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INSTITUTION

## Poulson, Lonrho, Polwarth, Lambton-Jellicoe

# WHY LABOUR IS SILENT

BY ROYSTON BULL

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So the greatest crisis yet to the authority of capitalist rule in this country was turned by Labour MPs into a maudlin display of phoney sentiment for a universally disliked Tory politician.

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The two-party system is part of this set-up and the favoured few who get to be MPs become entirely divorced from the lives of ordinary working-class people and have to pay very little regard to what their constituents want.

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**THE POULSON** affair where, apart from Reginald Maudling who had to resign as Home Secretary and a few Tory MPs, it is mostly their own people who are involved.

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But the real issue is that the whole system of bourgeois rule is beginning to break up under the mounting pressure of the most colossal economic crisis in all history.

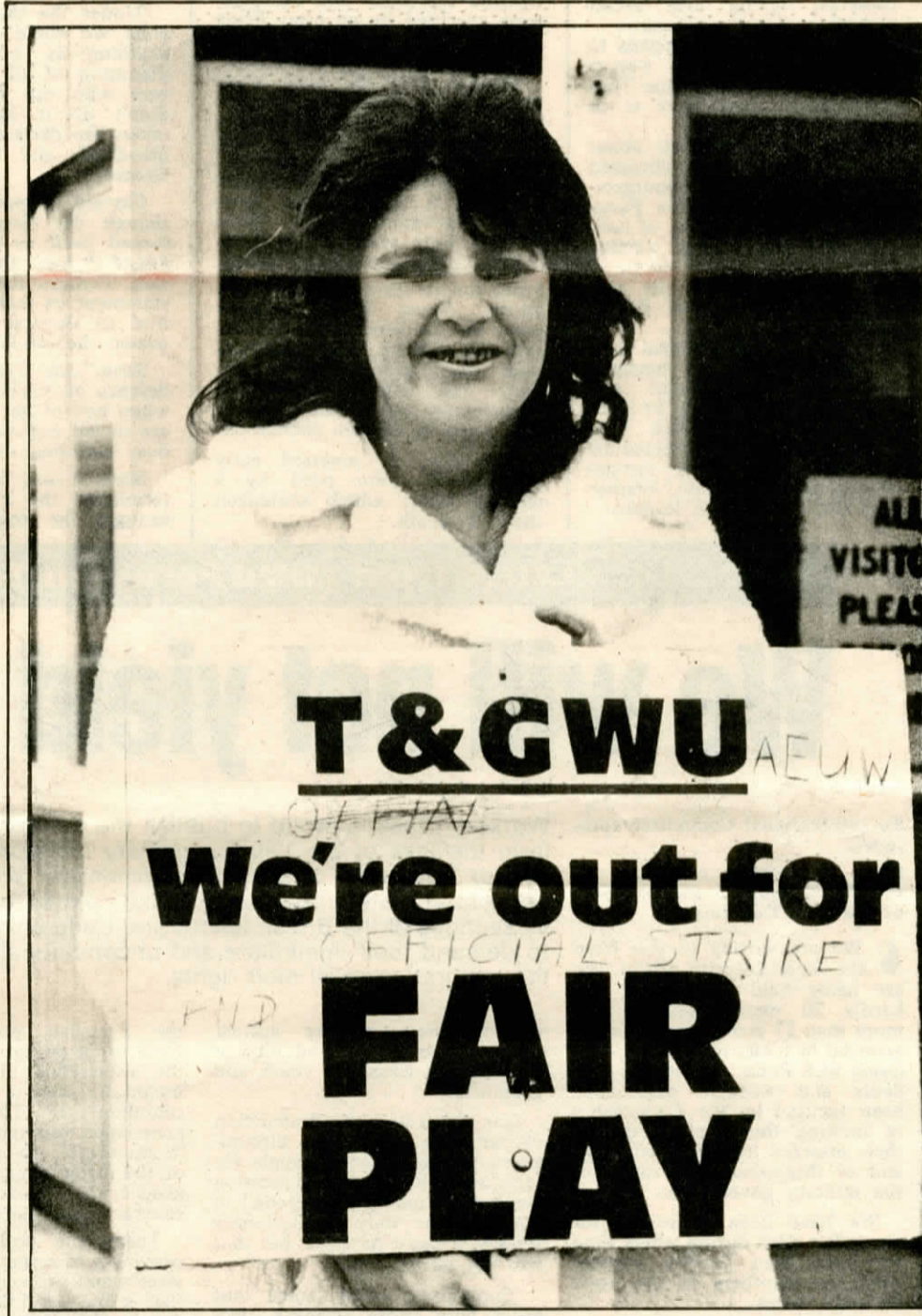
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At a time when a massive upsurge of working-class militancy could be mobilized to bring down the government, the Communist Party refuses to support the call to expose the

role of the Labour and trade union leaders.

Calling for an end to Wilson's 'nauseating Commons display' is not enough. The whole role of the labour bureaucracy in collaborating with the Tories must be exposed, including that of the trade union 'lefts' who are always defended by the Stalinists.

The working class must smash through the obstruction of the Labour and trade union leaders and the Communist Party bureaucracy in order to mobilize behind the demand for socialist policies and an end to this Tory government.



One of the women who have been sitting in at a Garrard factory in Swindon, Wilts.

**Letters threaten Swindon sit-in see p.12**

## £100,000 PARTY BUILDING FUND

OUR fund is enjoying a tremendous response. The pre-conference of the Party brought in the magnificent collection of £1,057.67. Socialist Labour League branches are waging a terrific campaign.

- Battersea £43.50; Brixton £101.25; Leicester £128.80; Lewisham £40; Portsmouth £15; Wandsworth £23; Castleford £10; Swindon £7.50; Croydon £92.80; Tonbridge £23.64; East London £34; Merthyr £18.50; Tottenham £37; Jarrow £50; Southampton £57; Leeds £164.55; Liverpool Central £59.50; Toxteth £4; Bootle £9; Birkenhead £8; Winsford £10; Luton £142.95; Watford £23; Swansea £5; Southwark £183.50; Manchester £28; Hackney £35.50; Aberdeen £54.90; Dundee £7; Slough £42.20; Southall £124; Preston £6; Nottingham £20; Sheffield £20; Willesden Rolls-Royce £3.50; Willesden £340.50; Holloway £179.70; Castleford £40; Sunderland £25; Paddington £146.75; Banbury £11; Bristol £27.18; Oxford £67; Reading £100; Basingstoke £37; Exeter £12.50; Wolverhampton £12.20; Chatham £36; Newcastle £10; Blackpool £5; St Helens £6.40; Sheffield £11; Cambridge £10; Todmorden £9.19; Bradford £74; Dagenham £45; Middlesbrough £10; Doncaster £9; Camden £213; Basildon £12.50.

Our total has shot up to £30,958.70. We began the campaign on April 3. Our target is £50,000 by May 31. Post all donations at once to:

Party Building Fund  
186a, Clapham High Street  
London SW4 7UG.

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Poulson, Lonrho, Polwarth, Lambton-Jellicoe

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# WHAT WE THINK

## The boot is now on the other foot



Rupert Murdoch (l), owner of the 'News of the World' and the 'Sun' (with Lord Drogheda, managing director of the 'Financial Times') now being criticized openly in Fleet Street.

IN OCTOBER last year the 'News of the World' ran a series of articles called 'The Strifemakers'. For successive Sundays the Rupert Murdoch-owned Press published scurrilous attacks on trade unionists and left-wing groups.

In an editorial published at the time we said:

'Although repeatedly approached, the SLL and Workers Press had no truck whatsoever with these reactionary hacks. This means that the "News of the World" had to resort to subterfuge and spying to collect some morsels of gossip and innuendo.'

Murdoch's men infiltrated one of our paper-selling teams for a couple of days. This same technique was used on a more extensive scale in relation to other parts of the series. A stooge was planted on a building site in the north and all details of site meetings were relayed back to Bouverie Street for the paper's red-baiting project.

We vigorously repudiated the allegations in the articles. We said the real 'strifemakers' were the Tories and their corrupt system. In one editorial we made the point:

'The ruling class has had a very turbulent six months. All the signs are that things are going to get juicier and juicier.'

At that time the Sunday articles were enthusiastically praised by the Tory government (and, of course, by Reginald Prentice, the shadow Employment Secretary) in a special debate arranged in parliament.

Not a word was raised about the underhanded way the information was gathered and the articles concocted.

Today the 'News of the World' is in the forefront of publishing information on the Lambton-Jellicoe affair.

Very commendable, you would think. But not among the Tories. There is outrage, if you please, about certain journalistic techniques used by the 'News of the World'.

In the capitalist Press yesterday and Sunday there were the firmest indications that the 'News of the World' is in deep trouble with the other Fleet Street barons.

The 'Daily Express', owned by Sir Max Aitken, a close friend of Lord Lambton, said:

'Who took the pictures of Lord Lambton and the call girls? The public needs to know . . .'

'By whose authority and for what purpose were the photographs taken? Who set up the scene? Who paid for it? These questions require immediate answers.'

These censorious statements followed an interview by the editorial director of News International Limited, who is referred to disparagingly in 'The Times' as 'Mr "Larry" Lamb'.

Asked if his paper, the 'News of the World', had taken pictures of Lambton in compromising positions, Lamb replied: 'I can't say.'

Asked if the paper had been involved in taking the pictures or organizing the pictures, Lamb said: 'I'm not sure which pictures you are talking about.'

We have never made any secret that we have had pictures, which are relevant, taken by staff photographers.

'I can't say at this stage in the game which they took. I am not prepared to say what they show.'

The clamour is on to birch and keelhaul those responsible for employing these 'improper' journalistic techniques.

We thus have the class position of these privately-owned newspapers completely exposed. When it is witch-hunting the workers' movement they are free to use all their long-range cameras, spying and secret recording of conversations.

But when the subject happens to be an aristocratic peer who is a defence Minister in the Tory government, then there is an outcry.

Demands for information about how the pictures were obtained show sections of the bourgeoisie—in government, the Press, the police and the City of London—are now openly warring with each other as a result of the disintegration of the economic foundations of British capitalism.

The economic and political conditions are ripe for a campaign throughout the labour and trade union movement to force the Tories out of office. That campaign must be directed by all our readers and sympathizers against Wilson, Feather and the trade union leaders.

# Captain Pappas abandons ship Mutiny reveals split in Greek military

BY JOHN SPENCER

THE MUTINY on the Greek destroyer 'Velos' has ripped aside the facade of 'national unity' which the military regime uses to justify its dictatorial rule.

At the same time, however, it has revealed the inability of dissident groups of officers to strike decisive blows against the regime, even when they have the backing of their men.

Even within the armed forces the colonels' regime is regarded with loathing by many who are supposed to be its staunchest upholders.

Captain Nicholas Pappas, the leader of the mutineers, who is now a political refugee in Italy, said the majority of the military hierarchy did not back the regime, which was founded on deceit.

**EIGHT MEN** convicted of treason, espionage and sabotage, were executed by an army firing squad in the southern Iranian oil town of Ahwaz yesterday.

Four of them had been arrested in Dasht Mishan region near the Iraqi border in south Iran. A government spokesman said four Russian-made Kalashnikov machine-guns, a light rocket launcher, a light mortar launcher, ammunition and three mortars were seized from them.

The others had passed on information to unidentified foreign agents about Iran's frontier posts on the Iraqi border in return for money, the spokesman said. They also planted explosives and mines on border bridges and roads, causing death and injury to Iranian gendarmes.

The men, all arrested early last month, were tried by a military court which sentenced them to death.

He said he was not a monarchist or a communist:

'We don't belong to any political party, right, left, or centre. We are officers of the armed forces of Greece who have embarked on this action because we are faithful to our oath of loyalty to the Greek constitution.'

This is precisely why the colonels were able to deal so easily with the mutiny. Their opponents made no attempt to appeal to the masses and explicitly ruled out embarking on civil war to overthrow the regime. What they wanted was a palace coup which would restore 'democracy' in Greece.

Pappas said that rather than provoke a civil war, he had chosen to go into exile. He said: 'My action could have been more dynamic. For instance, I could have sailed to some Greek island with the 8,000 rounds of high explosive ammunition I had on board.'

'Under the threat of our cannons we could have demanded anything—as a minimum the liberation of all our fellow officers who are detained. But I didn't do it because I hadn't taken the decision to provoke a bloodbath and a civil war in Greece.'

Captain Pappas added that though the Greek regime presented itself as representing the armed forces, this was not the case. Perhaps the most revealing statement he made was his question to General Andrew Goodpaster, the NATO commander:

'How can Greece ensure the defence of NATO's eastern flank when half of her military officers are in jail and the other half are busy guarding them?'

Since it was NATO that masterminded the 1967 coup which brought the colonels to power

and since this reactionary treaty organization has backed the colonels to the hilt ever since, this question betrays either astonishing naivete or a touching concern for the interests of imperialism.

The overthrow of the Greek regime is not a question to be confined to conspiratorial circles of officers acting out of concern for NATO, but is a task posed in front of the working class and all the exploited and oppressed sections of the country.

Their movement against the colonels cannot and must not be confined within the framework of the pre-1967 constitution, or the restoration of parliamentary democracy.

The Greek working class is faced with the task of overthrowing the capitalist system from which the colonels' dictatorship sprang.

**ARGENTINA'S** new president, Dr Hector Campora, plans to visit Spain and take former Argentinian strongman Juan Peron back with him, Spanish Foreign Minister Gregorio Lopez Bravo said in Madrid at the weekend after returning from Campora's inauguration.

**UNIDENTIFIED** group failed in an attempt to set fire to the Madrid offices of 'Fuerza Nueva' ('New Force'), published by Blas Pinar, a right-wing member of Spain's Cortes (parliament), on Sunday.

**SOUTH AFRICAN** farmer was arrested in the East Transvaal after killing three adults and two-year-old boy. The farmer went berserk after a row and shot at the Africans. A white motorist shot an African dead after an argument in a Johannesburg street at the weekend.

## Letter from jailed Peruvian Trotskyists

# We will not yield one inch

To International Committee comrades.

From the central committee of the Liga Comunista and members of the Liga Comunista

We are writing to you from the State Security prison. We are being held in a filthy cell hardly 20 metres square with more than 25 comrades who were arrested in Lima, Moquegua, Arequipa and Puno: we are all students and workers who have been accused by the dictatorship of 'inciting' the people to defend their material historical interests, and of threatening the safety of the military government.

We have been in prison for about five days during which time we have been harshly interrogated by members of the State Security forces.

During our interrogation on the first three days in prison we were not allowed to sleep. It would take a long time to list the wretched savagery of the instruments of repression of the bourgeois state against all those participating in the struggles of the working classes and peasantry.

Now we are completely uncertain of our legal position. However, the whole repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state has not been able to lessen in the slightest our communist convictions, but on the contrary it has fully confirmed every one of our positions against the military dictatorship, against their anti-

Workers Press is proud to publish the following letter sent from the jails of the Velasco military dictatorship in Peru by our comrades of the Liga Comunista. We salute the heroism and steadfastness of these comrades and call on all sections of the British labour and trade union movement to demand their immediate and unconditional release and the restoration of all their rights.

working class policies against wages, trade unions, and jobs of the working class, the youth and peasantry.

Our arrest and the destruction of our press is for us a circumstantial event in our struggle for socialism. Bourgeois repression has for the moment succeeded in silencing the only revolutionary weekly in Latin America, but that will not be for long.

'Comunismo' will come out again with more strength than ever and will be read by the masses in spite of the bourgeoisie and its Stalinist agents within the workers' movement. It will be a guide and a lead to the proletariat in Peru and Latin America and organize the party and the working class.

This is not just some mystical recourse of rhetoric. This is a conviction born of ten months' experience; a conviction fully confirmed by our arrest and torture in prison, our relations with workers and students in prison and the present situation nationally of the working class.

The most advanced sectors of

the Peruvian proletariat have lived for a period of ten months the experience of the Marxist, materialist view of the world surrounding them. They receive this experience through the pages of 'Comunismo', in the experience of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the opportunists the bureaucrats and Stalinists.

Today the proletariat in the provinces is coming out onto the streets and showing in its actions that it has assimilated this experience. The Peruvian proletariat, and especially its most advanced and more militant sectors, are not and cannot be the same as before.

However much Stalinism may have succeeded in stopping the publication of 'Comunismo' through out-and-out crookery and cheap slander it cannot betray with complete freedom.

Ten months of uncompromising struggle against Stalinist treachery also weighs on the consciousness of the members of the PCP and especially its proletarian nucleus. The present unrestrainable development in the class struggle of the working

class in Arequipa, Puno, Moquegua, Cuzco, Tacna and Piura shows today that not only has 'Comunismo' not been liquidated, but that such struggles prepare its necessary reappearance. This is the pledge of those of us in the cells of the State Security prison. We cannot yield one inch in this.

Our party cannot be crushed. Our torturers and the dictatorship know this full well; our consistent, principled struggle based on the active development of Marxism and the strength of an undefeated proletariat make this task an impossibility for the bourgeoisie and its government.

Now it is being confirmed in our own experience that only the implacable struggle against opportunism, the bureaucracy, and all the agents of the bourgeoisie, imperialism and Stalinism can guarantee the continuity of Marxism against any torture, imprisonment and armed repression.

Not one step backwards, comrades!

Our struggle must be an example for all the members of the Fourth International and as such the best weapon to destroy all the falsifiers of Marxism, the agents of the enemy.

Long live the International Committee of the Fourth International!

Long live the Liga Comunista!  
Political Committee of the LC.

## HONEYWELL COMPUTERS THREATENS JOBS AND THE UNION

A threat is emerging to the jobs and union organization of the 1,200 employees at the Newhouse, Lanarkshire, factory of Honeywell Computers.

Honeywell produces all its H-200 series computers for the European market at Newhouse. Newhouse also produces the H-600 series computers, the computer range acquired from General Electric at the time of the merger two years ago, as well as discs, keytapes and data preparation equipment.

The value of the annual output from Newhouse is estimated to be in the order of \$100m. Currently, some \$20m of the output is in the form of refurbished equipment.

This is second-hand equipment returned to Honeywell by computer users at the end of its lease or because of a change of computer system.

Honeywell is expecting the market for cheap refurbished equipment to increase due to the economic crisis. Also, the amount of returned equipment is likely to increase sharply with the announcement, at the end of the year, of Honeywell's new range of computers.

## Fears of non-union staff

Now Honeywell intends to transfer all the refurbishing work to a new, small factory at Greenford, Middlesex. This factory, which will be in full operation by the spring of next year, will employ a maximum of 40 men.

Currently, the factory employs ten men. The factory will, initially, be capable of refurbishing some 12 complete computer systems, 70 discs and a large number of keytapes and data preparation machines.

Workers at Newhouse fear that the men at Greenford will be non-union salaried staff computer engineers competent to take major technical decisions regarding the replacement or repair of components during the refurbishing process.

This would be in contrast to Newhouse procedure where all such decisions have to be referred by production workers to quality control engineers.

With the 'craft' method of refurbishing, Honeywell would be able to cut labour costs.

## Newhouse strike factor

Newhouse workers suspect that a major factor in deciding the location of the new factory was the long strike of electricians' and plumbers' union members at Newhouse last year. The strike, which lasted several months, completely stopped production of computers for the United Kingdom and European markets.

There is a growing fear that Honeywell would try to use the Greenford factory to break any future strikes at Newhouse.

Union members also say that Honeywell's example could be followed by other computer manufacturers, especially those such as ICL who have a large amount of leased equipment soon to be returned and who are suffering from the competition of computer brokerage firms dealing exclusively in secondhand computer equipment.

BY ALEX MITCHELL

Sir Max Aitken, head of the 'Daily Express' group of newspapers, follows in the footsteps of his great uncle, Lord Beaverbrook, in one important respect: he loves to dabble in politics.

He has never held the Beaverbrook delusion of building a new political party; nor has he shown ambitions to take up residence at No 10 Downing Street.

But he has carried on Beaverbrook's tradition of 'sponsoring' members of parliament. One of his proteges is Lord Lambton, the RAF minister, who has just resigned. In a statement, Lambton admitted being a 'casual acquaintance' of a call-girl and 'one or two of her friends' and said the police had possession of photographs taken of him and the prostitutes.

Since then he has been served with summonses alleging possession of cannabis and amphetamines under the Dangerous Drugs Act.

His departure, along with the resignation of Cabinet Minister Lord Jellicoe, the Lord Privy Seal, has shaken the Heath government to its feeble foundations. It follows only 12 months after the deputy prime minister, Reginald Maudling, was forced to resign because of his relationship with the Poulson empire.

Lambton came into the Beaverbrook fold in the early 1960s when he began to criticize the Macmillan government. He savaged many of his policies as 'creeping socialism' and called for a return to good old Tory traditions of bashing the working class at home and the colonial peoples abroad.

It was during the time that Macmillan, R. A. Butler and Iain Macleod dominated the party that the Monday Club was formed under the patronage of Lord Salisbury.

It was also the time when Lambton became a regular guest columnist to the London 'Evening Standard' and an unofficial political adviser to Aitken and the 'Express' board.

It brought Lambton into a wide variety of associations in Fleet Street. For example, the 'Standard's' leading book reviewer was none other than Michael Foot, the Labour 'left'. Another member of this literary fraternity was Lady Antonia Fraser, wife of Hugh Fraser, the Tory MP, and a close associate of Lambton.

Lady Antonia, who wrote the much-acclaimed biography of Mary Queen of Scots, is the daughter of Lord Longford, the Labour peer and former Labour leader in the Lords. Another part of this circle extended to include 'The Spectator' and the 'left-wing' New Statesman.

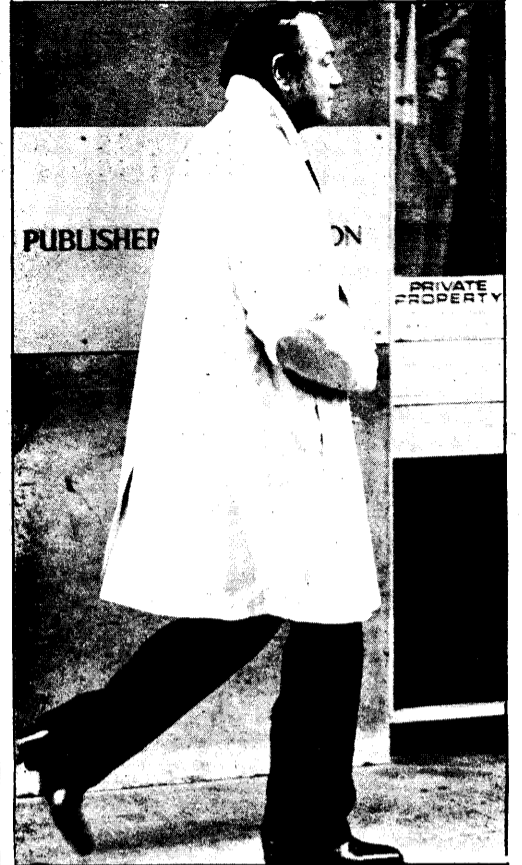
One of his more sardonic articles was an attack on John Profumo, the War Minister, who was forced to resign because of his escapades with Christine Keeler. Lambton condemned Profumo in no uncertain terms.

When Heath came to form his Cabinet it was apparently the Beaverbrook men who influenced him to give a post to Lambton. But it is also worth noting that Heath gave him a post—under-Secretary of Defence at the RAF—which was not as sensitive as, say, the army or the navy.

The appointment was made also on the recommendation of the Defence Secretary, Lord Carrington, who doubles as the Tory Party chairman. And although Lambton's reputation as a man-about-town was widely known, the security services gave him a complete clearance.

Heath gave him the job on these powerful recommendations, but also because of the necessity to build a 'balanced' ministry. That is to say, he had

# LAMBTON AND SIR MAX



Left: Lord Lambton. Right: Sir Max Aitken, head of the 'Daily Express' group of newspapers.

to keep a number of the Tory squirearchy in the stable.

It is true, of course, that the 'Heathmen' tended to be 'the unit trust boys'. They predominated. But he salted in the old Lambton, Balniel and Bethell just to please the old Tory ladies in the shires.

Lambton was never at home in the Heath government. In private he would ridicule it and its petty-bourgeois pretensions. This is quite easy to appreciate. After all, Lambton comes from one of the wealthiest and most aristocratic families in the country.

There have been feudal lords at the Lambton Castle, County Durham, since the 14th century. Lambton is directly descended to Mary, Queen of France, sister of Henry VIII. The family's more recent fortune has been founded on coal. The first Earl of Durham, Lambton's great, great grandfather, opened the great Durham coalfields at the beginning of the last century.

He owns estates covering some 26,000 acres which bring in an annual income of about £100,000. His personal fortune is believed to be well in excess of £15m, making him one of the richest peers in Britain.

His first cousin is Sir Alec Douglas Home, the former Tory Prime Minister and the present Foreign Secretary.

When the revelations about Lambton broke last week, the 'Express' was clearly the paper

to watch. How would it deal with the political figure which it had done so much to promote?

The answer is contained in an editorial last Thursday entitled, 'A Harsh Judgment'. 'Here in this modern so-called permissive age a splendid member of parliament and junior minister has been cast into the wilderness.

'Can we really afford to discard men of talent, wit and patriotism because their personal lives fall short of blameless perfection? There will be many who will assert that this is going too far.'

The 'Express' is noted for its political somersaults—change of line on the Common Market, its attitude to Heath and to Powell—but these few sentences mark a colossal reversal of all previous 'Express' editorials on permissiveness and corruption, etc.

It is Fleet Street's most 'hardline' newspaper. Its campaigns for moral purity, integrity, public spiritedness—they are legendary. They have exhorted millions of 'Express' readers ever since Beaverbrook climbed on his high horse and decided to 'cleanse' the human spirit and the British race.

But in a slip of the pen, we are told what Lambton was up to and we shouldn't judge him too harshly.

We are not interested in a moral crusade against the Tories; we know what they get up to; workers everywhere know the sort of thing that

goes on in the parlours of Belgravia and the game-keeper's hut.

But what we want to point out is the absolute hypocrisy of the Tories and the Press barons. They never cease to churn out articles urging workers and their families to work hard, save and be diligent. Strikes are condemned automatically. Wages increases are outlawed and trade union rights are sneered at and attacked in the courts.

But when one of their own is caught squarely with his pants down, they rush to do a cover-up and they try to 'explain it away'.

The same issue of the 'Express' carried a whole-page article by the former editor of the paper, Derek Marks, who frankly admits he is one of Lambton's closest friends. He also praises the peer and attacks those who feel his scandal is a reflection on the government.

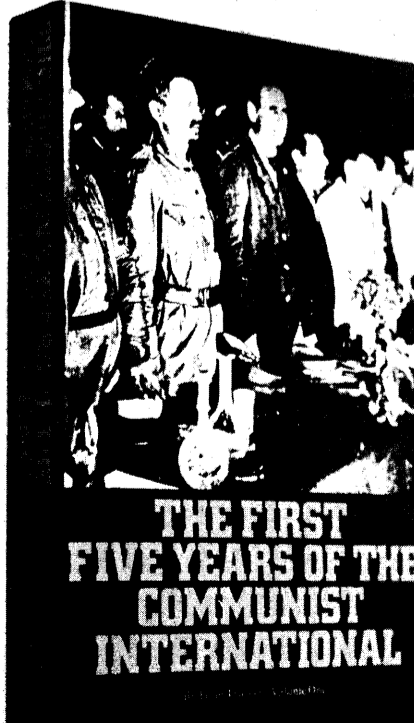
His remarks about Lambton's 'dignified' decision to resign immediately is only rivalled by the statements made in the Commons by Harold Wilson, the Labour leader.

All the resources of the Tory Press are being thrown behind a campaign to whitenash the decay of the Heath Cabinet.

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# TRANSFORMING THE SOC INTO A REVOLUTIONARY

## THE DISCUSSION GOES ON

### 'There's going to be real fighting here'

Anthony Legassick (26) is a London dustman and G&MWU member:

I don't think I would have started to take an active part in politics on my own—not until the situation had got a lot worse. It was through reading the Workers Press.

I started to take it regularly from the beginning. Once I knew it was a working man's paper I decided to take it.

Before that I was a vague communist. I saw the advantages of communism, but I didn't see much future in the Communist Party. I didn't know anything about Stalinism, but I could see they weren't making any effort to come forward.

I knew communism was the only way for the working class, but I couldn't see it coming.

I think the working class today is in an extremely dangerous position. It's obvious that this country is going rapidly towards fascism.

But a great deal of bad feeling about what the Tories are doing isn't enough. You must have a planned programme. You've got to have some sort of idea what to do.

During our strike in 1970 we got pretty much what we wanted because it was a different situation then. It's obvious now that if people go on strike they don't get what they want. The hospital workers were a much more deserving case than we were. We got what we wanted, they didn't.

If they don't get a rise with the money they earn the higher paid won't get a rise.

I think a party like the League was always needed. I've always felt very annoyed at the way the Labour Party, in particular, completely lacked socialist policies. The need for the party is growing all the time.

We're rapidly moving into a situation where either the Tories get what they want or the working class, led by the League, prepares to take power. The crisis could come any day now. The gold situation is going.

All the time new ideas are coming up about how to improve the League. It's not a static movement. It moves forward all the time. It's really accelerating in bringing new people into the League.

I think more people are definitely talking about politics. You notice it at work.

I've read the documents and the only thing I didn't understand at first was why we should elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. Now I can see that it's to expose them.

They're a reformist party. In the reformist days they knew they could get some reforms, but I think now they know



they're in the position where they've got to take what they're handed.

It's a war and in a war there's no middle ground. You're either on one side or the other. That's the sort of situation we're approaching now.

The Labour Party and the TUC know that if they take on the Tories it will be a fight to the finish. It won't be a fight to get a few reforms and then back to normal. If they're going to take them on they've really got to take them on. They've got to defeat them. They've got no intention of doing that so they won't do anything at all.

They'll play even less of a militant role than they did before. They won't even go after reforms now because they know they can't get them.

The League's programme holds out the prospect of changing the system altogether, a complete new culture, a complete new era. Capitalism's had its day and it's about time there was a change. As it is now capitalism holds the world back, progress back, art and all the rest.

Capitalism has the one aim—of making profit and no other. To do it, it completely holds the world back.

I've been in the League about four months. There's a lot of work in it. But it's quite interesting work. There's some point to life. It's better than just sitting watching the telly.

Reading Marx and Trotsky is really fascinating. It's a completely new way of life. It's not just a question of taking power and nationalizing industry. It's a completely new culture. It will take mankind a step forward.

As it is now, capitalism is completely destroying the world with pollution and everything. The only way forward is for world socialism. And obviously it's no good in just one country. It's got to be world-wide.

You're actually taking a hand in changing history. You can't change the situation without revolution. Capitalism itself came through revolution.

Without the League the working class is finished. The working class have got to think of themselves now as one class. A lot of people who are working class think they are middle class. They've got to understand the situation they are really in.

The middle class are seeing their standard of living rapidly deteriorating as well. A house that took them 65 years to pay



Anthony Legassick. Above: Council workers during their strike in 1970. 'It was a different situation then. It's obvious now that if people go on strike, they don't get what they want.'

for will now take them 165 years. They're losing as well.

If we don't build the party, I think there is a great danger of fascism developing in this country. A lot of people look to the right now. The National Front has got a hell of a lot of working-class people behind it. They don't know why. They don't know what it really represents. This has got to be changed. The Party has got to change the situation and make these people see sense.

We've got to think positively. It's no good thinking "Well, I hope we can do this" and "we might have to do that". There's

really no alternative. Either the working class led by the League takes power, or the capitalist class will turn this country fascist.

This is what leadership is all about. If we're going to give leadership we must think positively. We've got to say: "This is the situation and we are going to do it."

Some people think that bringing new people into the League will water it down, but I don't think so. It's the only way forward. You've got to build a mass party. We've got to get every working man in the party—and a tremendous number of middle class as well. A lot of them are looking for a decisive policy that they can really follow.

People are looking for a programme and a party they can follow. Although a lot of them will probably vote Labour, they've already lost confidence in the Labour Party. It's only a matter of exposing them now. Their faith in the Labour Party has gone.

A lot of people say "I vote for Labour because they're the working man's party, but they are no better than the Tories". To a certain extent they've already been exposed.

People can see what Feather's up to. They're not silly. Going

# SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE Y PARTY

to Number 10 and chatting away with Heath while workers' standard of living is going down all the time. There's a tremendous amount of unrest in the country at the moment.

A lot of people don't think politically because they see it as a boring subject—as I did before I started reading the Workers Press. This is all part of the capitalists' idea to make politics seem as boring as possible, so that people won't take an interest in it.

The fact that the Tories get in at all shows that people are either very disillusioned with the Labour Party or don't know what they're doing. They still shouldn't vote Conservative.

It's a question of educating people.

A lot of people don't like to think about politics. They've got two separate lives. There's work and leisure and they don't like to mix the two. Work is so monotonous, so unpleasant, so boring. After work people want to get away from it all.

But I think the Party must be built as quickly as possible. This crash isn't somewhere in the distant future. The whole crisis seems to be accelerating. The more the price of gold goes up, the more the capitalists get worried and the quicker the whole thing goes.

It's going to accelerate faster and faster until the whole system breaks up. There's going to be a crash and all the banks are just going to shut up. I think the crash is in the very near future.

In papers like the 'Daily Mirror' and the 'Sun' everything is made to look great. That's because they're working men's papers and they've got to pull the wool over people's eyes.

You buy a paper like 'The Times' and it tells you the truth because the working class don't read that paper. They talk about a crash and the danger of this boom.

This boom is built on inflation as far as I can see, on worthless bits of paper. When that crashes, it's just going to be catastrophe.

I don't think there's any doubt that a lot of people in this country are going to get a big shock very shortly. They don't know it yet, but they're going to be fighting. When they do, the English working class are going to show, as they've done before, that they don't give in easily.

I think the capitalists know this. Kitson's book is an example. They're definitely prepared. They know what is coming up just as we do. They're training in Ireland now for what's coming.

They are spending a tremendous amount of money recruiting for the army—what is that for? It's obvious.

What are they arming the police for? You don't really have to comment on it. Is it to shoot down kids in Embassies? No, of course it's not. These special police stations are spread around all the working-class areas in London.

I think there's going to be real fighting here. People are going to get killed. But none of us have any choice. It's them or us.



## 'The pressure is building up on the working man'

Derek Jones is an engineering worker at GEC Coventry:

I think every conscious worker has no choice but to agree that we need a revolutionary party in this country. What the Tories are doing is only too apparent and it is quite clear that the leadership in the unions and the

Labour Party will not take up the fight.

What worries me though is not getting rid of the Tories—I think this is possible because everyone wants them out. The real difficulty comes, I think, with putting Labour back. There will be this gap when Labour is in and we are fighting to get real socialism in Britain. I think we need to spell out absolutely clearly what the policy will be in this period.

There is problems because though there is a lot of discussion about what socialism means, when it comes to really getting in there, people are

Above: 'They're training in Ireland now for what's coming. They are spending a tremendous amount of money recruiting for the army—what is that for? It's obvious.' Left: Derek Jones.

shy, they seem to get cold feet.

This worries me because if we are like this now what will it be like under the Labour government when we have to go all out to win the working class over?

I am really waiting now for the opportunity to arise. We have seen the end of the protest strikes. We now want a total strike or nothing—a General Strike to get rid of them.

In some ways even the Labour Party is reflecting this mood. There is this talk about nationalization without compensation. But workers should be warned about this. It's just a cover-up for treachery and getting in on false pretences.

The situation in the working class is also changing. We are on strike and have been for seven weeks—this is the first serious trouble for 30 years.

The pressure is building up on the working man. The housewife is complaining about the cost of living, the kids have to be clothed and fed. All the time he knows that

the Tories are behind the big firms like GEC.

But the leadership will not lift a finger to lead the working class in this situation. We know what is happening nationally—more talks with Heath. But let's deal with the situation in my own union (AUEW).

We have an official policy against Phase Two. But this is just words. At local level the officials don't press ahead with the struggle. In many cases workers are starting from the assumption that they must put a claim in which doesn't upset the government. In the past it was 'Well what do you want lads?'—not 'What the government will allow you to have'.

We need a tough lead on this issue against the government at local level, but it just is not coming.

Workers in Coventry might be well paid. But let there be no mistake, they have struggled for what they got. I struggled hard for every penny and now the government wants to take it from me. I won't let it happen—like the document says, it's a question of basic rights.

I think I am ready to take up duties in this struggle.



Karl Marx: The concern of modern day revisionists is to take the dialectic out of Marxism. Above: Trotsky who fought in 1939-1940 against Shachtman's break from Marxism.

# HOW A CENTRIST 'CORRECTS' MARX AND LENIN

A reply by Cliff Slaughter to an attack on the SLL in the publication 'Permanent Revolution', issued by the group called 'Workers Fight'.

**'Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement.' These words of Lenin have rightly been the watchword throughout this century of all those who have striven to build the revolutionary parties necessary for the working class to win state power.**

One of the difficulties encountered by workers coming towards Marxism is that they see a number of different groups all claiming to be Marxists. It is a very common trick for the enemies of Marxism to mislead such workers by arguing:

'If only they'd stop arguing about theory, everyone would get on with the real business of fighting the class enemy. They all spend too much time attacking each other.'

This is a fundamental mistake. It is not just a set of abstract ideas that is in question, but Marxism as the guide to action of the revolutionary party. Attacks on Marxism, attempts to 'reverse' it (which always means throwing out its revolutionary content while keeping the phrases) represent the pressure of the capitalist

class, its politics and philosophical outlook, on the working class and the revolutionary movement.

It follows that these theoretical differences can be settled, not in words, but in the conflict between theory and practice, in which practice is primary. The material content of these theoretical struggles is the proletarian revolution and the whole contradictory development of society and nature which make it necessary. Only by taking theory back into the work, through practice, thus encountering what is new in the development of matter, can our theory develop.

In recent years the International Socialism group has been the natural meeting-point for middle-class people who want desperately to appear 'revolutionary' but at the same time avoid the responsibility and political struggle posed by the existence of the Socialist Labour League.

One of the tendencies which passed through the IS group in this way publishes a small journal called 'Workers Fight'. They claimed to be Trotskyists working within IS, on the grounds that it was the place where there could be found the greatest number of individuals genuinely seeking to be revolutionaries.

This, in fact, summed up

their opposition to Trotskyism: they turned towards a tendency founded entirely on the rejection of Bolshevism, of the First Four Congresses of the Communist International, and of the Fourth International. This tendency calls the USSR 'state capitalist' and rejects the defence of the property relations established in the October Revolution.

The 'Workers' Fight' tendency could do this because they started out only from their middle-class rejection of the Socialist Labour League's analysis of the economic crisis, the revolutionary nature of the epoch, and the overriding need to build revolutionary parties of the working class.

Everything written by members of this group is an attempted justification of this position. They are part of a long line of centrists—starting with the Independent Labour Party in the 1930s—who put up determined resistance to the Fourth International.

Their aim is to cut the British working class off from Marxism and internationalism, restricting it within the confines of middle-class radical control. These centrists are a left cover for the Fabian and trade union bureaucratic control of the British Labour movement.

Because a small group like

'Workers' Fight' has this class significance—it is a definite weapon of the class enemy against Trotskyism—we must analyse and answer its material.

One issue of a self-styled 'theoretical' magazine 'Permanent Revolution' has recently appeared from 'Workers' Fight', and contains an attack on the Socialist Labour League's positions on philosophy, in the shape of a criticism of the pamphlet 'Lenin on Dialectics', by C. Slaughter, 'The Dialectics of Sectarianism: Philosophy and Mr Slaughter', by Neal Smith.

Life has been made extremely uncomfortable for groups like 'Workers' Fight' by the struggle of the SLL and the International Committee of the Fourth International to take the political differences in the Trotskyist movement to the basic level of Marxist method and philosophy.

We have fought to show that the opponents of Marxism who attacked the Fourth International from within had actually abandoned dialectical materialism and capitulated to the philosophical positions of the bourgeoisie.

Trying to take us up on this ground, Smith finds himself openly attacking Marxist philosophy. This leads him into peculiar contradictions.

Readers will recall that we have been attacked by the American Socialist Workers Party and others (Pierre Frank of the Pabloite 'Unified Secretariat') for being 'obsessive' about our members learning dialectical materialism.

(Of course the question at stake is not that every party member fully grasps philosophy as the prerequisite for anything else, but the struggle for dialectical materialism as the basis of the training of the party, the development of its leadership and its policies.)

Now 'in general' Neal Smith seems to agree with us:

'Dialectical materialism is not optional but an essential weapon in the struggle of the working class to remake the world.' But does not the word 'optional' in this context ring a bell?

It was George Novack, writing for our opponents of the Socialist Workers' Party, who asserted that dialectical materialism was 'optional', and only the programme unites the revolutionary party. ('Intercontinental Press', July 3, 1972.)

Smith soon reveals that he is a conscious opponent of the Marxist method, fought for in

pragmatists Burnham, en route to becoming a leading ideologist for imperialism.

Just as Shachtman clung to the argument about some supposed inconsistency on the question of dialectical materialism and politics, in order to move towards some 'American' brand of socialism, so Smith today is seeking justification for a centrist 'British' position in opposition to the SLL and the International Committee. He wants to erase the record of the long theoretical struggle in the Trotskyist movement in order to clear his path.

The real philosophical position of Smith and 'Workers Fight' is an idealist one. This means that they assert some independent reality for the mind, and cannot accept the materialist basis of Marxism. But this rejection of materialism is done by sleight of hand, rather than directly. Smith does not (like Tariq Ali, 'consciousness determines history') openly assert the primacy of ideas in relation to matter, but hides behind the word 'interaction'. For him it is unthinkable that the objective world is the source of all ideas. He cannot understand that man, as part of this world, lives only through the real struggle of opposites, of practical struggle to change the world, and through this practice develops ideas which more and more accurately reflect the material world.

And so he objects to the sentence in Slaughter's pamphlet:

'Our concepts are a reflection of the objective world of nature.'

Smith says that 'reflection' is too 'passive and inactive . . . It is an eternal passive copy of the real object—there is no dynamic interaction.'

He ignores Engels' insistence that the first and greatest question in all philosophy is that of the relation between thinking and being.

Smith thinks that there must be some property of the mind which is necessary to add activity, movement, to the dead reflection of matter outside it. As he puts it:

' . . . knowledge is the result of the interaction of these connections [between nature, society and thought].'

This outlook, in which the external world is contemplated as inert resistance to the free activity of the mind, with society as some sort of 'second nature', is, in one way or another, the basis of all current schools of bourgeois philosophy, sociology and psychology.

Rejecting the materialist theory that ideas reflect the material world, Smith writes: 'It is worth noting that the social determination of thought is omitted here, as in other material of the SLL, and without this essential point there cannot be a satisfactory conception of ideology and "false consciousness".'

What is this 'social determination of knowledge'? Marxists do not just contemplate the way ideas develop. This is what 'Lenin on Dialectics' had to say (far from ignoring the 'social' implications of ideas):

'Political and theoretical vacillations, subjective reactions to difficulties and to discipline, these were not separate or partial questions; they had to be dealt with from the point of view of building a movement in the concrete conditions of Russia.'

For this revolutionary starting point Smith substitutes 'the social determination of thought'. He sees Marxist theory as an argument to straighten out his ideas about this 'determination', to eliminate 'false consciousness', (to 'de-reify thinking' as it is fashionably phrased in the New Left), and not as the guide to action of the revolutionary class, fighting revisionism as the instrument of the class

enemy. This is why he can conclude that Marxism is 'a fully-integrated conscious system'. With such a 'fully-integrated system' what need is there for the unity of theory and practice?

The other favourite concept of Smith, like other enemies of the dialectic, is 'interaction' between thoughts and nature. This enables him to do two things. First, it obscures the primacy of being over its product, thought. Second, it eliminates the conflict between consciousness and its 'other', the material world, which is the only interaction.

These idealists lovingly embrace Lenin's formulation that truth develops by 'an endless approximation of thought to the object', but only in order to give a picture of thought painfully, gradually developing. For Lenin, the essence of the question was an internal conflict of mutually-exclusive opposites. Concreteness is arrived at, truth is advanced, only in the conflict between theory and practice.

To conceive of 'interaction' (even 'dynamic' interaction) between thought and nature without this conflict is to reject completely dialectical materialism. It means a return to 'the standpoint of the isolated individual in bourgeois society' and his dilemma of 'determinism' and individualism.

At this point our opponent finds himself in deep water. If he attacks the concept of reflection, he must also attack Lenin, whose 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism' was written to defend materialism against 'sophisticated' critics who wanted to capitulate to idealism. And so Smith repeats the charge made so many times by renegades from Marxism: ' . . . in much of his pre-war writing on philosophy, Lenin was mechanical and often tended towards crude materialism'.

## NEO-KANTIAN

The good thing about Smith's article is that he makes clear the idealist thinking behind such attacks. Let us explain briefly: Lenin wrote 'Materialism and Empirio-Criticism' against a group of thinkers who used supposedly new scientific concepts to reject the materialist theory of thought as a reflection of matter. These opponents of Marxism, some of them in the Bolshevik Party itself, were in fact reviving theories about some special independent activity of thought and of the social structuring of knowledge. They were bringing back in a disguised form the basic ideas of the 18th century German philosopher Kant.

When Smith now returns to the attack on Lenin's materialism, he affirms his own continuity with these neo-Kantian idealists, who were part of a strong tendency in the bourgeois intelligentsia at the onset of the imperialist period, with their ideas directed entirely against Marxism and the working-class movement. Those who, like Smith, resurrect these concepts in the workers' movement are once again trying to shape the ideological defences of imperialism.

This brings us to a final and important point on the philosophical aspects of Smith's article. He claims that the SLL is wrong to say that Marx and Engels 'had only to stand Hegel on his head, or rather, on his feet', to arrive at dialectical materialism as a method.

But we are back at Smith's familiar difficulty. If he attacks the SLL on this score, he must also put Marx himself right, for Marx said exactly that! Actually Smith's attack here is derived from the French Stalinist Althusser, now the inspiration of a majority of the Stalinist 'intellectuals' in

Britain as well as in France. Althusser considers that Marxism has been bedevilled and rendered unscientific by reason of Marxists taking literally Marx's remark that he had only to stand Hegel on his feet. His concern is to take the dialectic out of Marxism, to theorize out of existence the unity of theory and practice, and to arrive at something called 'theoretical practice' (i.e. a theorizing which is called practice, but is actually contemplation, comparable and adaptable to the supposed 'scientific' activity of bourgeois sociology. This is essentially a rationalization of the methods of bureaucracy and of the Stalinists' relation to bourgeois order and bourgeois ideology).

Smith's acceptance of this Stalinist revisionism, of course, is intimately related to the political position of the 'Workers Fight' group—centrism which welcomes and adopts every way of attacking revolutionary Marxism.

The dialectical understanding of how consciousness develops through revolutionary practice cannot be grasped without a study of Hegel's 'logic', and of the work of Marx and Lenin on it. Most significant of all is what might appear to be an obscure point. Smith refers to Kant (we have already seen the connection, known or unknown to Smith, between Kant's basic outlook and Smith's own idealism). But he omits completely the great step forward made by Hegel in the theory of knowledge through his critique of Kant.

Once this is exposed, the central foundation (an idealist, Kantian foundation) of Smith's position will collapse.

Kant considered that, however advanced human knowledge became, it could never penetrate to the 'thing in itself', the essence of the objects it tried to understand. The mind worked, according to Kant, with categories which have their own particular reality, a mental reality, and our understanding of the external world could never be separated from these categories imposed by the mind.

Marx, Engels and Lenin in their philosophical writings asserted unconditionally that Hegel had administered the decisive blow against this final idealist defence. He had demonstrated that Kant's 'thing in itself', far from being some irreducible and unattainable material reality, was itself a great abstraction, the product of speculative philosophy.

Secondly, Hegel showed in his 'logic' that our concepts and categories, even the most elementary ones, are not obstacles to real knowledge, but essential steps to it, the path to knowledge.

A quotation from Lenin's 'Philosophical Notebooks' brings these points together, and exposes the philosophical position of those who, like Smith, attack Marx's debt to Hegel. They end up in the mire of idealism:

'Essentially, Hegel is completely right as opposed to Kant. Thought proceeding from the concrete to the abstract—provided it is correct (NB) . . . does not get away from the truth [the 'thing in itself'] but comes closer to it. The abstraction of matter, of a law of nature, the abstraction of value, etc., in short all scientific (correct, serious, not absurd) abstractions reflect nature more deeply, truly and completely.'

'From living perception to abstract thought, and from this to practice—such is the dialectical path of the cognition of truth, of the cognition of objective reality. Kant disparages knowledge in order to make way for faith: Hegel exalts knowledge, asserting that knowledge of matter of nature, consigning God, and the philosophical rabble that defends God, to the rubbish heap.' (Lenin Vol. 38, p. 171.)

# TROTSKYISM AND STALINISM



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

## PART EIGHT

**When the Brest-Litovsk controversy was first distorted out of all proportion by the early Stalinists in the 1920s it was a central feature of the argument that Trotsky constantly 'underestimated' the peasantry.**

Trotsky, so it was alleged by the Party hacks, wanted a revolutionary war against Germany because he underestimated the war weariness of the peasantry.

The purpose of this argument was to woo the rich and middle peasants on whom the bureaucracy relied in their campaign against the opposition.

Today, however, the bureaucracy has little need for such an argument, since the rich peasants have long since been 'liquidated as a class' as Stalin succinctly put it.

In the 1930s the 'underestimation of the peasantry' thesis was replaced by the retrospective argument—outrageous and incredible—that Trotsky sabotaged Brest Litovsk in the interests of a fascism that had

still to be established.

This is how the Soviet 'History of the Bolshevik Party', published in 1939, explained Trotsky:

'At that time it was not yet clear to the Party what was the real reason for this anti-Party behaviour of Trotsky and of the "left communists".'

'But as has been recently established by the trial of the anti-Soviet "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists" (beginning of 1938) Bukharin and the group of "left communists" headed by him, jointly with Trotsky and the "left" Essars, were already then in the secret conspiracy against the Soviet government. Bukharin, Trotsky and their fellow conspirators, it has developed [sic] aimed to annul the Brest Peace Treaty, to arrest V. I. Lenin, J. V. Stalin, Ya M. Sverdlov, kill them, and form a new government of Bukharinites, Trotskyites and the "left" Essars.' ('Stalin' by Trotsky Vol II. Panther History, p. 21 1969.)

The present authors do not resort to this calumny because to do so would be to raise again the vexed question of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the 1950s.

The convulsions of the

bureaucracy, as Trotsky explained, here once again show how the requirements of historical falsification change.

Despite these thematic variations, the method of the present-day distorters remains essentially the same as their predecessors.

They carefully conceal the identity of the most incorrigible opponents of peace and the protagonists of revolutionary war: the faction of Left Communists, led by Bukharin, Dzerzhinsky, Radek, Kollontai and others.

This group comprised a majority in the Bolshevik central committee. At the central committee meeting on January 8, 1918, called to decide on the acceptance of the first set of German terms for an armistice, the 'revolutionary war' faction received 32 votes.

Lenin, who was for immediate peace, got 15 and Trotsky's resolution of 'neither war nor peace' received 16, i.e. an aggregate of 31 votes.

Thus even if Trotsky had supported Lenin on this particular occasion there is little evidence to show that peace on the German terms would have been secured: The Bukharin faction still had a majority.

The 'revolutionary war' faction, as Lenin defined it, echoed the Philistine patriotism of the petty-bourgeois masses, which was considerable.

The interests of these social groups were most clearly articulated by the Left Social Revolutionaries who broke from the Bolsheviks and staged an insurrection against Soviet power after the conclusion of the Brest Treaty in March 1918.

This position of 'revolu-

tionary war' was a very far cry from Trotsky's defence of 'neither war nor peace'. Trotsky understood as well as Lenin the war weariness and land hunger of the Soviet peasantry who comprised a majority of the Russian army.



**Bukharin, who led the faction of 'Left Communists', protagonists of revolutionary war.**

His attitude was completely opposed to the war faction, as he explained in his letter to the Bureau of Party History:

'If I stood, at the time, for postponing as long as possible the moment of capitulation to Hohenzollern, it was not for the purpose of calling forth a revolutionary war, but in order to arouse the workers of Germany and Austria-Hungary to as great a revolutionary activity as possible.

The decision to announce a state of war as terminated, without signing a forced peace, was dictated by the intention of testing in action whether or not Hohenzollern was still able to wage war against the revolution.

'The decision was adopted by the majority of our Central

Left: Two deserters returning home from the front. Above: A unit on the south western front who voted 'Down with the war.'

Committee\* and approved by the majority of the fraction of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets.

Lenin regarded that decision as the lesser evil since a very considerable section of the party leadership was for the Bukharinist "revolutionary war", ignoring not only the condition of the peasants, but also of the labouring masses.

'The signing of the peace treaty with Hohenzollern exhausted entirely my episodic differences with Lenin on that question, and our work proceeded in complete harmony

... Just a few days after the signing of the peace, I was placed—on the motion of Vladimir Llyich—at the head of the military work.' ('Stalin School of Falsification' Pioneer Publishers 1962 p. 26-27.)

The Stalinist editors deliberately omit to mention that it was Trotsky's single vote that enabled the 'peace' faction to triumph over the 'war' faction at the decisive CC session held on February 18, 1918, to consider the very onerous terms dictated by General Hoffman after the German offensive which followed the breakdown of the Brest negotiations.

### CONTINUED TOMORROW

\* This is a reference to the January 11 (1918) CC meeting where Lenin proposed that the CC authorize Trotsky to delay the signing of peace by every possible means. Trotsky's motion to demobilize the army, to terminate the war but not to sign the treaty was passed by 9 votes to 7.





Left: Red Army units assemble in the Ludwigstrasse for a march demanding 'All Power to the Councils'. Far left: Kurt Eisner, Independent Social Democrat. He wanted to lean on the Councils, show a 'left' face, while being unable to lead the working class to power. Indeed he gave way to demands for a Diet, and even arrested Max Levien and nine other revolutionaries.

bourgeoisie when he was shot dead by Lieutenant Count Arco von Valley of the Life Guards.

Had he sought to lead the workers to power, there is little doubt they would have followed him. Over 100,000 marched in his funeral procession—and the bells of every church tolled, not because the priests were enthusiastic even for Eisner's brand of 'socialism', but because armed soldiers forced them to pull the ropes.

The ruling party was now the Social Democrats. And their outlook was aptly expressed by one of their leading spokesmen, the lawyer Dr Lowenfeld:

'We are not opposed to retaining the councils in some form, but we will not support a proletarian dictatorship—of which Russian Bolshevism gives us a dreadful example.'

The flame of revolution still burned in central Europe. On March 22, 1919, there was a communist insurrection in Hungary and an upsurge of revolutionary activity in Austria. Workers, soldiers and unemployed demonstrated for an army of the proletariat and the proclamation of a Soviet Republic.

Under this pressure the Independent Social Democrats, the Peasants' League, the Anarchists and some dissident Social Democrats declared the First Bavarian Soviet Republic.

Most of the government Cabinet ministers resigned and its leader, Hoffman, fled to Bamberg. But the central executive of the councils—the Zentralrat—was dominated by the spirit of Anarchism.

Nowhere did this reveal itself more clearly than in the choice of Commissars. The post of Commissar of Foreign Affairs went to a certain Dr Lipp, whom hardly anyone knew, but who the chairman of the Munich Independent Social Democrats said he had just happened to bring along. Lipp was later discovered to be a recent inmate of a mental hospital.

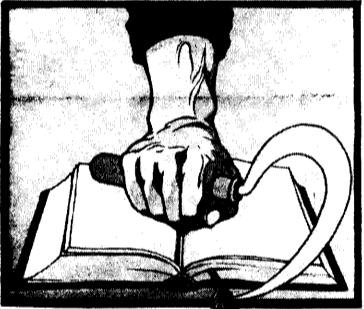
The Commissar for Finance was Dr Sylvio Gesell who introduced a new currency, the Schwundgeld, which automatically lost a thousandth part of its value each week in order to prevent the accumulation of interest.

An unseemly row broke out when a Peasants' League leader, Karl Gandorfer, advocated nationalization of all estates above 330 hectares. An unkind delegate pointed out that Gandorfer's own farm comprised 300 hectares.

**CONTINUED TOMORROW**

# THE MURDER OF A REVOLUTION

## BOOK REVIEW



'Red Rising in Bavaria'. By Richard Grunberger. Arthur Barker Ltd. £2.75. 164 pages.

### PART TWO

The vacillating Bavarian Independent Social Democrat Kurt Eisner not only gave way in 1918 to right-wing demands for elections to a Diet, which would take all power away from the workers', peasants' and soldiers' councils, but arrested Max Levien and nine other revolutionaries.

(Levien had just returned from the Berlin conference of the Spartacists and the revolutionary shop stewards which had set up the German Communist Party.)

Then Eisner responded to pressure from the other side and released the prisoners after a workers' demonstration.

The 'left' Social Democrat leader reaped his reward when the Diet election results were announced in January 1919.

He came bottom of the poll. The voting (the newly-formed Bavarian Communist Party did not take part) was:

- Bavarian People's Party (i.e. the right wing Catholic Party: 66 seats (35%).
- Social Democrat Party: 61 seats (33%).
- German Democratic Party: 25 seats (14%).
- Peasants' League: 16 seats (9%).
- Independent Socialist Party: 3 seats (2.5%).

On January 19 the German Independents also came bottom of the poll (Social Democrats 38 per cent, Catholic Centre 20 per cent, Democrats 18.5 per cent, Independents 7.5 per cent).

Four days earlier the Reichswehr, with the collaboration of the Social Democratic lead-

ers, had murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Meanwhile, Ebert was calling out the troops against the German workers.

In Bavaria, Eisner clung on to power for a few days, by a constitutional device, and called for unity with the right Social Democrats. Even now, his balancing act continued. He wanted to lean on the councils, but the Social Democrats wanted to permit them only minor functions. Clearly, they would have to fight to remain in existence.

Accordingly, Eisner uttered a classic 'left' phrase: 'I will stand or fall with the councils, but I cannot be a party to the threatened use of armed force.'

Max Levien called for all power to the councils and asserted that the dictatorship of the proletariat was the only logical outcome of the council movement.

Eisner's response was to put Levien under police surveillance—before running off to attend the first post-war conference of the Second International. The leaders of that august body, of course, had just been exhorting their members to mutual slaughter for

four-and-a-half years.

The 'left' leader's attempt to ride two horses continued to the very end.

In one and the same day he spoke at a Congress of Councils which voted to stay in being until the government conceded all its demands and then attended a cabinet meeting at which he supported the establishment of the Volkswehr—a right-wing private army led by ex-army officers.

That same week the Ebert-Scheidemann government in Germany formed a coalition with the bourgeois Democratic and Catholic Centre Parties.

But in Munich a 15,000-strong march of workers and soldiers demanded 'All Power to the Councils', 'Remember Liebknecht and Luxemburg', 'Long Live Lenin and Trotsky'.

Eisner's response was to declare: 'Let the bourgeois parties pursue their bourgeois policies . . . I long for the time when socialists without distinction of party will finally cease to rule and become the opposition again.'

He was actually on his way to the Diet to hand in his resignation and to place all power at the disposal of the

## WORKERS NOTEBOOK

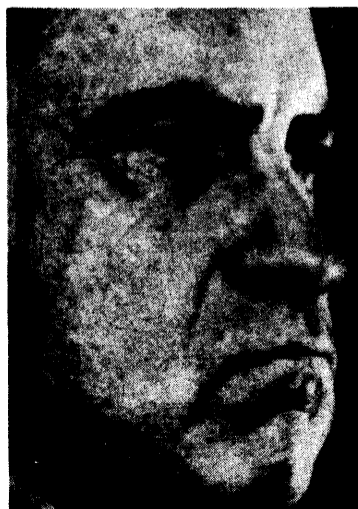
intelligence dossier on the formations of the Japanese, Russian, German and Allied armies of that time, plus information on organization, camouflage, British tactics and air security.

A third of the dossier is marked 'secret' and the rest 'restricted' or 'confidential'. A Ministry of Defence spokesman said: 'We think these papers are unlikely still to be classified, but we can't be sure until we see them.'

Mr Wajzner says he intends to sell the dossier for £500.

## TO KEEP UP WITH THE WHITEHOUSE NEWS

People are coming and going at the White House in the most breezy fashion. The re-



Richard Nixon: the shifts have been too fast for his Senate and House leaders.

cent shifts have been so swift that Nixon's leaders in the Senate and the House of Representatives heard of the changes . . . by reading the newspapers.

## POLITICAL PROFILES

By LEON TROTSKY

Paperback. £1.00 Illustrated

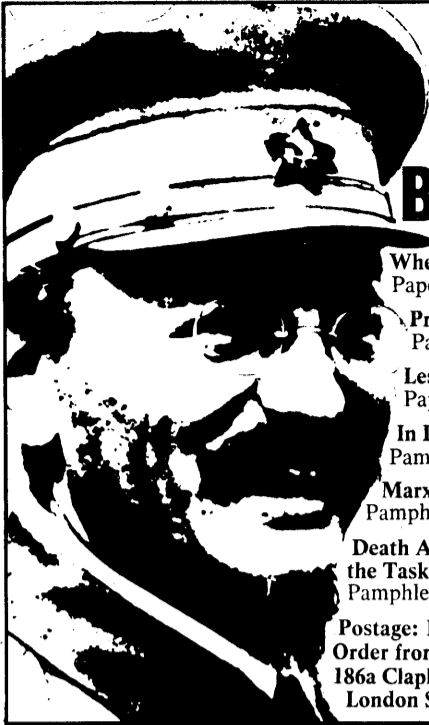


Sharp pen-portraits of leading figures of the Second International in Russia and Europe, for the first time published in an English edition. The translations were first commissioned by the Young Socialists' paper 'Keep Left'. Their enormous success has led to the completion of the translation of the whole book, which is the first part of Volume 8 of Leon Trotsky's 'Works' published in the Soviet Union in 1926. It provides the most vivid picture available of the historic figures of the Second International, their strengths and weaknesses, written by an observer who was also a participant in the daily struggle of the European and Russian working class.

Now available from New Park Publications  
186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG

An antique dealer bought a complete set of army secrets for £5—and has refused an 'invitation' from the Ministry of Defence to contact them about the matter.

Mr John Wajzner, of Southport, bought a complete course of training from the School of Military Intelligence in 1943, at a London auction. It contained a complete



## BOOKS BY TROTSKY

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# WALL STREET 'WATCHDOG' IS HIT BY WATERGATE

One of the worst-hit Watergate disaster areas is the Securities and Exchange Commission, the 'watchdog' organization set up in 1934 to oversee Wall Street stock market operations in the wake of the Great Crash.

The SEC was set up to provide at least token protection for shareholders from the more blatant swindles committed by stockbrokers and share dealers and other market operators.

It has been widely regarded as above corruption—an illusion assiduously fostered both by the commission itself and by the share pushers who have no wish to see the bottom drop out of their market.

But Watergate has changed all that. Last Wednesday SEC chairman G. Bradford Cook resigned amid allegations that he had corruptly altered a legal suit against financier Robert L. Vesco after pressure from Nixon aides.

He was named a week before he resigned in a Federal indictment which said he had deleted from an SEC complaint the fact that Vesco had made a \$200,000 contribution to Nixon campaign funds.

The charges were made by the Grand Jury which indicted Vesco, former Attorney-General John N. Mitchell, former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans and Harry L. Sears, an associate of Vesco, for conspiring to 'influence, obstruct and impede' the suit against Vesco.

Vesco is said to have made off with some \$224m from the offshore fund Investors Overseas Services, which was once owned by Bernard Cornfeld, who is now in prison in Switzerland.

Cook had been chairman of the SEC for only ten weeks when he resigned. He succeeded William J. Casey, who was shifted to the State Department. Casey was also implicated by the Grand Jury in the conspiracy discussions.

When the Cook case first became public, Wall Street insiders quoted by the Dow Jones agency said it would be highly damaging to confidence in a stock market already going through the worst period in several years.

The agency cited the views of 'SEC insiders, Capitol Hill observers and Wall Street executives' that the allegations were likely to:

'Tarnish the agency's image as a tough incorruptible enforcement unit just when the commission is working on some of the biggest cases in its history; and

'Upset investors at a time

when their confidence in Wall Street and Washington is at a low ebb.'

This was by no means the final blow to the standing of the Securities and Exchange Commission, however.

Norman P. Leblanc, who was once an executive of several IOS subsidiaries, said in San Jose, Costa Rica, on Wednesday that disclosure of all the details of the Cook case 'will startle the world' and 'destroy investors' confidence in US securities around the world.

In a statement, Leblanc implicated John Dean III, recently sacked from the White House, Casey, Cook, Irving Pollack, Stanley Sporkin and 'perhaps other officials of the SEC unknown to me'.

Pollack has been a member of the SEC since 1946, but Sporkin was not immediately identified. 'It is relevant to note that Cook, Sporkin and others apparently have withheld extensive documentation that proves these facts from the US Senate, the New York Grand Jury and the Federal court hearing the (SEC) case,' Leblanc said.

'In view of these facts one could more properly come to the conclusion that Mr Vesco's political contribution was not made to obstruct justice, but was tantamount to extortion.'

The Leblanc statement came out the same day as the publication in Washington of an internal memorandum to the former special presidential counsel Charles W. Colson from one of his partners, Charles H. Morin.

Morin wanted Colson to mobilize 'pressure from the White House' and 'lean on' Cook (who was still chairman of the SEC when the memo was written) to obtain the appointment of King Mallory as executive director of the SEC.

Morin wrote in the memo: 'This is one of the chips we really should pick up, because it is a key job in the commission and one of extreme importance in representing our clients.'

He ended: 'In short, let's get this guy Mallory in that job or Cook may turn into a disaster for us.'

Colson wrote across the top of the memo: 'I'll call Cook if necessary, but I think Jerry Jones could lock this one for us.' Jones is the White House aide in charge of recruiting personnel for top administrative jobs.

Morin said the memo was 'internal office correspondence with my law partners and not for publication'. Cook said that he had been subjected to general pressure from attorneys of Colson's firm.

Some of them had taken



G. Bradford Cook — resigned. Above: Financier Vesco (second row, extreme left) applauds Nixon, 1968.

him to a posh Washington restaurant near the White House with one of their clients. 'I felt I was a peacock being paraded around,' he said.

Morin also said in the memo that Cook 'ought to be reminded of how he got the job and how he almost did not get the job', apparently implying that they had sponsored his appointment.

These revelations follow the huge Equity Funding insurance scandal, still reverberating in Wall Street, which demonstrated that one of the most prestigious and sought-after securities was completely worthless and built almost entirely on fraud.

They will shatter the illusions of many investors who felt safe in putting their money on Wall Street so long as the SEC was around to ensure 'fair play'.

Now, on the eve of the crash, the SEC turns out to be inhabited by the biggest sharks of all.

During his first term of office President Nixon's Advisory Council on Executive Organization reported that:

'The SEC is regarded as one of the ablest of independent regulatory commissions . . . we believe the commission has for the most part carried out its congressional mandate and in so doing has earned a measure of investor confidence.'

This opinion would certainly need radical revision in the light of the latest revelations. Of course, the problems of the Wall Street investor are remote from most readers of the Workers Press.

But the lack of confidence on Wall Street is now so severe that any further shock to confidence could result in a wave of panic-selling and precipitate a slump of enormous proportions.

What appears to be an obscure branch of the Watergate scandal could have the most devastating repercussions on the lives of millions of workers.

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**TODAY'S TV**

**BBC 1**

10.00 Magic roundabout. 10.05 Banana splits. 10.35 Search. 12.30 Nae gen i air! 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Fingerbobs. 1.45 Fanny Craddock invites. 2.05 A day in Hyde Park. 2.55 Animal design. 3.20 Gardeners' world. 3.45 Governor and J.J. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Animal magic. 5.15 Casey Jones. 5.40 Hector's house. 5.45 News. Weather.

**6.00 NATIONWIDE.**  
**6.45 TOM AND JERRY.**  
**6.55 FILM: 'Strange Bedfellows'.** Rock Hudson, Gina Lollobrigida. An American executive wants to save his marriage in order to get promoted.

**8.30 THE LIVER BIRDS.**  
**9.00 LIBERAL PARTY.** Political broadcast.

**9.05 NEWS.** Weather.  
**9.30 DOCUMENTARY: 'South Africa — A Touch of the British.'** People of British descent in South Africa.

**10.20 FILM '73.** (London only.)  
**10.50 MIDWINTER.**  
**11.35 NEWS.** Weather.  
**11.42 MEDICINE TODAY.** Early Effects of Head Injuries.

10.20 regional BBC 1 programmes: Midlands: Personal file; East Anglia: On camera; West: To find an answer; South: No time to lose; South West: Peninsula; North: Northern gardeners' question time; North East: A Yorkshire home; North West: Free speech!

**BBC 2**

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open University.

**6.40 INTERACTION.** Meeting in Progress.

**7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.**  
**7.30 NEWS.** Weather.

**5.35 WHEELBASE.** Indianapolis 500 and the International Rally of Morocco.

**8.20 THE ROYAL HOSPITAL.** Film portrait of the Chelsea pensioners' hospital.

**9.00 LIBERAL PARTY.** Political broadcast.

**9.05 POT BLACK.** Final of the 1973 championship. Eddie Charlton v Rex Williams.

**9.35 A PICTURE OF KATHERINE MANSFIELD.** In the Life. With Vanessa Redgrave, Jeremy Brett, Annette Crosbie.

**10.25 FOR THE SAKE OF APPEARANCE.** Supporting Features. The Victorian age.

**10.40 OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST.** Golden Earring, Loudon Wainwright III.

**11.05 NEWS EXTRA.** Weather.  
**11.35 OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST.** Cream's Last Concert.

**ITV**

9.30 Gilbert and Sullivan. 10.15 Wildlife theatre. 10.40 Bertrand Russell. 10.55 Hatty town. 11.10 Rainbow. 11.30 Cricket. Lancashire v Yorkshire. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Afternoon out. 1.05 Cricket. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.05 Harriet's back in town. 2.35 ITV seven. 2.45, 3.15, 3.45 Racing from Redcar. 3.00, 3.30, 4.00 Racing from Kempton. 4.25 Cricket. 5.05 How! 5.35 Cartoon. 5.50 News.

**6.00 TODAY.** **6.40 CROSSROADS.**  
**7.05 HEY BRIAN.**  
**7.35 FILM: 'The Daughters of Joshua Cabe'.** Buddy Ebsen, Karen Valentine. A fur trapper recruits three layabouts to act as his daughters.

**9.00 LIBERAL PARTY.** Political broadcast.  
**9.05 SIX DAYS OF JUSTICE.** A Regular Friend.  
**10.05 NEWS AT TEN.**  
**10.35 DOCUMENTARY: 'Sunday and Monday in Silence'.** Deafness.  
**11.35 PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING.**  
**12.20 SITTING IN JUDGEMENT.**

**BBC 1's documentary at 9.30 looks at the 'British' of South Africa — outnumbered two to one by Africans and 14 to one by the rest of the population.**



**REGIONAL TV**

**CHANNEL:** 1.15 News. 1.35 London. 5.10 Cartoon. 5.20 Partridge family. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Look around. 6.35 London. 7.30 Curtain. 7.35 Film: 'Kung Fu'. 9.00 News. 9.05 London. 12.15 News. Weather.

**SOUTHERN:** 10.00 Paulus. 10.15 Thunderbirds. 11.05 Weather. 11.10 London. 5.40 Cartoon. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Hey Brian. 7.15 Film. 9.00 London. 12.15 News. 12.25 Weather. Guideline.

**HARLECH:** 10.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Who do you do? 7.05 London. 7.35 Banacek. 9.00 London. 12.15 Beloved enemy. 12.45 Weather.

**HTV Cymru/Wales as above except:** 5.05-5.20 Miri mawr. 5.20-5.35 Cantamil. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 10.35-11.20 Corau meibion. 11.20-11.35 Seiniau'r saboth. 11.35 London. 12.15 Minutes that changed history.

**HTV West as above except:** 6.18-6.35 Report West.

**ANGLIA:** 9.30 Paulus. 9.40 Theatre of stars. 10.30 Joe 90. 10.55 London. 5.35 Cartoons. 5.50 London. 6.00

About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.30 McCloud. 9.00 London. 12.50 Reflection.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 10.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 Madigan. 9.00 London. 12.15 Gordon Bailey. Weather.

**ULSTER:** 10.40 Romper room. 10.55 London. 1.33 News. 1.35 London. 4.24 News. 4.26 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 London. 7.30 Hec Ramsay. 8.50 Cartoon. 9.00 London.

**YORKSHIRE:** 9.20 Ed Allen time. 9.40 Chess masterpieces. 9.50 North country. 10.10 Whicker. 11.10 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 London. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 McMillan and wife. 9.00 London. 12.15 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 10.55 London. 5.15 Nature's window. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.40 Hey Brian. 7.10 Film: 'Jigsaw'. 9.00 London.

**TYNE TEES:** 9.30 Storyteller. 9.40 Enchanted house. 9.55 At your fingertips. 10.05 Thunderbirds. 10.55 Hammy Hamster. 11.10 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 McMillan and wife. 9.00 London. 12.15 News. 12.30 Lectern.

**SCOTTISH:** 10.05 Randall and Hopkirk. 10.55 London. 5.35 Highland heart of Nova Scotia. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25 Police call. 6.30 Protectors. 7.00 London. 7.30 Columbo. 9.00 London. 12.15 Late call.

**Headmasters seek witch-hunting Council**

THE NATIONAL Association of Head Teachers has asked Tory Education Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to establish a disciplinary General Teaching Council.

This body would have powers similar to the doctors' General Medical Council and would try cases of 'unprofessional behaviour'.

Headmaster Frank Mills told the annual conference of the 16,000-strong Association that growing numbers of militant teachers were 'brainwashing' pupils with 'left-wing propaganda'.

Mills claimed that history and social studies were the subjects most frequently taught 'with political bias'.

There can be little doubt that right-wing headteachers, who are much better paid and usually

older than the vast majority of teachers, are anxious to set up a witch-hunting council to whip left-wing teachers into line.

**FIVE CHILDREN** taken to hospital after a bomb exploded outside their home in west Belfast early yesterday.

The children, all Roman Catholics, were suffering from shock, said a police spokesman.

The bomb had been planted at the side of their terraced house at the corner of Woodvale Road and Twaddell Avenue, a mainly Protestant area.

No warning was given and the explosion damaged the side wall.

The five children were said to be aged between one and seven years. Their mother also suffered shock. All were being given treatment in hospital.

**Allegro trouble moves to Swindon**

PRESS operators at British-Leyland's Swindon car-body factory will decide tomorrow whether to continue a week-old strike against speed-up.

The 700 strikers work on fenders, floors and other stampings for the new Austin Allegro, with which Leyland hopes to boost its sagging market share and prop up its precarious profits.

Job times at the factories involved in producing the Allegro have been rigorously pared down to levels the company thinks will give it an edge over foreign competition.

Management at the Longbridge, Birmingham, assembly factory and at Swindon have clearly had strict instructions to tighten the screws on the Measured-Day Work pay system installed in both plants.

At Swindon the changeover from piecework to MDW brought a 10 to 15 per cent initial drop in output. Jobs adding up to two million strokes of the press had to be contracted out.

Now Leyland wants to bring these jobs back in its own factory with no increase in labour.

Where job times were at first mutually agreed between shop stewards, foremen and supervisors Leyland now wants to impose its own, trade war-oriented timings.

Press operators began walking out last Monday when management began insisting on maximum effort, described in the work-study handbooks as 100 BSI, on Allegro stampings.

On Wednesday they voted to stay out and not to meet again for another week.

The strike has already led to about 100 lay-offs from other sections. More will result if tomorrow's meeting decides, as seems likely, to stay out.

● Allegro trouble is continuing at Longbridge, where maintenance and toolroom workers yesterday again failed to report for holiday work on a new line.

**ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS**

**BERMONDSEY: Tuesday May 29, 8 p.m.** 'Havelock Arms', Balaclava Street, off Southwark Park Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

**CAMDEN: Tuesday May 29, 8 p.m.** 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross. 'Betrayal at UCS—the struggle against Stalinism'.

**PADDINGTON: Tuesday May 29, 8 p.m.** 'Prince of Wales', Harrow Road, cnr Gt Western Road. 'The economic crisis and the trade unions'.

**TOOTING: Tuesday May 29, 8 p.m.** Tooting Baths, Tooting Broadway, SW17. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

**WANDSWORTH: Tuesday May 29, 8 p.m.** 'The Foresters', All Farthing Lane. 'All out for Belle Vue conference'.

**SLOUGH: Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m.** Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'The economic crisis and the rising cost of living'.

**SOUTHALL: Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m.** Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

**WALTHAMSTOW: Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m.** 'Crooked Billet', North Circular Road, Walthamstow. 'Labour to power pledged to socialist policies'.

**WEMBLEY: Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m.** Copland School, High Road. 'Forward to the ATUA conference'.

**WOOLWICH: Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m.** 'The Castle', Powis Street, SE18. 'Fight rising prices. Make the Tories resign'.

**BASILDON: Thursday May 31, 8 p.m.** Barnstaple Community Centre. 'The trade unions and the Tory government'.

**CROYDON: Thursday May 31, 8 p.m.** Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Forward to the Belle Vue conference'.

**FELTHAM: Thursday May 31, 8 p.m.** 'Three Horseshoes', High Street. 'The economic crisis and the rising cost of living'.

**NOTTINGHAM: Thursday May 31, 7.30 p.m.** People's Hall, Heathcote Street. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

**ACTON: Monday June 4, 8 p.m.** 'Six Bells', High Street, W.3. 'Stalinism and the fight to defend democratic rights'.

**CRAWLEY: Monday June 4, 8 p.m.** Council for Social Services., 19 Station Road. 'The trade unions and the Tory government'.

**LEWISHAM: Monday June 4, 8 p.m.** Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Road. 'The way forward—build the revolutionary party'.

**BATTERSEA: Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m.** 'Nag's Head', Wandsworth Road. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

**BRADFORD (Engineers' meeting): Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m.** Talbot Hotel, Kirkgate. 'Engineers and the fight against the Tory government'.

**BRIXTON: Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m.** Control Room, Brixton Training Centre. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

**DAGENHAM: Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m.** Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

**HACKNEY: Wednesday June 6, 8 p.m.** Parlour Room, Central Hall, Mare Street. 'Unite in action to defend basic rights'.

**HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: Monday June 11 (please note date change), 8 p.m.** Adeyfield Hall, Queen's Square. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

**ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE**  
 Public Meeting  
**GLASGOW**  
 Reformism on the Clyde — The Story of UCS.  
**WEDNESDAY MAY 30**  
 7.30 p.m.  
 McLellan Galleries  
 Sauchiehall Street  
 Glasgow.  
 Speaker: Stephen Johns  
 (Workers Press)

**SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE LECTURES**

**Merthyr Tydfil**

Given by Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League

**Wednesday May 30**  
 Role of the revolutionary party at  
 St David's Church Hall, Church Street, Merthyr  
 7.30 p.m.

**SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETING**

**Salford**

The Angel, Chapel Street  
**Wednesday May 30, 8 p.m.**  
 'The Revolutionary Party and the Working Class'.

All Trades Unions Alliance Meeting

After Jones-Aldington

What next for dockers?

**SOUTHAMPTON**  
 Wednesday May 30, 7.30 p.m.  
 Conference Room  
 Civic Centre  
 Speaker: M. Banda  
 (SLL Central Committee)

**All Trades Unions Alliance meetings**

**HOSPITAL WORKERS' MEETING**

Hospital workers and the fight against the Tory government

**Tuesday May 29, 7.30 p.m.**  
 Norfolk Room  
 Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, London SW1 (admission 10p)

**BUILDING WORKERS' MEETING**

TUC must break off talks with Tories!

Build revolutionary party!

**Wednesday, May 30, 7.30 p.m.**  
 Tudor Room  
 Caxton Hall.

Caxton Street, London SW1 (admission 10p)

**POSTAL WORKERS' MEETING**

Break off secret talks with the Tories!  
 Force the Tories to resign!

**Sunday, June 3, 10.30 a.m.**  
 Conway Small Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn (admission 10p)

**NEWSDESK**

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## Short week in Garrard's Swindon plants

# Letters threaten to split women's sit-in

**PLESSEY**, the £210m electronics giant, has decided to try and isolate a sit-in strike by women workers at its Garrard record-player factory on the Cheney Manor trading estate, Swindon, Wilts.

Garrard's 103 building at Cheney Manor is one of three group factories in the town, and over the weekend management sent out letters to all workers at the other two putting them on a four-day week.

The strike at 103 building is over 'physically impossible' work-rates.

Management is attempting to split its Swindon labour force by cutting the pay of those still in work and using this pressure to enforce speed-up on the strikers. The defeat of this strategy is seen as crucial by a growing number of trade unionists in the town.

The 1,200 women at 103 building completed their third week of strike and occupation last Friday.

They walked out when Garrard's attempted to push up target rates on some lines from 55 to 74 record-player units an hour.

All negotiations within the procedure laid down in a pay-and-productivity deal signed last December were either exhausted or broke down. Sit-in strike action began on May 4.

During informal talks since the women started their action, management has claimed that last December's deal gives them the right to set times, methods and patterns of work.

This is hotly contested by the strikers, who point out that without the ability to negotiate these three elements, the trade union movement is powerless to defend its members against speed-up and eventual wage-cutting.

The deal was only signed after the ending of a pay strike, when management insisted that because of the Tory pay laws the only way the women could obtain a rise was through a productivity deal.

Women walked off their jobs when management attempted to impose the new rates.

Leading shop steward, Josie Ingram, said: 'They are demanding too much.'

'The present rates are physically impossible to achieve.'

'What they really want to do is save labour. They are constantly changing production methods to push up our output.'

'If we don't reach these targets, then we will lose money.'

'We can't even keep up with the cost of living. Our wages do not stretch anywhere near as far as they did six months ago. We will stick this one out, even if it takes months.'

The dispute was taken to a higher stage last week, when it spread to the two other Garrard factories in the town.

The machine shop at Blunsdon was brought to a standstill when 450 workers walked out and demands were made to lay



Some of the Garrard's women going into a meeting.

At Newcastle Street, the third Garrard factory in the town, workers were progressively laid off all week. By Friday only a skeleton staff remained.

Altogether about 3,000 workers were involved in the dispute, and Garrard's management said they might have to terminate

the contracts of all staff personnel.

Then they decided on their new policy: isolation.

All the signs are that Garrard's are settling in for a long fight.

Their determination is only surpassed by that of the strikers.

## Joint IRA plan for protest in Derry

**THE PROVISIONAL and Official IRA got together in Londonderry on Sunday night for the first time in at least a year to plan demonstrations against the army.**

About 1,000 people were at Sunday night's meeting in the Bogside at which 24-hour token no-go areas and barricades in the Bogside and Creggan were planned for July 31.

This is the anniversary of the army's 'Operation Motorman' last year which cleared the city of its no-go areas.

The barricades are planned as a non-violent protest against internment.

The two groups said they also planned a 24-hour General Strike in Londonderry on August 9, the second anniversary of internment.

They said they were also organizing four or five demonstrations, the first next Sunday, when marchers from the Creggan, Brandywell and Shantallow would converge on the city centre.

Similar brief demonstrations by militant Protestant organizations, led normally by the Ulster Defence Association, have been tolerated by the army—a fact that has not gone unnoticed by the IRA.

An IRA spokesman said: 'If the UDA can do this sort of thing and get away with it scot free there is no reason why we can't do the same.'

There was no official reaction to the joint IRA decision at

the army's Northern Ireland headquarters. Privately, though, security sources were conceding the return of the barricades to the Bogside and Creggan could place troops on the spot.

This clearly indicates that even token barricades could provide the army with an excuse for an onslaught on unprepared people.

The substitution of barricades for a political programme to unite the entire working class against British and Irish capitalism leaves the Catholic working class exposed to real dangers and encourages the split within the working class on religious grounds — which was deliberately created by British imperialism in the first place.

During the last two years 33,000 rounds of rubber bullets have been fired in Northern Ireland, killing three people and injuring 90 others, 17 of whom were permanently disabled or disfigured.

The four Belfast surgeons who have called for the withdrawal of the rubber bullets (see yesterday's Workers Press) 'the tissues of the eye, and skull bones and brain are particularly susceptible to a blow from a missile of this size, weight and speed.'

'Head injuries are particularly serious as brain damage may be fatal and a very high percentage of injuries to the eye results in blindness.'

# Build the revolutionary party to take the power

## Call by pre-conference

**ALL THOSE** who have so far joined in helping to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party would be building a party for power, Gerry Healy, national secretary of the SLL, said on Sunday.

He was speaking to a packed audience of workers, housewives and youth at the Camden Town Hall at a pre-conference before the founding of the party later this year.

He said: 'We're not asking you to join an ideal party, but a party which in its theory and practice extends the traditions of Bolshevism. This will be a party of conflict. This kind of party is going to win support because workers will see in it a real body of revolutionary opinion that's living and fighting. Joining our movement means accepting the responsibility to be trained as a cadre.'

Nor would it be a party 'of the centrist left — with a more left programme'.

'We are building a party for power,' he said. 'We're preparing to transform the working class into the ruling class — that is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Are you ready for that?'

'Building a revolutionary leadership is something that can't be rushed. It has to be built scientifically with all the difficulties and differences that arise from the pressures of the class struggle brought out into the open where they can be clarified.'

'This party we are founding will be based on Marxism as a theory of knowledge of the working class.'

The next four months, he said, would be the most important in the history of the Trotskyist movement in Britain.

'We want to bring in thousands of workers, youth, students and intellectuals all over the country. They are going to come in a period of the greatest crisis of capitalism — with all this crisis interwoven with the development of socialist consciousness.'

'This is not a crisis of individuals, but a historical crisis. Capitalism in its heyday had the authority of a bourgeoisie which was actually developing

the means of production and increasing man's wealth. They could survive scandals of even greater proportions. But today the system has outlived its usefulness. It's not possible for them to avoid the implications of the crisis of an economically doomed system. As in Watergate, objective events have taken over.'

Following discussion, the conference adopted unanimously a draft resolution calling for the immediate expansion of the

movement and the sales of Workers Press.

Immediately, a campaign is to begin throughout the trade union movement to make the All Trades Unions Alliance conference at Belle Vue, Manchester, on July 1, a great success.

In closing the conference, the chairman Michael Banda, urged all visitors and sympathizers to register as founding members of the party without delay.

A collection raised £1,057, taking the total for the party-building fund to more than £30,000.

### CENTRE PAGES

#### How a centrist 'corrects' Marx and Lenin

Cliff Slaughter replies to an attack on the SLL in the publication 'Permanent Revolution', issued by the group called 'Workers Fight'

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All Trades Unions Alliance Conference: To discuss defence of democratic rights

# BELLE VUE

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

TUC must break off all talks on Phase 3  
Make the Tory government resign!  
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Special showing of the Pageant film  
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