

YES MASS LOBBY

says:

Support Seamen! No to Devlin and anti-union laws!

BY NEWSLETTER REPORTERS

DEFYING the weather and attempts to split working-class unity, 1,100 Young Socialists, seamen, dockers, students and trade unionists marched on parliament on Wednesday calling for a victory to the seamen's strike and an end to the Devlin Report and anti-union legislation.

IN THE HOUSE

By Newsletter Reporters

AT the House of Commons the lobbyists were let in at a steady pace.

In the lobby Roy Mason, Minister of Shipping and MP for Barnsley, said he would only speak to people from his constituency.

He said the economy of the country would be jeopardised if the government did not take the Emergency Powers.

'The seamen are trying to establish a 17 per cent increase, and they just cannot do it,' he said, adding: 'My sympathies are not with the employers. In fact they are not anywhere. My allegiance is to the economy.'

Arthur Blenkinsop, a South Shields MP, could not say if he was against the Emergency Powers or not. He would not vote against the Emergency Powers if they were in the national interest to bring in essential supplies and food.

Ian Mikardo, Poplar's MP, threatened to call the police if Young Socialists lobbied him.

Glasgow MP, Garrow, said he would definitely vote for the Emergency Powers and for the Prices and Incomes Bill. He said the seamen should go to a court of inquiry and could not see why they were afraid to do so.

Joan Lester, MP for Slough, said she opposed the state of emergency, but she did not know whether she would vote against it because she had not seen the amendments.

South Battersea MP, Perry, said he supported the seamen's claim, but thought it could be negotiated upon before the Emergency Powers were brought in. He thought an offer of a 48-hour week this year and a 40-hour week next year should be agreed.

Angry seamen surrounding him said 'No, you can't feed children on promises.'

The Republican Labour MP from West Belfast, Fitt, said he would vote against the Emergency Powers if he could do so. He had been a seaman for 13 years. He was not sure whether one man could vote against the Powers.

John Mendelson, Penistone, said he opposed penalties on workers, but it did not follow that he would vote against the Prices and Incomes Bill. He said he would be the first to oppose the Emergency Powers. It was he who had arranged the meeting of MPs with seamen's leader Bill Hogarth that afternoon.

Eric Heffer, MP for Walton, Liverpool, said he wanted assurances that the government would not be sending seamen to work on ships before he would vote for the Emergency Powers.

Seamen who had interviewed Heffer said they had received a quarter of an hour's sympathy from Heffer. But they did not want sympathy, they wanted action.

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marched on parliament on Wednesday calling for a victory to the seamen's strike and an end to the Devlin Report and anti-union legislation.

Called by the Young Socialists' National Committee, the lobby was a worthy sequel to the January 26 action, and an answer to the complete line-up of all political forces who attempted to destroy the demonstration. The number of demonstrators swelled to 2,000 as the lobby began.

In the tense situation in the class war, this mighty march of young and old workers gave the clearest political expression of anti-capitalist hatred by British workers.

The presence of the dockers and seamen, who are facing the brunt of the attack by the Wilson government on wages and conditions, was witness to the political strength and lead given by the Young Socialists and their Socialist Labour League comrades.

This was further strengthened by the news, given at the meeting point, that the whole of the Mersey had stopped—dockers were holding a 100 per cent one-day token strike in sympathy with the lobby.

Also recognising this strength, seamen's union officials and unofficial elements on the docks linked up with all the reactionary forces in an attempt to castrate the demonstration.

All the marchers recognised the demands made on their banners, placards and in their slogans as an open fight against the capitalist lackeys—the Labour leaders.

'Lift the Emergency—Fight for a Seamen's Victory!', 'Seamen, dockers—unite and fight!', 'Hands off the unions—Make the bosses pay!', and 'Devlin out—nationalize the docks!', echoed round the riverside roads as the march, headed by Merseyside dockers and dockers from all over Britain, moved from Tower Hill to Waterloo.

Earlier on the Royal Docks—Mr. Jack Dash's television-cum-press conference studio—Liverpool seamen, who were there looking for support, were warned about 'mixing with these people' who had organised the demonstration. (This question is taken up in the editorial on this page.)

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Above: After over 7,000 dockers brought Merseyside to a standstill in support of the lobby, many travelled to London to lead the Young Socialists' march behind their huge banner.

Below: Seamen from all over Britain were also marching at the front of the demonstration. Several are seen with banners expressing the working-class unity of the demonstration.

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B/OSL FILE

MERSEYSIDE DOCKERS STOP IN SUPPORT OF LOBBY

7,700 strike, 63 ships idle

MERSEYSIDE came to a standstill on Wednesday when dockers in Liverpool and Birkenhead held a one-day token strike in support of the Young Socialists' Lobby of Parliament against the anti-trade union legislation and the Devlin Report.

'The Times' reported on Thursday that a total of 7,678 dockers were on strike, although 3,028 had reported for duty.

But the newspaper also commented that the strike 'did what the official seamen's strike has so far failed to do and brought work at the port virtually to a standstill'.

By mid-afternoon only three ships were being manned, another 14 being manned by skeleton crews. A total of 63 ships stood idle.

The report said that the dockers were protesting against the proposed amendments to the National Dock Labour Scheme and anti-trade union legislation.

It also reported that Young Socialists and trade unionists from all over Britain, sympathising with the seamen's strike 'also waited' to lobby MPs.

It was not a matter of also. The dockers, trade unionists, Young Socialists, along with seamen 'The Times' reporter did not see, were on a united lobby behind united demands.

That morning they had marched together for several miles in drizzling rain to demonstrate just that.

The Newsletter

Who are the real splitters?

THE Communist Party did everything it possibly could to weaken and split the magnificent demonstration and lobby of parliament on May 25. It was an education and an eye-opener for thousands of Young Socialists and trade unionists on the reactionary role of Stalinism inside the working-class movement.

Spearheading the Stalinist splitters was Mr. Jack Dash on the Royal Group of docks. On Tuesday, the day before the lobby, he denounced his fellow dockers in the northern ports as irresponsible 'trouble makers' because they had taken a decision for a one-day strike to join the lobby.

For this he earned warm praise from the Tory press. The 'Evening Standard' on the same day devoted an editorial commending him.

'Mr. Jack Dash, who has not previously been renowned for his restraint, is to be congratulated on his plea for moderation. He warned the dockers that trouble-makers are trying to provoke the more militant element into hasty action.'

Obviously he shares the Prime Minister's fears that political factions may try to spread the stoppage.

The Tories support Mr. Dash because he is playing the role of splitter. Dockers on the Royal Group should take careful note of what the Tory Press has to say because neither Dash nor the Communist Party are going to fight the Devlin report.

They will settle for a few minor amendments.

This is the reason why they hate the northern dockers who are going to fight this report. The sooner the London Liaison Committee gets rid of Dash the better.

He supports the T&GWU officials who, with the agreement of the right wing of the National Union of Seamen, are now moving ships in the Royal Group in London. In other words these cowardly officials are breaking the strike.

'The Guardian' of May 26 says:

'The astonishing thing is that the N.U.S. is co-operating in this work... Yet, inevitably, there are elements in the unions who are profoundly unhappy about having "only half a strike".'

The Communist Party and Dash are tied to Wilson. They use left phrases in order to cover this up—but the cover is wearing thin.

Their actions in joining hands with the Tories and right-wing Labour leaders in opposing the May 25 lobby reveals them in the true colours of Stalinism—splitters and disrupters of the labour movement.

THE CASE OF MR ERIC HEFFER

The progress of a radical

By Cliff Slaughter

'HANSARD', the daily word-for-word record of what is said in Parliament, is not exactly a best-seller, and a number of things which are said in there often go unnoticed, even though they deserve some thought.

For example, Harold Wilson, after introducing his intention to use Emergency Powers in the seamen's strike, answered a question from Mr. Eric Heffer, the honourable Labour member from Walton.

The exchange is worth re-

printing, as an example of how important political changes reveal the real political relationships more clearly than before.

The 'left' Labour MPs elected in the 1964 and 1966 General Elections have recently received lengthy and sympathetic treatment from the capitalist press. Heffer has often been indicated by the 'political correspondents' as one of the great white hopes of the parliamentary 'left'.

Let us see how Heffer reacted to the Government's decision to take Emergency Powers:

MR. HEFFER (Liverpool, Walton, Lab.)—If troops are put in the docks, or there is an extension of the use of the Royal Navy, this could lead to a serious crisis among the rest of the dock workers.

Would not the Prime Minister consider whether under the emergency powers it would be far better if the Government took over on a temporary basis the running of the shipping industry, with a temporary subsidy until the whole matter can be settled?

MR. WILSON.—My hon. friend, I recall, as a fellow Merseyside member, played a notable part in the shipping dispute of six years ago when the Merchant Shipping Act was one of the serious questions.

I would hope that if there is any attempt—and some of these things are not spontaneous, they are deliberately organised by people of political views not represented in the House—to spread this difficulty and problem, with which we all sympathise, to other areas of the economy... I know my hon. friend would be one of the first to use his notable influence to prevent this happening. (Some laughter.)

WHAT WAS ROLE?

Above all he is commended to both sides of the House as a man eminently capable of helping out against all those who are fighting to build an alternative political leadership.

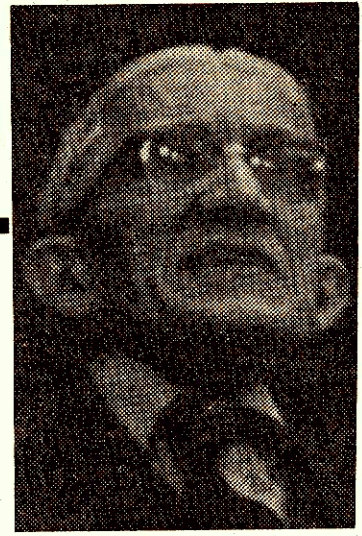
As Wilson told the House, Mr. Heffer already proved himself in their respect in the unofficial seamen's strike of 1960. We would like to ask both Wilson and Heffer, just what was this special role in 1960?

Heffer's own development as a 'left' has often been commented on in this paper, but Tuesday's parliamentary proceedings shed an even crueiler light on it than before.

Way back in the middle 1950s, Heffer condemned as opportunists all those who as Marxists saw the importance of work inside the Labour Party and in parliament. He insisted that only the organisation of the industrial workers themselves could lead to the victory of socialism.

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Dutt (looking for a time when the British CP opposed Moscow)



THE publication of L. J. MacFarlane's history 'The British Communist Party', and the forthcoming 'official' version by James Klugmann, have opened up a number of very important questions of Communist history, and have even enticed R. Palme Dutt, founder member and long-time Communist Party leader, out of his den.

He has chosen particularly to attack the review of MacFarlane's book which appeared (like all reviews in this journal, unsigned) in the 'Times Literary Supplement' for May 5. The review was in fact empty and lacking in any real knowledge or intelligent comment on MacFarlane's book, which is confined to the 1920s.

Obedient

However, Palme Dutt takes up only the accusation in the review that the British Communist Party was of all Communist Parties the most 'passively obedient to the will of Moscow', together with the reviewer's acceptance of MacFarlane's view of Dutt and Pollitt as nominees of the Comintern against the older leadership in the 1920s.

Interestingly, Palme Dutt has already told us in his own 'Daily Worker' review of MacFarlane that an authoritative

history of the Party on this period, written by James Klugmann, is now ready for the press.

We will not anticipate the book, but we will recall to our readers that Mr. Klugmann, at any rate, is not one of those who has much of a record in resisting 'passive obedience' to Moscow.

Inaccurate

He was responsible for the most vile and inaccurate publication of the Communist Party since the anti-Trotskyist pamphlets of the war period: i.e., 'From Trotsky to Tito', in which he gave his British readers the full panoply of gory lies about Tito, Trotsky and many others, including innocent victims of Stalinist repression, and even Konni Zilliacus, being agents of monopoly capitalism and fascism. No doubt Mr. Klugmann will ardently expound the British Party's 'independence' from the Stalinist bureaucracy.

But we return to Dutt's own letter. One anniversary which has not been so well publicised this month is that of the opening of the first of the Moscow Trials, 30 years ago, in May 1936.

In these trials, scores of Old Bolsheviks were condemned to death or life imprisonment. No evidence was brought against them and they were convicted on the basis of confessions.

These confessions were flatly contradictory in many respects and in one celebrated case referred to a rendezvous (the 'Hotel Bristol' in Copenhagen) which had ceased to exist years before the alleged meeting of the 'conspirators'.

Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky and many others were 'proved' by these confessions to be implemented in a plot with Hitler and the Nazis to overthrow the Soviet regime, and to this end they were said to have organised sabotage and plots of assassination.

This mountain of lies, the sentences following it, the bloody deaths of thousands

scrapes the history barrel

BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

who never even got to the courtroom—all this was not only accepted but actually commended and glorified by the British Stalinist leadership, including Dutt himself, in much the same terms as the much-heralded historian of the Party, Klugmann, faithfully condemned Tito and the 'Titoites' in 1950.

Dutt chooses this 30th anniversary, of all times, to tell us in the literary supplement that the British Stalinists did voice their opposition to the Russians in the International and in Russia.

'Dissent'

He claims that the British Party, apart from dissenting on the colonial question in 1928, and criticising the deification of Stalin (not that we were opposed to his political line and leadership,' Dutt says), at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, also took up the question of the 'conduct of the security organs'.

'Two years later, at a meeting of a delegation, headed by Pollitt and attended by other leading comrades, including myself, with the international leaders, we were in conflict again over raising questions concerning the conduct of the security organs; and this dispute proved so intense that soundings were made to find support among us for the replacement of the General Secretary; but we all made clear that we stood by Pollitt on this matter.'

How many Party members outside the charmed circle at the King Street headquarters have been told anything about this? Why is Palme Dutt so coy, confining himself to the correspondence column of the 'Times Literary Supplement'?

For many years, he and his colleagues condemned as 'Trotskyist' and, by implication, accomplices of fascism, anyone who questioned the conduct of the security organs' in the USSR.

Every Communist Party member surely has the right to demand that Palme Dutt discloses exactly what these criticisms were.

After all, D. N. Pritt, in his autobiography, has recently said that he had no regrets for the whitewashing jobs he did for these same security organs.

Come along Dutt, did you protest at the forced confessions, tortures, executions, without trial, the wiping out of a whole generation of the most outstanding fighters in the history of the proletariat? Or did you still agree with Stalin's 'policy and leadership', and decide to push aside your responsibility?

In fact the conduct of the British Stalinists in the 1936-1938 period (the reputed protest was in 1937), was nothing but base subservience to the Stalinist terror and Dutt's claim is a fraud, just like his reference to the Sixth Congress criticisms of the British Communist Party on the colonial question.

On this issue, Dutt omits to mention that the Sixth Congress (1928) was the last at which such a discussion took place.

After this Congress, the British Communist Party closed its mouth completely, and the dispute was entirely dropped.

It is only raised now, after 38 years, because Dutt is scraping the barrel to find an example of the British Party's 'independence'.

The active performance of the British Stalinists during the Moscow Trials has been fully documented by Brian Pearce in his article 'British Stalinists and the Moscow Trials' ('Labour Review', March-April 1958).

Only a fraction of the material from Pearce's article is sufficient to produce real anger at Dutt's recent claim.

William Gallacher wrote in the 'Daily Worker' about the Trials:

'Here one sees the Soviet legal system as it really is, the most advanced, the most humane, in the world. . . . (Review of Dudley Collard 'Soviet Justice and the Trial of Radek', 'Daily Worker', March 19, 1937.)

Remarkable feat

Gallacher is dead and gone, but Gollan, present general secretary of the Party, made his own contribution in a pamphlet called 'The Development of Trotskyism from Menshevism to Alliance with Fascism and Counter-Revolution'.

In this publication he performed the remarkable feat of producing a list of 'the real Bolshevik Old Guard', to answer the argument that Stalin was attacking the old guard. His list included Rudzutak, Bubnov, Chubar, Kossior and Postyshev, all of whom were either shot or imprisoned by Stalin within the next few months.

Dutt dutifully drew the Stalinist political conclusions, so ruthlessly acted upon, in the pamphlet, 'The Truth About Trotskyism'; pointing out that it was 'essential to . . . destroy the Trotskyist propaganda and influence which is seeking to win a foothold with-Moscow Trials has been fully documented by Brian Pearce in his article 'British Stalinists in the labour movement, since these attempts represent in fact the channel of fascist penetration into the labour movement'.

Andrew Rothstein, writing in the 'Daily Worker' of February 5, 1937, said:

'The criminals have received their well-merited sentences. . . . Millions of people have had their eyes opened to the essence of Trotskyism.'

These and many other similar articles appeared for some three years after the early material of 1936, among which was a 'Daily Worker' editorial entitled 'Shoot the Reptiles!' (August 24, 1936.)

Ever since 1936, the Stalinist leaders have excused their silence on the great purges of Stalin on the grounds that they knew nothing about the 'abuses'.

Now Palme Dutt says they actually protested at the time. Thus another question arises: What were the political reasons for remaining silent then and for so long afterwards?

It is an inescapable conclusion that Dutt and his friends let the matter drop because these Stalinist methods defended their kind of politics.

They did accept Stalin's policy and leadership, and were therefore unable to challenge the Stalinist abuses.

Only Trotsky and Trotskyism have been able to do that proceeding from the programme: Defence of the conquests of the October Revolution, against the imperialists, and against the counter-revolutionary politics of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Young Socialists and trade unionists demand free Polish Trotskyists

NEWSLETTER REPORTER

THE scandal of the recent secret trial of Polish teachers and students had to be brought to light through further action within the working-class movement, Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, told a demonstration in London last Saturday (May 21).

The demonstration had been called to protest against the jailing of Polish Trotskyists Ludwik Hass, Karol Modzelewski, Kazmierz Badowski, Romuald Smiech, Kuron and others, after a secret trial held recently in Poland.

Over 100 Young Socialists and trade unionists demonstrated with banners, and slogans, demanding the release of the Polish Trotskyists, from Park Crescent to the Polish Embassy where Comrade Healy, along with Socialist Labour League Central Committee member Cyril Smith, and editor of the Young Socialist paper 'Keep Left' Aileen Jennings, handed a letter to second secretary Mr. Jan Rabs.

This contained the following resolution which the second secretary said he would send, via the Ambassador, to Prime Minister Wladislaw Gomulka. (The resolution had already been passed unanimously by the demonstrators):

'This protest demonstration of trade unionists and Young Socialists, meeting in London on May 21, 1966, condemns, as a bureaucratic attack on the international Communist movement, the imprisonment of Ludwik Hass, Karol Modzelewski, Kazmierz Badowski, Romuald Smiech, Kuron, and others. These student and teacher members of the



A section of the march as it approaches the Polish Embassy

Polish Workers' Party are charged with no crime, but only with issuing a pamphlet criticising their leaders. As Communists, this was their right and their duty.

The Polish Workers' movement has, in the past, suffered much at the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy and its policemen. We recall especially the murder in 1938 in Moscow of the entire leadership of the Polish Communist Party, and the imprisonment from 1949-1956 of Wladislaw Gomulka himself.

Like these acts, the jailing of Hass and his comrades is an attack on the international working class and, as such, undermines the existence of the Polish workers' state itself in the face of imperialism.

We demand that these men be released immediately and allowed to fight as communists for their principles.

Comrade Healy said he had explained to the second secretary that the demonstration was not hostile to Poland. It was a demonstration of Communist, Marxist sympathisers who were genuinely concerned about the position in Poland where a secret trial had taken place.

DISAGREED

He had said that the youth and trade unionists on the demonstration disagreed with the sentiments of another march on the embassy held the previous Sunday in which the anti-Communist, pro-capitalist Polish Socialist Party had participated.

At a meeting before the demonstration, Healy had said that what was happening in Poland was present in Britain. The main difference was that steps had not yet been taken in Britain to stifle the voice of

the left by trials and imprisonments.

For the government of Gomulka to hit at the left in a country where reaction in the form of the Catholic church was raising its head was a disgrace.

'There is a vital principle involved here,' said Healy. 'Once you condone secret trials without adequate legal representation, you have a return to a police state which was in Poland at the time of Stalin.'

Much more had to be done in the campaign to secure the release of the jailed Poles.

ORGANISE MEETING

A large meeting had to be organised at which people prominent in the labour movement opposed to secret arrests, should be invited to speak.

'We have to wage a consistent campaign,' said Healy, 'and

tie this up with our own work. Very shortly, if the seamen's strike continues and the struggle develops, there will, no doubt, be a very tense situation. It may well be that members of the working class will be imprisoned.'

LEADERS JAILED

He recalled the 1960 seamen's strike when the 'unofficial' leaders were jailed. The main advantage in Britain was that there was always a trial in such cases.

'But an injury to one is an injury to all. An injury to Polish socialists is an injury to British and U.S. socialists,' he said.

The size of the demonstration, he added, in the face of the campaign for the May 25 lobby of parliament, was a tribute to the work of the Young Socialists in the London area.

THOUSANDS SLAUGHTERED ON BALI

Newsletter Correspondent

A LMOST on the same day that news came of the proposed 'peace' talks between Indonesia and Malaysia, the 'Daily Mail' carried a first-hand report which once again confirmed the massacre of Communists only a few weeks before.

Writing from the 'island paradise' of Bali, their correspondent, Arthur Cook, says that within four weeks in December and January 150,000 people were slaughtered.

When the killing got under way—spurred on by troops from Java, two miles away—every boy over the age of 15 whose father was a known Communist was also killed. This, says Cook, was intended to 'avoid future hatred' among the so-called peace-loving Balinese.

Japanese engineers building an hotel on Bali told of bodies of men, women and children floating in a village pond—similar to stories from the mainland where bodies were actually choking up rivers and brooks.

Now there are huge communal graves, already being covered by weeds and the jungle.

Cook puts the death toll at one in 17 of the island's 2,500,000 people.

Killed 25

He quotes a 23-year-old youth, employed by the government tourist agency, who admitted killing 25 Communists. 'It was all very quick. The communists had to be finished,' he said.

When the September 30 coup failed, the massacres began immediately on the main islands. Encouraged by the right-wing elements in the army, Moslem hordes ran riot.

But on Bali, the Hindus said it was against their religion. They said the gods would pinpoint those who had to pay for their sins.

Cook points out that the

gods decided to act on the same day that paratroops arrived from Java to kill the Communists in the garrison.

Every single thing connected with the Communists was destroyed. Cook visited a workers' commune near the village of Ubud. It is now a charred ruin and the 600 people who worked it are all dead.

Not on course

The Bali events and, in fact, the whole bloody affair in which half a million Indonesian Communists died, demonstrate the inability of middle-of-the-road rulers like Sukarno to remain on course once the crisis of imperialism deepens.

It also demonstrates just how wrong is the Communist Party's policy of backing such people. Aitid, the Communist Party secretary, who continued this Stalinist policy in playing up to Sukarno, met his death at a summary execution in the Indonesian jungle.

Reaction, in the form of the right-wing generals, is now rewarded—Wilson's Labour government sent a £1 million gift, and further trade deals with imperialist countries have been arranged.

In return British capitalists hope that the three-year-old 'confrontation' policy will be dropped.

With talk of discussions between Adam Malik, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, and Malaysian deputy premier Tun Abdul Razak, almost fixed, it looks like this period could end.

This would leave Malaysia open to increased exploitation and Indonesia as a fresh area for Western investment and trade.

