20, 1920. The Moscow lie specialists certainly cannot be accused of being overscrupulous in presenting their case against Trotsky. They make no pretence of historical accuracy or completeness!

They fasten on the trade union controversy, which broke out at the end of 1920, with great eagerness after the 'barren years' in between. The trade union controversy occupies almost a quarter of the book and comprises over a third of the material taken from Lenin's works.

The trade union controversy came, as Trotsky points out in his Letter to the Institute of Party History, at a time when war communism had exhausted itself.

'Agriculture and with it everything else had arrived in a blind alley. Industry was disintegrating. The trade unions had become agitational and recruiting organizations which increasingly lost their independence.

'The crisis of the trade union was by no means a "crisis of growth"; it was a crisis of the whole system of war communism. There was no passage out of this blind alley without the introduction of the New Economic Policy.'

Trotsky admits that his proposals, which essentially aimed at harnessing the trade union machinery to the administrative system of economic management, did not point the way out of the impasse.

Nor, for that matter, did the proposals advanced by Lenin's faction, which presented the unions as defenders of the material and cultural interests of the working class and a school of communism.

Lenin's view carried the day in the party, but it still did not resolve the questions posed by the discussion, which could be resolved only by a new economic orientation, embodied in the retreat of the NEP.

Not only did Trotsky come to see that he had been wrong on this question, he was within a short time in alliance with Lenin against the incipient bureaucracy emerging in the Bolshevik party and the state machine.

Lenin was at pains to point out that the USSR could not simply be labelled a workers' state. According to Lenin it was 'workers' and peasants' state' — even more, in a phrase Trotsky was to quote frequently later, it was 'a workers' state with bureaucratic deformations' (trans-



Gregory Zinoviev. Alongside Stalin and Kamenev, he supported modifying the foreign trade monopoly.

lated in 'Against Trotskyism' as 'with a twist in it').

Naturally this book, which is concerned entirely with episodic differences, makes no mention of the most vital policy questions facing the Soviet state. These fall under three main headings: the future of the NEP and how the workers' state could be protected from the danger of capitalist restoration; the nationalities question; the growing bureaucratization of the party and the state.

The introduction of the New Economic Policy involved the regeneration of petty-bourgeois and trade layers in Soviet society who were once again able to engage in trade to a limited extent.

The peasants sold grain on a 'free' market while small capitalists and other exploiters were given greater liberties in order to stimulate post-war reconstruction and provide a breathing space for the USSR.

This policy was universally recognized as a retreat, and



Trotsky and Lenin at Second Congress of the Third International in 1920. Shortly after the 'trade union controversy' of this period, Trotsky was standing in alliance with Lenin against the insipient bureaucracy.

it strengthened those tendencies within and outside the Bolshevik Party which represented the interests of the burgeoning middle class.

In addition the opening up of trade with the capitalist countries gave the capitalists the hope that they would be able eventually to break the state monopoly of foreign trade and deal directly with peasants and private businessmen.

Had the monopoly been breached, one of the pillars of Soviet power would have been undermined. Lenin was forced to defend the monopoly with all his might alongside Trotsky and against Stalin.

None of this is mentioned in the present book, though its authors are well aware both of Stalin's role and of the alliance between Lenin and Trotsky against him in defence of the foreign trade monopoly.

The following quotations are taken from the already quoted book 'V. I. Lenin, A Biography'. Here is what the Institute of Marxism-Leninism had to say eight years ago about the foreign trade monopoly and Stalin's attitude towards it:

'[Lenin] attached great importance to the foreign trade monopoly as a lever of socialist development. He regarded it as a crucial economic factor and

pointed out that nothing but the foreign trade monopoly, coupled with planned government regulation of exports and imports, could safeguard the as yet weak Soviet economy from an invasion of foreign capital, secure the rehabilitation and development of domestic industry and obtain the profits and gold necessary for the country's industrialization.

'He stressed that the monopoly on foreign trade was particularly important in view of the New Economic Policy and the fierce attacks made on it by foreign imperialist and capitalist elements at home.

'The issue became doubly acute because some leading Party and government officials came out with proposals to modify, even to repeal, the foreign trade monopoly. Sokolnikov, Bukharin and Pyatakov urged repeal of the monopoly, while Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev suggested modifying it.

'Replying to a letter which Lenin wrote to him and M. Frumkin on May 26, 1922, in which Lenin had demanded "a formal ban on all discussion, negotiation and committee work, etc., about modifying the monopoly of foreign trade," Stalin wrote: "I have no objections to a 'formal ban' on measures to mitigate the foreign trade monopoly at the present stage.

"All the same, I think that mitigation is becoming indispensable."

'A plenary meeting of the Central Committee on October 6, 1922, which Lenin did not attend, passed an incorrect de-

cision providing for temporary permission "to import and export certain groups of commodities with respect to certain borders".

'In a letter to Stalin, who was secretary of the Central Committee, Lenin objected to the decision and pointed out that "it is tantamount to lifting the monopoly on foreign trade".

'He noted that "undue haste was shown in putting the matter on the agenda of the plenary meeting" and that "no serious discussion ensued" and suggested postponing the final decision until the next plenary meeting two months hence in order to collect the necessary facts and make a deep-going study of the question.

'All members of the Central Committee present in Moscow were consulted, and backed Lenin's proposal. Only a few persisted in their erroneous attitude. In a letter to the political bureau, Bukharin, for one, tried to justify his plan of abolishing the foreign trade monopoly. Stalin too wrote:

"Comrade Lenin's letter has not made me change my mind about the decision of the CC plenary meeting of October 6 on foreign trade [i.e. Stalin still opposed Lenin]. . .

"All the same, in view of Comrade Lenin's insistent proposal to delay implementation of the CC decision I vote for a postponement with a view to the question being discussed again at the next plenary meeting in Lenin's presence.' (Lenin biography, p.517.)

CONTINUED TOMORROW

DOCUMENTS OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

'The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution'. Edited by Paul Avrich. Thames and Hudson. £1.35. 178 pages.

This is a useful book because it consists of the writings and statements of the Russian Anarchists before, during and after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

It reveals, at first hand and beyond all doubt, the totally reactionary nature of Anarchism, which not only would have destroyed the revolution but consciously set out to do so.

Even before the revolution, the views of the so-called Anarchist communists were historically backward. Viewing society through a romantic mirror, they dreamed of agricultural communes and handicraft co-operatives. They turned their backs on large-scale industry, and—with it—on organized labour as well.

The best elements, the anarcho-syndicalists, pinned their hopes on the factory committees born in the course of revolutionary struggles. But only those of this tendency who went over to Bolshevism completely and rejected their anarchist past, could make a positive contribution.

Some anarchist armed groups—like the one led by Makhno—fought the landlords in the early days but later degenerated into robber bands hostile to the revolution.

When the revolution was fighting for its life against the White Armies and the invading capitalist powers, the anarchists attacked the Bolsheviks as worse than the Romanovs.

In a statement on the Red Army, published in April 1919, the Anarchists stated that they regarded 'the compulsory, regulated, disciplined and centralized Red Army as an inevitable consequence of the authoritarian, political and statist path onto which the "communists" have temporarily diverted the revolution.'

The Red Army, they said, could not be 'the genuine and faithful defender of the revolution'.

Instead, the anarchists called for a spontaneous, 'insurgent' army without discipline.

They were, in fact, for leaving the revolution without military defences. They stated:

'With regard to the external attack on the social revolution by western and other imperialist powers, the Anarchists have always relied and will continue to rely not on the regular Red Army, not even on an insurgent war, but on the inevitable collapse of imperialism and its armed forces through the unfolding world-wide social revolution.'

Of course, the Bolsheviks too relied on the spread of revolution. But they did not regard this as an inevitable, spontaneous development for which they could just sit back and wait. They combined armed defence of



Units of the Red Army crossing the ice at Kronstadt to quell the uprising of sailors in 1921.

the revolution with political struggle for its extension.

The Anarchist formula meant no defence of the revolution and no extension of revolution.

(In Bavaria, where the anarchists did see power fall into their hands, they lasted one week [see Book Review 'Red Rising in Bavaria' on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of this week] and left themselves and the working class open to military counter-attack. In Spain, 20 years later, they were to join in a bourgeois Stalinist-supported coalition and turn on the workers and peasants.)

The Anarchists, of course, wrote an enormous amount about Kronstadt. Kronstadt has been the rallying cry of every anti-communist—not least the British International Socialist group—for half a century.

The Kronstadt sailors had been in the vanguard of the revolution.

Then, in March 1921, there was an uprising in Kronstadt against the Bolshevik government. A so-called 'free Soviet' lasted for 16 days before it was put down by a detachment of the Red Army sent from Petrograd.

The simple and 'obvious' solution was that the revolutionary sailors had 'seen the light', turned to anarchism, and then been brutally suppressed by the very Bolsheviks they had helped place in power.

This myth has been peddled by reactionaries ever since. It was answered long ago in a pamphlet by Trotsky called 'Hue and Cry over Kronstadt'.

Here Trotsky explained that there are three main layers in the working class. A revolutionary layer, a backward layer which clings to the middle class and its ideology, and a broad

mass which in revolutionary times can be won over by determined action to follow the revolutionaries.

The Kronstadt sailors had played a glorious revolutionary role because their most advanced layer, having joined the Bolshevik Party, had been able to give decisive leadership.

But, Trotsky had explained, if the revolutionary layer were removed, then in times of difficulty, hardship and disappointment the 'centre' layer could be pulled behind the backward, reactionary wing.

That is what happened at Kronstadt. Many of the very best elements of the Kronstadt sailors had died in the civil war and the wars of intervention. Others, of necessity, had to take up important responsibilities away from Kronstadt.

After long, weary months struggling against counter-revolution, followed by economic hardship and starvation, the leadership Kronstadters took the road, not of revolution, but of counter-revolution.

The Kronstadt leaders of 1921 were not the Kronstadt leaders of 1917. The revolt had to be put down in order to save the revolution.

The Anarchists would have destroyed the revolution as they tried to do with their call for a 'third revolution' at the height of the civil war.

Centralized authority was necessary to defend the revolution and the young Soviet State. But the Anarchists equated the authority of the revolution with the authority of the pre-revolutionary regime and of the counter-revolution.

'Monarchists, Constituent Assemblists, Mensheviks, Communists,' declared the Anarchists, 'when they have the same

means and the same ends can their paths be different? They want to recruit more members into their parties. They want strong authority. But strong authority implies subjection.'

Organization, discipline, authority were abstractions to the Anarchists, devoid of class content. But in practice, the Anarchists were not fighting the authority and discipline of the counter-revolutionaries, they were fighting the authority and discipline of the revolution.

Their 'de-classed' view of the state, in fact was a petty-bourgeois view of the state, as Marx had long ago explained in his polemic against Proudhon, 'Poverty of Philosophy'.

In seeing the state as 'outside classes' it in practice sought to leave the bourgeois state untouched.

The Russian anarchists equated the White Armies with the Red Army. They were both 'armies'. In practice, however, the Anarchists could not disarm the White Army. But they sought to disarm the Red Army. They could not fight against the dictatorship of capital. But they fought against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Petty-bourgeois opposition to Bolshevism has trod the same path ever since.

It is expressed here in one famous sentence by the leading anarchist Emma Goldman. What she wanted, she said, was 'not the dictatorship of a new class over an old one'.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is, however, the acid test for revolutionaries. Without it, there can be no safeguard against counter-revolution. That is why Lenin insisted on acceptance of that principle by any party which applied to join the Communist International.

PROBLEMS OF THE DISABLED

'Journey into Silence' by Jack Ashley MP, published by The Bodley Head at £2.50:

Jack Ashley, Labour MP for Stoke-on-Trent, South, went totally and permanently deaf after contracting a virus infection. This is the story of his life. Since his return to parliament after his illness he has concerned himself particularly with the problems of disabled people.

He was active in the campaign to get higher compensation for the thalidomide children—although he has not raised the demand for nationalization of the drug industry under workers' control and without compensation.

ISRAEL—REALITY VS IDEALS

'Whose Jerusalem? — the Conflicts of Israel' by Ronald Segal, published by Jonathan Cape at £3.50:

An examination of Israeli and Arab society. Mr Segal considers that the Jews 'confront themselves in a crisis of identity' arising out of the conflict between the ideals of the pioneers and the reality of the Israeli state.

He sees the separation of rich and poor in Israel and an 'increasingly authoritarian management' instead of a society in which all Jews are brothers.

But the hope for the future, according to Mr Segal, is those 'on both sides of the [Israeli-Arab] conflict who seek what is reasonable and right in the cause of the other, and reject what they see as unreasonable and wrong in the assertion of their own'.

MYSTICISM OF HESSE

'Hermann Hesse: Autobiographical Writings', translated from the German by Denver Lindley, published by Jonathan Cape at £3.50:

The writings of Herman Hesse, whether fiction or autobiography, merge into what he called 'the timeless realm of the spirit'—that is, unreality. Hesse was an idealist who considered the real world transitory and the only meaningful world that of the 'spirit'.

This mysticism pervades all his writings, particularly his best known work 'Steppenwolf' Co-founder of a liberal-oppositional journal 'Marz' in the early years of this century, Hesse took up a pacifist position during World War I.

His opposition to the war, however, was also mystical. In a collection of pacifist essays 'If this war goes on...' Hesse attributed the bloodiest slaughter man had known up to then to a 'war mentality' which he claimed had permeated the whole of Europe.

Hesse's attempts not to recognize the real world were shaken by the post-war inflation which wiped out his savings and his German royalties and by rheumatism which crippled him in his later life.

During the 1930s and 1940s, Hesse lived in Switzerland where he did his best to help friends trying to escape from Nazi Germany. He died in 1962.



STORY OF THE CONSUMER'S MAN

'Citizen Nader' by Charles McCarry, published by Jonathan Cape at £3.50:

The story of the self-appointed consumers' champion who first rose to fame by his attack on General Motors 'Unsafe at any Speed'.

General Motors, in an attempt to silence Nader, put detective agencies on him in the hope of digging up some scandal in his private life which they could use against him. Instead Nader successfully sued them for 'invasion of privacy' and got \$270,000.

Nader's field has since widened to include investigations of standards in meat, gas pipe-lines, coal mines, radiation control and occupational safety.

In a word, the article proclaimed the 'Public and private benefits of cycling'. This hard-hitting, class conscious piece by John Gritten raised the demand of the hour: Go By Bike!

'An affluent gentleman who owns the business next door to our building—the number plate on his sedan consists of the first three letters of his name plus the figure one—has a chauffeur who drives him in this capacious vehicle back and forth.

'An extreme example of the misuse of a lot of road space,' Gritten declared courageously.

'For decades I have commuted by bike in central London five days a week in all weathers [and invariably use it on the other two as well] entirely free of all these problems,' he continued.

For this noble sacrifice, Gritten is well rewarded.

'Personally I find the feel-

ing of freedom, of not being enclosed, not to mention the gentle exercise after being cooped up in an office, is far more pleasant than sitting inside a vehicle.'

One wonders how many class-conscious workers have the time or the need for additional 'gentle exercise' after fighting for the revolutionary party seven days a week.

As if in answer to unstated criticism, Gritten avers:

'The Go-By-Bike campaign, far from being a distraction, should complement public pressure for cheaper fares and better facilities on public transport and for an integrated transport policy.

'If you don't cycle already, then, with me, Go By Bike! You'll find it quicker, healthier, relatively more carefree, non-lethal, and non-polluting.'

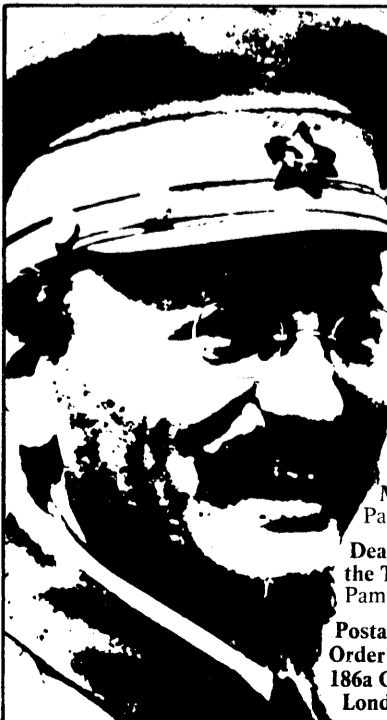
It's 'non' a few other things too.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

BIKE

In the midst of the greatest scandals ever to hit the capitalist world and at a time of unprecedented crisis in the capitalist system, the Communist Party's daily paper, the 'Morning Star', devoted its main feature page last Wednesday to an article on . . . cycling!

Not the trade cycle, or the money cycle, but the plain common or garden bicycle.



BOOKS BY TROTSKY

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- In Defence of the October Revolution Pamphlet 15p
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186a Clapham High Street,
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THE BIG TORY PRICE FRAUD SINCE NOVEMBER

Where your money's gone since the prices 'freeze'

BY JACK GALE

THE FOODS and bakery giant, Ranks Hovis McDougall, this week announced better-than-expected half-time profits.

Pre-tax profits for the group for the six months to March jumped to £15,183,000 compared with £11,482,000 for the first six months of the previous year and with £12,750,000 expected by the market.

And a Board statement said: 'Provided justifiable price increases are allowed without undue delay, profits for the year should show an improvement over the previous year.' They did not have to wait long. On the same day that the profits were announced, the Tories' Price Commission granted the firm permission to raise the price of its cakes by 7.2 per cent.

At the same time Lyons Cakes got the go ahead for a 9.6-per-cent price rise and Burton's Gold Medal biscuits and crisps were permitted a 6.9 per cent rise.

Other price increases agreed this week were Smith and Davis domestic hardware products, up 7 per cent; Lever Brothers soap and detergents, up 3.75 per cent; the textile group Monsanto's acrylic and nylon fibres, up 5 per cent (this is the third textile group to be allowed to raise its prices—Du Pont and ICI are the other two).

THE TORIES' Price Commission has been a fraud from the start, as an examination of rises in food prices alone will show.

The Commission was established on November 6, 1972, when the Tories introduced their state pay laws.

From the very beginning, fresh fruits and vegetables were excluded from all controls.

IN THE first month fresh meat went up 5.9 per cent, vegetables 3.21 per cent, fish 8.03 per cent, eggs 13.44 per cent, fruit 13.04 per cent and processed meat 1.13 per cent.

November December

IN DECEMBER, beef, bacon, fish, eggs, lamb, sausages, pork, chicken, cauliflowers, tomatoes and ham all went up.

January

ON JANUARY 3, a 7-per-cent increase in dried fruit was allowed and the Tories announced that frozen fish and other 'treated' foods would be exempt from 'control'.

Canned meats, processed meats, sausages, animal foods, biscuits and breakfast foods all immediately shot up in price.

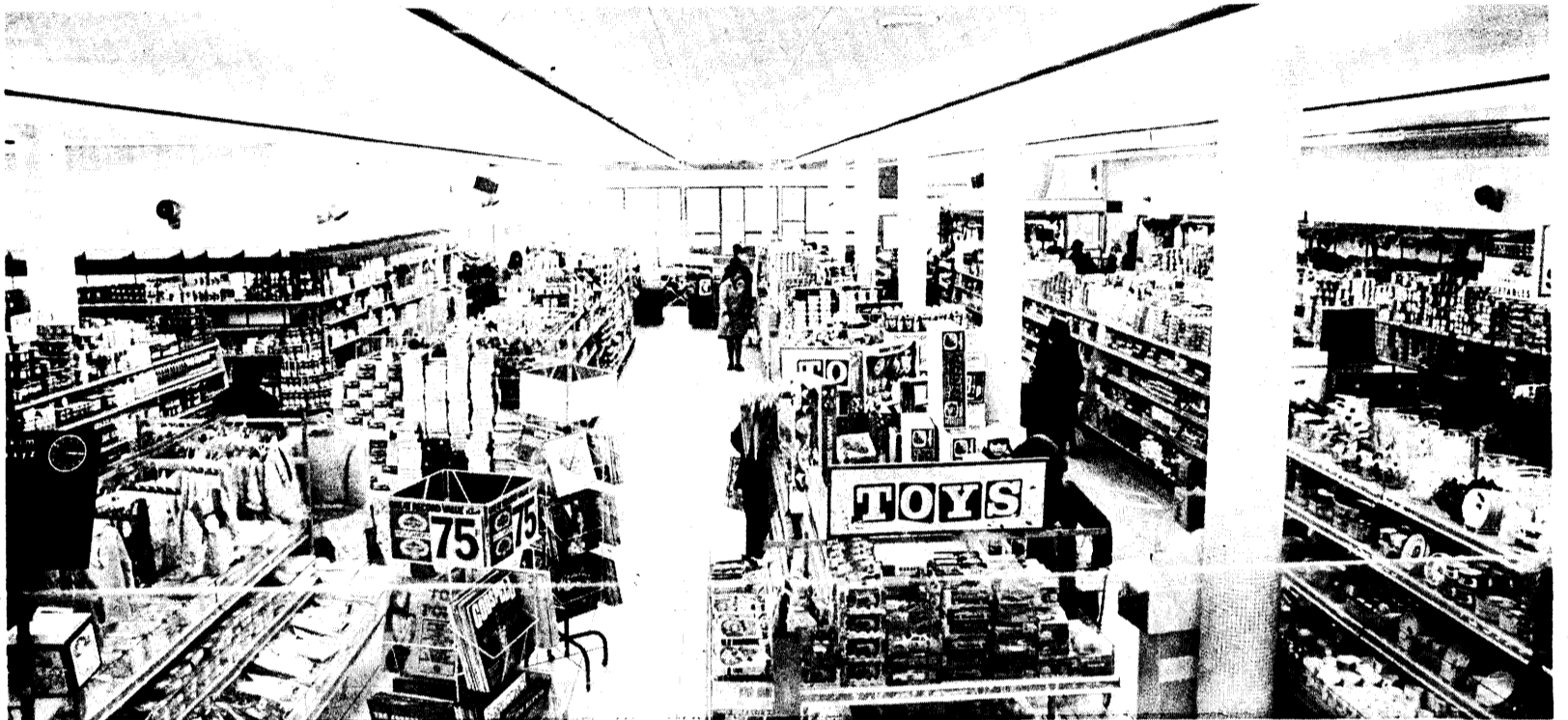
ON JANUARY 8, it was announced that wholesale meat prices had gone up by between 37 and 50 per cent since the inauguration of the Prices Commission on November 6.

IN THE week ending January 13, 220 rises in food prices were announced. Two days later 200 branded foods were raised by 8 to 12 per cent. They were mainly canned and sliced meats, sausages, pies and bacon.

February

ON FEBRUARY 13 increases of 5p a lb in processed meat were announced.

The editor of 'The Grocer' reported 384 food price rises since November 6 and said the government's price control was 'a joke'.



In the same month, 'The Grocer' compared February 1973 prices with those of February 1972. It revealed that fresh meat had gone up 41 per cent, fish 41 per cent, vegetables 17.5 per cent, fruit 18.5 per cent, coffee 11.6 per cent, flour 10 per cent, processed meats 10.8 per cent and eggs 9.6 per cent.

March

ON MARCH 4 biscuits went up 1p a packet. On March 14 eggs went up 2p a dozen.

ON MARCH 15 the meat processors were told that the permission they had received on February 13 to put up their products 5p a lb had been changed. They could now go up 7p per lb.

This meant dearer brisket of beef, tongue, chopped pork and canned and frozen meat products.

IN THE week ending March 16, 230 price rises were announced. These included coffee, margarine, pies, sausages, lard, canned fish, cooked meats, eggs, bacon and ham.

THE MARCH Wages and Prices Index showed that food prices were rising four times faster than wages. The biggest increases affected eggs, bacon, tomatoes and onions.

April

ON APRIL 4, despite gluts of butter throughout Europe, the Tory government announced that butter prices would go up 4p per lb in line with Common Market policy.

On the same day a government order on sugar subsidies meant price increases of 1½p per lb.

THE WEEK of April 7-14 saw 213 price hikes, including honey, biscuits and canned meats. It was announced that the total number of price increases since the beginning of the year was 2,599.

THE MONTH of April saw the fastest rises since November 6. Food had gone up 8 per cent since the introduction of the Prices Commission. A 'Financial Times' survey showed that a monthly family shopping bill of £32.28 in March had risen to £33.27 in April for the same food.

May

On May 8 imported bacon went up by 2p to 4p a lb.

On May 17 Unilever's Blue Band, Stork, Echo, Outline, Spry, Cookeen, White Cap

A large number of increases in food prices are recorded in supermarkets every single week.

and Spry Crisp and Dry got the green light for 6-per-cent rises.

On the same day Robertson's got permission to put up their jam by 1p a jar, marmalade by 1½p, lemon curd by 1p and mincemeat by 4p. Shredded Wheat, Shreddies and Golden Nugget breakfast food also went up.

ON MAY 22 Batchelors were permitted to raise prices of Vesta meals by up to 1.48p per packet and Cadbury-Schweppes to raise their jam by 0.75p on a 12 ounce jar.

And now the latest price increases granted to McDougall—a company making profits at a rate of more than £30m a year!

It is quite clear that the Tories intend to intensify their attacks on working-class families in the interests of profit by sending the cost of living soaring while holding down prices.

No better justification could be found for the call of the Socialist Labour League to mobilize the entire working class to force the Heath government to resign.

Dock shareholders threatened

SMALL INVESTORS in the Tory-created Mersey Docks and Harbour Company are expected to reject the capital reconstruction just unveiled by the new management.

Yesterday the Mersey Docks Security Holders Committee was meeting to consider future steps to oppose the proposed share reorganization which will write down the value of their holdings by a staggering 70 per cent.

There are several hundred small shareholders whose individual holdings of up to £5,000 account for a quarter of the company's stock.

The writedown is being proposed by management as a way of reducing the company's £109m debt.

Under the scheme the stockholders will receive about £20m worth of nominal redeemable preference shares as 'partial compensation'. But it should be noted that these new shares carry no legal right to repayment.

Details of the capital reconstruction were sent out yesterday by the company chairman, Mr John Page, who says, bleakly: 'I hope that the tide has turned. We are working towards a team effort. I hope that we have hit the bottom.'

The proposals have to be put before a shareholders' meeting in Liverpool on June 22. If there is a successful revolt, the matter is automatically referred to the High Court's Chancery Division. And because the company was brought into being by an Act of Parliament, it is inevitable that the judiciary will uphold the company's plans.

For Liverpool dockers, the financial plans have crucial importance. The new company, set up by the Tory government in 1971, is going to be drastically rationalized.

The money squeeze is not only on the small investors—who are going to be cynically wiped out in this operation—but on the labour force as well.

The only people who will survive this share reorganization will be the big institutions which have acquired large stakes in the Port of Liverpool since the Tories changed it from a board into a public company.

In the background of the debenture writedown are the following policies:

● Land profiteering from the 300 acres in the redundant South Docks area.

● The complete implementation of a supplementary register with a starting number of 500 dockers.

● A big step up in productivity.

ALL TRADES UNIONS
ALLIANCE

Central London
'A MANIFESTO FOR
EQUITY'
SUNDAY JUNE 3
7.30 p.m.
London Film School
24 Shelton Street
(corner Langley St)
opp. Covent Garden Tube
Speaker: Corin Redgrave

ALL TRADES UNIONS
ALLIANCE

Public Meeting
POSTAL WORKERS'
MEETING
Break off secret talks with
the Tories!
Force the Tories to resign!
Sunday, June 3, 10.30 a.m.
Conway Small Hall,
Red Lion Square,
Holborn (admission 10p)

SOCIALIST LABOUR
LEAGUE LECTURES

Merthyr Tydfil

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

Phase Three trap being prepared for the unions

THE TRAP to ensnare the trade unions into the beginnings of a corporate state has been further prepared by the government and the CBI.

While Heath and his top ministers got together with CBI chiefs to work out the best way to shackle the trade unions in the forthcoming talks with the TUC over Phase Three, Robert Carr was dropping further hints about amendments to the Industrial Relations Act.

The Tories' plan is to tie unions through the pay laws even worse penal controls than the National Industrial Relations Court possesses.

But they want to get the TUC's voluntary co-operation in this corporatist set-up. The tremendous resistance to the NIRC shown by trade unionists particularly over the jailing of the five dockers forced the Tories into these new tactics.

By means of the totally bogus 'concessions' over the Act, they

hope to get the TUC leaders' support for Phase Three of the state control of wages.

This was the deal put to Victor Feather, Jack Jones, Hugh Scanlon and company in the secret talks held at Chequers and Downing Street earlier this year.

This was the deal Scanlon was talking about in his notorious speech to the Parliamentary Press Gallery lunch when he voiced acceptance in principle of the Common Market, the pay laws, and the Industrial Relations Act.

'Two amendments to the Industrial Relations Act could offer a way forward for co-operation with the Tory government,' he said.

The amendments would do nothing to alter the essence of the Act which is the state control of unions. They would

BY ROYSTON BULL

merely give back the unions their tax concessions and prevent private employers taking unions to the NIRC without the government's prior approval.

And the even greater stripping of the authority of the trade unions, contained in the pay laws' abolition of free negotiations for wages, would be accepted by these TUC leaders.

The CBI has made it clear to Heath that there must be no return to free collective bargaining under Phase Three. The Tories themselves have repeatedly said that even if a voluntary agreement can be imposed on the TUC, the penal sanctions will remain on the statute book.

The aim of Phase Three is to cut the wage norm even further below the rise in the cost of living than the present £1 plus 4 per cent, which is already causing a drop in the standard of living for the whole working class.

As inflation gets still worse, the pressure on workers' families will become unbearable.

This is the development that the capitalist class is feverishly preparing to meet. And it is the TUC's collaboration with Heath that opens the way to this dangerous situation.

The trade union leaders' retreat over Phase Two is becoming a rout. What is at stake is the whole independence of the trade union movement from the capitalist state.

The TUC bureaucracy is preparing a historic capitulation which will leave the unions stripped of all their rights.

The working class will be put at the mercy of the most savage attacks on their living standards and democratic rights from a ruling class which is facing an unprecedented crisis in its economic system.

Continuing talks with the Tories completely disarms the working class in the face of these dangers. There is nothing to be gained from them. They are a trap.

There is no justification for any trade union leader to go to Downing Street or elsewhere for any further negotiations with this Tory government. Its authority is eroded, and its economic basis shattered.

Trade unionists everywhere must demand:

- Break off all talks with the Tories.
- Mobilize a campaign to bring this government down.

New speed-up in factories

WOMEN WORKERS at Garrard's Cheney Manor, Swindon, record-player factory yesterday voted to continue their sit-in strike against speed-up, which today completes its fourth week.

BY DAVID MAUDE

May 4. The women's leaders insisted that the expected rates of working were 'physically impossible'.

In informal talks since the strike began, the company has claimed that last December's deal gives it the right to set times, methods and patterns of work. This claim is utterly rejected by the strikers.

Last Friday Garrard's put

workers at its other two factories in the town on a four-day week.

This was a clear attempt to bring pressure to bear on the strikers by cutting the pay of their fellow workers in the other factories.

But it failed to work. And on Wednesday the company resorted to the desperate measure of sending out letters to each striker suggesting that normal work would be resumed

the following day. The local Press made similar suggestions.

This trick was angrily condemned by the strikers at a mass meeting yesterday morning, which voted to continue the strike at least until a report-back from talks in which the company has now asked union officials to take part.

No date had been fixed for these talks yesterday morning. But union officials expected them to take place soon.

Allegro workers join in too

ALLEGRO workers at Swindon's British-Leyland car-body factory meet this morning to discuss progress in their two-week-old struggle against speed-up.

Allegro production has been suspended at Leyland's Longbridge, Birmingham, assembly factory because of the strike.

The 750 strikers work on fenders, floors and other pressings for the Allegro and are fighting a management bid to force up their rate of working to what work-study men call 100 BSI, 'maximum effort'.

Today's meeting is not expected to discuss a return to work.

So far the company has refused to negotiate while the men are on strike. For their part, the men say they will not

return while industrial engineers—work-study men—remain on shop floor.

SOME 12,000 carworkers reported back at Longbridge yesterday after their Bank Holiday break—and were sent home again.

Foremen had stayed away, protesting at having to work while the production men were enjoying an extra day off as part of a package deal.

With production of the Allegro stopped by the Swindon dispute, the factory was not producing a single car.

ENGINEERS' union members on a new production line have started a selective strike at the British-Leyland north works 103 department, Leyland, near Preston.

Scanlon-Clive Jenkins row flares up

hearing at the National Industrial Relations Court.

Apparently, what has particularly enraged Scanlon is the suggestion that he and his executive have been defying the NIRC in public while co-operating with it by the back door, through others.

Scanlon's 'left' image has taken a considerable battering of late, particularly because he participated in secret talks with the

Tories, publicly advocated a deal with them over pay and the anti-union Act and let the hospital workers go down to defeat without lifting a finger in the TUC to help them.

The headquarters of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers have been inundated with branch resolutions condemning his suggestion of a deal with the Tories.

Thus Jenkins' reported re-

marks, at his union's recent conference, were something of a last straw.

If the row does burst into the open, Jenkins is unlikely to reply directly.

Neither Scanlon nor Jenkins will be anxious to ventilate the real, underlying issue in the row: that all the union leaders' policies of non-co-operation with the Industrial Relations Act have collapsed, and everyone knows it.

MAY FUND
£1,784.54
YOU DID IT!

WE ALMOST thought we might not reach our £1,750 target this month. But how could we think that you, dear readers, would let us down? A magnificent last-minute effort—yesterday's post brought £421.05—made our total up to £1,784.54. Many, many thanks to each and every one of you.

It is particularly good as our Party Development Fund is also coming in alongside. It shows the enormous support Workers Press has achieved within the workers' movement.

But it is only a beginning. As the movement grows among the working class, the demand is growing for a paper that consistently fights for principles and takes a determined stand against this Tory government and only our paper does this.

So help us now expand in every direction. This is not the time to be complacent in any way, so let's press on with the fight. Raise all you can. Start our June Fund right away. Post your donations to:

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Special showing of the Pageant film
THE ROAD TO WORKERS' POWER
and
Songs and scenes from history

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

Kings Hall: Belle Vue Zoo Park: Manchester—Sunday July 1: 3 p.m.—9 p.m.