

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● TUESDAY MAY 30, 1972 ● No 778 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE



Singing the 'Internationale' at the end of the SLL's packed public meeting on Sunday ● See report p. 12

## Call from SLL's 14th annual conference

# NO RETREAT: DEFEAT THE TORIES

## Capitulation threat on rail and docks

RAIL AND DOCKS union chiefs may be planning their most ignominious retreat yet in front of the Tories' arrogantly outspoken preparations for industrial war.

The railmen's leaders appear to have dropped plans to restart their work-to-rule, while the Transport and General Workers' Union has called together its docks officials today prior to discussing 'peace' proposals with the port employers.

Heath's weekend warning that there will be no surrender by the government on either front will have intensified the danger of capitulation by the union top brass.

Counting in the rail ballot is now unlikely to be completed before Wednesday.

A written report on the 82-per-cent poll — in which the unions predict a six-to-one majority for further industrial action — will then be handed to an official of the National Industrial Relations Court. All three unions have arranged meetings for that day to discuss their next move.

It has already been intimated, however, that a further work-to-rule is probably off; the next round of industrial action could consist merely of a relatively ineffective overtime ban and ban on rest-day working.

Two excuses are being put forward — the legal dangers of a new work-to-rule and the fact that it would be unpopular with the middle class.

One union leader got himself quoted in the mass-circulation 'Sun' newspaper yesterday morning as saying: 'We want to avoid the provocation of commuters seeing a railwayman walking slowly down a platform. That inflames feelings.'

This is exactly the sort of bleating Tory Ministers want to hear. With Heath they are

By DAVID MAUDE Our Industrial Correspondent

poised like vultures for a possible meeting to announce emergency powers.

Similar dangers exist on the docks, where a national strike is threatened from Friday over demands for more pay, better holidays and the right to pack and unpack cargo-containers.

Today's gathering of officials is expected to take place at Transport House before a key meeting of the port industry's National Joint Council.

There, the employers will table proposals arrived at in secret talks with T&GWU general secretary Jack Jones for a scheme which could temporarily transfer the present redundancy crisis out of the docks.

The plan would involve the setting up of a joint working party between port authorities, shipowners and stevedoring firms to try and bring new work into the ports. Men would be encouraged to find jobs in outside industry while keeping their registration as dockers as a fall-back.

By themselves, such proposals would clearly carry little weight with the T&GWU rank and file in the docks.

Jones and docks secretary Tim O'Leary, however, are expected to lay two arguments before their officials.

Friday, they will point out, is the expiry date for the industrial court's ultimatum to the union to control its docks stewards. The union could be paralysed if there is no sign of this being complied with.

They will also point to the dangers of a split in the union.

A meeting of T&GWU drivers on Sunday defeated a move to 'hive-off' the road-transport section, but urged that containers should be unfit drivers' work.

Turn to p. 12, Col 1

THE 14th ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the Socialist Labour League salutes the dockers, railwaymen and all those sections of the working class who are in the forefront of the struggle for basic rights, for their wages and conditions of work.

We are profoundly convinced that the determination and power of the working class in these struggles can make the hated Tory government resign. We call upon workers everywhere to fight for the whole trade union and labour movement to be mobilized to achieve this aim and to return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

It is fear of this power and resistance of the working class which drives the Tory government to show its real face, the face of arrogance and hatred of the working class, the face of men who have decided to dispense with democratic rights and to attempt the imposition of the open dictatorship of the state, acting in their own class interests.

This is the meaning of their use of the National Industrial Relations Court to try and smash trade unionism. This Court has usurped the rights of parliamentary debate and control. It has chosen the road to dictatorship.

That is why millions of workers are coming into struggle against the Tory government, to defend their basic rights.

Heath's speech at Luton Hoo last Saturday was part of this same ruling-class strategy. He challenged trade unionists to take on the government and claimed to stand for the consumer, the citizen, against the organized workers.

This is the fraudulent talk of men who are preparing for Bonapartist dictatorship. This means rule by decree. It means independent action by courts, by army and police, by the Privy Council, without any reference to parliament, and with the working class deprived of all rights, on the grounds that the state stands above the interests of classes, representing 'the consumer'.

Far from representing the people, they have no mandate whatever for their attacks. They enter the Common Market, they create a million unemployed, they double rents, their policies bring intolerable price rises — all this with no mandate from the people.

Heath, conscious of the refusal of the Labour and TUC leaders to fight, and seeing the open betrayal of the Jenkins group, is calculating on a collapse by the union leadership, at this crucial stage of the railwaymen's and dockers' struggles and of the fight against the Industrial Relations Court.

His Luton Hoo speech is a repetition of his Cabinet statement at the end of the miners' strike in February. When he told the miners' leaders that to demand any more they would be taking on the government, these leaders retreated: they settled for a partial victory on wages when the government could have been brought down.

The dangers of such a collapse of leadership are even graver today.

Since February 19, the Tories have equipped themselves with the dictatorial judgements of the NIRC. They have made preparations for provoking conditions of General Strike, in which whole-

sale arrests and the use of troops would be the order of the day.

Retreat in the face of the Tories' threats will not make them turn back. Their own crisis and fear of the working class drives them forward with their plans for dictatorship.

Now is the time for every section of the working class to be united in action to force the Tory government to resign.

The way forward is for Councils of Action to be set up in every area of the country. These will include trade union branches, trades councils, factory committees, local Labour Parties, all working-class political parties and groups, tenants' organizations, unemployed — every section of the people in struggle to make the Tories resign.

It is from these Councils that the strength of the working class will be mobilized to insist on socialist policies from the Labour government which replaces the Tories.

At the very centre of this great struggle is the question of building the alternative working-class leadership. The Labour leaders and their Stalinist assistants do everything to prevent the working class from confronting the Tory government in struggle.

Fighting on the policy of building Councils of Action, to make the Tories resign, the Socialist Labour League calls upon workers everywhere to join our ranks and to expand the circulation of our daily Workers Press. In this way we will carry through, in November of this year, the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.

Passed unanimously  
Monday, May 27, 1972.

## PAPERBACKS CENTRE

OPENS THURSDAY 10 a.m.  
IN THE WEST END

New Park Publications Ltd is pleased to announce the opening of the Paperbacks Centre at 28 Charlotte Street, W.1. next Thursday, June 1, at 10 a.m.

Mr DAVID MERCER, the well-known playwright, has kindly agreed to open the shop. All readers of the Workers Press are cordially invited to join him.



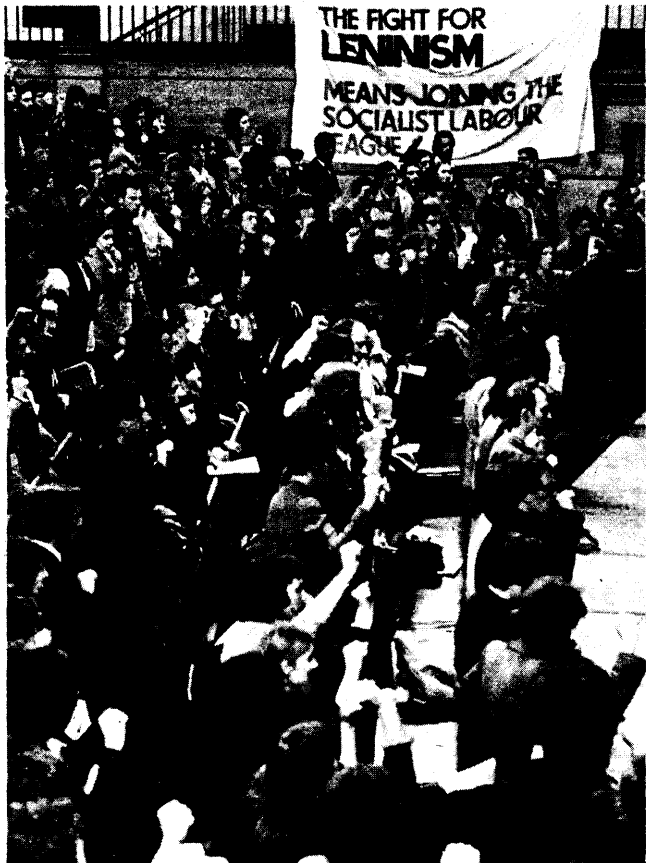
DAVID MERCER



# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • TUESDAY MAY 30, 1972 • No 778 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE



Singing the 'Internationale' at the end of the SLL's packed public meeting on Sunday • See report p. 12

## Call from SLL's 14th annual conference

# NO RETREAT: DEFEAT THE TORIES

## Capitulation threat on rail and docks

RAIL AND DOCKS union chiefs may be planning their most ignominious retreat yet in front of the Tories' arrogantly outspoken preparations for industrial war.

The railmen's leaders appear to have dropped plans to restart their work-to-rule, while the Transport and General Workers' Union has called together its docks officials today prior to discussing 'peace' proposals with the port employers.

Heath's weekend warning that there will be no surrender by the government on either front will have intensified the danger of capitulation by the union top brass.

Counting in the rail ballot is now unlikely to be completed before Wednesday.

A written report on the 82-per-cent poll — in which the unions predict a six-to-one majority for further industrial action—will then be handed to an official of the National Industrial Relations Court. All three unions have arranged meetings for that day to discuss their next move.

It has already been intimated, however, that a further work-to-rule is probably off; the next round of industrial action could consist merely of a relatively ineffective overtime ban and ban on rest-day working.

Two excuses are being put forward — the legal dangers of a new work-to-rule, and the fact that it would be unpopular with the middle class.

One union leader got himself quoted in the mass-circulation 'Sun' newspaper yesterday morning as saying: 'We want to avoid the provocation of commuters seeing a railwayman walking slowly down a platform. That inflames feelings.'

This is exactly the sort of bleating Tory Ministers want to hear. With Heath they are

By DAVID MAUDE Our Industrial Correspondent

poised like vultures for a possible meeting to announce emergency powers.

Similar dangers exist on the docks, where a national strike is threatened from Friday over demands for more pay, better holidays and the right to pack and unpack cargo-containers.

Today's gathering of officials is expected to take place at Transport House before a key meeting of the port industry's National Joint Council.

There, the employers will table proposals arrived at in secret talks with T&GWU general secretary Jack Jones for a scheme which could temporarily transfer the present redundancy crisis out of the docks.

The plan would involve the setting up of a joint working party between port authorities, shipowners and stevedoring firms to try and bring new work into the ports. Men would be encouraged to find jobs in outside industry while keeping their registration as dockers as a fall-back.

By themselves, such proposals would clearly carry little weight with the T&GWU rank and file in the docks.

Jones and docks secretary Tim O'Leary, however, are expected to lay two arguments before their officials.

Friday, they will point out, is the expiry date for the industrial court's ultimatum to the union to control its docks stewards. The union could be paralysed if there is no sign of this being complied with.

They will also point to the dangers of a split in the union.

A meeting of T&GWU drivers on Sunday defeated a move to 'hive-off' the road-transport section, but urged that containers should be unfit drivers' work.

Turn to p. 12, Col 1

THE 14th ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the Socialist Labour League salutes the dockers, railwaymen and all those sections of the working class who are in the forefront of the struggle for basic rights, for their wages and conditions of work.

We are profoundly convinced that the determination and power of the working class in these struggles can make the hated Tory government resign. We call upon workers everywhere to fight for the whole trade union and labour movement to be mobilized to achieve this aim and to return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

It is fear of this power and resistance of the working class which drives the Tory government to show its real face, the face of arrogance and hatred of the working class, the face of men who have decided to dispense with democratic rights and to attempt the imposition of the open dictatorship of the state, acting in their own class interests.

This is the meaning of their use of the National Industrial Relations Court to try and smash trade unionism. This Court has usurped the rights of parliamentary debate and control. It has chosen the road to dictatorship.

That is why millions of workers are coming into struggle against the Tory government, to defend their basic rights.

Heath's speech at Luton Hoo last Saturday was part of this same ruling-class strategy. He challenged trade unionists to take on the government and claimed to stand for the consumer, the citizen, against the organized workers.

This is the fraudulent talk of men who are preparing for Bonapartist dictatorship. This means rule by decree. It means independent action by courts, by army and police, by the Privy Council, without any reference to parliament, and with the working class deprived of all rights, on the grounds that the state stands above the interests of classes, representing 'the consumer'.

Far from representing the people, they have no mandate whatever for their attacks. They enter the Common Market, they create a million unemployed, they double rents, their policies bring intolerable price rises — all this with no mandate from the people.

Heath, conscious of the refusal of the Labour and TUC leaders to fight, and seeing the open betrayal of the Jenkins group, is calculating on a collapse by the union leadership, at this crucial stage of the railwaymen's and dockers' struggles and of the fight against the Industrial Relations Court.

His Luton Hoo speech is a repetition of his Cabinet statement at the end of the miners' strike in February. When he told the miners' leaders that to demand any more they would be taking on the government, these leaders retreated: they settled for a partial victory on wages when the government could have been brought down.

The dangers of such a collapse of leadership are even graver today.

Since February 19, the Tories have equipped themselves with the dictatorial judgements of the NIRC. They have made preparations for provoking conditions of General Strike, in which whole-

sale arrests and the use of troops would be the order of the day.

Retreat in the face of the Tories' threats will not make them turn back. Their own crisis and fear of the working class drives them forward with their plans for dictatorship.

Now is the time for every section of the working class to be united in action to force the Tory government to resign.

The way forward is for Councils of Action to be set up in every area of the country. These will include trade union branches, trades councils, factory committees, local Labour Parties, all working-class political parties and groups, tenants' organizations, unemployed—every section of the people in struggle to make the Tories resign.

It is from these Councils that the strength of the working class will be mobilized to insist on socialist policies from the Labour government which replaces the Tories.

At the very centre of this great struggle is the question of building the alternative working-class leadership. The Labour leaders and their Stalinist assistants do everything to prevent the working class from confronting the Tory government in struggle.

Fighting on the policy of building Councils of Action, to make the Tories resign, the Socialist Labour League calls upon workers everywhere to join our ranks and to expand the circulation of our daily Workers Press. In this way we will carry through, in November of this year, the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.

Passed unanimously  
Monday, May 22, 1972.

## PAPERBACKS CENTRE

OPENS THURSDAY 10 a.m.  
IN THE WEST END

New Park Publications Ltd is pleased to announce the opening of the Paperbacks Centre at 28 Charlotte Street, W.1. next Thursday, June 1, at 10 a.m.

Mr DAVID MERCER, the well-known playwright, has kindly agreed to open the shop. All readers of the Workers Press are cordially invited to join him.



DAVID MERCER

ONE SMALL BUT HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT SECTION MISSING FROM OBITUARIES

# The day the Duke met Hitler

THE DEATH of the Duke of Windsor shows Fleet Street at its most servile, sycophantic and hypocritical.

On the eve of unparalleled class battles in Britain the media are trying to whip up a frenzy of monarchism and chauvinism among the middle class.

Every vapid cliché of the ex-King's parasitical existence is vomited into print often by the very people who drove him off the throne in 1936.

Particularly nauseating is the myth of the 'people's monarch', accompanied by photographs of the Duke and his entourage patronizing starving and defeated South Wales miners.

Discreetly omitted from these accounts are the Duke's ties with the Nazis and his friendship with the chief protagonist of work-study and sweated labour — Charles Bedaux.

In this connection, 'The Guardian' reports that:

"In December, 1962, an official British volume of 'Documents on German Foreign Policy' was published, which included the view of a German emissary from Hitler—the Duke of Coburg — that the then King Edward VIII had shown a friendly attitude towards the Third Reich in 1935 and 1936. The Duke of Coburg, an Etonian and a second cousin of Edward VIII, had conversations with him soon after

he succeeded to the throne in 1936, and reported that the King regarded an Anglo-German alliance as an "urgent necessity" and that he would like to meet Hitler. The Duke of Windsor immediately commented that these reports gave a generally false impression, saying that they were "absurd".

However, 'The Guardian' fails to point out that the Duke did meet Hitler and that one of his closest friends, who arranged the meeting, later became a leading functionary of Nazism.

Following his abdication, the Duke of Windsor married the twice-divorced US heiress Mrs Wallis Simpson at the Chateau de Candé, near Tours, France, Bedaux' own country mansion.

Later that year the royal couple went to stay with Bedaux at his Hungarian shooting-lodge and it was from here that Charles Bedaux personally arranged for the Windsors to make a tour of Nazi Germany.

Though the Windsors later claimed the visit had been intended as a private one, they were met in Berlin by high Nazi officials and crowds shouting: 'Heil Edward!' and 'Windsor! Windsor!'

Escorted by Dr Robert Ley, the head of the Nazi Labour Front, who had supervised the savage destruction of German trade unionism, they toured mines, housing estates, chemical works and factories.

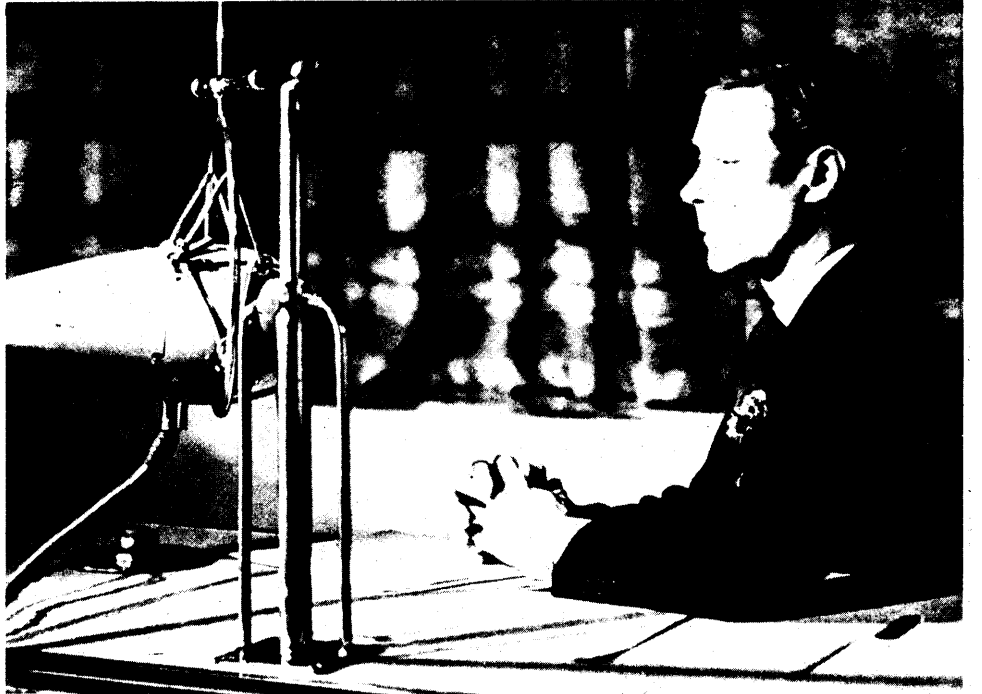
The Duke was also shown over a secret aircraft production works that no visitor had been allowed into before. During their stay the Windsors were entertained by Krupp, Goering, Hess and Hitler.

In her memoirs, the Duchess describes the Duke's reactions to a private interview with Hitler: 'On the way back to Munich, when we were momentarily alone, I asked David [the Duke] whether he had had an interesting talk with Hitler. "Yes, very," he answered riffling through the pages of a magazine.

"Did you get into international politics?" I asked, curiously. "Now darling," he protested, "You know my rule about politics. I'd certainly never allow myself to get into a political discussion with him!"

"You were with him one hour. What did you talk about?" "He did most of the talking." "Well, what did he talk about?" "Oh, the usual stuff. What he is trying to do for Germany and to combat Bolshevism." "What did he say about Bolshevism?" "He's against it."

So was the Duke. When Hitler occupied the Rhineland in 1936 he wrote: 'Instinctively I felt that another great war in Europe was all too probable; and I saw only too clearly that it could only bring needless human suffering and a resurgent Bolshevism pouring into the vacuum of a ravaged and exhausted Continent.'



His close friend, the work-study fanatic Bedaux, took up permanent residence in Germany in 1937 and acted as an intermediary between the Nazis and the Vichy regime after the fall of France. He finally committed suicide in 1945 while under arrest by the US authorities.

It was perhaps at Bedaux' instigation that Ribbentrop, the Nazi Foreign Minister, tried after the fall of France to lure the Duke from Portugal to Spain to tell him Germany wanted peace and would be prepared to restore the Duke to the throne.

The least that can be said about the 'people's monarch' whose death is mourned by such figures as the ex-King of fascist Italy, Umberto, Japan's Hirohito and President Nixon, is that he had some extremely unsavoury friends.

JOHN SPENCER

## Kontum street-fighting continues

STREET-fighting raged in the South Vietnamese city of Kontum for the fifth successive day yesterday and liberation forces consolidated their hold over the town.

American military sources in nearby Pleiku had no word of casualties, but said helicopters ferrying in supplies and evacuating wounded troops were coming under increasingly heavy ground fire.

The city is a major objective of the liberation forces' current offensive.

They have more than 30,000 troops in the area and have infiltrated the city's south and south-eastern quarters.

Kontum football stadium, used as a landing-zone by government helicopters, was hit a number of times on Sunday by rocket fire from positions around the city. The airport is out of action and liberation troops have dug in around it.

US B-52 bombers have been pounding the area around the city, which is cut off by road from the rest of government-held territory.

A relief column trying to open Highway 14 from Pleiku to Kontum was yesterday bogged down a few miles south of the city. It has been almost stationary for more than a week.

### FOREIGN NEWS

#### Five years for strikes in Bangla Desh

STRIKES and 'unfair labour practices' in nationalized industries and other state enterprises of Bangla Desh have been banned by presidential order.

The order, issued on Sunday night, prescribed five years' imprisonment or a fine of 10,000 takas (£530) or both for any violation. It comes into effect immediately.

It prohibits 'intimidation, coercion, pressure, threats, confinement to a place of management, physical injury and disconnection of telephones, water and power'.

It also prohibits 'compulsion or attempts to compel an employer or any officer or

employee of the employer, to sign any memorandum of settlement or agreement'.

The decree is an attempt by the Awami League administration to strip the Bengali workers of the rights they won in struggle against Pakistani domination.

The Bangla Desh government, which was elected under Pakistan rule and has yet to submit to genuine elections under the new constitution, is rapidly turning towards repression of the working class.

#### Lithuanian youth put on trial

THE STALINIST bureaucracy in the Soviet Union is putting on trial hundreds of Lithuanian youth who fought police and troops in street battles two weeks ago.

Two days of rioting followed the death of a political protester who burned himself to death. Reports said the youth in Kaunas were shouting 'Freedom for Lithuania'.

Now a Soviet radio broadcast on Sunday has attempted to discredit the protesters by claiming they were hooligans and drunks who exploited the situation.

Vilnius Radio denied that the suicide by 20-year-old Roman Kalanta was politically-motivated. An 'expert commission' had decided that Kalanta had killed himself in a fit of depression.

The rioting began on the day of Kalanta's funeral. Soviet para-troops and KGB units were rushed to reinforce the police garrison. One policeman was killed and hundreds of

demonstrators arrested.

The fact that the bureaucracy has had to try and cover up the nature of the disturbances indicates the enormous hostility to it in Lithuania and other Republics which have been denied their right to self-determination by the Stalinists.

TURKEY'S prime minister Ferit Melen said yesterday his government must take adequate steps to stamp out political extremism and implement 'reforms' before moving toward General Elections, due by October next year.

Mr Melen, 66, who named his Cabinet one week ago, was submitting his government's programme to a necessary vote of confidence by the National Assembly.

The new premier succeeded Dr Nihat Erim.

#### 'Long and difficult' talks on Vietnam

PRESIDENTIAL adviser Henry Kissinger revealed yesterday that there had been 'long, sometimes difficult and very detailed' talks on Vietnam during Richard Nixon's Moscow visit.

A joint communiqué published to mark the end of Nixon's visit implied that the two sides had come no nearer agreement on Vietnam despite the talks.

But they will have another opportunity for secret talks when Brezhnev, Podgorny and Kosygin visit the United States at the US President's invitation on a date to be fixed later.

### Subscribe! workers press

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

£20.28 for 12 months (312 issues)  
£10.14 for 6 months (156 issues)  
£5.07 for 3 months (78 issues)

If you want to take Workers Press twice a week the rates are:  
£1.56 for 3 months (24 issues)  
£6.24 for 12 months (96 issues)

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:

Circulation Dept., Workers Press, 186a Clapham High St., London, SW4 7UG.

I would like to take out a subscription to Workers Press.

Days required	MONDAY	THURSDAY
(Please tick)	TUESDAY	FRIDAY
	WEDNESDAY	SATURDAY

Or Full subscription (six days) for ..... months.

Amount enclosed £

I would like information about

### THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Fill in the form below and send to NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186A CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON, SW4 7UG.

Name .....

Address .....

# WHY LABOUR WON'T FIGHT RENTS BILL

Part 2. By Philip Wade, Housing Correspondent

The Labourites' so-called Rent (Control of Increases) Act of 1969 was, like the 1965 Act, a real trick. It actually allowed councils, most of which were Tory-controlled at the time, to increase rents by 7s 6d a time and more with government permission.

Throughout that period, when 250,000 Greater London Council tenants were faced with six-monthly increases of 10s a week in their rents, the Labour government stood by.

Yet the most sordid and abject capitulation to property financiers was to come with the now-notorious 1969 Housing Act. It has since proved to be one of the best measures ever enacted on behalf of property speculators.

Ostensibly it was an attack on dilapidated, rent-controlled property.

At that time there were about 1½ million privately-owned, rent-controlled, unfit dwellings. Of these about 1 million were scheduled for demolition as part of slum-clearance programmes which paid out large compensation sums.

## HAND-OUT

Of the remaining 400,000, half qualified for a free hand-out from public funds to make them 'fit to live in'.

For providing minimum amenities (i.e. hot and cold water, a bath, sink and indoor toilet) the landlord got up to 50 per cent of the cost.

As if that wasn't good enough for the Labourites, these self-same landlords were then able to remove their tenancies from rent control. Rents, subsequently have soared, with increases above 300 per cent.

For those unfortunate tenants whose properties already had standard amenities the position was worse. Their rents rocketed without a penny being spent on their houses and flats.

Labour MP Arthur Blenkinsop, replying to a committee debate on the Housing Bill on March 4, 1969, said:

'I am prepared to accept provisions for rent increases in spite of the anxiety of many of my hon. friends, partly because I am deeply concerned to get improvements carried out.

'Unless one uses what one might call the bride of these

provisions, I do not see how this objective can be achieved.'

What had happened to the pledge made ten years earlier to municipalize all rent-controlled accommodation? Like all other Labour promises, it had been long forgotten as the government moved to the right following outright adaptation to the wishes of the international banking fraternity.

It was this Act that opened the door wide for estate agents and property dealers to come smashing down on working-class tenants living in the inner-city areas.

Using the provisions of the Act they have legally been able to drive thousands of tenants out of their homes. Whole areas of London, for example, have been turned over to rich, middle-class tenants in search of a 'town flat'.

Although the Act itself never gave the go-ahead for mass evictions (the 1965 Act prevented this) landlords soon found a way round these restrictions.

Landlords obtained what is known as a 'certificate of approval' stating that if the work was carried out, the tenancy would qualify for a transfer from—controlled to regulated.

Landlords were then able to show tenants that council-authorized building work, naturally of a disruptive character, could begin at any time. And wouldn't it be better for the tenant to accept some money to leave or take 'alternative accommodation' offered by the landlord?

Faced with the crippling prospect of a 300-per-cent increase and a lengthy period of building work, it is not surprising that most of these tenants chose to quit instead.

## PRESENT

That is why in central London where the worst slums used to be you now have Regency terraces with roads cluttered by sports cars. And all a present from the Labour government!

Other aspects of Labour's housing programme fared no better. In a futile attempt to deal with land speculation the government set up the Land Commission. This cumbersome and bureaucratic machine was supposed to buy up surplus land and sell it to local councils cheaply.

Part of the operation was the introduction of a betterment levy which aimed at heavily taxing profits made by land speculators.

As an alternative to land



Wilson: Objectives in housing failed throughout six years.

nationalization it failed miserably. Little land was bought and the speculators carried on. The Tories replaced the Land Commission if only to save them paying the massive army of civil servants it embraced.

As for the house-building rate, that suffered too as big business demanded more attacks on the working class and a cut in public expenditure.

A 1965 White Paper had set a target of 500,000 houses a year and said that even this figure 'was modest in the light of housing needs . . . not enough . . . the 1970s should see still bigger programmes'.

Not once was this objective achieved in six years of Labour government under Wilson. The high-point was 1968 when 414,000 houses were built.

By 1969 the number had slumped dramatically to 360,000, the lowest total for five years and 13 per cent down on 1968. In 1970 the total fell even further.

Now the Tory government has proceeded to destroy on the basis of the seeds sown by Labour.

The Tories' 'fair rents' Bill, as it is known, destroys the basis of municipal housing with its proposals to impose means tests, double rents, cut subsidies and strip away powers from local councils.

Council house building has been whittled down while house prices soar 25 per cent in six months. Land speculation sees no limits and Labour councils must now pay up to £200,000 an acre in central London.

The building societies continue to hold house buyers to

ransom. With assets of over £9,000m they can still lend at extortionate interest rates, making it impossible for any but the rich to find the money.

The massive movement of tenants against the Tory 'fair rents Bill, and those Labour councillors who will carry out the Tories' dirty work, shows that Labour's housing policies from 1964 to 1970 will never be tolerated again.

## ALTERNATIVE

The struggle must be taken up in the working-class movement for the clearing out of those 'leaders' who betray the class and for the construction of an alternative, revolutionary leadership.

The next Labour government must be forced by the mass movement to carry out a programme of socialist expropriation as the only way to fight slums, high rents and the property speculators.

The basis of this programme must be:

- The nationalization of the land, banks, finance companies, building societies and the building and subsidiary industries under workers' control and without compensation.

- The utilization of these resources for a massive slum-clearance and council house-building programme to restore and advance the basic right of the working class to a decent home at an economic rent.

## BOOKS



Moscow Trials Anthology  
Paperback, 62½p  
MAX SHACHTMAN:  
Behind The Moscow Trial  
Paperback 75p  
ROBERT BLACK:  
Stalinism In Britain  
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £2  
LEON TROTSKY:  
Death Agony of Capitalism  
(The Transitional Programme)  
Pamphlet 5p  
Class Nature of the Soviet State  
Pamphlet 20p  
In Defence of the October  
Revolution Pamphlet 15p  
The Theory and Practice of  
Revisionism Pamphlet 15p  
Postage 10p per book, 3p per  
pamphlet. Order from:  
NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS  
186a Clapham High Street,  
London SW4 7UG.



# MARX AND CLASSICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

BY PETER JEFFRIES, PART TWO

**In stressing the necessary nature of appearances, Marx was insisting that the laws of capitalist production cannot be modified in their operation.**

In writing of political economy—in this case of Ricardo—he notes: 'The discovery of the determination of the magnitude of value by labour-time, while removing all appearance of accidentality from the determination of the magnitude of the value of products, yet in no way alters the mode in which this determination takes place.'

Only the reconstitution of society along socialist lines can achieve this change: 'The life process of material production, does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as production by freely-associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan.' In the same way Marx notes a little earlier in 'Capital' (Vol. I, p. 74) the discovery by science of the component gases of air in no way altered the actual composition of air.

So far we have elaborated a number of points which are implicit in the letter to Kugelmann. To state matters from a different angle: Marx was stressing what he had already announced in 1859 with the publication of the 'Critique of Political Economy'—namely that his starting point for 'Capital' was the materialist conception of history.

This theory stated that the 'real foundation' of society was to be sought in the social relations of production on which arose a political, ideological, legal, etc 'super-structure'.

Specifically, Marx set himself the task in 'Capital' of tracing out the manifold inter-connections between the social relations of production—the most abstract expression of which was to be found in the commodity—and all the other phenomena within the system, including the class struggle. Many other trends within the working-class movement may recognize this struggle. But Marxism, alone, because of its method, is able to understand the real foundation and origins of this struggle and therefore the basis for the overthrow of the capitalist class by the working class.

Before proceeding to show how this task involved Marx in a thorough analysis of the method of political economy and an understanding that its weaknesses were to be sought in its empirical method, we must make some initial points about the distortions of Marxism committed in this field by

Stalinism.

If we look at Maurice Dobb's major theoretical effort in this field ('Political Economy and Capitalism: Some Essays in Economic Tradition') we find that he opens the book with a chapter entitled 'The Requirements of a Theory of Value'. In the very title he gives to the chapter he betrays a method utterly hostile to that of Marx and one in which Stalinism has attempted to mis-educate generations of both workers and intellectuals for nearly 50 years.

For what Dobb wishes to do is to separate out Marx's analysis of value from the body of 'Capital' as a whole so that he can then show to his academic friends that Marx's value theory has something to be said for it, and should not be dismissed by these latter in the way it has been traditionally. At one point, Marx was obliged to reply to the charge of A. Wagner of 'illogicality' in 'splitting the concept of value into exchange value and use value':

'Above all I do not start from "concepts" thus not "from the concept of value". What I start from is the simplest social form in which the product of labour in the present form of society presents itself; and this is "commodity".'

Marx was pointing out to Wagner a fact which we also must keep constantly in mind: that he was a materialist who started out from real social relations and not an idealist, who must always start from concepts produced in his head.

Throughout his work, Dobb has also tried to answer another question: Why did Marx choose labour as the basis for his value theory? Again he is at pains to try and explain that this choice was a perfectly 'reasonable' one which has much to commend it. But once again his very question constitutes a betrayal of Marx's materialist method.

For when Dobb tries to find out why Marx did not choose land or capital as the basis of his value analysis, he answers that this was a result of practical and technical matters associated with the latter.

In the case of land or capital, clearly there were serious practical objections to taking them as a basis: difficulties which would have exceeded any of those which were charged against the labour theory. . . Acres are more dissimilar than man-hours of labour. In the case of capital there was a more crucial objection that it was itself a value, depending upon other values, in particular upon profit to be earned.'

These, Dobb tells us, were insurmountable difficulties;



thus labour is chosen; thus the labour theory of value.

In a sense it is impossible to analyse the nature of Dobb's answer. For it is in the very posing of the question that he betrays his anti-Marxism. With good reason did Lenin on one occasion speak of the 'so-called "labour" theory of value' (Introduction to Marx's Letters to Kugelmann, International Publishers, New York, 1934).

We must repeat, Marx is concerned with an analysis of the social relations of capitalist commodity-production and never strays outside of these limits.

As we have said, man's social relations under this mode of production can appear, or take the form of, only relations between things (commodities). Leaving aside their particular properties as use values—that is objects of utility for their non-producers—their one common feature is their quality as products of abstract labour, the quantitative measure of which is time.

In other words, the category 'value' is one entirely subordinated, in both a logical and historical sense, to the commodity.

Here is how Stalinism 'explains' the matter (Dobb, op cit, p. 22): 'The statement which the labour theory implied was that the exchange values bore a certain relation to the output and using of human energies and in so doing provided a term which gave some distinction between a gross and net product and to the concept of a surplus, and a criterion for differentiation one type of income from another.'

If we cut through the turgid academic prose, some key issues are raised of both

a practical and theoretical nature. For Dobb is suggesting that Marx's value theory was merely a 'tool' to uncover exploitation. In doing so he is betraying his complete reformism and the reformism of Stalinism. For Marx's aim certainly was not to show that the working class was exploited; this indeed had been done by many socialists (and even non-socialists) long before 'Capital' was written.

What Marx was aiming to show was not merely that the working class was robbed under the capitalist system, but rather that this system suffered from insoluble contradictions, which alone provided the basis for its overthrow.

To put matters another way: Marx was demonstrating not that the working class was merely an exploited class (as the liberals and reformists have always recognized) but that it was a revolutionary class in that its future was increasingly threatened by the restrictive nature of the social relation of production.

Dobb not only shows his reformist conceptions; his method also involves a relapse back into Ricardianism. For it was Ricardo who placed prime emphasis upon the relations of distribution (which classes got what of the national cake) rather than with the antagonistic relations of production, which Ricardo, and political economy generally, took for granted.

As in all matters, both political and theoretical, revisionism only follows the lead given by Stalinism. Ernest Mandel, leader of the renegade Pabloite movement, writes in his 'Marxist Economic Theory' (p. 716): 'The labour theory can be demonstrated empirically even if only in the sense that, in the last analysis, all

the elements in the cost of production can be reduced to labour, and to labour alone if one goes back far enough in the analysis.'

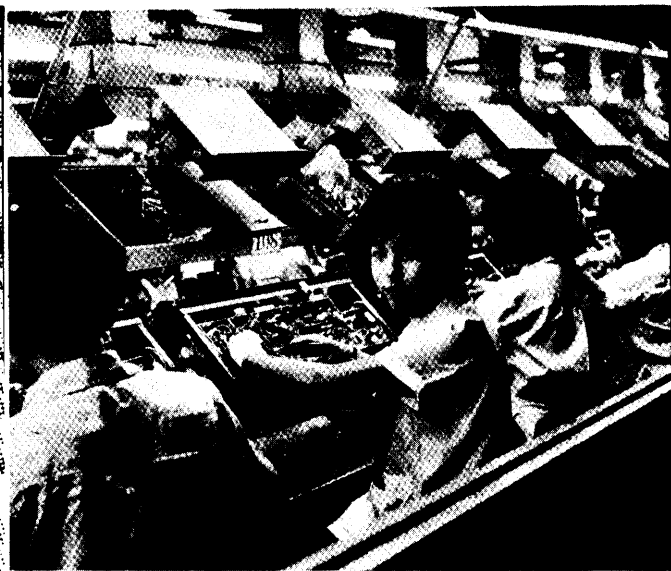
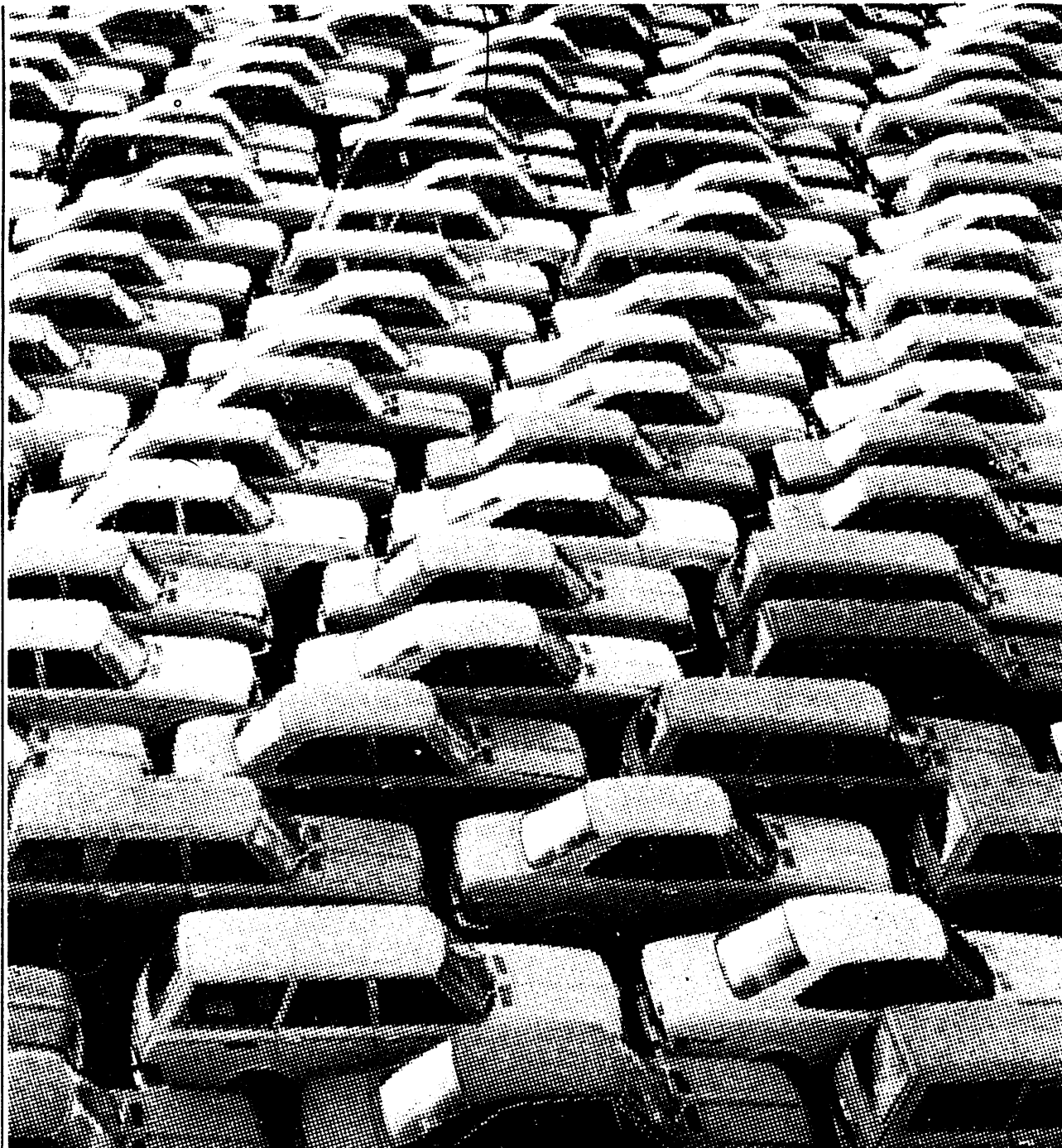
Dobb takes precisely the same position when he insists that the theory of political economy 'should be capable of expression in terms of quantitative entities in the real world'. But what are these quantitative entities of the 'real world'. It can only refer to such things as 'price', 'rate of profit', 'rate of interest' etc.

In other words, both Dobb and the revisionist Mandel are seeking to destroy Marx's dialectical method in favour of empiricism. For how can we measure such entities as capital, or socially necessary labour time. Neither of these categories appears empirically within the capitalist system. If they did, there would be no need for science, the task of which, as we have said, it to show how the empirically-available appearances are contradictory their essence, which is to be production.

This same vulgar positivism is seen in Mandel when he writes in defence of the theory of value that one of its strong points against its rivalism is that capitalist businessmen actually price their rations. Dobb takes the same position in writing: 'The ultimate criterion (for the test of a theory's adequacy) must be the requirements of practice: the type of question which one requires to answer, the purpose of inquiry in hand.'

Here we have a crude version of instrumentalism which selects its hypotheses not according to their congruence with historical and social forces, but simply by virtue of their ability to sustain predictions 'in the real world'.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



Left: Toyotas waiting export. Above: workers in electronics industry—work is beginning to dry up. Below: Nixon.



# US PUTS SCREWS ON JAPAN

BY JOHN SPENCER

**American pressure is driving Japanese capitalism to seek new markets for its exports in Europe.**

Earlier last week, Japan's Minister of International Trade, Kakuei Tanaka said that while the United States accounted for 30 per cent of Japan's foreign trade, the Common Market took only 6.8 per cent of Japanese exports and accounted for only 5.8 per cent of its imports.

'This is relatively small so we see a need to expand the share,' Tanaka commented.

The need, in fact, is desperate. At the top-level ministerial meeting of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in Paris this week Tanaka faces stringent new demands from the United States for further cuts in its US export trade.

The meeting comes just five months after the top-level gathering in Washington which decided to devalue the dollar and impose a yen revaluation of 16.88 per cent. The Washington agreement, heralded by President Nixon as 'the most significant monetary agreement in the history of the world', is already in tatters.

## Paper gold

It has done nothing to solve the basic questions posed by the collapse of the 1944 Bretton Woods agreement following Nixon's decision to stop selling US reserve gold for dollars on August 15 last year.

America's capitalist competitors have been unable to accept the so-called 'paper gold' Special Drawing Rights as a substitute for the real thing. Their demands that the US

restore convertibility have met stony resistance from Washington and all the time the struggle for markets between the main capitalist blocs has intensified.

## Concessions

The American employers are demanding bigger and bigger concessions from their overseas competitors. Not content with the existing yen revaluation they are already talking in terms of another revaluation to price Japanese products out of even more markets.

Earlier this month, for example, Henry Kearns, President of the official US Export-Import Bank, returned from a mission to Tokyo predicting a further yen revaluation this year. His move, only three days before the arrival in Washington of a Japanese trade delegation, was designed to smash any remaining hopes among the Japanese delegation.

Kearns' statement has to be seen in the light of America's trade deficit with Japan. Last year, this stood at \$3,200m and despite the swingeing yen revaluation it is expected to top \$4,000m this year.

Nixon administration officials are openly charging that the December revaluation was a 'paper transaction' which failed to raise the price of Japanese exports.

When the trade delegation arrived it was told in curt, firm language that anti-dumping laws would continue to be rigorously applied against Japanese goods; that the Japanese must begin spending their \$17,000m stock of foreign reserve currency; and that failing another yen revaluation the price of Japanese exports must immediately be raised.

This was nothing more than a curt, firm invitation to commit hara kiri. It was not by any means the last blow. Within days, the US Treasury Department was announcing a large-scale investigation into the possible illegality of Japanese government subsidies on consumer electronics products exports.

This rigorous application of anti-dumping legislation followed persistent complaints from US electronics producers who want their home market protected; it produced anguished cries of horror from the Japanese competitors.

'The US charge is utterly groundless,' wailed Keiichi Terada, a section chief at Tanaka's ministry. And Shigeo Yoneda, head of the Electronics Industry Association, said the complaints filed at the Treasury by US firms were based on a deliberate distortion of the facts.

Terada even threatened to take the Treasury Department to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—an empty threat as the US has so far shown supreme contempt for the rules of the international trade game.

The implications for the electronics manufacturers are extremely serious. Their recent exports, which have been running at relatively high levels, were contracted for long before the yen revaluation. But at the post-December prices there are far fewer takers and work for the Japanese factories is beginning to dry up.

The same process is going on in other industries. The textile industry, which recently accepted stringent 'voluntary' curbs on its shipments to the United States, is deep in recession.

The steel industry, the most modern and capital-intensive in the world, recently slashed

its overseas orders for iron ore and agreed to cut back production by over 10 per cent. The same process is going on in the copper refineries which are closely tied up with the electronics industry.

This explains the ruthless drive now under way to increase Japan's share of the European market. The prospect of Japanese competition intensifying is already sending shivers down the spines of European motor manufacturers whose profits have fallen to rock bottom and whose products are more expensive than those of their Japanese competitors.

Japanese firms are seeking to establish reliable sales and service organizations preparatory to launching the most concentrated sales drive ever seen in the European motor industry. There is talk of possible mergers between British and European car manufacturers and their Japanese competitors to divide the market up.

Meanwhile the US presses relentlessly on with its trade offensive against Japan. The Japanese fear their markets in the US will be closed for good if they don't toe the line, so they are forced, however reluctantly, to swallow the Nixon prescription.

On the eve of the OECD meeting the Japanese Cabinet council met to draw up a programme aimed at satisfying the American demands. Trade Minister Tanaka assured the press that there would be no new yen revaluation despite pressure from Washington and said he would accept full political responsibility if to avert such a step failed.

The measures announced by the Cabinet council are sweeping enough by any standards, but they are unlikely to satisfy Washington.

They include relaxation of import quotas, which should chiefly benefit US manufacturers; extension of the existing 'orderly marketing' scheme to control exports; and encouragement of capital exports.

Whatever the outcome of the OECD meeting, it is already clear that Washington will not be satisfied by this kind of palliative package. The Americans have insisted from the start that they are not interested merely in reducing tariffs and winning trade concessions here and there.

## New system

What they want is nothing less than a completely new monetary system tailored—like Bretton Woods—to the requirements of dollar imperialism. The essence of such a system as far as Washington is concerned is that it must off-load the burden of economic crisis onto its foreign competitors.

Washington's guns at the moment are trained on Japan, but the trade war is not just a US-Japanese conflict. Other capitalist countries, especially in Europe, are next on the list.

Eugene T. Rossides, assistant US Treasury Secretary for Enforcement and Trade Affairs, said that the anti-dumping investigations now being concentrated against Japan may be extended to other countries.

The Americans made it clear in talks with the Common Market countries earlier this year that they expected serious concessions over the coming months. The drive for markets and the cut-throat competition between the capitalist powers is the economic background to all the attacks on the working class in Britain and throughout the world.



# TO MARKET, TO MARKET, TO BUY A FAT...

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Monopoly capitalism is the real inspiration behind the Common Market, not the noble ideals of liberal Europeans. The spirit and the letter of the Treaty of Rome and the philosophy which has guided the work of the Commission and the Council of Ministers in the last 15 years are dominated by the interests of big business.

If the EEC had not offered opportunities for the ruling circles of the six countries to vastly increase their fortunes, the troublesome process of trying to 'harmonize' the six different nations little by little would never have been started.

The 'harmonization' is necessary partly to facilitate the growth of West European monopolies strong enough to challenge the best US and Japanese corporations, and partly to act as a propaganda smokescreen to try and deceive the middle and working classes with ideas of a 'new European community' to get them to go along with the project.

## HARMONY

The Six — Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg — can never harmonize under capitalism into one nation, which is the dream of the pro-market idealists, because competitive rivalry between the different finance-capital groups within the EEC will develop into bitter national hostility as soon as the difficulties of the world economic crisis really begin to bite.

As it is, little enough progress has been made towards 'harmonization' despite the undoubted success the Common Market countries have had in improving their trading position in the world. The EEC is still essentially what it was when it started — a customs union plus a common fund for aiding one industry: farming.

There are even doubts as to whether dismantling the tariffs between the Six was really the cause of their economic growth in the 1960s, since some grew even faster before they joined the EEC and other countries, like Japan, have grown much faster outside of any customs union.

But anyway, the Germans were happy to get their chance of political rehabilitation plus some trading advantages in return for a permanent subsidy to backward French agriculture, and the 'European' myth began to grow. Now Britain's rulers have been conned into bankrolling inefficient peasant farming in return for the 'opportunity' to take on European industry in open competition without tariff protection.

Some UK monopolies will survive, either through merging with EEC companies or through shifting production into Europe. But many will crash, and even more smaller firms will be ruined. Because of a growing recession and sharper competition, the rate of bankruptcies will exceed even that of the recent Rolls-Royce, UCS, Vehicle and General period.

The ruling circles in the EEC believe that the present 15 West European car-producers, for example, will have to reduce to about five big monopolies in order to survive against the Japanese. There are too many steel companies as well. More shipyards will also have to close, and already the competition from Japan is so fierce that a cartel has been formed between all West European yards, including Britain's, to limit further Japanese shipping sales.

Officially, the Rome Treaty aims to remove all obstacles, whether outside or inside the Market, which prevent the free flow of goods, and the Commission in Brussels is dutifully 'investigating' the shipbuilding cartel in case it is an interference with free trade. But in practice the EEC will make sure its own industries are protected.

What is supposed to happen, if an EEC industry begins to decline, is that governmental investment aid can be injected to raise efficiency. What in fact is happening, in shipbuilding for example, is that straight production subsidies are being provided. This is against the Market's philosophy, but is being justified on the grounds of 'unfair' Japanese competition.

Another distortion of competition which the Six have turned a blind eye to is the restrictive agreement between the major European and US steel producers, which the Americans have bullied the others into accepting.

It was as part of this monopolistic double-dealing that the Tories agreed to cut from 44 million tons capacity to 33 million tons Britain's nationalized steel industry's plans for expansion up to 1980. Once inside the EEC, further 'rationalization' seems inevitable.

But however much the 'free-trade' Common Market connives at this horse-trading, these international profiteers must eventually fall out with each other, partly because of the uneven development of capitalism which gives them different bargaining strengths and partly because of the social pressures from below as in Britain, for example, when the going gets too rough for dockers, or miners, or shipbuilders, to tolerate any further contraction of their industries.

It is to get round such obstacles to the survival of monopoly capitalism that the Tory government has introduced its National Industrial Relations Court. Inside the EEC, there will be attempts to



The European Parliament, a debating house for European and international affairs. On Britain's entry into the Common Market the parliament will be enlarged to include 36 British MPs and ten from Ireland.

'harmonize' the most successful methods from each country of disciplining the working class and to lend such methods the aura of 'European' status.

Consultative works councils, on the German model, which turn trade unionists into company-union men, are a certain starter. There are even plans for EEC-wide wage agreements, which would all be legally binding and would be designed to eliminate piecemeal militancy among European workers by banking on the hoped-for conservative majority to keep the rest in line. Such a system of European wage rates would also protect the established monopolies from any potential low-wage area rivals.

This encouragement of monopolistic development because of its alleged efficiency will bear particularly hard on Britain with its 'declining' industries. Since they are not making the grade with the best in Europe, then they should be put out of business, the Six believe. All industrial sub-

sidies, in theory, are incompatible with the EEC's guiding principles, and the whole range of Britain's different financial aids to industry will be severely vetted during the first six months after entry.

Already it is certain that a lot of foreign investment, mainly American, which used to come to Britain and which has been the only safety valve in some areas such as Scotland where US electronics firms have replaced decaying older industries, will no longer come here. The EEC has established for its 'central regions' a limit of 20 per cent total for the various capital incentives used to draw in foreign firms. How much of Britain will fall outside of this 'central regions' designation and qualify for special assistance rates is not yet decided but it is likely to be much less than the 40 per cent at present qualifying for regional aid.

It was to avoid any charge by the Six of 'interfering with competition' that the Tory

government, despite much opposition, changed Britain's investment allowance system from direct grants, regionally varied, to all-over free depreciation. In the eyes of the Rome Treaty, the former count as illicit aid to industry whereas the latter is merely part of Britain's taxation system.

True, the eventual aim of the EEC is 'harmonization' of business taxes too, but with the normal speed of Common Market decision-making, that is still some way off.

## MIGRATION

The end result of all this is bound to be bad for the UK's 'grey areas'. The phenomenon of the drift to the South East in Britain, which the unplanned evolution of the capitalist

economy would have caused to grow even faster if it had not been deliberately checked, will now be deliberately encouraged — and on a European-wide scale. It means not just a likely movement of the steel industry to the South East, for example, to be nearer the European markets, but a movement of some industries out of Britain altogether and into the heartland of West Europe.

It is a repetition on a nationwide scale of that of driving workers into the overcrowded towns during the industrial revolution because that was where the work was.

Already over 2 million European workers have had to migrate to Germany to find jobs. The Department of Employment in London is already preparing plans to encourage people made redundant in the hard-hit areas of Scotland, Wales and the North of England, to go and look for work in Dusseldorf, Dortmund and Essen.

On top of this, the reformist

measures adopted in post-war Britain of nationalizing ailing industries will be officially frowned upon once inside the EEC set-up. The threat to take away the gains already made will grow and it will become very difficult to relieve other threatened industries by similar measures in the future.

The Common Market does allow some aid to declining industries, but the national governments bear the cost and there are strict limits to what is permitted. There is a plan to eventually work out a Common Industrial Policy as a counterpart to the Common Agricultural Policy, but getting new measures adopted by the EEC governmental structure is such a painfully slow process, due to all the obstructionism, that it can be ignored for the present.

The immediate prospect is that the overwhelming proportion of the EEC budget — more than 90 per cent at present — will continue to be

nology gap between Europe and the USA by co-operating on research. A committee of experts was set up which spent the first year arguing about which fields to commence with and whether they should start at all without Britain's participation.

Eventually, in 1969, a report went back to the Council, which then set up another committee of experts to appraise the report. Several more months passed before the report was adopted, but then another long wrangle began about which non-EEC countries should be invited to co-operate in implementing the report. Eventually 19 countries joined in the discussions. More time passed until finally on November 20, 1971, an agreement was signed.

And what emerged? The 19 nations agreed to put up between them a grand total of £8m to cover seven fields of research and to be spread over five years. This sum would have kept the five-year Concorde project going for just three weeks! And even this limited programme has not started yet because it still has to be ratified by the individual parliaments.

Just as much difficulty has been encountered in trying to harmonize regulations covering road and rail transport between the Six. One argument that has gone on for years and is still unresolved is how much petrol in a motor vehicle's tank as it crosses a frontier should be subject to taxation at the rate applicable in the country it is entering, the point being that if a truck is allowed to fill up in a low-tax country and then ply its trade in a higher-tax country, it is causing unfair competition to the trucks of the country it has entered.

Suggestions under discussion propose that the contents of any lorry's petrol tank be measured at the border and a certain number of litres be allowed in tax free with extra duty to be paid on the rest.

Progress has been slowest on harmonizing railway fares and regulations. Trying to shake together four privately-owned and two state-owned systems has proved beyond the EEC's powers. They cannot agree which social costs should legitimately be borne by government subsidy and which should be discontinued as unfair interference with competition.

## OBSTACLE

Other transport arrangements are less amusing. The EEC has just reached a compromise agreement after years of argument to allow 40-ton truck juggernauts onto all Common Market roads and to raise the permitted axle load to 11 tons. This will mean appreciably noisier and heavier lorries in Britain than at present. Many roads will be unable to take them.

The main obstacles to quicker progress in adapting new measures in the EEC is nationalism. It particularly hinders high-technology co-operation and fair competition in public purchasing. It is far easier for the Germans to sell an electric power station to Spain than to France. Where public-works contracts are won by 'foreign' firms, the agreement often requires that 75 per cent of parts and materials should be supplied locally.

American-style pork-barrel politics are influential here. An MP would be very unpopular if he allowed his national parliament to approve a lucrative public-works contract in his region going to a foreign firm rather than a local one.

The career civil servants who run the Commission in Brussels are deeply cynical about the lack of progress in

building a real European community. They believe that procedures are now so badly clogged that they cannot continue in the same way much longer. They are placing a lot of hope on Britain's entry to get things moving again, particularly on a Common Industrial Policy and reform of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, which is still a mere cipher.

The EEC has no democratic control mechanism, and its officials readily admit it. But the French have boycotted the EEC before when they have not got their own way, and they will do so again.

Generally speaking, nothing will happen inside the Common Market that does not suit the most powerful ruling circles within each country. If it does not help monopoly capitalism, then it will not take place.

## COMPLAINT

For the present, however, the main battle is still with the outside world and the Common Market countries have their collective face turned against the United States and increasingly against Japan. The spread of generalized EEC preferences — to Spain, Portugal, Turkey and Greece — has infuriated the Americans, particularly, as well as the other General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade powers, against whom the trading preferences are given. But a showdown will have to wait till after the US presidential elections in November.

The list of American complaints against the Common Agricultural Policy is now enormous, almost as long, the Commission says acidly, as the EEC's list of complaints against US trade restrictions.

Similar complaints are made against high Japanese tariffs and limited import quotas, but in the negotiations for a treaty with Japan, it is the Common Market countries who are somewhat nervously insisting on escape clauses, against the Japanese wishes, which allow imports to be cut off in a crisis.

The EEC countries are also trying to get a general agreement with Japan on 'orderly marketing', in other words to get the Japanese to ease up on their colossal export drive. The proposals have not been well received in the East. The Six are fearful that with the restrictions now being imposed by America on imports from Japan, the Japanese will redirect their trade offensive to Europe.

The ball-bearing industry, for example, is already coming under enormous pressure. The European 'community' is beginning to creak at the joints.

Meanwhile, American corporations continue to add to their already colossal investments in Europe and continue to exact £400m a year net profits by way of tribute. It conveniently covers their trade deficit with Europe of £400m a year. But the EEC's exasperation at being off-loaded with billions of US dollars of dubious exchange value is mounting.

Any collapse of the US economy will deal a severe blow to the Common Market.

The Common Market is the last-ditch stand of European capitalism against the social revolution. If it is allowed to continue in being it can lead only to the establishment of fascism throughout the whole of western Europe. Consequently the struggle for the building of revolutionary parties under the banner of the Fourth International to establish the Socialist United States of Europe through the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism is the urgent task of the hour.



**OVER-POPULATION OR PROFIT? THE REAL CAUSE OF WORLD HUNGER. BY BERNARD FRANKS.**

# MALTHUSIANS VERSUS MARXISTS

**PART 8**

**The over-populationists of today follow loyally in the tradition of Malthus. Professor Ehrlich attacks those who seek a solution in revolutionary Marxism. 'Marx's antipathy to Malthus still influences people who ought to know better' he writes. 'What we need is "new men" who would work towards a stable world economy . . . but never toward specific "isms".'**

The Paddocks' total pre-occupation with the needs of US imperialism has already been discussed. They show clearly enough that they understand that both surpluses and poverty exist side by side.

'During the coming Age of Food that nation which has the most food will be, if it uses that food as a source of power, the strongest nation. This will be, then, clearly an era which the United States can dominate—if the United States picks up the challenge.'

Another US outlet for Malthusian doctrine has been 'Radio Free Europe', a CIA-financed radio station beamed to Soviet countries. A book 'Can We Survive Our Future?' has been recently published containing 23 edited interviews on pollution, population, environment, etc., previously put out over this network.

People interviewed included Arnold Toynbee, capitalist historian and one-time Foreign Office researcher, Michael Shanks, journalist and British-Leyland marketing director, Andrew Schonfield, capitalist economist and member of Labour's Royal Commission on Trade Unions, who is to give this year's Reith Lectures, and Brian Aldiss, science-fiction writer!

A similar exercise had been carried out in 1963. Then it was 19 'experts' (mainly American professors of sociology) broadcasting to 85 different countries over the 'Voice of America' network. The lectures were subsequently published, in 1964, as 'Population: The Vital Revolution'.

The over-populationists have usually represented themselves as in some way in conflict with the establishment and business, as reformers and opposers of capitalism's worse excesses. In fact, they have always been in the closest co-operation with capitalist governments. For example, Malthus' ideas were incorporated in the 1834 Poor Law. More such links are being established today.

Dr Sicco Mansholt, the new President of the Common Market Commission and mastermind behind the plans to dissipate Europe's surpluses and de-populate the farms, is now proposing to bring the area's economic policies 'into line with the ideas of Professor Jay Forrester and Professor Paul Ehrlich'. This will include discrimination against large families and an emphasis away

from material consumption.

Forrester is behind the recently-published study 'The Limits of Growth' based on a global computer study of resources by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. All of the computer trial runs showed that the world economic system would collapse except the one in which birth rate equalled death rate by 1975. The study was sponsored by the Club of Rome, a group of industrialists considered to be concerned about ecological problems.

The 'Club' was founded by Dr Aurelio Peccei, a director of Fiat Olivetti, and Dr Alexander King, scientific director of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Ehrlich also has connections with the Organization.

In the USA, Nixon's Commission on Population has recently published reports recommending that United States population growth must be brought to a standstill. Millions of dollars are donated by the US government every year to birth control and sterilization programmes in India and elsewhere. In Britain, the Tories have already set up one Select Committee on Population and participated in UN and OECD conferences on the subject.

At the same time, chronic housing shortages—a product of land and property speculation, Tory landlordism and private ownership of the building industry—are proclaimed, via Enoch Powell's reactionary views, a result of too many immigrants.

Not only food and other shortages are blamed on over-population. Many ecologists, anti-pollutionists and conservationists are producing volumes of literature, lectures, courses, theses, sermons and 'education films' to blame soil erosion, drug addiction, pollution, noise, mental illness, suicide, crime, strikes and war, not on the activities of a minority of ruthless, profiteering parasites, but on the natural weakness and destructiveness of all men. In this way are the limitations of their own degraded system proclaimed to be no more than the limitations of mankind.



**Enoch Powell**



**Gross disruption to the eco-systems is caused by some 75 million litres of defoliant which is spread over 2.6 million hectares of forests in Vietnam**

For example, anyone made severely ill, angry and depressed, by the pressure of bad housing, inadequate income and the thousand and one other social evils created by capitalism, is likely to have his or her condition put down to malfunctioning of the brain. What may be in reality a reflection of the sickness of a decaying society is instead diagnosed as an illness of the individual.

Drugs are given to the victim in the 'case' to enable him to 'adjust' to society as it is. Sometimes sections of the offending brain are mutilated or removed. After all, it cannot be admitted that it is really society itself that needs the surgeon's knife. The population controllers consider that this condition of the individual is worsened by the pressure of too many people.

The logic of this argument, as one book goes so far as to say, is that 'because there are too many of us, a man does his neighbours more harm than good just by staying alive'. Others are not willing to go quite as far, advocating instead cuts in production (particularly heavy industry), restrictions on scientific research and development, and a return to a system of handicrafts and simple manual labour.

So their answer to food shortages is a return to methods by which productivity and output of the farm

worker is not a hundredth part of what is possible today! A similar step backwards is outlined in the 'Ecologist' magazine's recent policy document 'Blueprint for Survival', a middle-class diatribe on population and ecological problems reflecting the terror of the right-wing professional and educational intelligentsia that they may lose some of their privileges and good living to the working class.

The usual 'evidence' of over-population is given and the deduction made that as yield per acre is unlikely to increase, Britain's population must eventually be stabilized at 30 million, 'probably less'. Industry would 'decentralize' and neighbourhoods would come increasingly to run their own affairs.

In towns, new communities would be centred round structural remains of past 'villages' like 'Putney, Highgate, Hackney and Islington'. (Two of these areas, at least, contain middle-class intellectual 'village' settlements.)

A subsequent issue of the 'Ecologist' includes a letter from scientist Sir Julian Huxley endorsing the 'Blueprint' and suggesting rewards for people allowing themselves to be sterilized. It also contains a survey of the magazine's readership based on replies from 924 questionnaires, which show that 23.9 per cent of them read 'The Guardian',

20.7 per cent the 'Daily Telegraph' and 16.6 'The Times'.

These pious hypocrites are always ready to pontificate about disruption of ecosystems, erosion, dangers to wild animals, pollution from chimneys and accumulations of DDT in various parts of the world, but they cannot find space in 42 magazine pages of their 'Blueprint' to say a word about the 'pollution' from 3 million kilograms of CS gas that has been used by the US army and airforce on the population of Vietnam, 'enough to cover the country 1.3 times over' ('New Scientist' March 30, 1972).

The 'disruption to eco-systems' caused by the 75 million litres of defoliant spread over 2.6 million hectares of the region, or the wholesale bulldozing of jungle areas by the US engineering command is likewise not mentioned. Similarly, the 'land erosion' by an estimated 10 million bomb craters is nowhere analysed, nor is the devastation caused by the use made by the US Air Force of 15,000lb bombs fixed to explode just before they hit the ground.

More than 100 years ago Karl Marx showed the dialectical movement and growth of the productive forces. He showed how capitalism develops entirely new means and relations of production;



raises the productivity of the labourer a hundredfold in preparation for a new stage of development; yet, in a contradictory way, through its own limitations, comes to distort, inhibit and even destroy the foundations of what it has created. However, by also creating the working class, it brings into existence the one force capable of resolving this contradiction.

Marx wrote: 'In the sphere of agriculture, modern industry has a more revolutionary effect than elsewhere, for this reason, that it annihilates the peasant, that bulwark of the old society, and replaces him by the wage-labourer. Thus the desire for social changes, and the class antagonisms are brought to the same level in the country as in the town.'

'The irrational, old-fashioned methods of agriculture are replaced by scientific ones. Capitalist production completely tears asunder the old bond of union which held together agriculture and manufacture in their infancy. But at the same time it creates the material conditions for a higher synthesis in the future, viz., the union of agriculture and industry on the basis of the more perfect forms they have each acquired during their temporary separation.'

'Capitalist production, by collecting the population in great centres, and causing an ever-increasing preponderance of town population, on the one hand concentrates the historical motive power of society; on the other hand, it disturbs the circulation of matter between man and the soil, i.e., prevents the return to the soil of its elements consumed by man in the form of food and clothing; it therefore violates the conditions necessary to the lasting fertility of the soil.'

'By this action it destroys at the same time the health of the town labourer and the intellectual life of the rural labourer. But while upsetting the naturally-grown conditions for the maintenance of that circulation of matter, it imperiously calls for its restoration as a system, as a regulating law of social production, and under a form appropriate to the full development of the human race.'

He ends the section: 'Moreover, all progress in capitalistic agriculture is a progress in the art, not only of robbing the labourer, but of robbing the soil; all progress in the fertility of the soil for a given time, is a progress towards ruining the lasting sources of that fertility.'

'The more a country starts its development on the foundation of modern industry, like the United States, for example, the more rapid is this process of destruction. Capitalist production, therefore, develops technology, and the combining together of various processes into a social whole, only by sapping the original sources of all wealth—the soil and the labourer.' (Section 10 of 'Machinery and Modern Industry', 'Capital' Vol. 1.)

Seventy years later, subsistence farming by poor tenant farmers dominated by their debts to banks and loan sharks had turned vast areas of the United States midwest into the semi-desert of the 'dust-bowl'.

Marx places the burden of guilt for such ruination squarely on the shoulders of the capitalists. Twist and wriggle as they may, they can never throw it off. Any struggle against poverty, pollution, ecological destruction, or any other social evil which is not insolubly linked with the struggle against capitalism is either conducted in ignorance, or in fraud.

Certainly, there are many people who, through genuine concern over these questions, will be brought to socialism; to the understanding that only a socialist-planned world



Top: complete disruption of agriculture is caused by bomb craters from US 'saturation bombing' in Vietnam. Above: the 'daisy cutter' bomb, fixed to explode just above the ground destroys everything within its range.

economy can successfully and harmoniously utilize the produce of nature and labour of the world for the welfare of mankind.

And the rich may get a fright when they find oil-slicks on their favourite beaches and grouse dying of an over-dose of pesticide before they even get a chance to see a shotgun. Pollution and noise, too, in working-class areas is one thing, having it spread beyond allotted boundaries into the protected reserves apparently shows that action is needed. A section of the ruling class, for its own pecuniary interests will always advocate action against pollution and will oppose population controls.

Fundamentally, however, the capitalist class in time of crisis is looking for no more than a vindication for its destruction of wealth and the means of production, including first and foremost the workers and peasants; an excuse for turning back the productive forces from the terrible threat of abundance, of enough for all, to a stage of chronic shortages and the chance of new exploitable markets and 'lucrative openings'. In the past this object has been achieved by fascism and war.

At present, in the most advanced capitalist countries, the argument takes a polite form. A few of the entrepreneurs previously ripping up the land for profit now see the

need for discussing 'conservation'. A number of industrialists recklessly polluting the atmosphere now form committees to attack pollution. At the moment it is only the future unborn generations of producers who are to be sacrificed.

Ehrlich has even toned down his comments somewhat since 'The Population Bomb' was written and has made a few mild attacks on racialism and Ronald Reagan. However, the fact that he and his kind always add the ominous warning that if peaceful methods do not succeed in restricting population, other ways will be found, show that the liberal façade only thinly conceals the existence of an outlook which is essentially a preparation for a fascist ideology.

The continued 'scientific' ravaging of the land, the mutilation and murder of workers and peasants and the vain attempts to destroy the forces of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam, testify to the willingness of United States imperialism to put such 'other ways' into operation.

Here is yet another essential reason why the Socialist Labour League considers the construction of the revolutionary party, to lead the working class in the final life-or-death struggle with a parasitical capitalist class, not an idea for future contemplation, but a vital and urgent activity for today.

CONCLUDED

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## To corporatism

With the class lines being drawn more sharply each day, it was obvious we wouldn't have to wait too long for the bourgeois-ideologists in the universities to come to the aid of capitalism.

Rushing in with a justification of every reactionary aspect of capitalism and written in the most strident anti-communist voice is one Professor Harry Burrows Acton, who has held the chair in 'moral philosophy' at Edinburgh University since 1964.

'The Ethics of Capitalism' is the title of a paper he has written for an organization aptly called the Foundation for Business Responsibilities.

The 64-year-old professor has absolutely fallen over himself to glorify the decadent system which the working class all over the world is moving to smash.

'The bourgeoisie, more scrupulous and more pacific than the aristocracy and less deferential than the peasantry, so improved the arts of production that the system of warrior-lords and dependent serfs was replaced by one in which large populations of free citizens enjoy a scope of living which goes beyond what the aristocracy formerly disposed of,' he writes.

Professor Acton adds a landscape of excitement and enjoyment existing for all in the epoch of imperialism:

'Free speech, free movement of trade, free thought, exploration of the earth and oceans, an ideal of peaceful domesticity, watercolour drawing, conversation pieces, the novel and modern drama.'

Meanwhile, as the trade war reaches new heights, the Vietnamese battle for their freedom, and workers fight the destruction of their rights...

The professor is aware of this after all: 'Employers are

said to have persecuted and oppressed their workers, while the unions protected them and fought for industrial and legal justice.

'Nothing is said about union members who dynamited men considered to be blacklegs. In 1972, however, many of the unions are controlled... by leaders who say they are adherents of the Communist Party or other left-wing bodies.'

'Furthermore, the welfare state enables unions on strike to save on what used to be union-financed strike pay; and many strikes... are intended to force the hand of the government in face of damage to the community as a whole.'

This surely must be good enough reason to wind unions up altogether and take the road of the corporate state. As you guessed, the professor is not unaware of these possibilities:

'It is through the firm rather than the union that the workers are likely to obtain economic benefits... firms are much more coherent and creative than trade unions... large unions get their way now because they are feared rather than because there is belief in the cause they represent...'

The progress of Professor Acton will have to be followed closely in the next period.

## Chilling

Younger readers will recall seeing older people with badly bowed legs, but they may not know that the affliction is not due to birth, but to rickets.

Rickets is caused by a lack of nutrition—in short it is a disease of working-class communities who cannot afford proper food.

It will send a chill down the spine of people who remember the times when this disease was common to learn that when a Birmingham doctor examined 600 children in five city comprehensive schools, no less than 20 to 25 per cent showed signs of rickets.

## BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:  
Germany 1931/1932  
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87;  
Where Is Britain Going?  
Paperback 37p  
Revolution Betrayed  
Paperback 62p—cloth £1.05  
Problems of the Chinese Revolution  
Paperback £1.12—cloth £1.87;  
Permanent Revolution:  
Results and Prospects  
Paperback 75p  
In Defence of Marxism  
Paperback 75p  
Lessons of October  
Paperback 60p

Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from:  
NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS  
186a Clapham High Street,  
London SW4 7UG.





GKN Sankey workers during their bitter pay struggle of 1970. Inset: GKN Chairman, Sir Raymond Brookes who sits on the council of the right-wing Economic League.

# WHO ARE THE SMEARERS?

BY IAN YEATS

**The right-wing Economic League has circulated thousands of leaflets smearing the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work marches.**

They repeat an allegation levelled at the five nationwide marches made by only one other political tendency—the Stalinists of the Communist Party.

Leaflet No. 10 of the 1972 series asks: 'Who are the Young Socialists? The support they received in some areas indicates that a number of workers and union officials came up with the obvious, but wrong, answer that they are the youth movement of the Labour Party.'

In other words the considerable support from the labour movement and the working class, without which the marches would not have been possible, was all obtained under false pretences.

The same slanderous argument was used by the Stalinist leaders of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders back in February.

But the Economic Leaguers go further. Not only do they suggest that the Young Socialists obtained cash by 'posing' as a bona fide organization but also that they represented nothing more concrete than a band of conspiratorial, evil disrupters.

This accords with the Economic League's conspiracy theory of history in which society is classless and but for the activities of groups of nihilistic wreckers all would be well.

The suggestion that workers and employers are merely different faces of the same coin explains their accusation that any who supported the Right-to-Work marches must have been deceived and their charge

later on in the leaflet that no one would join such an organization 'wittingly'.

Since every worker knows from the cradle on that he is on one side and the employer on the other it is hardly necessary to refute this particular philosophy.

We say to the Economic League as we said to the Stalinists that the Young Socialists never made any secret of their links with the Socialist Labour League.

Quite the reverse in fact. The last thing the young Socialists wanted was to be associated in any way with the ultra-reformist and entirely subservient youth wing of the Labour Party.

Nor was any secret made of the fact — as the Economic League suggests — that the object of the five marches was to prepare the ground for the launching of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists as a mass revolutionary party.

In a section of the leaflet headed 'The Real Aim', the Economic League suggests the marches had nothing at all to do with the right to work.

The leaflet says: '... the marches had nothing to do with the right to work. They did not and could not create one extra job.'

The real aim was described by the leader of the Socialist Labour League when he contemptuously turned down an attempt by another revolutionary group — the International Socialists — to climb on the bandwagon.

He made it clear that the main object of the demonstration was to build the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.

The quote is carefully left unfinished. To complete it would be to put the YS and the SLL into a social and political perspective in direct

contradiction of the Economic League's conspiracy theory.

The full statement by Gerry Healy reads: 'The Right-to-Work marches have been organized for the purpose of building the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League as the centre of the national campaign to make the Tory government resign. In our opinion such a campaign is an integral part of the fight against unemployment.'

Only by ignoring the political and social context of the marches are the Economic League able to say: 'In short the whole thing was a Trotskyist propaganda stunt.'

And only in this way are they able to conclude: 'Be clear about this, the Trotskyists, like other revolutionaries, are not interested in helping to boost employment or in achieving greater prosperity for workers and their families. Their business is to disrupt the production of goods and services upon which our standard of living depends.'

A question to which we feel the readers of the Economic League's poisonous distortions should know the answer is 'What is the Economic League?'

It was founded two years after the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 to preserve personal freedom and free enterprise and to oppose all subversive forces 'that seek to undermine the security of Britain in general and British industry in particular'. One of its first acts was to launch a 'crusade for capitalism'.

The Economic League has an annual income of over £65,000 and more than half the firms which donate also give money to the Tory Party.

Firms which contribute up to £4,000 a year are Barclays Bank, Rank Hovis McDougal, British-Leyland and Guest Keen and Nettlefold.

Firms in the £1,000-a-year bracket are Commercial Union, Legal and General, Sun Alliance and London, Vickers, Imperial Tobacco, Tate and Lyle, Taylor Woodrow, Turner and Newall, ICI, Whitbread and Boots.

Hard on their heels in the £700-a-year class is the Arbuthnot Lathan, Gerrard and

Reid, Alexander's Discount Co, Lazard Bros, Union Commercial Investment Co, Industrial and General Trust and United Dominions Trust group.

This is followed in the same class by Guardian Royal Exchange, British and Commonwealth Shipping, Swan Hunter, Allied Breweries, Courage, Barclay and Simonds, British American Tobacco, Gallaher, Wiggins Teape, Reyrolle Parsons and Stone and Platt Industries.

The Economic League has dozens of smaller contributors sending them sums ranging from £10 to £500.

Its governing council includes some of the wealthiest men in Britain — many with exclusive public-school backgrounds.

The President is Tory peer and William Deacons Bank director Lord Rochdale. Two of the three vice-Presidents are also directors of banks—Lord Runciman (Lloyds) and the Earl of Selborne (National Westminster).

The Earl of Selborne is also a member of the right-wing Monday Club.

The chairman is Eric Turner, chairman of Birmingham Small Arms, director of Alfred Herbert and 19 other companies.

The council of the Economic League is comprised of: Sir Harry Brittain, former Tory MP; Mr Raymond P. Brookes, chairman of Guest, Keen and Nettlefold; Sir Nicholas Cayzer, chairman of British and Commonwealth Shipping Co and director of 59 other companies; Lieut-Gen Sir John Evetts, former chairman of Rotol; Mr James D. Fraser, director of A. R. Stenhouse and Partners, part of the big Scottish insurance group, Stenhouse Holdings; Mr Daniel Gardner, retired; Sir Kenneth Hague, former chairman of Babcock and Wilcox and on six other companies; Mr Robert Henderson-Tate, 'industrialist'; Col Robert Rawdon Hoare; Col John P. Hunt, on the Midland Bank, Philblack, Newton Chambers and four other companies; W. George Ibberson, 'industrialist'; Mr Michael C. Lloyd, managing director of F. H. Lloyd and on seven subsidiaries; Mr Alastair P. Low,

on Lead Industries and three subsidiaries; Sir Michael Malcolm, former coalowner; Mr Hay I. Matthey, managing director of Morgan Crucible and on Johnson Matthey; Mr Anthony E. Minns, former shipowner, now retired; Mr Anthony M. Mould, director of Liverpool Letterpress and two others; Sir R. Alistair Murray, chairman of London & Montrose Investment Trust and on 12 others; Mr Morton D. Oliphant, director of Tate and Lyle, Cammell Laird, Martins Bank, Brown Brothers, etc.; Mr John J. Parkes, chairman of Alvis and on four others; Mr Charles U. Peat, former Tory MP, now chairman of Cleveland Trust and on North Eastern Improved Dwellings Co; Lieut-Col H. H. Peile, chairman of Washington Engineering and on three others; Mr J. Murray Prain, on six companies including Royal Bank of Scotland, Alliance Trust, etc.; Mr Cyril G. F. Pritchett, director of Chloride Electrical Storage Co and four others; Sir Halford Reddish, President of Rugby Conservative Association, chairman of Rugby Portland Cement, and on 11 other companies including Hawker Siddeley, Alfred Herbert, Granada Group; Mr James F. Simpson, on Scholfields Holdings and three others; Sir Eustice Smith, chairman of Smith's Dock and on nine others including Swan Hunter, Shipping Industrial Holdings, etc.; Mr J. Alan Thompson, director of Woolcombers (Holdings) and on 13 others; Mr Philip J. D. Toosey, on Cammell Laird, Martins Bank, Ocean Steam Ship Co and five others; Mr Murray Vines, director of Evershed and Vignoles; Mr Raymond H. Wilkins, chairman of Francis B. Wilmott and on three others.

There is no question which side the Economic League is on.

Many if not all the firms which donate money to the Economic League and all those on its governing council share at least one outstanding characteristic — uncompromising hostility to the working class and its organizations, from the trade unions to the YS and the SLL.



## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 1.45-3.50 London. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Simon Locke. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Stage to Tucson'. 9.30 Albert. 9.00 London. 11.40 Gazette. 11.45 News, weather.

**WESTWARD.** As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.43 News. 11.47 Faith for life.

**SOUTHERN:** 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 London. 3.50 Cartoon. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Grasshopper island. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Sky's the limit. 7.00 Film: 'The Swordsman'. 8.30 Albert. 9.00 London. 11.15 News. 11.25 Farm progress. 11.55 Weather. Epilogue.

**ANGLIA:** 1.45 London. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 News. 4.15 Mr Piper. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.00 Columbo. 8.30 Albert. 9.00 London. 11.15 Hot seat.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 1.45 London. 3.35 Stars. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Dr Simon Locke. 4.40 Story. 4.55 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 London. 7.30 Film: 'Showdown at Abilene'. 8.30 Albert. 9.00 London. 11.30 Who knows?

**ULSTER:** 1.45-3.45 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.15 Daws explores. 7.00 Film: 'The Man With a Cloak'. 8.30 Albert. 9.00 London. 11.15 White line.

**YORKSHIRE:** 1.00 Mel-o-toons. 1.15 Rainbow country. 1.45 London. 2.10 Calendar special. 2.32 Good afternoon. 3.00 London. 3.45 Film: 'Leave to Die'. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 Film: 'The Man From Del Rio'. 8.30 Albert. 9.00 London. 11.15 Spyforce. 12.10 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 10.50 World of life. 11.00-12.00 We need each other. 1.15 Scotland Yard casebook. 1.45 London. 3.30 Messengers.



The late Margaret Rutherford plays Miss Prism in Oscar Wilde's 'The Importance of Being Earnest' on BBC-1 tomorrow night. Sir Michael Redgrave plays John Worthing.

3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Newsday. Put it in writing. 6.25 Set of six. 7.00 Film: 'Great Guns'. 8.20 Bugs Bunny. 8.30 Albert. 9.00 London. 11.15 Monty Nash.

**TYNE TEES:** 12.25 Forest rangers. 12.50 Edgar Wallace. 1.45 London. 2.15 Cartoon. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 London. 3.40 Room 222. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Sean the leprechaun. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 Film: 'Sierra'. 8.30 Albert. 9.00 London. 11.15 Double top. 12.00 News. 12.15 Epilogue.

**SCOTTISH:** 1.45 London. 3.15 Nuts and bones. 3.30 Origami. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.15 Cartoon. 6.30 Hogan's Heroes. 7.00 Film: 'At Sword's Point'. 8.30 Albert. 9.00 London. 11.13 Late call. 11.18 Drive-in. 11.40 Sound of... The Settlers.

**GRAMPIAN:** 1.45-3.20 London. 3.38 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Nanny and the professor. 4.40 Once up a time. 4.55 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.05 Strictly Scottish. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Who's Got the Action'. 8.30 Albert. 9.00 London. 11.45 Epilogue.

## TV

## BBC 1

9.45 The herbs. 10.00 Champion. 10.25 Parsley. 10.30 Soper at large. 10.55 Magic roundabout. 11.00 Cricket. Yorkshire v Lancashire. 1.30 Along the trail. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.15 Cricket. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Magic roundabout. 4.45 Jackanory. 4.55 Animal magic. 5.20 Scooby-doo. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 **NATIONWIDE.**  
6.45 **TELEVISION TOP OF THE FORM.** Llanelli v Slough.  
7.05 **TOMORROW'S WORLD.**  
7.30 **FILM: 'SPRING IN PARK LANE.'** Anna Neagle.  
9.00 **NINE O'CLOCK NEWS** and weather.  
9.20 **DOCUMENTARY: 'THE CLANS.'** The Truth Behind the Tartan.  
10.10 **FILM 72.**  
10.40 **24 HOURS.**  
11.15 **THE BITTER SANDS.**  
11.20 **Weather.**  
11.22 **MEDICINE TODAY.** The Doctor - Patient Relationship.

## BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 1.15-1.40 Medicine today. 5.35-6.30 Open University.  
6.35 **COMPUTERS IN BUSINESS.** Computer people.  
7.05 **OPEN UNIVERSITY.**  
7.30 **NEWSROOM** and weather.  
8.00 **RICH MAN, POOR MAN.** Education.

## ITV

12.40 Outlook. 1.15 Time to remember. 1.45 Racing from Sandown Park. 2.15 Houseparty. 2.30 Good afternoon; 3.00 Sandown racing. 3.45 Danger man. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Junior showtime. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News.

6.00 **TODAY.**  
6.30 **CROSSROADS.**  
6.55 **ALBERT: If He'd Meant us to Fly.**  
7.25 **FILM: 'VENGEANCE VALLEY.'** Burt Lancaster, Robert Walker, Joanne Dru. Western.  
9.00 **CRIME OF PASSION.** Janine.  
10.00 **NEWS AT TEN.**  
10.30 **TOO LATE TOMORROW.** Film about people waiting for kidney transplants.  
11.15 **THE TWO - WHEEL WORLD.** Drive-in special.  
11.45 **IS IT A HANDICAP?**

8.50 **WHEELBASE.**  
9.20 **THE SIX WIVES OF HENRY VIII.** Catherine Howard.  
10.50 **NEWS ON 2** and weather.  
10.55 **THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST.** Focus, Don MacLean.

## Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

## Suspended 6 months by rent rise LP

**THE BREAK-UP** inside the Labour Party over the Tory 'fair rents' Bill continues unabated. Labour councillors voting for non-implementation are still being threatened with expulsion and are suspended from their groups.

In Hammersmith, West London, where rents are already reported to be the fourth highest in the country, 11 Labour councillors have just been suspended for varying periods for defying the whip and voting against Tory plans.

At the council meeting three weeks ago, 42 Labour councillors voted for implementation of the Housing Finance Bill when the debate eventually finished at 2.20 a.m.

As is now commonplace in these debates a smokescreen was thrown up by the right wing and its supporters to try and obscure the complete political bankruptcy of those voting for implementation. 'The worst parts of the Bill we will attempt to slow down. But the law is something we have got to deal with and we will take every legal step possible to mitigate the worst parts,' council leader Alf Little told the meeting.

In a remarkable statement Little contrived to conclude it was 'practical' and would serve

By PHILIP WADE  
Our Housing Correspondent

the interests of borough tenants to implement the Bill. It will be interesting to see how many of those facing another £1-a-week rent rise in October will agree with him.

The clearest elaboration of the full-scale retreat before the Tories was still to come, however, from councillor Ian Gray.

He was sad to oppose the motion for non-implementation, he said, but the council did have a duty to serve the best interests of tenants. He then spelled out what really frightened the councillors.

He warned of going 'on a collision course with the government'. 'If we do not implement the Bill will it keep the rates down? Will it stop the Bill?' he asked.

The logic of that argument, of course, is that you never do anything about anything!

With statements like these, it was little wonder that there was continuous uproar throughout the debate from tenants in the public gallery. Silence only fell when the mayor ordered them out.

The 11 councillors who took a principled stand and voted for the non-implementation motion were called in a few days later and given suspensions ranging from six months to six weeks. They are appealing against the decisions to the Labour Party's national executive committee.

Chief target for the witch-hunt was Tony Powell, vice-chairman of the housing committee, who moved the motion.

He got six months and a warning from Fulham Labour Party.

The MP for Fulham is Labour right-winger Michael Stewart, who, on several occasions, has voted with the Tories on the Common Market to help ensure them of a parliamentary majority.

'There had been so little discussion inside our Labour group on the Bill that the only way we could raise the question was by putting a motion down inside the council meeting,' Mr Powell told me.

'They asked me to withdraw it and I refused. I had come to the conclusion that you've got to stand and fight somewhere. And this is it.'

'In my view there is a time and need to stop the Tories here or not at all.'

'You see, the Bill is really the thin end of the wedge, even from a housing point of view. The next thing you'll get from the Tories is an order to sell council houses.'

'This complete whittling away of local council responsibilities—and health is next—is deliberate Tory policy. We certainly won't have much say as a local council on housing.'

'The long-term effect of this Bill is that we won't be able to build new houses or flats. There are 5,000 on Hammersmith's waiting list. And don't forget, they're not there just for fun—they really need homes.'

'Those in council housing now will be forced to take up the rebates. They can't leave their flats because they'll have nowhere to go.'

'As far as obeying the law is concerned—well, the law has no special mystique,' said Mr Powell, himself a solicitor.



Solicitor Tony Powell, vice-chairman of Fulham housing committee, sees every justification for fighting the law when the rents Bill is enacted.

'You can't start obeying laws which are aimed at one section of the community. The Industrial Relations Act is one example and the Commonwealth Immigration Act another.'

'We have to be prepared to say it is bad law and not to the advantage of the people as a whole. These are political Acts and one can legitimately oppose them.'

'There is a fairly good history of this kind of opposition—the Chartists, the struggle for the franchise and of Lansbury against the Poor Law Guardians.'

'There is certainly nothing to be said for standing back and letting them give you it.'

'It is important that the Labour Party should take a stand on this Bill. There hasn't been any real lead from Transport House, though.'

'It's up to people at the next election to put in a Labour government and make sure it does what it should.'

'Could a General Election come quickly? I suppose the unions could force one if they wanted it—and I think we would win.'

'As far as the last Labour government's housing policies were concerned, there was nothing more disastrous than the Housing Act 1969.'

'Houses we bought for £2,000-£3,000 to improve went out of our hands and are now being sold for £30,000.'

'The Labour government ought to come down for the municipalization of rented property. As long as people make profit out of keeping tenants in bad housing conditions it'll always be the same.'

'And there is a strong case for more state control of finance and the provision of low or free interest rates over a long period. Only in this way can we return to housing as a social service,' added Mr Powell.



## 50p.c. not extravagant—farm workers' chief

THE FARMWORKERS' demand for a 50 per cent pay rise to a minimum of £25 for a 40-hour, five-day week was not 'an extravagant pipe-dream', Reg Bottini, the general secretary of the National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers said yesterday.

He was speaking at a rally at Barford in Warwickshire commemorating the founding of the first national farmworkers' union 100 years ago.

Farmworkers' wages had always been below average earnings in towns. In the past 100 years the gap had narrowed from 50 per cent to 30 per cent.

'In cash terms that gap is running now at about £10 a week.



Reg Bottini

The cost of living is likely to rise considerably when we join the Common Market,' he said.

'Our claim would represent an increase of 50 per cent on the present minimum of £16.20 a week. If that seems an extravagant claim, it merely reflects the inadequate awards we have had in recent years.'

Many of Bottini's members will be puzzled by his truculent words.

They will recall that only a year ago he settled a claim which amounted to less than 10 per cent.

# Election ceasefire mooted in Derry

FIVE THOUSAND demonstrators marched through Derry on Sunday calling for peace. Although 4,000 IRA supporters mounted a counter-demonstration, rumours gained ground that the Provisionals were considering a seven-day cease-fire.

It is understood the Provisionals are anxious that the June 15 elections in 'Free Derry' should take place in an atmosphere of peace and 'freedom from tension'.

Formal statements insist that IRA operations will only be suspended if there is an amnesty for all political prisoners, the

end of Stormont and the withdrawal of British troops from Ulster's streets.

There was only one explosion in Derry on Sunday, but at Belfast six people died and 18 were injured in blasts and shootings.

Army sources say the six were killed while handling an IRA bomb in transit, but Bel-

fast Provisional command says the men died after they went to investigate a car driven into the Catholic Short Strand area from another part of the city.

Protestants of the Ulster Defence Association spent yesterday drilling in ranks behind token barricades due to come down at midnight last night.

## Major confrontation of classes forced by money crisis

BRITAIN was in a pre-revolutionary situation where the ruling class was not only preparing for a General Strike, but for possible civil war.

SLL Central Committee member Mike Banda, gave this warning to a 750-strong public meeting of the Socialist Labour League which packed London's Beaver Hall on Sunday.

The force behind this major confrontation was the world economic crisis of capitalism. This now governed all relationships between the working class and the Tory government.

America's decision to withdraw gold from the dollar on August 15 last year had smashed the equilibrium established by the capitalist powers at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944.

To withstand these international convulsions the Tories were desperate for entry into Europe.

'Everything now is subordinated to entry into the Common Market, the policy of European mergers, the construction of multi-national corporations and the looming trade war with Japan

By OUR OWN REPORTERS

and the United States,' said comrade Banda.

This would mean massive attacks on the working class. To prepare for this battle the Tories had activated plans to construct a corporate state in Britain.

The Workers Press and the SLL were the first to warn about this great danger. They were accused by other political groups, like the revisionist International Socialists and the International Marxists, of 'panic-mongering'. But now even the paper of the Labour Party 'left' MPs 'Tribune' recognized that the corporate state was on the agenda.

To carry through this plan, said comrade Banda, the Tories needed the co-operation and the connivance of the trade union leaders.

'Victor Feather of the TUC talks about the working class loosing a wicket but not the cricket match. In fact the Tories have taken up all the stumps, assaulted some of the leading batsmen and they are in control of the field. If the trade union leaders think they are going to win this kind of game they are sadly mistaken. I was never very good at cricket—I don't think it has much relevance for winning the class struggle.'

He said that Tory Chancellor



John Simmance, YS national secretary

Anthony Barber had spelt out the real game when he warned rail leaders that the issue of who should rule Britain—the Tories or the unions—was at stake in the recent dispute.

The Industrial Relations Act had a dialectic of its own. It had forced many workers to realize that the issues of wages and defence of rights require a political solution.

This resistance to Tory policy had to be concentrated in one movement to force the Tory government to resign.

This was what the call for Councils of Action by the League meant, said comrade Banda.

This was why the building of the revolutionary leadership to guide the working class in battle was so essential. The transformation of the SLL into a full revolutionary party was, therefore, the most burning question of the day, he said.

Young Socialist national secretary John Simmance said the youth movement had to face up to this new situation and fight with workers to develop a political revolutionary consciousness.

'We base ourselves on the fighting strength of the working class and their ability to defeat the Tory government.'

Al Reed, an overseas telegraphist, said Heath's weekend 'no surrender' speech was a sign of 'the economic crisis speaking through Heath'.

'This is not a mad dog government,' he said. 'Heath and



Mike Banda, SLL Central Committee

Nixon aren't mad dog, men. Pushing behind them is the economic crisis.

'We are now in a situation of world wide recession and trade war. Each capitalist country is going to try to resolve its own economic crisis by sorting out its working class. There is an explosion due here soon which will put the 1926 General Strike in the shade.'

Liverpool docker John McGuinness warned of the union leaders' role in the dock strike.

'If these leaders think they will treat the dockers like the old Duke of York treated his troops, they are mistaken. They will not lead us up a blind alley this time.'

He welcomes the SLL appeal to build a revolutionary party. 'This is essential for the working class,' he said.

Frank McCabe, a Yorkshire miner, said the Tories had come back after the miners' strike with the Industrial Relations Act 'to beat dockers and railwaymen over the head'.

Referring to the determination of the dockers to resist the government he said: 'The dockers are saying "Act or no Act, jail or no jail, the black stays".'

He said that without politics the present-day fights of the working class could not be won. He supported the formation of Councils of Action 'dedicated to fighting the one class enemy'.

A financial appeal for the Workers Press raised the grand total of £95.16.

## Co-op witch-hunt against Stalinists

MOVES are being made to try and exclude the Communist Party from any say in the policy-making body of the Co-operative Party.

The Co-operative Congress in Scarborough this week will be asked to endorse a call from Co-operative Party secretary Ted Graham that all delegates to his conference must be signed-up Labour Party members.

The Co-operative Party sponsors 15 Labour MPs, six of whom voted for the Common Market with the Tories.

The moves are aimed most specifically at the London Co-

operative Society. The LCS board of directors is dominated by an alliance of CP members and 'left' Labourites.

LCS President David Ainley, who is also secretary of the 'Morning Star' trust, will move an amendment this week which says any retail society contributing to Co-operative Party funds can nominate anyone to the annual conference.

And the LCS political committee, in which the Communist Party has much influence, last week proposed the society, the biggest individual subscriber to

the Co-op Party, should affiliate directly to the Labour Party, possibly opening the door for a seat on the LP's national executive.

THE TORIES seem to be taking an uncommon interest in the affairs of the Co-operative Movement.

Yesterday 'The Times' joined the chorus with a leading article on the Co-op. Most significantly it declared:

'... the validity of the co-operative system cannot be secure until the principle of consumer democracy is translated into a more effective championing of shopper causes, without political bias.' (Our emphasis.)

## Capitulation

From page 1

Meanwhile dockers in the private ports of Felixstowe, Harwich and Ipswich may not support the strike.

All these arguments are a response to direct pressure from the Tory Cabinet and the employers—as is the toothless attitude of the rail union chiefs.

This pressure is also reflected in the attitude of the Labour leaders on the eve of these crucial class battles.

According to Reginald Prentice, Shadow Employment Minister, the Tories could have a summer of industrial peace if only they would 'change course' and 'seek constructive solutions'.

The political reality, however, is that the Tories are preparing for struggle. Trade unionists must stop their leaders' retreat and do likewise.

NEWS DESK  
01-720 2000  
CIRCULATION  
01-622 7029

## WEATHER

MIDLANDS, eastern England and East Anglia will be dry and sunny at first, but scattered showers will develop by afternoon. Southern England and Wales will have scattered showers and sunny periods but over North-West England, Northern Ireland and Scotland the showers will be more frequent and also heavy at times, particularly during the morning and afternoon. Temperatures generally near or a little below normal but nevertheless a little warmer than of late.

Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Becoming sunnier with scattered showers but probably some more general rain in the south later. Becoming warmer.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

- Support the dockers and railwaymen. Build Councils of Action
- GLASGOW: Tuesday June 6, 7.30 p.m. Room 1, Partick Burgh Hall.
- EAST LONDON: Tuesday May 30, 8 p.m. 'Aberfeldy', Aberfeldy St, E14. 'Fight the Tories' rent Bill'.
- AYLESHAM: Thursday June 1, 8 p.m. The Legion (Old Working Men's Club), Burgess Road. 'Fight the Tories' rent Bill'.
- COALVILLE: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Miners' Welfare. 'Organize Councils of Action'.
- ACTON: Monday June 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road. 'Fight the Tories' rent Bill'.
- NORTH KENT: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, 25 Essex Rd, Dartford. 'Engineers' pay claim'.
- DAGENHAM: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Ave, Barking. 'Industrial Relations Act'.
- SOUTH LONDON: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4.
- WEST LONDON: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross.
- NORTH LONDON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Rd (nr White Hart Lane).
- CROYDON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. 'The Anchor' (corner of Southbridge Road and South End).
- LUTON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Brigade Hall, Lea Road.
- SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club (opposite New Cross Station).
- SOUTHALL: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Parkway Rooms (Rent Office), Racecourse Estate, Northolt.

MAY FUND:  
TWO DAYS  
LEFT TO RAISE  
£197.64

LATEST contributions to our Fund of £112.10 brought the total so far this month to £1,552.36. Another spurt and we will make it.

As Heath and the Tories get ready for the major fight, the strength of the working class must be mobilized. Workers Press must go forward to lead this struggle. We urge you all—we have two days left—go all out to collect as much as you can to make sure our Fund this month is collected in time.

Rush every last-minute donation to:

Workers Press May Fund,  
186A Clapham High Street,  
London, SW4 7UG.