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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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WALL ST—1929 TOKYO—1972?

By TOM KEMP

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With international agreements once again being flouted, a return to competitive exchange depreciation reminiscent of the 1930s seems to be on the cards. Countries like Japan and Germany fear an upward valuation of their currencies which would undermine their export trade by raising the prices of their products in terms of other currencies.

The relentless laws of capitalism are closing in on the once booming Japanese economy.

Based upon a continuous growth of exports, a stream of credit has been pumped into industry by the banks to finance long term investment as well as short term needs. Dependent upon this bank credit rather than upon share capital, Japan's giant firms must sell abroad in order to pay interest on existing loans and raise new ones.

A further revaluation of the yen of the order of 10 per cent against the dollar which is now being spoken of, and the retaliatory measures against the

Japanese export invasion which can be expected, could bring the whole credit pyramid crumbling down.

Holders of shares in Japanese firms would be the first to suffer, since with a fall in profits they would sink sharply in value. It was in anticipation of this that there was so much panic selling on the Tokyo stock exchange.

The Japanese economy is now the most vulnerable part of the capitalist world system. A panic on the Tokyo market will have immediate repercussions throughout the Pacific area, including Australia and the US West Coast. Japanese trade and investment in Europe are also considerable.

The precarious situation of Japanese capitalism only displays, in an exaggerated form, what holds true for other countries in Europe as well as the United States.

Inflationary credit had been increasingly resorted to as the boom of the 1960s ran out. Barber's 'reflation' was part of this movement which has now paid off—in galloping inflation and the pricing of British exports out of competitive markets making devaluation inevitable.

Capitalist governments and central bankers are aware that the system of which they are the custodians contains hidden explosive charges quite outside their control.

A mass of credit is held by off-shore funds of the IOS variety which could swamp stock markets in the event of a panic.

The multi-national corporations throughout the world also hold large volumes of liquid capital which can be moved about from one country to another.

A large-scale selling of shares by these concerns could cause a stock market collapse and bank

failures in a number of countries. In 1929, for instance, it was the removal of American funds from the European stock markets which paralysed the whole credit structure and spread depression far and wide.

As confidence diminishes with each monetary crisis the volume of 'hot money' grows, thus making speculative movements more sudden and sharper in their effects, as has been shown in the past week.

Without exchange controls of a type which would drastically reduce foreign trade and investment, little or nothing can be done to prevent such movements which threaten to swamp the system.

The very flimsiness of the credit system within countries and the large-scale financial operations conducted by doubtful firms based on such places as Nassau in the Bahamas adds to the tension.

It is a case where a small pebble could cause an avalanche.

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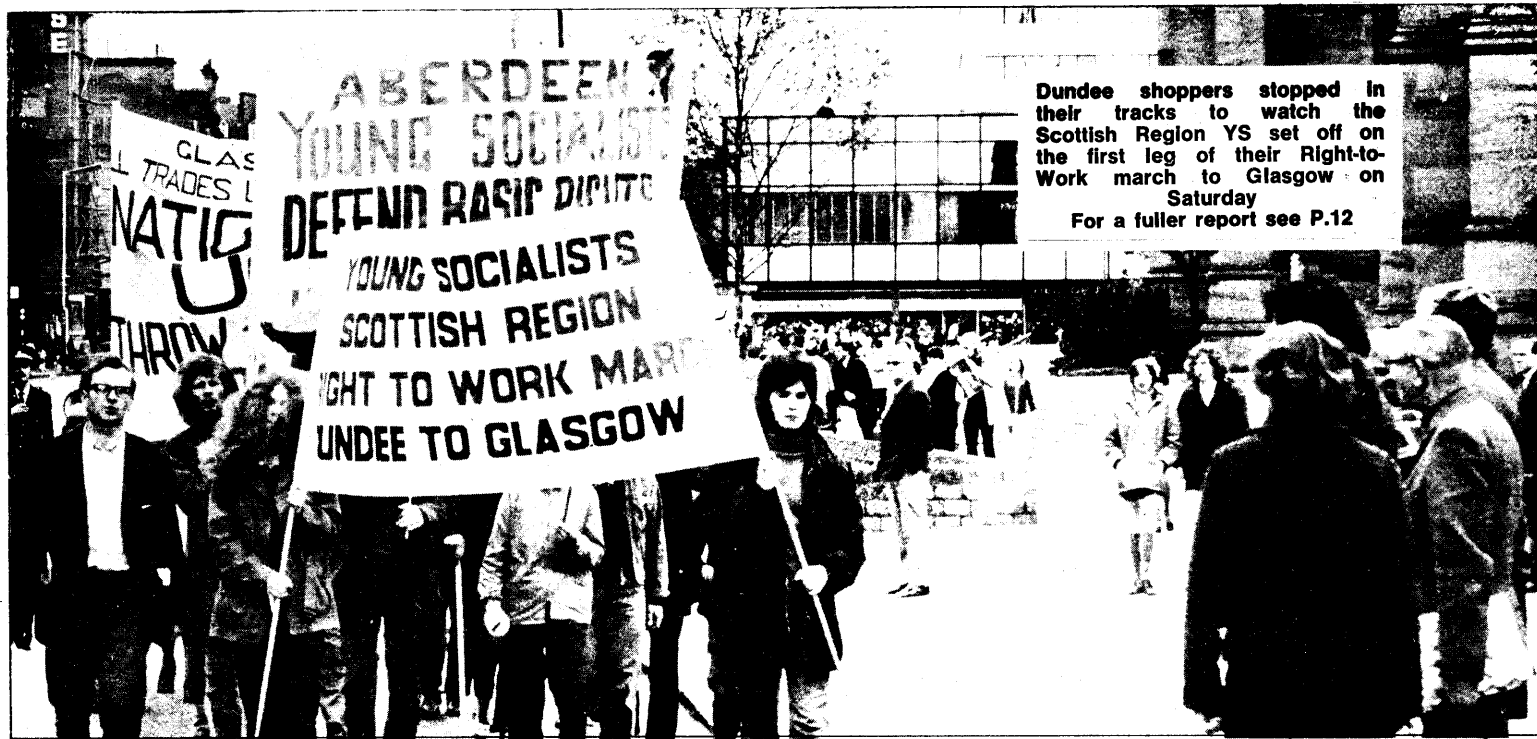
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Dundee shoppers stopped in their tracks to watch the Scottish Region YS set off on the first leg of their Right-to-Work march to Glasgow on Saturday For a fuller report see P.12

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Kissinger returns from Peking talks

3-pronged political assault stepped up

THE UNITED STATES hopes the 'failure' of North Vietnam's military offensive will persuade Hanoi to 'review its policies', President Nixon's foreign affairs adviser Dr Henry Kissinger said on his return from a five-day visit to Peking.

The visit brings to an end the recent flurry of diplomatic activity between Washington, Peking and Moscow which has coincided with a dramatic drop in the supply of weapons to the Vietnamese from the Stalinist countries.

Dr Kissinger said pointedly that neither China nor the Soviet Union had any interest in continuing the war.

Kissinger made it plain that

By a Foreign Correspondent

the Americans realize that they must negotiate directly with Hanoi, but the current linked diplomatic and military offensive is calculated to ensure that the US bargains from a position of maximum strength.

Kissinger said the object of US policy was 'to bring matters to a point where substantive diplomatic negotiations could be held'.

His remarks were echoed by US Secretary of State William Rogers who said there was evidence that more and more countries were urging Hanoi to negotiate.

He added that there were 'strong indications that the current North Vietnamese offensive had not been successful' and that they should consider President Nixon's 'most generous' recent peace proposals, including an offer to withdraw in four months if there was a ceasefire and prisoners released.

IN VIETNAM American B52 bombers have been keeping up the heaviest air bombardment of the war.

They flew 320 tactical air strikes at the weekend and claimed to have damaged North Vietnam's only modern steel plant near Hanoi as well as factories, warehouses, bridges, vehicles and anti-aircraft sites.

The North Vietnamese have maintained their offensive north of the imperial city of Hue although with heavy air support South Vietnamese units appear to have held their ground.

The only American troops close to the North Vietnamese front line left their camp outside Hue yesterday and returned to the US.

THOUSANDS of youths have joined volunteer brigades in North Vietnam armed with picks and spades in a bid to keep transport and communications lines open in the teeth of savage US bombing.

AROUND THE WORLD

Floating £ frustrates Italy's right-wing coalition plans

THE FLOATING of the pound could not have come at a worse time for Italian prime minister designate Giulio Andreotti as he struggles to piece together a government seven weeks after the inconclusive General Election.

Italy's economy is running down-hill fast as the depression deepens and unemployment grows. A devaluation of the lira, now Europe's weakest currency, would seem inevitable.

The employers' association, Confindustria, sums up its view of the future by saying that the country 'faces a crisis of vast proportions, which has affected in depth and in its entirety the national economy'.

A wave of strikes and sit-ins shows that the working class is in a militant mood, only held in check by the opportunism of the Communist Party, which is seeking some kind of left-centre coalition which it could support if not actually join.

This policy of 'moderation' plays into the hands of the neo-fascist MSI, which increased its vote by 50 per cent in the May elections to become the fourth largest party in the lower house.

The Party leader Giorgio Almirante recently threatened to 'take over the state' if parliament cannot control the working class.

Andreotti's new ministry is based on the right-wing Christian Democrats and, unlike its predecessors, will, for the first time in 11 years, not include Socialist Party members.

It will enjoy the support of the Social Democrats, whose leader, Mario Tanasso, stated that 'apart from the government proposed by Andreotti, the situation does not present any way out except new elections, with the risk of total disintegration of democratic institutions'.

The small Liberal Party has also joined the coalition while the Republicans are supporting it from outside because it is too right wing for them. This gives it an expected parliamentary majority of 19 in the lower house and only six in the Senate.

If Andreotti's new government is approved, it will be plunged immediately into a devaluation crisis and will have to face demands for wage increases from over 4 million workers.

Its main hope seems to be that the summer holiday season will provide it with a breathing space before the big battles in the autumn.

Israel keeps up Lebanon attack

ISRAEL kept up air and land attacks on the so called 'Fatah Land' in south Lebanon throughout the weekend.

Israeli chief of staff General David Elazar warned that if Palestine guerrillas continued their attacks across the Lebanese border into Israeli territory, his government would take 'all necessary action' to restore 'peace' to the area.

And Prime Minister Mrs Golda Meir said in Vienna: 'It is absolutely essential to us to make that border quiet. We hope the Lebanese government will make it possible to see to it that they themselves do it'.

Meanwhile retired intelligence general Hay M. Herzog made it plain that the Israelis might not shrink from occupying this area of south Lebanon if guerrilla attacks went on.

Referring to the status of 'Fatah Land', he said it was a part of Lebanon which the Lebanese government had 'abandoned to the Palestine guerrillas' and, as such, it was a form of 'no man's land'.

Jets streaked into south Lebanon on bombing raids at the weekend after guerrillas launched a pre-dawn Katyusha rocket attack on a Soviet immigrant settlement close to the border.

The border was intensified with Israeli raids into both Lebanon and Syria, the Arab states asked the UN security council to give urgent consideration to the crisis.

The United States senate voted 54 to 21 at the weekend to step up economic assistance to Israel by \$85m (£32m). The Nixon administration had only asked for \$50m (£19m).

Early German election

GENERAL elections may be held in West Germany in November according to a statement by Foreign Minister Herr Walter Scheel. The elections could end the situation of virtual paralysis which has obtained for the last two months because neither the ruling coalition nor the opposition commands a majority.

Elections are not due until next year and Chancellor Willy Brandt is clearly counting on cashing in on the wave of popular support for his 'Ostpolitik' which recently led to the ratification of the two crucial Russo-German treaties of friendship and co-operation.

Madagascar-Vorster break

MADAGASCAR has broken off all relations with South Africa. The weekend announcement by Madagascar's new military regime is an abrupt reversal of the previous government's leading role

in advocating dialogue with the white supremacist state.

Reports say South Africa's tough action against students bitterly opposed by students in Madagascar is one reason for the change.

WHAT WE THINK

DEVALUATION AND THE TUC

THE DEMAND for the recall of the TUC and for a General Strike to make the Tories resign has received added impetus by the floating of the pound and TUC secretary Victor Feather's implicit support for this reactionary measure.

The decision to float will not solve a single problem for the working class. It will dramatically increase the cost of living, intensify speed-up and soon lead to a huge increase in unemployment as foreign countries take retaliatory measures or slide into financial crisis as the German banking system did in 1929.

Forty-one years ago, British workers were treated to the same reformist bromides by the TUC when Britain first devalued the pound. All that happened then was that 40 odd countries followed Britain, with Japan leading the league at a 29-per-cent devaluation.

Far from leading to 'stability and progress' these measures laid the basis for an unrestrained trade war which culminated in World War II. In essence there is no difference between then and now.

Nixon's August 15, 1971, measures signified that the value of all currencies would be determined strictly by the level of their trade and payment balances. The deterrent for 'unrealistic parities' is ruthless currency speculation which no national currency has been able to prevent or contain.

What this means is that every capitalist nation is impelled to export as much as possible—and as cheaply as possible—and import as little as possible. These are the suicidal 'rules' of every trade war.

In the present case, however, they are being applied in a world market in which the conflict between productive forces and private property, as well as the national state, have grown to an unprecedented extent. The repercussions therefore will be much more rapid and colossal.

For these reasons the treachery of the TUC leaders is far more sinister than even their somersault on 'non-co-operation' with the Industrial Relations Act and their cowardly recognition of the National Industrial Relations Court.

They have now agreed with the Confederation of British Industry to lend their help and prestige—or what's left of it—to a patriotic cost-cutting campaign which will seriously undermine real wages and accelerate the trend towards depression and mass unemployment.

As the 'Scotsman's' leader writer noted:

'The floating of the pound adds urgency to the government's attempts to contain wage and price rises by voluntary means. It was significant that Mr Anthony Barber called in Mr Vic Feather, of the Trades Union Congress, and Mr Campbell Adamson, of the Confederation of British Industry, so soon after the freeing of the pound was announced.

'He impressed upon them the importance of curbing inflation and of using to the maximum national advantage the period while the pound floats.

'The government need the co-operation of both sides of industry in building up confidence in Britain. The attempts to get an independent body to conciliate in industrial dis-

putes will now receive an added impetus.'

Barber's advice was well received by these collaborators. After the meeting the Treasury issued a statement which read in part:

'It was agreed that the action which had been taken to float sterling for the time being was the right action in the circumstances. It would not have been acceptable either to deflate the economy or to let reserves run down . . . to a point at which they would have been inadequate to sustain the faster growth of the economy which both sides of industry believe to be essential.'

According to the 'Scotsman' the Treasury statement also included a paragraph which specifically committed the TUC to a policy of 'good industrial relations and competitive costs' as a basis for reducing inflation.

No worker should be taken in by this cynical piece of deception, which is designed to secure total Labour-TUC collaboration in entering the protectionist racket called the Common Market. The hypocritical concern about the rundown of resources and the necessity for 'growth' is laughable from this standpoint.

The whole purpose in protecting reserves is to cushion British entry into the Common Market and has little to do with creating employment.

While it is true that floating the pound will affect Pampidou's grand strategy of creating a new monetary union against the dollar, it also indicates the urgency of the Tories' desire to get in the Market before the Market itself dissolves in a state of mutual hatred and rivalry.

The 'Scotsman's' diplomatic correspondent John Tilley frankly revealed what the TUC was so concerned to bury beneath Featherisms:

'There is also a feeling in Brussels that if Britain had to devalue, it is better that it should happen before we become formal members on January 1, 1973.

'After that date a devaluation, whether or not it came in the form of a floating period, would seriously disrupt the means of calculating Britain's enormous contributions to the common agricultural fund.'

The story of reformist treachery is not exhausted by the role of Feather alone.

His job of selling Barber's floating pound to the working class is facilitated by the patriotic buy-British flag-wagging of the Stalinists who oppose the Common Market on chauvinist grounds and who recently joined the protectionist bandwagon by supporting an 'anti-Asian goods' motion at the CSEU conference.

They now find themselves in the odious company of the medieval Scottish Nationalist Party which is seeking to control the influx of Japanese companies into Scotland.

Social-chauvinism which is being whipped up by these reformists is the greatest enemy of the working class.

The British working class can and must give a lead to the international working class by implacably opposing all the measures of the Tory government and its reformist agencies in the trade unions and the Labour Party.

No support for trade war! No support for devaluation! Force the Tories to resign! These must be the rallying calls from the recalled TUC.

DEATH OF THE PIG IRON BUSINESS

The Stanton blast furnace plant at Ilkeston, Derbyshire, is the last survivor of those works built in the Midlands to produce high phosphorous irons.

As it nears Common Market entry, however, British capitalism is desperately attempting to rationalize production methods.

And that was the basic reason for the announcement on June 14 that the major part of the Stanton works was to close, putting 1,500 workers on the dole over the next two years.

Autumn announcement

Announcing the news, director David Atkin said the British Steel Corporation was going to close two blast furnaces, the ore preparation and sinter plant, coke ovens and a slag plant.

The plants produce foundry pig iron, of which Stanton had been the main supplier for many years.

The closures were foreshadowed by the shut-down last autumn of the Old Works blast furnaces. The 200 workers were absorbed in other parts of the plant.

Over 25 per cent of the workforce will now lose their jobs, leaving 5,000 hanging on at the Stanton works.

The BSC now proposes to concentrate production of foundry pig iron at its Workington works in Cumberland.

The first ironmaking in the Ilkeston district began around 1788. But it was in 1846 that a family firm was granted by Earl Stanhope a lease of ironstone, coal and fireclay in the parishes of Dale and Stanton-by-Dale.

In that year three small blast furnaces were each producing 18 to 20 tons of pig iron daily. With additions, improvements and periodic rebuilding, these

furnaces staggered on until 1925 when the first major reconstruction took place.

Very small demand

At the end of the 1920s the old furnaces were replaced with five mechanized units, putting Stanton in the forefront among a considerable number of works which had been built up to produce high phosphorous iron for the foundry industry from local ores.

At Stanton today there are two blast furnaces in operation at the New Works with a combined annual capacity of 450,000 tons.


Since 1945, however, considerable technological developments in the UK foundry industry have reduced the demand for this type of iron to a very small figure. Today the main demand is for low-phosphorous iron which has to be produced from imported ore.

Blast furnace after blast furnace in the Midlands has closed because of these developments. They include the furnace at Sheepbridge, Renishaw, Stavely, Clay Cross, Holwell, Wellingborough and Kettering.

Capitalism can only modernize itself at the workers' expense. That is why BSC bosses decree that 1,500 Stanton jobs have to go.

These workers do not intend to let BSC trample over them like that. They are planning a march through Ilkeston and another march on 10 Downing Street. As Mr R. Dunbar, blast-furnacemen's lodge secretary, put it: 'We are not going down without a fight.'

Top (left to right): Mr Dunbar, Stanton Ironworks blastfurnacemen's lodge secretary; Mr Latimer, chairman; Mr Doughty, shop steward delegate; Mr Jackson, delegate from Rail Traffic section. Right: Stanton Ironworks

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POLICE CHIEF CALLS FOR TIES WITH THE MILITARY

BY ALEX MITCHELL

The former chief superintendent of the Warwickshire and Coventry Constabulary, Mr J. H. Waghorn, has joined the dangerous clamour for closer ties between the police and the army.

Waghorn recommends 'police-military ties involving joint studies and training in, and organization for, aspects of national security'.

He adds: 'Police-military experience in this field is not without precedent, British policemen having participated in the Civil Affairs/Military Government Organization of the Second World War, and in specialist work in Malaya 1948-1960, Kenya 1952-1956, Cyprus 1954-1958 and, more recently, Anguilla. Significant joint security lessons are still being learnt in Ulster.'

Waghorn admits in his article in 'The Scotsman' last week that he is an admirer of the views of Brigadier Frank Kitson. From his remarks about Kitson's methods — which Workers Press has examined on a number of occasions—it is clear that Kitson is emerging as the guru of similar elements in both the army and the police.

And, as Workers Press has emphasized numerous times, Ulster is the testing ground for military shootings, torture and terror.

Throughout his article Waghorn invokes Ulster as his model. He says: 'But a prerequisite for civilian-military liaison is the nationalization of the police with a chain of command convenient for operational links with the army.'

'Westminster and Stormont were wise when they accepted the Hunt recommendation to retain the Royal Ulster Constabulary as a single force, thus ensuring with the army a united security front.'

Like Kitson, Waghorn bases his call for a united security front on the prospect of massive working-class resistance to the ruling class.

He says: 'Is the organization (not the spirit) of the British police adequate for present and future needs?'

'The inability of the police to contain the miners' hastily-mobilized pickets, which occasioned public dismay, revealed a structural weakness in that otherwise formidable instrument of the criminal law whose role is to provide the very shield under which society may go about its lawful business in safety.'

'The present inter-force mutual aid schemes (which have not yet been used to succour the RUC) do not allow for consolidation in operation unity in times of crisis. Only a national force, regionally organized, could more effectively cope with major disorder or natural disasters of magnitude. But instead of allowing national security to relapse into laissez-faire . . . the police should be placed under central direction, its commander-in-chief accountable not to government, but to parliament and the courts.'

'Though confidence in the strength of Britain's social fabric remains unshaken, recent events in Northern Ireland and other United Kingdom troublespots warn that, in the homeland there is no natural immunity from disruptive influences.'

'Indeed, the dangers of



internal subversion and civil anarchy begin to justify consideration of closer police-military ties . . .'

Waghorn reveals that senior police already receive a modicum of schooling with the military.

'Since 1947 a small number of senior police officers have attended Imperial Defence College 12-monthly courses on international affairs for this country. And since 1969 six-monthly courses at the Joint Services Staff College, Latimer.'

'These are sensible moves, but insufficient to attune the attitudes of either service to the value of cohesive police-military co-ordination.'

One 'advantage' as far as Waghorn is concerned is the fact that this co-ordination would obviate any duplication of the work of Special Branch.

'Establishing police-military links would render unlikely

the army duplicating, still less usurping, the role of the police Special Branch in monitoring people suspected of political subversion.'

(It is appropriate to recall at this juncture the role of the Special Branch in the Saor Eire arms trial. Five members were arrested last November and, amid press hysteria about 'IRA terror guns', charged with conspiracy and possession. Two weeks ago the charges were dropped at the Old Bailey and the defendants freed after spending seven months in custody. Now, a Special Branch agent has admitted being implicated in the arms plot.)

Waghorn's notions assume the greatest importance when they are laid alongside those of Kitson and several other military men. In 'The Times' on May 23, after a visit to a number of army establish-

ments, Christopher Walker wrote:

'The evidence points to a growing consensus among senior ranks that the army will devote more attention towards countering subversion of one form and another. On this there is widespread agreement on the ideas of Brigadier Frank Kitson soon to take over as head of the influential School of Infantry at Westminster.'

Much of their thinking, Walker said, was inspired by the miners' strike when it was made apparent that police were incapable of handling situations involving mass action by trade unionists. i.e. Saltley Coke depot, Birmingham.

As we have said on previous occasions, Kitson's views are heard sympathetically at No. 10 Downing Street; the British ruling class will have no qualms about resorting to the

military to preserve its power and privileges; sections of the military are prepared to go onto the streets of Britain against the working class, just as they have in Ulster.

In these circumstances it is hugely comical that Waghorn should say: 'Any proposal for police-military co-ordination on the mainland will be received by impassioned opposition. All the same, the debate should go on for much could be at stake.'

His words echo almost precisely the sentiments of Bruce Page, managing editor of the 'Sunday Times', who recently called for an 'informed debate' on Kitson's views.

As we said before, and we repeat now, no debate is possible with these people. Only the most absurd liberals could entertain such illusions during this profound economic crisis gripping Britain today.



GENERAL LAVELLE'S NOT-SO-PRIVATE WAR

How private was General Lavelle's war? That is the question which must be raised following the revelation that his command carried out offensive air operations against North Vietnam when raids were only supposed to be made in reply to missile or anti-aircraft attack.

The General, who was sacked in March, has been retired on a pension of about \$865 a month. Action was taken against him following a letter sent by a US sergeant from an air base in Thailand in which he alleged that a photo-reconnaissance intelligence team was ordered to deliberately falsify documents relating to air strikes.

Lavelle has admitted ordering about 20 unauthorised strikes in testimony to a House of Representatives hearing investigating his dismissal. The question remains how he could go on for three months obtaining bombs, fuel and planes for these attacks, which required the co-operation of other branches of the service, including Intelligence, without the Pentagon being aware.

The general, who is completely unabashed, has his admirers in the Congress as well as in the armed forces. Was the Nixon policy of limited use of air power at that stage in the war, when the visit to Peking was being prepared or taking place, not another fraud, like so many other aspects of the war?

The Defence Department view is that while General

Lavelle violated the rules of engagement laid down by the United States itself, he acted within the limits of the 1968 Washington - Hanoi 'understanding'.

The Administration's attempts to cover up for General Lavelle, who is on the face of it guilty of gross insubordination, as well as a breach of the constitutional principle of the primacy of the civil over the military power, is suspicious. How much discretion was, and is, left to commanders on the spot to disregard public statements about the limitation of the war?

In any case, General Lavelle only sinned by anticipation. He is not being branded as a criminal and no action other than retirement on a fat pension seems to be likely against him.

Above: General Lavelle with Air Force Chief of Staff General Ryan during the hearing. Lavelle has admitted ordering about 20 unauthorised strikes on North Vietnam

Not long after the unauthorised raids, President Nixon himself ordered the resumption of an all-out air offensive against North Vietnam and the mining of Haiphong harbour. There seems little doubt who is the greater criminal and Lavelle is probably well regarded in the White House.

Senator Proxmire, a Democrat, wants the air force to open court martial proceedings against Lavelle. The White House is believed to regard the journalists and politicians who have pressed the matter as 'troublemakers'.

THE 'SPEEDY EXPRESS' MASSACRE

Thousands of Vietnamese civilians were needlessly killed during the pacification of South Vietnam in 1968 charges 'Newsweek' reporter Kevin P. Buckley. As many as 100,000 people may have been deliberately murdered in a six-month operation code-named 'Speedy-Express'.

Carried out by the US Ninth Infantry Division in the Mekong delta 'it makes the My Lai massacre trifling by comparison' writes Buckley.

The area was a National Liberation Front stronghold in which the Saigon government's writ had never run. There were NLF schools and hospitals and the inhabitants were consequently classified by the US military as 'enemy supporters'.

The area was scoured by 8,000 infantrymen and attacked by planes, including the giant B52s. Peasants were gunned down in their ricefields and peaceful villages were destroyed in air strikes. The body count was huge but few weapons were captured—most of the victims were unarmed civilians.

'There were 5,000 people in our village before 1969,' said one peasant to whom Buckley spoke. 'Now there were none in 1970.' 'Speedy Express' turned out to be genocide comparable with the massacre of the North American Indians a century before.

Animals, crops and trees were swept into the holocaust of napalm, fire and high-explosive which rendered the whole region desolate. The ruthlessness of the sweep

made even hardened American experts shudder. That there would be heavy casualties was known to the high command. It accepted that in the Kin Hoa area at least there could be no question of winning the 'hearts and minds' of the people.

Commenting on the Buckley exposure, North Vietnam radio said: 'The US war of aggression in Vietnam does not solely consist of the massacres in 1968. By conducting mass killings and launching utterly savage bombardments on both parts of Vietnam, the Nixon clique has got to the top rung of crimes and Buckley's revelation has given another proof, from the side of Americans, of the genocide and ecocide the US aggressors have been committing in Vietnam for many years now.'

'Speedy Express' was a microcosm of the whole dirty war in Vietnam, an expression of decaying capitalism. Like the whole American 'pacification' campaign, it could be aptly summed up with the epitaph: 'I have made a desert and called it peace.'



CHINA SHOPS AROUND FOR FACTORIES

China may soon be in the market for entire factories to equip her industries, following the example of the Soviet Union, according to US experts.

Japanese firms are looking hopefully at the prospect of selling chemicals and plastic plants to China. The two giant monopolies, Mitsubishi and Mitsui, are anxious to increase business to compensate for depression and trade war in the world market. They are ready to accept China's trade regulations.

One of these is that China will not trade with Japanese concerns having ties with Taiwan and South Korea. Firms do have investments in these countries, but they are relatively small.

China is known to have built up gold and foreign exchange reserves over the past ten years which could be used to purchase machinery and equipment from capitalist countries.

GOLDEN LINING

With the price of gold at record levels, South African mining shares are booming. Shares prices of two big modern mines East Driefontein and Kloof have risen from 134p to 240p and from 216p to 368p respectively. Together their shares are now valued at £200m on the stock exchange—which is a lot by any standard.

Smaller mines have also been doing well, the price of most shares having doubled while some have done even better.

The giant corporations which dominate the South African mining industry, such as Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo-American and the British-based Consolidated Goldfields, have close connections with the City of London.

Profits from gold have helped buoy up profits which have otherwise been cut by the fall in world demand for non-ferrous metals.

In fact overseas sales of gold have been a lifeline for the South African economy, which accounts for three quarters of the world supply, in a year of depression and political tension.

STRING PULLING

The Polish magazine 'Sztandar Mlodych' on April 12 published an article entitled 'The disease of pulling strings'.

It deplored the practice of payments for acceptance to secondary or higher schools and of favouritism as a result of intervention by acquaintances at the education authorities.

These practices are apparently not uncommon among the country's Stalinist élite. The article complained that they implanted the idea in the minds of the young that success depends on money and influence.

THE PREACHER FROM SOUTH DAKOTA

The Democrats and Republicans — the political spokesmen of the giant corporations and banks that control the United States—will hold their national conventions in the midst of the most explosive crisis in the history of capitalism.

The decisions made at the conventions will reflect the political instability as well as the fear and confusion gripping American capitalists.

Any politician chosen by the capitalists to run for the presidency will have to defend their interests at a time of impending economic collapse and the powerful movement of the working class internationally.

George McGovern now appears likely to emerge as the Democratic candidate. In preparation for this distinction he has been engaged in a tense round of negotiations with the entire business community and the most hardened reactionary southern politicians including George Wallace to convince them that he has absolutely no intention of keeping any of the promises with which he won the primaries.

'I've always thought that I was a pragmatist that would not compromise on essential principles but that I know how to build a political coalition that will win,' declared McGovern recently. 'I'm not out to prove that my convictions are so fanatical, that I'm so rigid on everything that I do that I cannot function within a political system.'

To convince the hold-outs, McGovern took out an ad in the 'Wall Street Journal' in which he completely renounced the economic policies that won him—a staunch defender of union-busting 'right-to-work' laws—the reputation of 'radicalism'. He declared his opposition to excess profits' taxation of any sort and also advised big business that he is not proposing any sort of inheritance tax, whatever he may have demagogically said during a primary campaign.

That big business itself never took any of McGovern's pledges too seriously is shown by the assurances given by leading American financiers to European bankers that as President McGovern would follow more or less the same line that Nixon is taking.

Actually, these programmes that McGovern is washing his hands of, represented the last gasp of liberalism. Nothing that McGovern promised and which earned him a slip on the hand from big business outsiders of the bankruptcy programmes of Lyndon Johnson's 'Great Society'.

With the exception of the nearly \$1,000 per year guaranteed annual income (less than McGovern's weekly salary as a Senator) that he once proposed—and now has dumped after a policy meeting with

Arkansas right-winger Wilbur Mills—all his plans have been heard before.

None of the Democrats have anything to offer the workers of this country but preparations for a ferocious assault on all the gains won by organized labour over the last 40 years. The banners of the Democrats and the Republicans are being waved from the platform of big business, commitment to a programme of mass unemployment, wage-cuts, union smashing, militarism and war.

Driven by the crisis, this is the programme that the capitalists will seek to carry out. While they would like to continue this programme with Nixon in the White House, the grooming of McGovern represents the understanding among the capitalists that they'd better have an alternative to throw up to the working class in the event that all hell breaks loose between now and election day.

All the conditions exist for a complete breakdown of the policies of Nixon.

- The fast deterioration of the economic system continues. The price of gold has zoomed to nearly \$70 an ounce as the law of value, which the capitalists joyfully ignored in order to rebuild their shattered system after the war, reasserts itself with vengeance.

- The offensive in Vietnam has completely smashed the 'Vietnamization' programme; and in spite of the genocidal warfare waged by Nixon, the social and political crisis that lies at the root of the movement of the Vietnamese masses against imperialism grows more profound.

- The American working class is bitterly resisting the attacks of the government through the Pay Board in spite of the retreats of the trade union bureaucracy. A confrontation between the working class and the employers like none ever seen before in this country is on the agenda.

If conditions require such a step, the American bourgeoisie will drop Nixon like a hot potato—just as they dropped Johnson. But what they will not abandon is their offensive against the working class. Behind the liberal mask of McGovern, the needs of capitalism in crisis will make themselves heard.

As for all the talk of reform and social justice, the authoritative voice of capitalism, the 'Wall Street Journal', declared that if McGovern is elected: 'He would quickly sense that these fantasies have no relationship to the real world.' Whether it is wielded by Nixon or McGovern, the working class will face the mailed fist of capitalism. American workers cannot defend themselves with candidates who base themselves on the programme of employers in desperate search of profits. The only answer to the attacks is the independent mobilization of the working class in its own labour party.



The Democrats for the Presidency—Left: Front runner, George McGovern. Top left: Hubert Humphrey. Top right: Edmund Muskie. Above left: Edward Kennedy. Above right: George Wallace.

THE ALL-PURPOSE PRAIRIE RADICAL

Senator George McGovern of South Dakota was the first Democrat to declare for the presidency. He did it in January last year—22 months before the poll.

His office-seeking announcement was among the more insipid examples of rhetoric heard in these affairs.

He told his supporters: 'I seek the presidency because I believe deeply in the American promise and can no longer accept the diminishing of that promise.'

The statement is a perfect example of McGovern's habit of pious sermonizing. In the same speech announcing his nomination he said: 'I intend to offer the American people a choice—not between parties or ideologies. The choice is whether our civilization can serve the freedom and happiness of every citizen, or whether we will become the ever-more helpless servants of a society we have raised up to rule ourselves.'

This is the sort of bland liberal rubbish which has just sent a large number of middle-class trends—led by actress Lee Remick—rushing to the Cafe Royal in London to stage a 'gala evening' to raise money for the McGovern bandwagon to the Democrat Convention.

(McGovern, of course, has been living on a very handsome bankroll provided by some members of the Jewish community. This follows his early and unequivocal statement that arms to Israel should be stepped up. He says: 'I would do whatever is necessary to ensure the survival of

the one democracy in the Middle East.') McGovern's background is strictly fundamentalist Methodist—from where he gets his puritanism.

One biographer described him as 'an updated version of those old prairie radicals' who 'looks like a professor at a small denominational college, which is what he was.'

His father was a coal miner turned professional baseball player who settled down as a preacher in a small town on the Great Plains, population 600. The community where he was brought up was so deprived that on occasions the old Rev. McGovern received and cabbages from his congregation.

McGovern himself can recall seeing grown men weep on discovering the cheque they were paid for a truckload of hogs exactly covered the cost of hauling them to market.

These were intensely conservative areas and McGovern grew up a Republican. He later switched to becoming a Democrat when he decided 'the Democrats are more on the side of the average American.'

He told a Reuters correspondent that he 'despises labels such as "liberal" or "leftist" in politics'—and that's not difficult to see why. He was one of the coterie of liberals, who provided the window-dressing for the Kennedy administration. The former political science professor at Dakota Wesleyan University became the first director of the Food for Peace

Programme in 1961.

In one of those sugar-coated speeches Kennedy once described McGovern as a man of 'vigour, intelligence, understanding of farm problems and sympathy for the underprivileged of the world.' McGovern stood there and grinned. All teeth.

When he hoisted his colours last year some of the old Kennedy hustlers again surfaced. Among them was Kennedy's press secretary, Pierre Salinger, who had spent the intervening years tied up with the international offshore fund operation, Gramco, which collapsed in a heap of law suits and bad debts.

It was McGovern's nomination during the Chicago convention in 1968 which created the pandemonium. Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut came to the spotlight podium to speak. His intention was to formally declare for McGovern and then make a suitably adulatory speech.

Outside, anti-war demonstrators were being gassed and clubbed by Mayor Daley's police thugs, Ribicoff dived on. He paused and then snapped: 'With George McGovern we wouldn't have gestapo tactics on the streets of Chicago.' The convention erupted into uproar.

The result of votes was no surprise: Hubert Humphrey 1760, Eugene McCarthy 601, McGovern 146. When Humphrey finally reached the victory press conference he signifi- cantly had McGovern at his elbow as his vice-President. All teeth again.

'THIS LAND OF IRELAND... ANNEXED FOREVER'



BOOK REVIEW



'The Green Flag'. By Robert Kee. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £5.95. 877 pages. An eight part review by Jack Gale.

PART 6

As everyone knows, the Conservative Party is the Party of law and order. Loyalty, responsibility, duty and honour are the watchwords of every true blue.

Except when their class interest is threatened. And this was threatened in no uncertain manner by the national movement in Ireland—with the result that Tories everywhere cried 'To hell with the legality and the constitution, we'll make our own law'. The loudest cries of all came from the Protestant Tories of Ulster. As has been shown in

earlier articles, there never was a permanent, historical attachment between the Irish Protestant capitalist class and England. When it had suited their class interests, they had fought for an Irish Republic. And they had certainly opposed the Act of Union.

But by the 1880s, this class saw its privileges and power as being bound intrinsically to the union. By that time, Belfast, with a population of over 200,000, was one of the leading industrial cities in the United Kingdom. Its wealth was based on linen and ship-building.

Thus, when the Protestant ruling class embraced Unionism it did so not because of loyalty nor even because of anti-Catholicism, but because of the great god of all capitalists—white, black, green or orange—profit.

When the Protestant Defence Association was founded, at an assembly which included 50 peers, 20 honourables, 46 baronets and knights, 36 MPs and 360 JPs, a declaration was passed to the effect that 'the Protestants of Ireland, from their social position, wealth, intelligence and loyalty [in that order—JG] are entitled to protection of their interests... and all legislation affecting their property, liberty or religion [again, in that order—JG] should be dealt with not as a separate country, but as an integral part of the

United Kingdom'.

By 1882 a leading member of this association—Edward Saunderson—was declaring that 'if England in a moment of infatuation, determined to establish Home Rule... (Orangemen) would take up arms'. (Incidentally, Kee describes Saunderson as 'a jaunty, likeable Irishman, so wealthy, a favourite in London drawing rooms'.)

But it was not only the Irish Tories who were ready to fight. Lord Randolph Churchill (later to die of syphilis) declared that 'the Orange card was the one to play'.

In all fairness, it must be pointed out that Churchill took up this attitude only when the Conservatives had been outmanoeuvred by the wily trickster Gladstone. While there was still a chance of getting the Irish Home Rule vote for the Tory Party, the principled Churchill had flirted with Home Rule himself.

But, having lost out in that particular poker game, he was stating openly that if Home Rule was passed and the Orangemen took up arms against it, 'hundreds and thousands' of Englishmen would stand by them.

At a mass meeting of Orangemen in Belfast he promised: 'In the dark hour there will not be wanting to you those of position and influence in England who are

willing to cast their lot with you.' (My emphasis, J.G.) He also stated: 'Ulster would fight and Ulster would be right.'

Orangemen claimed that if Home Rule was passed, over 1,000 British army officers would fight on their side. Home Rule was not passed in 1886, nor in 1893. But 20 years later, the Orangemen and their English Tory allies were to prove that this was no idle boast.

In 1905 an Ulster Unionist Council was formed and five years later its leadership was assumed by Sir Edward Carson. Kee rates Carson quite highly: 'Courage, single-mindedness, clear-sightedness and determination, but above all an unquestionable and unflinching honesty of purpose, were his salient characteristics.' He even claims, incredibly, that Carson had 'a natural distaste for lawlessness and disorder'!

In September 1911, Carson told 50,000 Orangemen: 'We must be prepared, in the event of a Home Rule Bill passing, (to) carry on for ourselves the government of those districts of which we have control.'

But Carson spoke not only to Orange masses. He had intimate conversations with leading military figures—including Lord Roberts, the senior Field Marshal of the British army.

And when he took the salute at a parade of 100,000

Left: Lord Randolph Churchill Right: Edward Carson

Orangemen in April 1912, he had standing at his side the new leader of the British Conservative Party—Andrew Bonar Law.

Bonar Law also made his position clear (as leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition, of course): 'There will not be wanting help from across the Channel when the hour of battle comes.'

That same month the Liberal Asquith introduced a new Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons.

In opposing the Bill, Bonar Law declared: 'There are things stronger than parliamentary majorities. I can imagine no length of resistance to which Ulster will go, in which I shall not be prepared to support them.'

It is worth noting here exactly what this Ulster was that the Unionists and Tories claimed to speak for. Its population consisted of 690,000 Catholics and 886,000 Protestants. And not all the Protestants were Unionists. In 1910 a General Election produced 103,000 Unionist votes and 94,000 Home Rule votes.

But, in fact, five of the nine Ulster Counties had Home Rule majorities.

So, it is clear, Carson and Bonar Law did not speak for the 'people' of Ulster, they spoke for its ruling class.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

THE MINDBENDERS

'BEYOND FREEDOM AND DIGNITY'. By B. F. Skinner. Published by Alfred A. Knopf. New York. 1971. 225 pages.

From Jenson's racist theories of Black genetic intellectual inferiority to Carl Rogers' sensitivity subjectivism, the last several years have seen the development of some of the most reactionary trends in psychology. Skinnerian behaviourism now shows signs of becoming the next major psychological fad.

In this review of Skinner's latest book, we intend to show that behaviourism is a psychological doctrine particularly well-suited to the needs of the ruling class in the present period.

Before considering the social implications of behaviourism, the main topic of 'Beyond Freedom and Dignity,' it will be helpful to look at behaviourism as a psychological theory. Behaviourism is a school of psychology which contends that the only legitimate kind of explanation of behaviour is its direct relationship to observable events in the environment.

B. F. Skinner is the most well-known modern exponent of behaviourism, perhaps because his version of behaviourism is in some ways the most radically empiricist. Behaviourism in the past, as developed by Watson and Thorndike in the earlier part of the century, was a theory of independent stimulus-response connections.

Even so crude a theory was too much for Skinner, who attempted to develop a psychology which made no assumptions whatsoever as to what went on within the organism, a pure 'technology of behaviour'.

'When a bit of behaviour is followed by a certain kind of consequence, it is more likely to occur again, and a consequence having this effect is called a reinforcer'.

What must first strike one about this doctrine is its utter triviality and emptiness. It states little more than that behaviour is somehow lawful, an assumption which any psychology must make. The rest is pure tautology, since 'reinforcer' is not independently defined. Consequently behaviour can only be explained after it has occurred, there being no way to identify a reinforcer before observing the behaviour which is said to be reinforced.

Now one of the main criticisms which Skinner makes of explanations in terms of mental entities, a correct criticism, is that they merely describe what is already known in other terms. The principle of reinforcement is no better in this regard.

Skinner does manage to smuggle a considerable amount of content into behaviourism, but this is not derived from his theory, as it involves making some tacit ad hoc assumptions. While he has no theory with which to predict what is reinforcing, in practice he assumes that reinforcers are of the kind the present social order employs.

He has thus asserted the impracticability of communism, because there would be no reason for people to work. You can begin to see how a shallow bourgeois common sense has dressed up a psychology with the introduction of a few new terms.

Besides being a trivial and circular conception, behaviourism represents one of the most direct assaults on precisely that which it claims to champion, a deterministic account of behaviour. In breaking from learning theory, Skinner was forced to discard the notion of the environment eliciting behaviour in favour of regarding the influence of the environment as merely selective. This means that behaviour can be explained on the level of psychology only in terms of rates and probabilities.

It was Freud's monumental achievement to demonstrate, through postulating unconscious mental processes, that all behaviour, even the most insignificant, is psychologically determined. Skinner's position, despite his pretensions to determinism, is just the opposite—no individual behavioural act is determined. He thus leaves the door wide open to the 'autonomous man' which he tries to appear to attack.

The pivot of Skinner's application of behaviourism to social questions is his analysis of control. Skinner argues that since all behaviour is under the control of aspects of the behaving organism's environment, a conception of freedom and dignity involving the absence of control is meaningless. What is important to Skinner is the abstract nature of control.

Skinner analyses control into three categories: positive control, aversive control, and punishment.

Positive control exists when the reinforcer is a certain stimulus, such as food.

Negative control exists when the organism acts to reduce or end a stimulus, such as the hot sun.

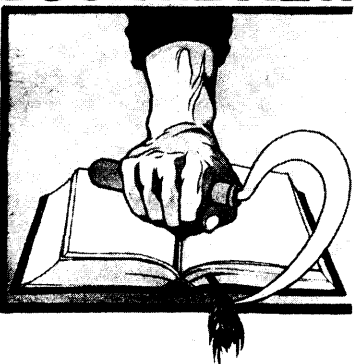
Punishment differs from the other two kinds of control in that what is reinforced is refraining from behaving, rather than behaving, in certain ways.

These distinctions, however, have no logical meaning. Whether a given state of affairs is called a stimulus or the absence of a stimulus is completely arbitrary. An organism can just as correctly be described as seeking the shade as escaping the sun. The same applies to the distinction between behaving and not behaving. These differences are purely verbal.

That 'the greatest living psychologist' can base his entire social theory and much of his purely psychological theory on so gross a blunder is understandable only in the context of the capitalist ideology which he is rewriting psychologically. The bourgeoisie made its revolution against the kind of juridical controls existing under feudalism, for the freedom of control by the market.

When Skinner asserts the superiority of positive control over aversive control and of both of the former over punishment, he is simply defending the kind of controls used under capitalism, and expressing the ideological illusion that these

BOOK REVIEW



controls are ahistorically better than those used in other social systems.

The categories positive control, negative control, and punishment, just like the category reinforcer, are empty in themselves and obtain their content only from the dominant ideology.

While behaviourism upholds the kind of controls used under capitalism, it comes into a very limited conflict with the traditional capitalist ideology, which emphasizes the freedom of the individual from all control. Behaviourism was developed during the imperialist epoch of capitalism. Its glorification of control reflects the reality of conscious control by the state and the monopolies under imperialism.

Thus under imperialism bourgeois psychology is forced to concede the control of all behaviour by the environment, but refuses to elucidate the processes by which the environment controls behaviour.

By viewing control mechanically behaviourism obscures the reality. Skinner, it might be said, acknowledges the role of consciousness, since he advocates conscious control. Socialist consciousness, though, unlike behaviourism, must be introduced against the dominant ideology, that is, against 'contingencies of reinforcement'.

Skinner's theory is designed to make impossible this theoretical fight. Behaviourism reflects the fact that the bourgeoisie does not need a conscious theory. Although it has an implicit theory, as we have shown Skinner has also, it appears to respond directly, so to speak, to the contingencies.

Skinner, in effect, says that this is the only way to respond. One of the implications of an empiricist psychology is that empiricism is the only philosophy possible.

After analyzing control, Skinner turns to an analysis of values and value terms. The very conception of good Skinner defines in terms of reinforcement. Good things are positive reinforcers. Here, as elsewhere, Skinner attempts to reduce concepts to directly observable phenomena.

And here as elsewhere Skinner ends up with a hopelessly empty abstraction. Unfortunately we find ourselves in a society in which what is a 'positive reinforcer' for one class is a 'negative reinforcer' for the other. A behavioristic analysis of value terms therefore has no relevance for capitalism.

'Beyond Freedom and Dignity' assumes a particularly pernicious significance today. At a time when the main need of the ruling class is to bring the trade unions under control, to tie them to the state.

Skinnerianism becomes a justification for Bonapartism. Skinner's message is that the working class must give up its freedom (independent unions and political rights) in the interest of the only real values, positive reinforcement (read the public interest) and the 'survival of the culture' (capitalism). It should willingly accept such arrangements since, after all, they are preferable to punishment (fascism).

Skinner wrote his other major social work, 'Walden Two', in 1948, during another period of working-class upsurge. He now again finds a favourable opportunity to draw out the reactionary implications of behaviourism behind a thin veil of psychological jargon.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

SCHOOLDAYS

Christopher Booker, the 'Jesus Freak' who is a close friend of Malcolm Muggeridge, has taken to writing 'business' articles in the 'City Press', the newspaper of the City of London.

Booker was a founding editor of 'Private Eye' and is a schoolmate of the present 'Eye' team, Paul Foot and Richard Ingrams.



Top: Booker. Below: Foot.

The article is an extraordinary expression of the crisis-ridden lives of some members of the middle class today.

Booker examines the economic situation (very superficially) and then pours out his gloom. 'The fact is, as we all know, there are plenty of grounds for despair and disillusion in Britain at the moment.'

'As most of us look round our country in this month of June, we see few grounds for light-hearted optimism. Indeed, wherever one goes, or whoever one talks to, it is not long before a distinct sense of gloom begins to emerge.'

Casting around for the origins of his gloom, Booker cites 'the latest particularly humiliating instalment is the virtual collapse of the Industrial Relations legislation'.

Perhaps Booker and the public schoolboy crowd are depressed about the belting that rank-and-file trade unionists have given to the courts,

but the working class isn't. The working class is elated.

There are other tortures inflicting themselves on Booker. London is collapsing all around him.

'In the past few months, this feeling that London is being taken over has suddenly surfaced as never before. Almost all the remaining parts of old London that are familiar, that give Londoners the sense of belonging to their city, seem suddenly to be threatened in a rush—Covent Garden, Piccadilly Circus, Hyde Park Corner, Leadenhall Market, the docks, the Strand, Victoria, Whitehall, remaining parts of Bloomsbury.'

Can Booker do anything to stop the flood of decadence and despondency sweeping civilization? No, he calls for calm.

He warns those who might be tempted into harsh judgement against the government:

'But one can't help wondering whether we should be tempted to lay quite so much blame for what is happening to Britain today just at the feet of our rulers.'

This is the true reactionary spirit of our once-wayward young men of the 1960s.

The 'That Was The Week That Was' and 'Private Eye' gents are being buffeted around by the clash of class forces. And as the crunch draws nearer, they rush to defend the master.

From 'Private Eye' to 'City Press'—that's worth noting.

DASH-OFF

Jack Dash, ex-London dockers' leader, is about to open his first art exhibition. Thirty of his canvases will go on show in rural Surrey in a... parish church. One painting is of Christ entitled 'The First Socialist'.

Dash is a life-long member of the British Communist Party!



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LETTERS



Dear Editor, John Mathews (in his book 'Ford Strike—The Workers Story' reviewed in Workers Press on June 2) certainly covers up for the Communist Party by omission and was obviously misinformed on many details.

Writing as a worker who was in the story, I would like to further clarify your industrial correspondent David Maude's report of the collusion of the CP in selling out the strike and in covering the tracks of Scanlon and Jones.

On the Thursday morning after the NJNC accepted the Jones-Scanlon secret ballot package deal, stewards reporting for picket duty found a strike bulletin, prepared by [CP convenor] Harraway and Company, waiting for them.

Printed on the reverse side of a panegyric of praise for [T&GWU official] Moss Evans, after the Sunday Basildon meeting, was the claim of a victory for the unions, with a personal statement by Brother Harraway stating why the offer was inadequate and why his vote would be 'No'.

The resolution of the body plant stewards was as much an indictment of Harraway and the CP as a hostile reaction to the sell-out. Harraway's subsequent statements about returning to work were made without the consent of the shop stewards' committee and helped to maintain the split in the ranks long enough to ensure an eventual return to work of all plants.

The convenors had no central strategy to fight the sell-out. In fact, to question the role of Scanlon and Jones during the strike was considered

high treason. Yet they gave the Tories a trial run of the working of the Industrial Relations Act with everything from a secret ballot to the disciplining of shop stewards. To this day the Liverpool steward John Dillon has not had his credentials reinstated nor has the promised inquiry taken place.

The approach of Mathews to the struggles of Ford workers over the years is naive. None of the tensions that exist between the union bureaucracy and the stewards, the stewards and the ranks, live in his book, which couples with admiration of mindless militancy and unconcealed contempt for the rank and file, the inevitable scapegoat for the sell-out of the union bureaucracy. (See 'Cracks in the ranks' p. 142.)

Mathews is unable to explain the collapse of the parity campaign in 1970 except with empty phrases about 'workers' lack of militancy at Dagenham', etc.

Ramsey's [Ford official] statement that year was a frank exposure of the problems of monopoly capitalism, which the stewards could not answer and have not answered to this day.

The enormous, spontaneous response of the workers in 1971 was a result of the interference of the Tory government in wage bargaining and opposition to the miserable £2 offer. Mathews' imputation is that the rank and file had 'woken up'.

My suspicions are that International Socialists played a prominent part in writing this book. The only steward in Dagenham interviewed by Mathews is an IS member who



Sid Harraway

worked might and main to provide Harraway and the Stalinists with a smokescreen during the strike, only to denounce them when the ship began to sink.

Mathews, incidentally, did not consult Harraway or any other leading stewards in Dagenham and concentrates mainly on the statements of the Hollywood convenor, Les Moore.

On top of this, see Sagall's sympathetic review in 'Socialist Worker'. (June 10.)

This book is the worst kind of bowing to spontaneity and the refusal of Mathews to interview the Dagenham convenors ensures that the essence of the story is missing. The puritanical insinuation of sell-out by the rank and file at Dagenham is a slander and diversion: the outlook of a not too liberal gentleman. Let me leave you with the comments of Sid Harraway on the book: 'They must have shown him round the flannel shop at Hollywood!'

Alan Stares,
T&GWU steward,
body plant (Dagenham).



John Spencer

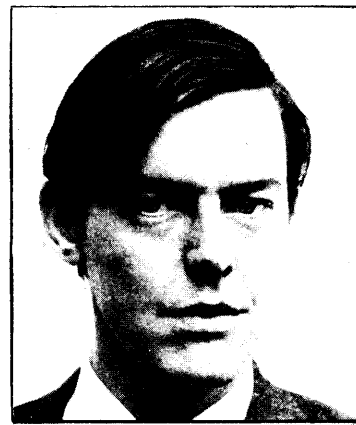
Dear Editor, Concerning the Lydda airport massacre, John Spencer gave a lucid and cogent reply to David Mercer, whose feelings seem to have got the better of his reason, to say nothing of his style.

Spencer was accused of 'sick remarks', 'pathologically twisted values', 'nauseating puerilities', 'mindless infantilism' and Stalinist anti-Semitism.

Violent phrases usually express cheap emotion; it would be easy to suspect Mercer of allowing the spurious indignation of the bourgeois media to induce an attempt to prove his humanity.

But it would be unfair. Spencer's reply does leave something unsaid. Mercer has confused the issue by denigrating the heroism of the Japanese terrorists. The point is not whether what they did was heroic—it was. The point is whether what they did was horrible—and it was.

When Lenin and Trotsky argued against terrorism they had in mind the assassination of Tsarist ministers and the



Above left: David Mercer. Above: John Spencer

like. Such actions did immense damage to the working-class movement, but no man of sense felt obliged to waste much pity on the victims.

The classical, strategic arguments apply all the more strongly when the intended victims are innocents but in addition one need not be ashamed to register one's attitude to useless brutality.

Indifference to innocent suffering has nothing in common with the revolutionary hardness of the old Bolsheviks. It is not a question of delivering sermons to guerrillas. It is a question of stating the whole truth—the unique role of Trotskyism.

Even so, Mercer's indignation is quite unbalanced. The real crime of petty bourgeois terrorists is to mislead the course of world revolution and even this does not put them on the moral level of imperialist agencies like Zionism, which endanger the very safety of the planet.

Sally Kershaw



A lorry belonging to Panalpina—one of the firms still blacked by northern dockers—makes its way tentatively through a mass meeting at Chobham Farm

Chobham Farm deal solves nothing

LONDON DOCKERS' stewards meet today to discuss their next moves following the 'complete victory' of their five-week blockade at Chobham Farm container depot.

The description of the settlement is that of Bernard Steer, one of the three shop stewards who ten days ago escaped jail for picketing the depot.

Writing in the Communist Party's 'Morning Star' on Friday June 23, 1972, he says it has established dockers' right to do work which is rightfully theirs.

The 'Star' itself added only the editorial comment that the claimed victory was 'historic'. It 'needs to be followed up by a similar outcome throughout the industry', the paper said.

Negotiations completed last Thursday between the depot management, Transport and General Workers' Union officials and the docks stewards guaranteed that the stuffing and stripping of containers there is to be made dockers' work by July 10.

The 63 non-dockers currently working there will not be dismissed, but will be found other jobs. No docker will have to work alongside them on the same job. The displaced men will handle security, outside transport deliveries, equipment examination and general maintenance.

London East Inland Clearance Depot Ltd, the owners of the depot, will apply to be licensed as employers within the 1947 Dock Labour Scheme.

The calling-off of 'blacking' action at the depot—and today's London stewards' meeting—come with just five days to go before a further key meeting of the national port stewards' unofficial committee.

At the committee meeting nine days ago, the stewards threatened they would call a national strike if there was no satisfactory settlement of the containers issue within two weeks.

That threat may now be deprived of much of its force.

CHANGING of clock card numbers for some workers at CAV's Acton, London, factory now appears to have sinister undertones. It could be the opening of a campaign by the management to force flexibility and mobility across the site.

Many CAV workers have been upset because there was no consultation with the shop stewards; some 'indirect' workers will retain their existing clock

BY DAVID MAUDE, Our industrial correspondent

And Steer's victory claim amply bears out the warning issued by Workers Press last Tuesday against the dangers of a split between the ports.

The Chobham Farm agreement is a clear tribute to the determination of the dockers and those workers who supported them against the threat from the National Industrial Relations Court.

But to hail it uncritically as a total solution, which now simply needs to be repeated on the same lines elsewhere opens up very great dangers.

Chief among these is that under cover of a few sops from the employers, the dockers' struggle against galloping unemployment in their industry will be turned into a UCS-style protest aimed at 'saving' jobs.

The port employers are offering from today better severance terms to dockers on the ports' temporarily unattached register (TUR), £50 disturbance payments to men on the TUR for more than four weeks and a £3 increase in the £20 fall-back rate.

With a joint inquiry into the dock jobs crisis — being conducted by Jack Jones of the Transport and General Workers' Union and Lord Aldington of the Port of London Authority—due to report in a month they are clearly aiming to reduce the temperature and avert any strike threat.

Further Chobham Farm-type settlements may be another prong of this strategy.

Steer's 'Morning Star' article indicates that this may already be working. 'We are ready for action if at the end of these discussions [the Jones-Aldington inquiry] there is not an immediate end to unemployment', he says.

Yet the national stewards' decision — at a meeting which Steer did not attend—was, as we have said, much stronger than this.

Yet even if the inquiry were to recommend that every depot owner in the country behave like the London East ICD board, it would provide only about 500 extra jobs for dockers.

This would not even cut by a third the TUR which last Tues-

card numbers and piecework operators are not affected.

This issue will have to be quickly resolved since all changes have been put through the company's computer. This means that wage slips will also bear the employee's new name and clock number.

The joint shop stewards' committee called on all workers affected by these changes to refuse to clock in today.

day comprised over 1,700 men nationally (almost 1,500 of them in London).

But the TUR, in fact, is only a small part of the problem.

Earlier last week, the National Dock Labour Board revealed that on average only 75 per cent of the total 45,000 register were employed at any one time last year.

Allowing for sickness, holidays and industrial disputes, this brings us somewhere near a figure given two weeks ago by the port employers. They claimed that one docker in every seven even on the attached register was surplus to their needs.

In other words the only thing standing between some 5,000 dockers and the sack over a long period has been the statutory job guarantee contained in the Dock Labour Scheme.

On its own, the demand that the stuffing and stripping of containers is done by dockers can do no more than scratch the surface of this problem. The docks stewards lay claim only to what are called 'groupage' containers — those which are not handled at their point of origin and receipt, but filled with part-loads along their route.

But groupage work carried out at depots comprises only 14.5 per cent of the total container traffic, and of this proportion a large part is already handled by dockers. The amount of the total traffic the dockers' leaders are claiming amounts to just 5 per cent.

Earlier this year, the docks stewards shelved their demand for the nationalization of the entire port industry under workers' control as not immediately applicable.

Yet Chobham Farm has shown it to be the most applicable of all demands—and to be implemented immediately.

For the Communist Party to present the London agreement as an unqualified success without making any reference to these issues is utterly treacherous.

But it is entirely in line with the Party's record on the docks over the last ten years, in which it tied dockers' hands while 30,000 jobs were destroyed by agreement between employers and union officials.

The standard technique of Jack Dash and the T&GWU docks leadership throughout that period was to split London from the northern ports—first over the northern breakaway movement to the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, then over Lord Devlin's 'modernization' schemes.

Another split on the basis of the Chobham Farm settlement would be a disaster and a betrayal of the dockers' fight for jobs.

BBC 1

9.20-9.35 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 11.25 Cricket. England v Australia. 1.30 Woodentops. 1.45 News and weather. 1.53 Tennis and cricket. Wimbledon 1972, second test match from Lord's. 4.50 Magic roundabout. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Penelope pit-stop. 5.44 Parsley. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.

6.15 WIMBLEDON 1972.

7.30 TALK ABOUT LONDON. Tour of the City with Michael Bentine.

8.00 PANORAMA.

9.00 NINE, O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.

9.20 DOOMWATCH. Waiting for a Knighthood.

10.10 THE SPINNERS IN SUMMER.

10.40 24 HOURS.

11.15 ATHLETE. High Jump.

11.40 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 2.05 Cricket and tennis. Wimbledon and second test match from Lord's.

7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.

8.00 HIGH CHAPARRAL. The Widow from Red Rock.

8.50 HIS LORDSHIP ENTERTAINS.

TV

ITV

11.25 The seven seas. 12.15 Women today. 12.40 Freud on food. 1.05 Bellbird. 1.20 Enchanted house. 1.35 Skippy. 2.00 Castle haven. 2.30 Good afternoon! 3.00 Film: 'Girl in the Headlines'. Ian Hendry. Thriller. 4.40 Yak. 4.55 Lassie. 5.20 Pardon my genie. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.20 CROSSROADS.

6.40 THE DAVID NIXON SHOW.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.

8.30 ALCOCK AND GANDER.

9.00 MAN AT THE TOP. Nobody Gets in My Way.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 MCMILLAN AND WIFE. An Elementary Case of Murder.

1.55 BEHIND THE SCENES.



Alcock and Gander, with Beryl Reid, Patrick Newell and Richard O'Sullivan, in independent channels tonight

Regional TV

CHANNEL: 2.55 Struggle for China. 4.05 Once upon a time. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Yoga. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.15 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.03 Marcus Welby. 11.55 Visages de France. 12.10 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.20 Sports desk. 10.59 News. 11.55 Epilogue.

SOUTHERN: 2.30 London. 3.00 Tricks of the good cook's trade. 3.20 Bugs bunny. 3.30 Lucy. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.25 Junkin. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Afloat. 11.00 News. 11.10 Question time. 11.40 Odd couple. 12.10 Weather. Epilogue.

HARLECH: 2.15 Locker 69. 3.15 Sara and Hoppity. 3.30 Enchanted house. 3.45 Women only. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.25 Superman. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'Fanatic'. 12.15 Scotland Yard mysteries. 12.45 Weather.

HTV West as above except: 6.22-6.45 This is the West this week.

HTV Wales as above except: 4.15-4.25 Cantamil. 6.01-6.22 Y dydd.

HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus: 10.30 Sain, Cerdd a chan. 11.15-12.15 Department S.

ANGLIA: 2.30 London. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Joker's wild. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper room. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Show business. 11.00 Theatre.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Good afternoon! 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.00 Nanny and the professor. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London.

10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Randall and Hopkirk.

ULSTER: 4.00 Let's face it. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Funny face. 6.35 Cartoon time. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.35 Film: 'Counterspy'.

YORKSHIRE: 1.00 Arthur. 1.25 Rainbow country. 1.50 Britannia. 2.32 London. 3.00 Film: 'The Toast of New Orleans'. 4.35 News. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.25 Under these roofs. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 All our yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 2.30 Calling Dr Gannon. 3.25 Towards 2000. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 Your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'Kiss the Blood Off My Hands'.

TYNE TEES: 12.20 Forest rangers. 12.45 From a bird's eye view. 1.10 Edgar Wallace. 2.05 Survival. 2.30 Common Market cookbook. 3.00 Film: 'The Toast of New Orleans'. 4.35 News. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 HR Puffin. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25 Demolition. 6.45 London. 10.30 Times four. 11.30 Saint. 11.55 News. 12.10 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 2.30 Class of 72. 3.30 Nuts and bones. 3.45 Dr Simon Locke. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Expansions: Clydefair. 11.35 Marty Feldman.

GRAMPIAN: 3.38 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Lucy show. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.05 Dr Simon Locke. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Saint. 11.55 Epilogue.

Scots Right to Work march begins

THE SCOTTISH Right-to-Work march crossed the Tay Bridge into the Fife coalfield yesterday on the first leg of its journey to Glasgow.

On Saturday the workers of Dundee gave the marchers a great official send off. A total collection of more than £16 was made and 150 copies of the Workers Press sold.

The 22 unemployed youth set off in high spirits and fine weather. The march includes contingents from Dundee, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Clydebank and Renfrew.

John Barrie, leader of the recent five-week Glasgow-Lon-

don Right-to-Work march said: 'It's great to be on the road again.'

'Since our journey to London the working class have demonstrated their ability to stand up to the Tories. Now the job is to mobilize to get them out.'

The centre came to a virtual standstill as hundreds of shoppers crowded onto the pavements to watch the column pass by.

There was applause when the marchers linked the main call for the right to work with the

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS IN DUNDEE

government in the slogan 'We demand the right to work—Kick the Tories out.'

Dundee, with one of the highest rates of unemployment in Scotland, has had a bellyful of Tory policy as Saturday's reception showed.

The town was originally based on the declining jute industry. More recently American firms have come into the area, but these have been hard hit by the recession in the United States and one, National Cash Register, declared over 1,000 redundancies

in the town last year.

Dundee building workers, who were preparing for tomorrow's strike, put the marchers up in their hall and food was bought by the city's busmen and students.

At a pre-march meeting John Barrie thanked the Dundee workers for their support.

'This march is politically more significant than the longer one to London,' he said.

'Because we have political understanding and because we fight to bring this government

down, we will make an impact on thousands. This is a challenge before us and I am sure the youth on the march are ready for that challenge.'

Gordon Bailey brought greetings from the Babcock and Wilcox apprentices' committee, which has officially backed the campaign.

'The message from the apprentices is to wish you success in your vital task of mobilizing the working class against this Tory government. We will be out next Saturday to greet you into Glasgow.'

The youth stayed last night in the Boys Brigade Hall, Cupar.

Builders' pay demo

BUILDING WORKERS from all over London will rally in Hyde Park this afternoon in support of strike action for their pay claim.

At the same time, union officials have called out six sites in London from today as part of their selective strike strategy.

The demand for a £30, 35-hour week and increased holidays has been met by an 18-month offer of increases for craftsmen of £5 to £25; and £4 for labourers, taking them to £21. No hours concessions were made.

'This is the last post for the building unions,' said James Clarke, Transport and General Workers' Union steward on Wimpey's Waltham Abbey site yesterday.

'We can't let the leadership back down now like they've done



T&GWU steward James Clarke 'Can't back down'

in the past. No doubt the Tories will try it on with us.

'The problem of the slump and everything else is involved in this strike with the employers,' he added.

Eire pay deal rejected

A **FOUR-and-a-half** hour special conference of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions — representing about 400,000 workers in Eire — rejected proposals for a second National Wage Agreement at the weekend.

The two-to-one decision became almost a foregone conclusion when the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, with 65 votes, decided last Friday to oppose the agreement.

The vote against the new agreement was 253 to 103, a majority of 150.

The vote represents working-class hostility to any collabora-

tion with the Lynch government. The first agreement was sold to the membership by the union bureaucrats on the basis that it would bring price and jobs stability.

Instead, the cost of living soared—chiefly in preparation for Eire's entry in the Common Market — and the number of unemployed rapidly increased.

The danger of Saturday's decision is that no one has come forward for an alternative to fight the Lynch government. The pay question is now going to be left to 'playing it by ear' with individual employers.

Briefly...

FINE TUBES strikers from Plymouth will be at Transport House, London, tomorrow, to meet officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. The men are angry at the officials' lack of support for their two-year-old dispute. If they get no satisfaction from the meeting, which starts at 10.30 a.m., a protest sit-in may be staged.

STRIKERS at British Steel's South Teesside complex yesterday voted to continue a dispute which started after foremen were told their pay would be withheld for refusing to take instructions from shift managers. The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation wants negotiating rights for managers at the complex's £8m continuous-casting plant.

JUNIOR HOSPITAL Doctors Association executive is 'disgusted by the 'derisory 7.5 per cent pay increase' awarded by Lord Halsbury's review body. Said Dr Marcus Pembrey, Association chairman: 'House officers, fully qualified doctors, who have done three years' hospital training after completion of their basic degree or its equivalent, are still paid less than many 17-year olds who have just left school.' They are on call more than 100 hours a week at 35p and 50p an hour.

BUCKINGHAM Palace, Windsor Castle and the Houses of Parliament repair and maintenance men will demonstrate outside the Civil Service Department offices

in the Mall today following their stewards' rejection of a £1.50 pay offer.

TREASURY has imposed stringent controls on capital transactions with overseas sterling area countries. Direct investment in these countries will now require Bank of England approval as will borrowing from the sterling area by British companies. This marks the virtual end of the sterling area since the control on capital movements is now similar to that which applies to other countries. However, emigrants will be able to take more capital assets than if they were going outside the sterling area. The main effect of the restrictions, which are likely to become permanent, is to check purchase of shares by UK residents on sterling area stock exchanges.

WEATHER

SCOTLAND and Northern Ireland will have sunny spells but there will be scattered showers in the northwest.

England and Wales will be rather coludy with hill fog and drizzle in the west and coastal fog patches on southern and western coasts. In the east and southeast sunny spells are expected in the afternoon and evening.

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Singer strikers return— to fight for their jobs

THE STORY of the Singer factory at Clydebank is that of the whole of industrial Scotland in miniature.

Twelve years ago, 15,000 workers were employed by the American sewing machine company—making it the biggest of its kind in the world. Five years later there were 10,000 workers and now there are 5,000. Output, however, has remained the same.

This vast increase in productivity at the expense of the people of Clydebank is the main reason why the Singer workers, who have just ended a six-week strike, will not accept more productivity.

As it is they will face a new challenge on jobs as they return today.

Automation is the new bogey. After a decade of capital-intensive investment which squeezed out jobs, management is launching new processes to eradicate whole sections of the labour force.

There has already been a taste of things to come in the power station. The firm recently built a new unit employing 13 men—less than a third of the labour force of the old station.

Next for the treatment was the 'arm and bed' building department. The reorganization led to a surplus of 40 workers. They have been assigned to an 'un-attached pool' ready for employment elsewhere in the huge complex which overlooks the Clydebank shipyard.

But convenor Gavin Laird admits that as the drive for automation sweeps through every department, the unions will eventually face an extreme redundancy crisis.

'This management is very professional and very efficient,' he told me in the strike headquarters.

'They introduced things like job evaluation as early as 1950, when it was just a rumour in the rest of British industry.'

'There will be more automation. We know that. This is a real threat to jobs in a plant that has been decimated with redundancies over ten years.'

'The answer is more holidays and shorter hours,' said Mr. Laird.

But one of the demands the Singer men dropped during the strike was for a 39-hour week. Workers blame the union for this.

The AUEW advised the stewards to give seven days' strike notice to comply with the Industrial Relations Act.

This gave management a week to prepare. They made a quick wage offer and posted notices up around the factory claiming only the demand on hours was preventing industrial peace.

Mr Laird says pressure built up and the demand had to be abandoned.

'The union policy is confused on this issued. On the one hand there is supposed to be non-co-operation with the Act but on the other we were advised to do this. Anyway we made a tactical error.'

The strike was completely

Wage increases ranging from 14 to 20 per cent have been accepted by 4,500 workers at the Clydebank factory of Singer Manufacturing Company after a six-week strike. Rises of between £3.75 and £4.25 bring the minimum wage of the lowest paid workers at the factory to £22.16. But, as Stephen Johns reports, the work force has another, bigger fight ahead—the fight against redundancies.

solid. Last week a mass meeting overwhelmingly rejected a company offer despite the fact that most of the fringe benefits demanded in the claim had been conceded.

The firm attempted to break this solidarity by systematically firing the 1,200 staff. They even hinted darkly that there was no guarantee of re-employment. These tactics, however, somewhat backfired. The militant Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs refused to leave the plant and occupied their offices.

The Singer battle is part of the engineers' plant-by-plant campaign for better wages and conditions.

This has got off to a uneven and straggly start in Scotland. On Clydeside a handful of plants have their claim in and are taking action—including one sit-in where workers at a back-street engineering shop have been sacked for striking.

The Singer strikers were critical of the decision to abandon the claim at national level.

'I was on the national committee when it came up,' said Mr Laird, 'and I moved the motion pressing for national action and a ballot. I think it was faint-hearted to believe we would not have won the backing from the membership—with a campaign we would have done. Singers, I know, would have backed out,' he said.

He declined to comment on AUEW President Hugh Scanlon's decision to go back to the employers with the begging bowl for national talks. But other stewards were more outspoken. Said John McFadgen:

'I asked Scanlon when he was up here talking to the shop stewards what was the use of this great plant-by-plant campaign if we were going to go back to talk. If the employers were not going to give anything after such a militant fight, they would not give it at the conference table. Scanlon didn't have an answer.'

There is, however, a great deal more than pay and conditions involved. The Singer complex is the main employer in the town. The Clydebank shipyard has already suffered 500 redundancies and more are certain due to the Marathon take-over.

Pay apart, Singer workers will go on facing a relentless erosion of jobs each week. It's the same story throughout Scotland. Every day the local press has the familiar closure or redundancy story. On Wednesday last week it was 7,500 steelworkers who faced the dole, on Thursday it was 200 men at Wickman Lang, Johnstone, the town's last machine-tool works, and on Friday it was 100 more GEC workers at Cowdenbeath. And so it goes on.

Apart from the most feeble protests, the union leaders have no answer to this rapid slide into depression. At the recent Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions meeting organized by the Scottish Communist Party, one man asked how, politically, could workers get rid of the Tory government and save their jobs.

The silence in the hall, which held 400 shop stewards, and on the platform which sported James Airlie of UCS, was truly deafening.

Socialist Labour League

Public Meetings

SWINDON
Friday June 30, 8 p.m.
'The Locomotive'
Farringdon Road.
Make the Tory
government resign

OXFORD
Wednesday July 5, 8 p.m.
Council Chamber
Oxford Town Hall
Speaker: G. Healy (SLL
national secretary)

DEFEND THE DOCKERS' RIGHT TO WORK
DEFEND BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS
DEFEND THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION
MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN

SUNDAY JULY 2 7 p.m.

Acton Town Hall
Acton High Street, W.3.

Speakers:

G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)
SARAH HANNIGAN (London YS secretary)
CLIFF SLAUGHTER (SLL Central Committee)
CORIN REDGRAVE
LARRY CAVANAGH (Liverpool docks steward)