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It does not require much perspicacity to know that next week's Brighton Con-

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—from Jack Jones to Victor That is why there is not a single motion on the agenda calling for a campaign to force the Tories

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PAGE FOUR COL. 1

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> GKN MEN REJECT **FORMULA**

See Late News

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Measured-Day Work driven back at Cowley

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The South plant was built with government grants after the British-Leyland

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CAN'T ACCEPT

Senior shop stewards told the Workers Press that they cannot accept a situation where workers are forced to time a new model on this sort of pay. It would leave workers

PAGE FOUR COL. 4 ->-

Productivity-'Greater strain on workers'

INCREASED productivity and efficiency is frequently achieved only by making men work harder, putting greater pressure on the individual and driving workers close to breaking-point, according to one of Britain's top medical

In a letter to 'The Times', Dr Ivor H. Mills, professor of medicine 2' denbrooke's, the Cambridge teaching hospital, points out that:

'In the various wage freezes we have had in the past ten years it was often possible to get a pay increase if it was associated with a change in procedure which increased production.

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Meeting **GLASGOW** Partick Burgh Hall

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Go forward'!

the victory of the Fourth International

PRICE 6d.

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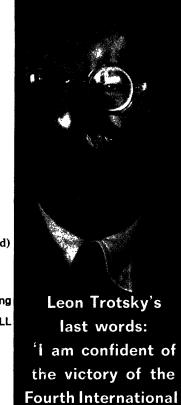
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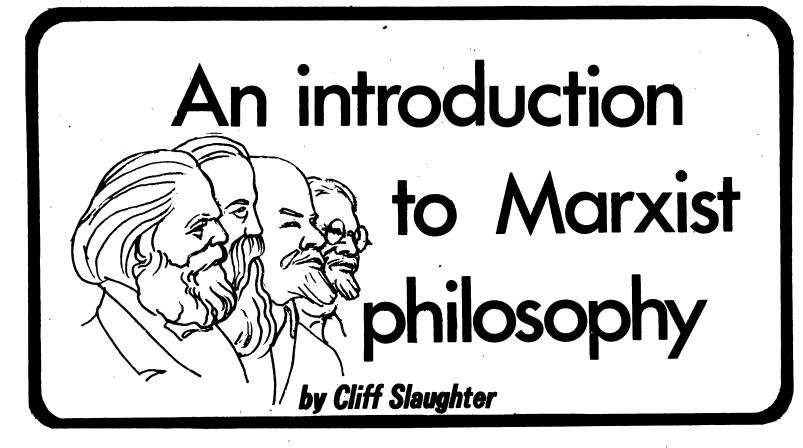
FORMULA

• See Late News

FINAL PART OF A

REGULAR SERIES

ON PHILOSOPHY



(vi) The peasants

WE HAVE already taken Marx's well-known definition of the small peasantry as 'a class and not a class' to illustrate his views on the relation between the economic and political processes in a class's formation.

Equally instructive is his explanation of how this very amorphous character of the peasantry, given their history since the decrees following the Revolution of 1789, laid the basis for the power of Louis Napoleon.

Marx's classic text 'The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', besides constituting a model of the method of historical materialism, throws much light on the subsequently vexed and momentous problem of the relationship of the peasantry to the socialist revolution.

For example, Lenin's strategy in Russia did not include the 'peasant alliance' simply as an organizational device, but was the extension into the conditions of backward Russia of the theoretical conclusions of Marx and Engels from 1848 and in the subsequent years.

'The Bonaparte dynasty,' writes Marx, 'represents not the revolutionary, but the conservative peasant; not the peasant that strikes out beyond the condition of his social existence, the small holding, but rather the peasant who wants to consolidate it; not the country folk who want to overthrow the old order through their own energies linked up with the towns, but on the contrary those who, in stupefied bondage to this old order, want to see themselves with their small-holding saved and favoured by the ghost of the empire. It represents not the enlightenment, but the superstition of the peasant; not his judgement, but his prejudice; not his future, but his past; not his modern Cévennes [where a famous peasant uprising took place in the early 18th century] but his modern Vendée [where the peasants supported the Royalists after

Contended In the years of the parlia-

mentary republic of 1848 up to the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon in December 1851, 'the modern and the traditional consciousness of the French peasant contended for mastery'. Marx's method here should be noted. He does not deduce the political character of the peasant 'once and for all' from . the economic-social definition of the class, but sees upon this basis a struggle between 'the past and the future' of the peasants as a class, a struggle joined only through the drawing of the peasants into the maelstrom of political history from 1848 to 1851, which has already been explained by Marx as the outcome of economic and class developments at the national and international

levels (above). This development 'from the outside' sets the terms under which the struggle of past against future in the peasantry takes place, and on this basis

21('18th Brumaire', 'Selected Works' Vol II, p. 416.)

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THE SOCIALIST

Marx discusses the disputes over local government, education, religion, morality, and so on, which raged among the peasants.

This method should be contrasted with any pseudo-Marxist 'analyses' which build up some 'model' of the class psychology of the peasant (or of the bourgeois, etc.) from the material conditions of his existence and then proceed to test it, confirm it, refine it, etc., through a consideration of various facts about peasant life and peasant history.

Analysis

Attempts to present 'working-class culture by a similar method, instead of through the historical analysis of the central experiences of the proletariat's struggle to become a 'class for itself' in conflict with the bourgeoisie, prove still more ludicrous.

This struggle between the past and the future of the peasantry is not to be understood just as a matter of consciousness, or as some tragic

Napoleon consolidated France. It is precisely the material conditions which made the feudal peasant into a small peasant and Napoleon into an emperor.

generations have sufficed to produce the inevitable result: progressive deterioration of agriculture, progressive indebtedness of the agriculturist.

'The "Napoleonic" form of property, which at the beginning of the 19th century was the condition for the liberation and enrichment of the French countryfolk, has developed in the course of this century as the law of their enslavement and pauperisation. And it is just this law which is the first of the "idees napoléoniennes" which the second Bonaparte has to uphold.

'If he still shares with the peasants the illusion that the cause of their ruin is to be sought not in this smallholding property itself but outside it in the influence of secondary causes, then his experiments will burst like soap bubbles when they come serve to strengthen the bourgeois state in its most repressive forms against the proletariat and the revolutionary sections of the peasantry itself.

'Besides the mortgage which capital imposes on it, the smallholding is burdened by taxes. Taxes are the source of life for the bureaucracy, the army, the priests and the court, in short, for the whole apparatus of the executive power. Strong government and heavy taxes are

'By its very nature, smallholding property forms a suitable basis for all-powerful and innumerable bureaucracy.

'It creates a uniform level of relationships and persons over the whole surface of the land. Hence it also permits of uniform action from a supreme centre on all points of this uniform mass. It annihilates the aristocratic intermediate grades between the mass of the people and the state power.

'On all sides, therefore, it calls forth the direct interference of this state power and the intervention of its immedirelations of production in society as a whole which imperiously demand the demise of the peasant small-holdingall this has built up 'behind the back' of the peasant a situation in which his traditional ideology is brought into complete contradiction with his material conditions of life, where every action into which he is forced will either confirm his oppression in still more bestial forms or, by a leap in consciousness through alliance with the proletariat. set going the process that will abolish his own and all private property.

Estimate

Marx was wrong in his estimate of the stage of maturity for socialist revolution reached by French society in 1848.

And yet, from his historicalmaterialist analysis of these events he cast a searchlight on to the developing class relations of the capitalist system as a whole, and not only in France. It was 20 years before the ghost of Bonaparte was laid; but then, in 1871, in

'But the parody of imperialism was necessary to free the mass of the French nation from the weight of tradition and to work out in pure form the opposition between the state power and society.'25 And it was in the Paris Commune of 1871, 20 years later, that the proletariat made its first revolutionary bid against this 'pure form' of the

PART

SIXTEEN

bourgeois state. Paris was then isolated, particularly from the peasants in the countryside, but this time, in contrast with 1848, the proletariat discovered in practice that the old state machine must be 'smashed',

up by the working class.

and new independent organs

of a new type of state be set

The question of revolution-ary leadership based on Marx-ist theory and its need to pro-ject a strategy towards the peasantry among all its other peasantry among all its other tasks, was also posed by the Paris Commune, but because the 'parody' of 1851 had been lived through and exhausted. by 1871 qualitatively new experiences could be made. Marx wrote to Kugelmann:

Obviously this has been a matter of political importance to the working-class movement ever since.

CLASSES AND CLASS

STRUGGLE: POLITICS

AND REVOLUTION

We confine ourselves here simply to indicating, with selected quotations from a great many which could be used, that Marx, Engels and their followers were keenly aware of the 'middle classes' problem, and that Marx's reference to it as 'irrelevant to present purposes' in 'Capital' was not an isolated afterthought.

Marx always discusses the problem, however, strictly in relation to the framework of the principal class conflict in the given society, that derived from the relations of production the key sectors of the mode of production. Referring to Ricardo, for example, he

'What Ricardo forgets to mention is the continual increase in numbers of the middle classes . . . situated midway between the workers on one side and the capitalists and landowners on the other. These middle classes rest with

But if the imperial

the shoulders of Louis

of Napoleon will crash

from the top of the

Vendome column.

mantle finally falls on

Bonaparte, the iron statue

'Although this situation continually brings an unwelcome number of new soldiers into the field, and into competition with the existing individual capitalists, it also consolidates the rule of capital itself, enlarges its basis, and enables it to recruit ever new forces for itself out of the lower layers

of society. . . . 'The more a ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of the dominated classes the more stable and dangerous is its rule.'

It is clear that the use of phrases like 'insurmountable class barriers' as indications of Marx's view of class by bourgeois sociologists like Lipset and Schumpeter amounts to gross misrepresentation. The question is not one of the fate of individuals or of the numbers of such individuals but of the changes in class relations.

Later Marxists have taken account of the rise of the 'new' middle classes in exactly this

These social groups were the subject of much discussion in the Marxist movement before the turn of the century. Lenin's review (1899) of Kautsky's reply to the 'revisionism' of Bernstein²⁷ indicates the terms of the discussion. Lenin wrote:

'The chapter on the "new middle estate" is likewise extremely interesting and, for us Russians, particularly instructive. If Bernstein had merely wanted to say that in place of the declining petty producers a new middle estate, the intelligentsia, is appearing, he would be perfectly correct, says Kautsky, pointing out that he himself noted the importance of this phenomenon

'In all spheres of people's labour, capitalism increases the number of office and professional workers with particular rapidity, and makes a growing demand for intellectuals.

'The latter occupy a special position among the other classes, attaching themselves partly to the bourgeoisie by their connections, their outlooks, etc., and partly to the wage-workers as increasingly deprives the intellectual of his independent position, converts him into a hired worker and threatens to lower his living standard. The transitory, unstable, contradictory position of that stratum of society now under discussion is reflected in the particularly widespread diffusion in its midst of hybrid, eclectic views, a farrago of contrasting principles and ideas, an urge to rise verbally to the higher spheres and to conceal the conflicts between the historical groups of the population with phrases—all of which Marx lashed with his sarcasm half a century ago.'28



In May 16, 1871 the first words of '18th Brumaire' were dramatically and literally fulfilled when after 3½ hours work, Paris workers toppled the statue of Napoleon from Vendôme column.

fate. Its material basis is made clear in the brilliant closing passages of 'The 18th Brumaire', particularly in the following paragraphs:

'After the first revolution (1789) had transformed the peasants from semi-villeins into freeholders, Napoleon confirmed and regulated the conditions on which they could exploit undisturbed the soil of France which had just come into their possession and slake their youthful passion for property. But what is now causing the ruin of the French peasant is his dwarf holding itself, the division of the land, the form of property which into contact with the relations of production.'2

Marx goes on to show how the small-holding, the extension of private property of the bourgeois type into the countryside, which had been the main guarantee of the bourgeois order against feudal restoration, had within two generations turned into the new enslavement of the small peasant:

'The bourgeois order, which at the beginning of the century set the state to stand guard over the newly-arisen smallholding and manured it with laurels, has become a vampire that sucks out its blood and marrow and throws them into the alchemistic cauldrons of capital. The Code Napoleon is now nothing but a codex of distraints, forced sales and compulsory auctions.'23

The future interests of the peasantry are therefore only to be found in the overthrow of the bourgeois order, and in alliance with that social force which can overthrow it, the proletariat.

In so far as the peasantry remains the slave of its past, of its illusions of the permanent and prosperous smallholding, protected by the Emperor, its class nature will

²²(Ibid, pp. 417-418.)

Whereas the first Napoleon, in the 1790s, could take his revolutionary armies beyond France's borders and 'repay with interest' the taxes of the peasants through the opening up of vast new markets and the plunder of other nations, the second 'ghost' of the Empire needed to equip and pay his bureaucratic caste directly out of the state revenue from taxes; raising parasitism to new heights, if the expression is suitable.

Church

Not only the state, but the Church also, is now placed in a position where it appears openly as the ideological protector of the ruin and oppression of the small peasant, rather than the religious accompaniment of his newfound independence, as in the 1790s. Finally the army, the last 'idée napoléonienne', which was after 1789 'the flower of the peasant youth', becomes under Louis Napoleon 'the swamp-flower of the peasant lumpenproletariat'.

The development of capitalism between 1789 and 1848, the unfolding of its internal class conflicts just at the point where the bourgeoisie was forced to face up to its own last 'republican' struggle (1848), the maturing of new

²⁴(Ibid, pp. 419-420.)

the action of thousands of workers in the Paris Commune who had certainly never read Marx, the final words of his '18th Brumaire' were dramatically and literally fulfilled:

'But if the imperial mantle finally falls on the shoulders of Louis Bonaparte, the iron statue of Napoleon will crash from the top of the Vendôme column.'

It remains to explain the political consciousness and role of the peasantry in terms of our earlier presentation of the role of ideology.

When Marx talks about 'false consciousness' he is not dismissing the ideological aspects of history as ephemeral. This 'false consciousness' must be understood as a necessary link in the causal chain, but the very conditions which make possible the recognition of its falseness as well as its necessity demand at the same time a struggle against its persistence. Marx concludes, on the

illusions of the peasants: 'One sees; all idées napoléoniennes are the ideas of the undeveloped small-holding in the

freshness of its youth; for the small-holding that has outlived its day they are an absurdity. They are only the hallucinations of its death struggle, words that are reduced to phrases, spirits reduced to ghosts.

'Whatever the immediate results may be, a new point of departure of world-historic importance has been gained.' (April 17, 1871.)

(vii) A note on 'the middle classes'

UNDER THE general heading of 'the middle classes', many very different questions are often thrown together, with the purpose of suggesting that Marx's division 'proletariatbourgeoisie and his insistence on the polarization between these two classes, with the revolutionary consequences flowing from it, is misguided because it fails to account for the effect of intermediate and transitional layers or classes.

We have already seen that Marx's major work, 'Capital', is in any case concerned with a level of analysis where these intermediate layers are explicitly excluded from consideration. At the political and ideo-

logical levels, however, the role of these middle strata is of great importance. In this chapter, for example, we have summarized the verdict of Marx on the role of the peasantry in the course of the last stages of the bourgeois revolution and its juncture with the first appearance of the revolutionary proletariat in 1848.

²⁵(Ibid, p. 422.)

all their weight upon the working class and at the same time increase the social security and power of the upper class.'26

Marxists would make a characaterization of the economic basis and political role of each component part of these middle classes, with the first and obvious differentiation between 'new' middle classes based on the profes-sional functionaries of the business corporations and state institutions and 'old' middle classes based on small business enterprise. But these classes are not fundamental in the sense of the 'economic law of motion' of capitalism.

They enter the analysis at the level of struggle between the classes in all its aspects; this is why Marx draws attention to their 'pressure' on the proletariat and their function as an adjunct of the power of the bourgeoisie.

Similarly, discussing an aspect of what is nowadays called 'social mobility' (i.e. the movement of individuals be-tween social classes), Marx emphasises the relation of such social changes to the overall power-situation between the two main classes. Only from this standpoint can we ascertain the significance of the 'mobility':

²⁶(Marx, 'Theories of Surplus Value'. Cited in Bottomore and Rubel, op. cit., p. 190.)

Relationship

Three years later, Lenin drew attention to the relationship between this new middle estate and the old type of petty bourgeoisie, this time along the lines of Marx's note about the latter's 'pressure' on the proletariat:

'In all the countries of Europe, Russia included, the petty bourgeoisie is steadily being "thrust to the wall" and falling into decline, a process which does not always express itself in the outright and direct elimination of the petty bourgeoisie, but in most cases leads to a reduction of its role in economic life, to deterioration of its living conditions, and greater insecurity.

'Everything militates against it: technical progress in big industrial and agricultural enterprises, the development of the big shops, the growth of manufacturers' associations, cartels and trusts, and even the growth of consumers' societies and municipal enterprises. And.

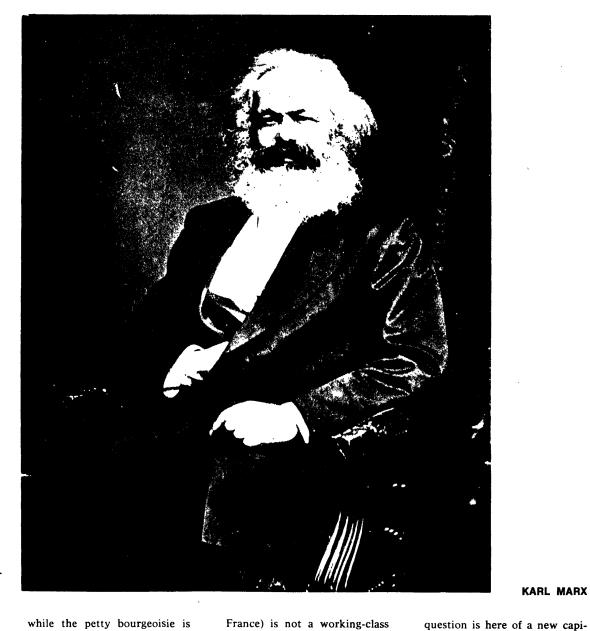
²⁷(Kautsky, 'Bernstein und das Sociallemokratische programm: eine antikritik'.)

28(Collected Works', Vol. IV,

to introduce into the political

chain and intermediate link: the petty-bourgeois democrats and socialists of the Sukhanov

type, journalists and politicians of the new middle caste, who had taught the masses that the



KARL MARX

talist type of petty bourgeoisie,

of industrial, commercial and bank clerks, the functionaries

of capital on one side, and the

workers' bureaucracy on the

other — that is of that new

middle caste, in whose name

the well known German social

democrat Eduard Bernstein

undertook at the end of the

last century a revision of the

revolutionary conceptions of

According to Trotsky, this

'new middle caste', by reason

particularly of its incorpora-

tion of a section of the bureau-

cracy grown up within the

working class, has a unique

'In order to answer the ques-

tion how a revolution of

workers and peasants came to

surrender the power to the

bourgeoisie (in Russia after

February 1917), it is necessary

Marx.'

political role:

while the petty bourgeoisie is being "thrust to the wall" in the sphere of agriculture and industry, a "new middle socialestate", as the Germans say, is emerging and developing, a new stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, who are also finding life in capitalist society harder and harder and for the most part regard this society from the viewpoint of the small producer.

'It is quite natural that this must inevitably lead to widespread dissemination and constant revival of petty-bourgeois ideas and doctrines in the most varied forms.'29

Trotsky wrote in a similar

vein about the political relations between these two social strata:

Socialist Party (of 'The ²⁹(**Ibid**, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

BBC 1

Rest of Basil Brush.

a blonde.

6.10 NEWS and weather.

9.50 NEWS and weather.

10.05 MATCH OF THE DAY.

11.30 Weather.

HIGH ADVENTURE

France) is not a working-class party either with regard to its policies or its social compostition. It is the party of the new middle estate (the functionaries, civil servants, etc.) and, in part, of the petty bourgeoisie and the labour aristoc-

Important

In his 'History of the Russian Revolution', Trotsky, far from dismissing this 'new middle estate' as irrelevant, gives it a very important political role in the revolution:

'Lenin described Sukhanov as one of the best representives of the petty bourgeoisie, and that is the most flattering thing that can be said of him. 'Only in this connection it

must not be forgotten that the

SATURDAY

10.25 a.m. Weather. 10.30 Grandstand. Featuring Gillette Cup Final.

12.55 p.m. Football preview. 1.10 International moto-cross. 1.20, 2.20,

2.50 Racing from Ripon. 2.00 Show jumping. 4.55 Results service. 5.40

30('Whither France', p. 142.)

bourgeoisie is an enemy, but themselves feared more than any thing else to release the masses from the control of that enemy. 'The contradiction between the character of the revolution and the character of the power that issued from it, is explained by the contradictory character of this new petty-bourgeois partition wall between the revolutionary masses and the

'Paradox'

capitalist bourgeoisie.'31

Trotsky also suggests that the failure of the German re-volution of 1918-1919 can be laid at the door of the same social elements. The 'paradox' by which state power is handed back to the bourgeoisie by professed socialists, he says:

'. . seems all the more striking, because the experience of the German revolution of 1918 did not then exist, and humanity had not yet witnessed a colossal and still more successful operation of this same type carried out by the "new middle caste" led by the German social democracy.'32

In the 1930s, Trotsky made a further contribution to the 'political sociology' of these middle strata in his analyses of the Nazi movement ('Germany: What Next?'). By the 1930s, it was not simply a matter of its representatives dominating and misleading the working-class movement, but rather a question of all the 'middle' sections, new and old, providing the mass basis for t h e counter - revolutionary forces mobilized by Hitler.

Central to all these examples is the need for a specific historical analysis in each case of the actual constituents of the 'middle classes', the actual extent to which their interests diverge or temporarily coalesce

-all taken in relation to the main determinant of the political relationship of forces, the historic struggle between the two great classes in modern production: bourgeoisie and proletariat.

31(Trotsky, 'History of the Russian Revolution', pp. 184-

32(Ibid.)

CROSSROADS

THE CONFERENCE, which ended last week in the Appenine resort of Vallombrosa, of the Christian Associatons of Italian Workers (ACLI) was the scene of veritable orgies of 'dialoging' between Catholic clergymen

No effort was spared by the observers from the Italian Communist Party in their attempt to present the opportunist phrases of Catholic bureaucrats under pressure as the gospel of class struggle.

and Stalinists.

ACLI, set up by the Vatican heirarchy to take over some of the tasks of 'Catholic Action' and thus to organize religious observance and discipline on a mass scale among the Italian working class, has become a close adjunct of the Catholic trade union CISL, itself being forced, under rank-and-file pressure, to lead militant action against the employers.

During the bitter struggles of

last year, which drew millions Catholic workers into action, and in the strikes to be expected this autumn, ACLI has been obliged to polish up its left face to pressure its support.

At the 1967 Conference—identified by the Stalinists as the beginning of its 'turn to the left'—it was sufficient to make ritual denunciations of 'the opulent society'.

But in 1970 stronger meat is

required. ACLI has therefore ended its official links with Christian Democratic Party, and registered its independence of the Vatican

heirarchy.

A number of delegates favoured support for a new political movement (set up by Livio Labor, an ex-President of ACLI the Workers' Political Movement' which favours collaboration with the CP).

Phrases such as 'struggle

against neo-imperialism', 'a class movement against capitalism' and so on were freely tossed

All this was music to the ears

European REVIEW

(or nectar to the tonsils) of veteran Stalinist Lombardo Radice, archpriest of the Party's communion with 'progressive clergymen.

At a 'round-table' organized at the conference he performed a duet in honour of 'structural reforms' with Jesuit priest Diez Alegria, according to whom:

'The Christian Community committed a social and historical sin in the 19th century: it accepted the bourgeois-liberal conception of individual private property as the basis of the economic, social and political order.'

(In extenuation of Mother Church it should be added that she 'sinned' under extreme duress; only when, in August 1870, the troops of the nationalist

army were at the gates of Rome, did the Papacy abandon feudalism to its fate.)

ACLI's move leftwards has not been achieved without some

The Italian Bishops, led by Cardinal Poma, have opposed the separation from the Christian Democrats and the Church heirarchy, and a 'moderate' minority remains organized within ACLI

But the blessing of His Holiness remains, if a little muted.

The official Vatican newspaper 'L'Osservatore Romano' reported the conference in neutral terms, and sources close to St Peter's throne indicate that no mass excommunications are to be

NIARCHOTICS

THE DECISION by Costa-

According to Niarchos' Paris lawyer, De Chambrun, Eugenia of the US car tycoon).

When she was discovered in a

The family doctor, Arnautis, was flown from Athens, but re-

then took the initiative by establishing a commission of six doctors to inquire into the cause of the death.

The job of the commission was to provide the 'expert evidence' to put an end to the judicial case against Niarchos.

Accordingly it was staffed with appropriate 'experts'. The chairman was Dr Demetrios Kapsaskis, one of the main witnesses on behalf of the Greek regime be-fore the commission of inquiry into torture in Greece set up by the Council of Europe.

possible to accept.

ing the finding of the Salonika police that the left-wing MP Gregorio Lambrakis had been killed in 'a road accident', whilst regime were implicated with ex-

And more recently he has provided cover for the murders of the Centre Party MP Mandilaras ('by drowning') and the Communist Party MP Tsaruchas ('from a heart attack'—whilst being taken to jail in a police

Niarchos

Having thus proved his credentials, he has also been chosen

them at the inquiry into the

murder of the Cypriot ex-Minis-

ter of the Interior, Gheorkadzis.

prise when his commission con-

cluded that Eugenia Niarchos'

death was due solely to an over-

signed an agreement with the

government whereby he received

exclusive rights to exploit the

Aspropyrghos oil refinery (previously state property), a two-thirds share in the refinery itself,

and a large reserved quota for

the transport of crude oil from

In return he undertook to in-

vest \$250 million in the Greek economy over the next seven

And within a month

Eugenia's funeral, on June 6, he

was joined by Minister of the

Economy Makarezos, one of the three architects of the colonels'

coup, at the launching, from his

shipyards at Scaramangas, of a huge floating dock named . . .

Having deposited bail of a few thousand dollars, Niarchos is now thought to be cautiously

cruising outside Greek territorial

waters in his luxury yacht the

cause it would be inconvenient

for them to organize their plans

for the economy in conference

He has every faith in the desire of the colonels to drop all charges against him, if only be-

'Eugenia S. Niarchos'.

Within a few days Niarchos

dose of drugs.

the Middle East.

It was therefore no great sur-

colonels to represent

Kapsaskis there gave evidence that there was no torture whatsoever in either the prisons or the police stations of the regime -evidence that even the reactionary representatives of European 'democracy' found it im-Earlier, in 1963, it was Kap-

saskis who signed a report back-

with a convicted murderer. But if it should be politically impossible to have him back, he will not be short of places to stay. As well as his pheasant-infested private island of Spet-sopoula, he has a villa in Bermuda, a castle with all mod cons at Cap d'Antibes in the treme right wingers in the crime. south of France, a large chalet three-floor luxury apartment in in St Moritz, Switzerland, a New York, a palace on the plush

> and a long lease of half a floor of Claridge's Hotel, London. And if exiled among the international flesh-pots, he will not be short of friends.

Faubourg St Honoré in Paris

Through the late Eugenia (daughter of millionaire ship tycoon George Livanos) he is exbrother-in-law to fellow shipowner Aristotle Onassis. After divorcing Livanos' other daughter Onassis passed, by way

of an affair with Italian operatic soprano Maria Callas, into the arms of Jacqueline Kennedy. Onassis has equally close (if less romantic) relations, via Boston oil millionaire Tom Pappas,

and Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew, with the Nixon regime.
Niarchos is also a close acquaintance of the Greek royal family, now exiled in London.

He visited King Constantine in Rome in December 1967, shortly

after the failure of his attempted palace coup, as a peacemaker from the colonels.



Eugenia Niarchos

The acquaintance was cemented by substantial royal holdings in some of his enterprises.

Aside from the present epi-sode, Greek shipowners have every reason to feel grateful to the colonels' regime.

Before the coup the Greek merchant marine sailed largely under flags of convenience (Panamanian, Liberian, Lebanese etc.) and were thus able to exploit the crews to the maximum with long hours, harsh discipline, low wages and casual safety regulations.

Now they can do all this, with even greater convenience, whilst flying the Greek flag, and the 3,000 ships of Niarchos and his fellow millionaires proudly carry the blue-and-white evidence of their patriotism.

JUST OUT

BY ROBERT BLACK

because of these marks. The body was then flown to tinos Fafutis, a junior member of the Greek judiciary in Piraeus, where a police doctor signed a certificate attributing in the proceedings that followed Piraeus, that millionaire shipher death to barbiturate poisonit became clear not only that Lambrakis had been assassinated, owner Stavros Niarchos must ing, but noting marks on the face and throat. The government but that high officials of the

face a charge of 'lethally injuring' his wife Eugenia is an almost certainly temporary obstacle to the plans of the fascist regime to bury the

Niarchos took an overdose of barbiturate sleeping tablets when Niarchos made a phone call from the private island of Spetsopoula, where they were staying, to his ex-wife Charlotte Ford (daughter

coma, Niarchos attempted to revive her, and this, says De Chambrun, accounts for the bruising and marks later found on the corpse's throat.

Hepburn, Robert Taylor and Robert Mitchum. A young wife learns fright-ening things about her husband from his brother. 10.00 London. 11.15 South Bank summer. 12.15 Weather.

HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 and HTV (Cymru/Wales) as above except: 1.30-2.00 Testun trafod. ANGLIA: 11.00-12.15 London.

ANGLIA: 11.00-12.15 London, 1.40 Weather. 1.45 Farming diary. 2.15 Match of the week. 3.15 Kenny Everett explosion. 3.45 lokers wild. 4.10 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. weather. 6.15 London. 7.25 Comedy: 'Carry On Cruising'. With Sidney James, Kenneth Williams, Kenneth Connor and Liz Frazer. 9.05 Hawaii five-o. 10.00 London. 11.15 South Bank summer. 12.10 Epilogue.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-12.15 London. 1.40 Douglas Fairbanks presents. 2.15 Star soccer. 3.15 'The Second Greatest Sex'. With Jeanne Crain, George Nader and Kitty Kallen. Western comedy. 4.40 London. 5.30 Forest rangers. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'You're My Everything'. With Dan Dailey and Anne Baxter. Story about a professional hoofer and the girl he marries. 9.05 Saint. 10.00 London. 10.15 South bank summer. 11.15 Strange report, weather. 11.15 Strange report, weather.

ULSTER: 12.40-1.05 London. 1.50 Saint. 2.45 London. 3.45 Survival. 4.15 London. 5.30 Flipper. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.25 Bracken's world. 8.20 Movie: 'Ransom'. With Glen Ford and Donna Reed. 10.00 London. 10.15 South Bank summer. 11.15 Conceptions of murder.

YORKSHIER: 11.00-12.15 London, 1.05
100 years at school. 1.30 Yorkshire
matters. 1.50 Farming diary. 2.20
Soccer. 3.20 'The Limping Man'. With
Lloyd Bridges, Moira Lister. Mystery.
4.45 London, 5.30 Tom Grattan's war.
6.00 Felix the cat. 6.05 London, 7.25
Film: 'The Nun's Story'. With Audrey
Hepburn, Peter Finch, Edith Evans
and Peggy Ashcroft. The story of a
novice, her initiation and her work
in the Belgian Congo. 10.00 London.
11.15 South Bank summer. 12.15
Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00-12 noon London. 12.30 Faces of justice. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Interpol calling. 2.20 Football. 3.20 Time tunnel. 4.15 Survival. 4.45 London. 5.30 Cartoon time. 5.35 HR Pufnstuf. 6.00 Felix the cat. 6.05 London. 7.25 Picture: "Decision Before Dawn". With Richard Basehart, Oskar Werner, Gary Merrill and Hildegarde Neff. 9.30 A man called Shenandoah. 10.00 London. 11.15 Felony squad.

TYNE TEES: 11.00-12.15 London. 1.25
All our yesterday. 1.50 Farming outlook. 2.20 Soccer. 3.30 Matinee: "The
Swordsman'. With Barry Parks and
Ellen Drew. Two Scottish clans are
locked in bloody feud. 4.45 London.
5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 London. 7.25 Film: "Hot Enough for
June". With Dirk Bogarde and Sylva
Koscina. A reluctant espionage agent
becomes involved in love and intrigue. 9.05 Randall and Hopkirk
(deceased). 10.00 London. 10.15 South
bank summer. 11.15 It takes a thief.
12.10 'Plea To Science' read by
Maxwell Deas. TYNE TEES: 11.00-12.15 London, 1.25

BORDER: 11.00-12.15 London. 1.45 Border diary. 1.50 Farming outlook. 2.20 Soccer. 3.20 Saint. 4.15 Hogan's heroes, 4.40 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 London. 7.55 Love, American Style. 8.50 South bank summer. A musical happening. 9.53 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 11.15 Wayne and Shuster take an affectionate look at . . . Mae West. 12.05 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 1.45 London. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 Gazette. 3.45 Survival. 4.15 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.55 Men of the West: 'The Naked Spur'. With James Stewart, Janet Leigh and Robert Ryan. 9.30 Hogan's heroes. 10.00 London. 11.15 South Bank summer. 12.10 a.m. Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 1.45 London. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 Seaway. 3.40 Telephone game. 4.10 London. 5.30 Flintstones. 6.00 London. 7.55 Cinema: 'No Time For Sargeants'. 10.00 London. 1.15 South Bank summer. 12.10 Person or persona?

BBC 1

9.00-9.30 a.m. Nai zindagi-naya jeevan. 10.30-11.30 Morning service. 1.25-1.50 p.m. Farming. 2.05 Heritage. 'Land For Leisure'. 2.29 News headlines. 2.30 Film for the family. 'Stowaway in the Sky'. With Pascal Lamorisse. 3.45 Sunday grandstand. 3.45 Motor racing. 4.30 Hurling. Cork v Wexford. 4.55 Show jumping from Burghley. 5.30

6.05 NEWS and weather. 6.15 LEADERS OF MEN. 'Christ'.

6.50 SONGS OF PRAISE.

7.25 DIAMOND SPECTACULAR IN LONDON.

8.15 IN TIME OF WAR. 'The Sea Shall Not Have Them'. With Michael Redgrave and Dirk Bogarde. Four men carrying vital information fight a battle for survival in the North Sea. 9.45 NEWS and weather.

Beethoven, Delius.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except: Midlands, East Anglia, North, North West, North East, Cumberland and Westmorland, South West, South West: 11.27 Weather.
 canu, weather.
 dechrau canmol.
 11.27

 Scotland:
 10.30-11.30
 Parish paris West: 11.27 Weather.

Wales: 2.30-3.15 Doctors. 3.15-3.45 Weather.

Surf masters. 6.50-7.25 Dechrau News, weather.

News, weather.

BBC 2

1.50-6.30 p.m. CRICKET. The John Player League, Hampshire, v

7.00 NEWS review and weather.

7.25 THE WORLD ABOUT US. 'The Journals of Lewis and Clark'. A journey undertaken in 1804 exploring the North-West Terri-8.15 MUSIC ON 2. The Bolshoi Ballet. Carmen Suite, Legend of

Love and Spartacus. 9.55 BROADEN YOUR MIND.

11.15 FILM NIGHT.

word. 4.15 Joe. 4.45 The golden shot. 5.30 The forest rangers.

7.00 STARS ON SUNDAY.

SCOTTISH: 12.45 London. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.10 News. 6.15 Sky's the limit. 6.45 Movie: "Hell and High Water'. With Richard Widmark. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 London. 10.10 Match report. 10.25 Late call. 10.30 Movie: "We're No Angels'. With Humphrey Bogart, Aldo Ray. Peter Ustinov. Joan Bennett, Basil Rathbone and Leo G. Carroll.

GRAMPIAN: 12 noon Wind in the willows. 12.15 Skippy. 12.35 London. 5.50 Laredo. 6.45 Movie: 'The One Piece Bathing Suit'. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 London. 10.10 Movie: 'The Long and The Short and The Tail'.

Going for a song. 5.55 Tom and Jerry.

9.55 OMNIBUS AT THE PROMS. In Memoriam Sir John Barbirolli. 11.00 MY WORLD . . . AND WELCOME TO IT. 11.25 Weather.

10.25 THE TENANT OF WILDFELL HALL. 'Recluse'.

11.05 NEWS and weather, cricket scoreboard.

ITV

11.00 a.m.-12 noon Church service. 12.20 p.m. Sunday session. Taliesin tales. 12.40 Families talking. 1.05-1.20 Decimalization. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Survival. 2.45 Big match. 3.45 Never a cross

6.00 CARTOON. 6.05 OBERAMMERGAU. 6.35 INCLUDE ME OUT.

7.25 PLEASE SIR! 'Life Without Doris'. 7.55 HAWAII FIVE-O. 'Blind Tiger'. 8.50 SOUTH BANK SUMMER. With Deep Purple, Blue Mink, The Settlers, Peter Straker, Richard Barnes, Mud, Design, Continum, Monty Modlyn and Malcolm Clare and his Dancers.

9.50 POLICE FIVE. 10.00 NEWS. 10.15 BIG BROTHER. 'The Wife Factor'. With Faith Brook and

Bernard Hepton. 11.15 AQUARIUS. 'It's Cannes, Man'.

REGIONAL ITV

11.45 THINK TWICE. 12 midnight VANTAGE POINT.

CHANNEL: 11.00-12.15 London. 2.13
Weather. 2.15 Big match. 3.10 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 4.10
London. 5.30 Skippy. 6.00 Cartoon time. 6.05 London. 6.15 Oberammagau. 6.35 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Yellow Rolls Royce'. With Rex Harrison, Omar Sharif, Ingrid Bergman and Shirley Maclaine. 10.00 London. Avengers. 12 midnight Epilogue, 10.15 South Bank summer. 11.15

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.20 Electricity on the farm. 1.45 London. 6.00-7.55 London. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

Weather. 1.45 London. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 London. 3.45 Seaway. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 5.30 Magic boomerang. 6.00 Barney Bear's victory. 6.05 London. 7.55 Picture: 'Suddenly Last Summer'. With Elizabeth Taylor, Montgomery Clift and Katherine Hepburn. Drama based on Tenessee Williams' play about a woman committed to a mental institution. 10.00 London. 11.15 South Bank summer. 12:10 Weather. Action 70.

HARLECH: 11.00-12 noon London. 2.00 Decimalization. 2.15 Sports arena. 2.45 London. 3.45 Joe. 4.15 Survival. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.55 Screen: 'Undercurrent'. With Katherine SOUTHERN: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.42

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS

STALINISM BRITAIN

A TROTSKYIST ANALYSIS

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS PRICE 2256d

SOUTHERN: 12.17 Weather, 12.20 Mr.

والمراجع والم والمراجع والمراجع والمراجع والمراجع والمراجع والمراجع والمراج

HARLECH: 12.15 Skippy, 12.45 London, 5.15 Robin Hood, 5.45 London, 5.50 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased).

6.20 GRANDSTAND. The Gillette Cup Final. Lancashire v Sussex. and Dan Duryea. A gunfighter and a cowhand fall out over 8.15 IT'S LULU. With guest Dusty Springfield.
9.00 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE. 'Eye of the Hurricane'. 11.05 THE MAN WHO TALKS TO CHILDREN. Harold Williamson.

REGIONAL BBC All regions as BBC 1 except: talks to children. 11.40 News, talks to children. 11.40 News, weather.

Wales: 10.05-10.25 Cadi ha. 5.40-6.10 Dyna wall. 10.45-11.05 Match of the day. 11.32 Weather..

N Ireland: 5.05-5.15 Sports results and news. 11.05-11.30 Saturday sound. 11.30-11.50 Sports final, news and weather. Midlands, East Anglia, North, North West, North East, Cumberland and Westmorland, South West, South, West: 11.32 Weather. Scotland: 5.00-5.15 and 10.05-10.35 Sportsreel. 10.35-11.15 Scope at the Festival. 11.15-11.40 The man who

BBC 2 3.00-4.30 p.m. SATURDAY CINEMA. 'Call Me Mister'. With Betty

Grable and Dan Dailey. American musical. 7.30 NEWS, sport and weather.

7.45 GREAT ZOOS OF THE WORLD. West Berlin. 8.15 CHRONICLE REVIEW. Anthony Rossiter and W. H. Auden. 9.45 GARDENERS' WORLD.

Barrymore and Steve McQueen.

10.05 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. These Men Are Dangerous: 'Stalin'. 10.35 ROWAN AND MARTIN'S LAUGH-IN.

11.25 NEWS and weather.

ITV 11.30 a.m. RAC road report. 11.35 Stay alive. 12 noon Wind in the willows. 12.15 p.m. Captain Scarlet. 12.45 News. 12.50 World of sport. 12.55 On the ball. 1.20 International sports special. 1.35 They're off! 1.45, 2.15 Racing from Sandown. 2.00, 2.30 Racing from Chester. 2.35 International sports special. 2.45 They're off. 2.50 Racing from Sandown, 3.05 Racing from Chester, 3.10 International sports special. 3.20 They're off! 3.25 Racing from Sandown. 3.35 International sports special. 3.55 Results, scores, news. 4.00 Wrestling from St. Albans. 4.55 Results service. 5.15 Stewpot. 5.45 News.

7.15 MAGGIE'S PLACE. With quests Clodagh Rodgers. Dickie

Valentine, Denny Willis, Suzanne Steele, Kevin Colson and

11.30 MIDNIGHT MOVIE 'Never Love a Stranger'. With John Drew

The Wedgewoods. 8.00 'ESTHER AND THE KING'. With Joan Collins and Richard Foan, Biblical spectacular. 10.00 NEWS.

10.10 THE GOLD ROBBERS. 'The Midas Touch'.

REGIONAL ITV CHANNEL: 12.45 London. 5.15 Road West. 6.10 News. 6.15 London. 7.15 Film. 'Anything Goes'. With Bing Crosby. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 London. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 Court martial. 12 midnight Weather.

5.50 Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.

6.15 BEVERLY HILLBILLIES.

11.10 THE UNTOUCHABLES.

12.05 a.m. VANTAGE POINT.;

6.45 OURS IS A NICE HOUSE.

Piper. 12.45 London. 5.15 Joe 90. 5.45 London. 5.50 Cowboy in Africa. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: 'The Gift of Love'. With Robert Stack and Lauren Bacall. A dying woman adopts a child. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 London, 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 News. 11.45 Weather. Action 70 WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 a.m. Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

6.45 London. 7.15 Cinema. 'Honky Tonk'. With Clark Gable and Lana Turner. A professional con man meets a well-breed lady from Boston. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.10 Cinema. 'Term Of Trial'. With Laurence Olivier and Simone Signoret. A fifteen-year-old girl brings charges of assault against a man three times her age.

HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.45-7.15 Hyd

ANGLIA: 11.55 Seaway. 12.45 London. 5.50 Weather. 5.53 Branded. 6.15 Sky's the limit. 6.45 London. 7.15 'Hitler'. With Richard Basehart. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 All our yesterdays. 12.05 At the end of the day.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12.15 Joe 90 12.45 London. 5.15 Jokers wild. 5.45 London. 5.50 Ours is a nice house. 6.20 'Tarzan's Savage Fury'. 7.50 Name of the game. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 London. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 Espionage, weather.

ULSTER: 12.45 London, 5.50 Laredo. 6.45 Film: 'Siege of Pinchgut'. With Aldo Ray and Heather Sears. An escaped convict threatens to blow up the city of Sydney. 8.40 Sports results. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 London. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 Prisoner. YORKSHIRE: 11.25 Decimalization. 11.35 Better driving. 12 noon Training the family. 12.20 Woobinda. 12.45 London. 5.15 Gunsmoke. 6.10 News. 6.15 Sky's the limit. 6.45 "Tiger Bay". With Hayley Mills. Horst Buchholz and John Mills. A nine-year-old girl becomes involved in a murder. 8.45 Ours is a nice house. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 Finders seekers. 12.05 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.25 Casting around. 11.50 Underwater swimming. 12.15 Stingray. 12.45 London. 5.10 Flipper. 5.15 London. 5.50 Laredo. 6.45 London. 7.15 Tough guys: 'Where No Vultures Fly'. With Anthony Steel and Dinah Sheridan. 9.15 Maggie's place. 10.00 London. 10.15 Man in a suitcase. 11.10 South Bank summer.

TYNE TEES: 12.15 Joe 90. 12.45 London. 5.50 Bonanza. 6.45 London. 8.00 Film: 'Up Periscope'. With James Garner and Edmond O'Brien. Second World War story. 10.00 London. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 Gazette. 12.05 Epilogue.

BORDER: 11.50 All our yesterdays. 12.20 Captain Scarlet. 12.45 London. 5.50 Sports results. 5.50 Joe. 6.20 Branded. 6.45 Kenny Everett explosion. 7.15 London. 8.00 'Parrish'. With Claudette Colbert, Troy Donahue and Connie Stevens. Story set in the tobacco-growing country of Connecticut. 10.00 London: 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 Party's moving on.

Lock-out

after pit

accident

protest

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

THREE THOUSAND miners are locked out

in the Asturian coalfield (northern Spain).

THE TUC RETREAT

ward ten years ago and, probably, would have had more relevance then.

The TUC leadership's record, or rather, lack of it, despite the apologies of the Stalinists, will do nothing to inspire confidence in the millions of workers it représents, nor will it do anything to scare

tits class enemies.

In 1969, when hundreds of thousands of workers struck against Barbara Castle's 'White Paper', the TUC General Council refused to support it and Feather publicly snubbed

the strikers.

If the fight against Wilson was temporarily won, it was in spite of the General Council, not because of it.

Even then the real fruits of victory were snatched out of the hands of the ranks by the TUC's binding agreement to police the unions on behalf of the Labour government.

This decision had the most far-reaching consequences for all sections of workers fighting for better wages because it meant that the powers of the bureaucracy in many of the larger unions would be upheld against any militant opposition from the ranks.

The heroic struggle of the St Helens Pilkington workers certainly illuminated the nature of the TUC's role in a situation of mounting industrial struggle.

The sole purpose of Feather's intervention - as glassworkers' secretary John Potter's open letter (WP, Thursday) reveals — was to secure a return to work and to maintain the apparatus of the General and Municipal Workers' Union bureaucracy

When 600 militants were ruthlessly sacked, despite Feather's solemn assurances, neither the General Council nor its secretary were able to help in reinstating these

If the General Council cannot fight for the rights of glass workers, how the hell can it fight for the right to employment of 600,000 unemployed?

Advisers

We address this question particularly to the centrist humbugs who run 'Tribune' since they have now emerged as the unofficial advisers and public relations men to the trade union bureaucracy.

The example of the 600 St Helens workers is not only a grim reminder to the working class, it is also a devastating reply to the 'Tribune'-ites who uncritically praise the General Council's decisions and worship the incarnation of bureaucracy with the reformist advice that the strategy of the unions 'must be devised at the highest level—in the General Council of the TUC'. In this they have the backing of the 'left' MPs, like Norman Atkinson, and the

But they do not have the backing of history, which clearly shows that precisely because the General Council was the mouthpiece of a reformist bureaucracy it betrayed the working class in 1926—and that it will do so again. 'Tribune' and the Stalinists

do not want to fight or expose the reactionary nature of this counter-revolutionary bureau-

They want to embellish it and preserve it for future betrayals. That is why 'Tribune' can conclude its editorial thus:

'In this context we particularly welcome the initiative suggested by Norman Atkinson in his article in 'Tribune' this week [Atkinson suggested a meeting of the General Council and the shadow cabinet]. Here is a way in which the regrettable breach [?] which was opened between the unions and the party can be healed once and for all.

'Regret'

So the epic struggle against Wilson in May-June 1968 and, presumably, the Pilkington sackings are just 'regrettable' episodes to be forgotten when

conveniently possible?
Workers must place no confidence in these reformists and turn decisively from the trap being prepared by the centrists and the right and 'left'wing trade union leaders at the TUC.

It is precisely now when the working class is being thrust into massive class battles that the danger of compromise, retreat and eventual defeat is greatest.

We say unequivocally that General Council never had, does not and will never have a strategy to defeat the

This strategy is provided only by the Socialist Labour League and the All Trades Unions Alliance. Its essence is expressed in the words of the Transitional Programme: 'The right to employment is the only serious right left to the workers in a society based

upon exploitation.' The struggle for full employment is inseparably connected to the struggle for independence of the trade unions from the capitalist state and the democratization

of the unions.

These demands in turn must be connected with a struggle for a sliding scale of wages and hours and a resolute campaign to open the books of industry as part of the struggle to reorganize the whole system of production and distribution under state ownership and workers' con-

None of these things how-ever, are possible without an implacable struggle against the trade union bureaucracy and political campaign to force the Tories to resign.

This is the only strategy to defeat unemployment, wage-cutting and union bashing.

Stoppage call

GLASGOW district committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryvorkers has unanimously de cided to send a resolution to their EC calling for a one-day stoppage of members throughout the West of Scotland against the closure of two Sterne (Prestcold) factories in Glasgow.

Worst fears confirmed

● FROM PAGE ONE shed/areas; and accept any job available if capable of doing the work.'

Objections

The deal gives the employer the right to direct men as necessary, and lays down that any employee who objects must raise his objection first through his supervisor and then through the shop steward. This will not be as easy as

it sounds. The employers have rejected the unions' demand for 120 full-time shop stewards, on the

Instead, the unions have now agreed that this quota of full-time stewards will be maintained only for the first two months of the deal. After that the number will be halved, unless the Modernization Committee unanimously decides otherwise.

The dock employers are cock-a-hoop about their success in getting the deal through, and their chairman Walter Lewis has paid tribute

to Peter Shea of the Transport and General and Les Newman of the Stevedores' and Dockers' union, for their

part in expediting it. The employers look forward to further rapid reductions in the number of London dockers, which has fallen since September 1967 from 23,583

'Watched'

The London Port Employers' Association says in a state-

'The successful outcome [or Devlin will be watched by other industries where industtuations in wage rates and the anomalies and the pressure of

the piecework system.' Workers in these industries—and particularly dockers in other ports—would be well advised to follow closely the progress of the Devlin speedup on the London docks which has become a test-case for productivity deals throughout

LATE NEWS

REJECT FORMULA

mass meeting of GKN Sankey workers yesterday overwhelmingly rejected the return to work formula worked out in the 13-hour negotiations between trade union officials, employers and strike committee representa-

tives last Wednesday.

The formula, which gave increases on a six-point scale tied to an incentive scheme, met angry opposition from the Wellington, Shropshire, strikers, many of whom would only receive £2.

It was clear from the beginning of the meeting that there would be no acceptance of the offer. The officials' speeches

were punctuated by shouts of 'Vote now', and '£8 10s now'.
All three officials—from the G&MWU, AEF, and the T&GWU—insisted that this was the best offer they could

get and that they could do no

Such appeals cut no ice, as the vote showed. A speaker from the floor addressed the meeting and called for nothing less than 4s 3d an hour and no incentives. This was met with overwhelming support from

the crowd. There was then a call for another meeting next Friday although the officials had previously announced a further meeting at 11.30 on Tuesday.

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

Pilkington sackings

WORKERS PRESS

THE EMPLOYERS and the Tory government have scored two important victories in the past period. One was the collapse of the dock strike and the other was the lifting of the blacking of Pilkington products on Merseyside docks.

In both cases, they took the measure of the trade union leaders and operated tactics based on an understanding of the men they had to deal with.

Faced with the threat of the use of troops on the docks and afraid of the struggle that would develop, the union leaders retreated. A few days after the dock strike was settled, Pilkington's sacked 600. The employers were learning that 'get-tough' tactics paid dividends with trade union leaders.

The port employers' tactics over the Pilkington blacking followed the very same pat-tern as those in the dock strike.

After the stewards' decision to black the glass, the employ-ers provoked a battle. At the Birkenhead dockers' meeting, a steward reported that the docks district secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union had reached an agreement with the employers that no more glass would be brought to the dock. But the glass was brought in.

Challenge

They had no intention of allowing the cargo to be put on one side, but challenged the blacking by clearing out men who refused to work on it. They won that challenge with the help of trade union officials and opportunist shop stewards who wouldn't carry forward a fight for principle.

Between the decision to black and the decision to lift the black **nothing** had changed. The principle at issue remained exactly the same. 480 militant men remained victimized.

The trade union leaders allied against the action. rallied Stewards posed with a real fight—with the CP stewards who were in the vanguard of the retreat-seized on an excuse to withdraw.

With unexampled credulity they accepted the statement of a Pilkington director, whom their trade union official contacted, that all Pilkington men were being reinstated. This could easily have been checked up. They excused themselves with reports that dockers were complaining about the

Certainly a fight on principle comes up against insularity and backwardness. That is what a fight for principle is all about.

However as the actionendorsed in some sections on decision at meetings-showed clearly that overwhelming support could have been won by a fight and in a very short period a tremendous victory

Covered retreat

work in St Helens Pilkington factories?', said some stewards to cover their retreat. This, from stewards whose wages and conditions owe much to the militancy of past generations of dockers and traditional solidarity of dockers with other sections of workers!

On whose solidarity can the Pilkington men depend? Without any militant tradition the glassworkers at St Helens came into struggle; they were abandoned by their own union, deceived by the church and betrayed by the TUC, right after the hardships of seven-weeks strike.

Then they were ruthlessly sacked with the consent of the union leaders. Having defeated the movement for the £10 wage increase, the Pilkington employers now hope to capitalize on the sackings by using them to pressure the glassworkers. These sackings are the concern of all workers in Britain.
The sacked men are not

workers with a Pilkington brand on them. They are part of the whole working class which is under attack by the government and the employers. The seven-weeks strike was part of a movement which has swept formerly conservative and quiescent sections of the working class into action.

The thousands of workers involved in that struggle were in an action the like of which had not been seen before in this company-dominated town of St Helens.

Relationship

They broke through the trade union bureaucracy and into struggle in the same way as hundreds of thousands of other workers who have found their trade union leadership a barrier between them and

the employers.

An unprecedented witchhunt was unleashed on the workers on strike.

Disgruntled glassworkers ransack the St Helens General and Municipal Workers' Union headquarters during their seven-week strike earlier this year. In other struggles in the To form a new union in past years, such as the dock the struggle against bureaustrike of 1967 and the Leyland

AUSTRALIAN LETTER

strike of last year, the workers returned with a new relationship of forces. Their enhanced confidence and unity was the basis for further economic victories after the This did not happen at St

The workers returned while a base for the management union leadership --- remained in their ranks.

Here the management had their vital point of support for re-establishing the old relationship in the factories and for taking the lead in the general attack of big business and the Tory govern-

ment against rank-and-file

Sydney, Aug. 27—Australia's

first-ever stoppage against a national Budget brought an

estimated 750,000 workers out

Most of these answered the

call by the Australian Council

of Trade Unions (equivalent of the TUC), and stopped for three hours, but others re-

fused to return to work after

open to all sorts of offers

They could, for example,

leave the ADO 28 workers

Such a situation would

threaten the continuation of

piecework at the plant:

set the pace for piecework

increases throughout the

that Morris Motors' piece-

work rates have fallen be-

hind other factories in Cowley, like Radiators and

Pressed Steel, mainly be-

cause Morris has had few

new models-only two in

the assembly stewards are concerned, the ADO 28 will

a high-priced job on piece-

work or it will not be built.

Linwood

climb-down

CHRYSLER'S Linwood work-

ers decided to return to work

at a mass meeting yesterday

morning following a tempor-

ary management climb-down

The management have agreed to cut back their pro-

posal for 50 cars an hour to

the original 46 for the next

fortnight, after which workers

The management will then

over track speed-up.

reconsider the issue.

go on holiday.

The strikers are to meet

It is clear that as far as

the past 12 years.

again next Friday.

The stewards point out

Cowley

FROM PAGE ONE

from the company.

below the average.

factory.

on strike this week.

cratic trade unionism was a mistake, but it was a mistake made in the struggle against There are some stewards and trade unionists who use

the issue of the formation of another union as a pretext for not struggling against But let there be no confusion here.

The sackings pose an issue of principle: the right to strike. To struggle for that right means to fight a trade union leadership that is capitulating to the Tories' and Because of the nature of their fight the Pilkington

workers are testing out every kind of leadership.

scores of rallies held

Although union leaders ex-

pressed disappointment at the

attendance at many of the open-air meetings, the wor-

kers showed the government

that they are prepared to take

In New South Wales the

strike brought transport, min-

ing, shipping, building and

the manufacturng industry to

Action was centred around

the recent Budget increase of

50 cents (4s 8d) a week for

pensioners, an insult to the

old people of the country

which will not even alleviate

the increase in indirect taxa-

tion also imposed by the

At a meeting in the centre

of Sydney, strikers passed a

resolution calling for the re-

organization of social services.

an immediate \$5 (£2 6s 8d) pen-

sion increase and an immedi-

ate \$3-a-week (£1 8s) increase

leader Mr Gough Whitlam.

speaking in the House of Rep-

resentatives (Commons), said:

this Budget and destroy the

government which has spon-

'Our purpose is to destroy

He drew attention to the

lack of provision in the

Budget for the nation's rapidly

deteriorating schools and hos-

pitals, and the inadequate

But the fact that Mr Whit-

lam has attacked the Budget

and the government on behalf of the reformist Labour Party

should not fool the workers.

the present government by a Labour one, but merely doing

so will not solve the problems

of this country unless social-

There is little doubt that

the present organized workers

action, even under reformist

leadership, will invoke the

middle class into lashing out

Already increasingly hysteri-

Minister for Labour and Jational Service, Mr Bill

Service, Mr

cal statements are being made by ministers and 'captains of

ist measures are adopted.

to defend themselves.

National

It is important to replace

The opposition Labour Party

in child endowment.

throughout the country.

political strike action.

a standstill.

Budget.

sored it.'

social services.

WARNING

TO ALL TRADE

UNIONISTS

pathy. If it was water it would have washed Pilking-ton's away by now. But we are not going to be reinstated by sympathy.'

Empty words are quickly

stripped away. As a spokes-man from their rank-and-file

committee said at a Liverpool

Trades Council meeting:

'We've had oceans of sym-

Acid test The fight for blacking has become an acid test for trade unionists.

Success for Pilkington's will mark a turning point in the war against the working class. Workers must guard against the attitude typified by one dock steward who declared: 'No! It couldn't happen to us. Such complacency is the

BY AIR MAIL

PAR AVION

AUSTRALIA

Snedden - as usual, fond of

colourful phrases-urged em-

ployers not to 'bow to naked

wicked workers are taking

advantage of a full employ-

ment economy (unemployment

own, compared with how it

General needed an annual

stands at 1 per cent).

Budget.

force' over wage demands.

According to him

with tremendous fighting capacity. The dockers will take cash and fight the But the employers are manoeuvring to impose these harsh conditions by lining up

support from the leadership in the workers' ranks. Only a leadership toughened in the fight for principle and with a clear political perspective will be able to prevent the workers' fighting ability from being eroded.

foundation of defeats in the

ports as anywhere else and

has particular relevance to the

struggle against the port employers plans contained in Devlin Phase Two.

Devlin is now agreed in London. On Merseyside, the

fight is being prepared, not on principle, but to get the most cash for Devlin's con-

Of course, the ruling class still has to deal with an untamed docks labour force

This demands an opposition to trade union leaders who will make 'left' phrases against the Tories, but betray the struggles and assist the Tories to undermine workers' strength.

Decisive

Trade unionists must accept the challenge of Pilkington's. If Pilkington's get away with sackings and selective re-employment, then the employers' whole offensive receives a great impetus. If the men are reinstated then that will be a decisive blow to the employers' offen-

sive and an inspiration to the whole working class. Resolutions asking the TUC and union executives to take action are all very well. But they will amount to nothing more than impotent gestures if they are not accom-

panied by concrete action to black Pilkington glass. Difficulties there may well An interesting revelation on how the ruling class treats its be in certain places where the glass is used. But we can not evade a fight for this reason or we shall stand condemned in allowing the treats the working class, was revealed immediately after the employers to win a major It decided that a Governor

On the docks and in the pension of \$7,500 a year factories, trade unionists of (£3,500), or his widow needed 2,800 dollars (£1,873). principle who recognize the employers' offensive and want This is the amount that has to fight it will campaign with all their might for the blackbeen granted to Sir William McKelly and Field Marshal ing of Pilkington's products. Lord Slim, who each held this

victory.

SPAIN



Bill Hunter a leading North-West engineering steward

The employers' action followed a walk-out on Tuesday by 1,000 miners after three of their comrades had been killed by

tion movement continues. In Amman, Hussein is working to isolate the guerrillas, avoiding an immediate fight to a finish.

Iraqi troops now in Jordan. The situation in Amman is to be discussed today at

month] but we do not see any link between that private company [where the accident occurred] and HUNOSA, a state company. izations. 'We cannot accept as reasonable the failure to come to work for events outside our Al Fatah.

company and the area we are exploiting.' HUNOSA then demonstrated their 'sorrow' by declaring a lock-out until September 19.

pit accident the previous

The disaster occurred in a

privately-owned mine in Can-

those who stopped work are employed by the state-owned

The HUNOSA management

issued a statement after the

NO LINK

'We are really very sorry about the accident [the Franco

regime, which owns HUNOSA, killed three striking building

workers in Granada only last

HUNOSA company.

walk out:

gas de Narcea, but many of

After discussion with the state - controlled 'syndicates', which falsely claim to rep-resent Spain's workers, a 'compromise' was arrived at. The lock-out would still operate, but only until the 14th:

SUSPENDED

'All workers who collectively and without justification did not turn up for work without pay until the 13th inclusive of this month.

'Those workers who come to work on that day may take their holidays and apply for unemployment pay from the local Ministry of Labour. The unions [sic!] want to emphasize the need to restrain absenteeism caused by accidents in local pits.'

HUNOSA and their 'union' stooges are not alone in this concern. As reported in previous

numbers of Workers Press, the fight for productivity is now being waged against the Asturian miners by technicians and experts from both Poland and the Soviet Union. The Spanish working class will draw its own conclusions

from this alliance. **Productivity**

● FROM PAGE ONE

'A man driven near his limit thinks that more money will solve his problems, but it rarely does.'

The junior hospital doctors, he points out, recently received large pay rises, 'but this has done nothing to lessen the strain of the excessive hours that many of them Though he concludes that

the unions should spend money on studying the best means to maintain a man at maximum efficiency over a long period of time, Professor Mills' letter is a timely reminder of what productivity really means.
Workers Press stands for

complete opposition to all such deals and insists that the fight for higher wages can and must be won without speed-up 'strings'.

tame the Palestine libera-

Demand

After the Jordan government's 'rejection' of the Iraqi threat to intervene in defence of the guerrillas against the Jordanian army, Hussein has demanded the withdrawal of the 18,000

League, representing the Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organ-It was convened

the meeting of the Arab

Nasser at the request of This will be the first meeting since the cease-

fire began attended by both Arab states which accept the 'Rogers plan' and those who have so far opposed it. Further signs of moves by the Arab leaders to drop the guerrilla movement came yesterday, when the Lebanese government asked guerrillas to pull back from the Israel-Lebanon border.

Interior Minister Kamal Kumblatt said that this would avoid giving Israel an excuse for reprisal raids on S Lebanon.

CRANE BAN IN HULL

HULL docks' stewards vesterday threatened to operate an overtime ban if the port employers take action against crane drivers refusing to work

without supervision. The supervisors struck on Thursday because they will be paid less than the cranemen under Devlin Phase Two.

Yesterday, the port super-intendent stated that the crane drivers' would lose a whole day's pay unless the men returned to work by

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE **MEETINGS**

SOUTH-EAST LONDON: Sunday, September 6, 3 p.m. Kerfield Tavern, Grove Lane, Camberwell Green. 'The Tories and the unions.'

EDINBURGH: Sunday, September 6, 7.30 p.m. Edinburgh Trades Council Club, 11, Albany Street. 'The Tories and the trade unions'. BIRMINGHAM: Tuesday, September 8, 8 p.m. 'The Wellington', corner Bromsgrove St and Bristol St. 'Trade unions — the vital question'.

HULL: Wednesday, September 9, 7.30 p.m. Windmill Hotel, Witham. 'Unemployment and the unions'. Speaker: Trevor Parsons, ATUA national committee.

SOUTH-WEST LONDON: Tuesday, September 8, 8 p.m. Princes Head, Falcon Rd, Battersea, SW11. 'With-LEEDS: Wednesday, September 9, 8 p.m. Trades Hall, Upper Fountaine St. 'The fight against speed-up and redundancy in the clothing

NOTTINGHAM: Thursday, September 10, 7.30 p.m. People's Hall, Heathcote St. 'Workers Press and the Fight against the Tories'.

COVENTRY: Thursday, September 10, 7.30 p.m. City Arms, Smith-ford Way. 'Significance of the Rolls-Royce DATA lockout'.

WEATHER

London, SE, central southern and central northern England, E and W Midlands: Rather cloudy. Rain in places, hill fog patches. Normal. Max. 19C (66F).
Channel Islands, SW England: Mostly cloudy, drizzle and hill and coastal fog. Near normal. Max. 18C (64F).
NW England, Glasgow, N Ireland: Rather cloudy, occasional rain with hill fog patches. A few bright spells. Normal. Max. 17C (63F).
Edinburgh: Rather cloudy, occasional rain. Near normal. Max. 17C (63F).
OUTLOOK: Sunday and Monday: (63F).

OUTLOOK: Sunday and Monday:
Unsettled, rain and strong winds
in most areas Sunday. Brighter
Monday.

Australian Tories defend **AUSTRALIA'S Tory Prime** Gregory ban Minister John Gorton yes-

terday defended his decision banning a visit by American Negro comedian Dick

Gorton told the Australian parliament :

'I do not see why we should allow other aliens to come here for the purpose of interfering in political matters in Australia.'

Organizers of Australia's second anti-Vietnam war 'Moratorium' said that Gregory, an active campaigner for Negro rights in the United States, had been

denied a two-week tourist

BY A FOREIGN REPORTER visa to enter the country

The Tory ban is a blatant act of political discrimination against Gregory, and it is also an attack on the anti-war movement in Aus-

objects Gorton Gregory's so-called 'inter-ference' in Australian poli-

and address anti-war rallies in the last two weeks of

tics, yet his government has several thousand troops currently fighting with the US armed forces against Vietnam.

The Australian labour movement, whose dockers struck on May I against Nixon's war, must take up Gregory's case and demand that he be allowed entry to carry on his political work unhindered.