

**What we think**  
**Jack Jones sounds the retreat**

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'We shall put it forward as our policy and it will be there: the electorate will vote on it. When it is implemented I do not believe for one moment that the trade union leaders, let alone the trade union members, are going to challenge the verdict of the electorate...'

The working class did not have to wait long to see Mr Heath's optimism about the trade union leaders confirmed. (His optimism about 'members' will be short-lived.)

Within days of the Tory victory the reformist union leaders were extending what can only be interpreted as the hand of conciliation.

This predictable gesture was made not by an overt right-winger but, significantly, by the darling of the revisionists and Stalinists, the 'left' Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

According to 'Sunday Telegraph' reporter Peter Paterson, Jack Jones, in addressing a union rally in London, studiously avoided any mention of industrial action against Heath's union reforms and went out of his way to placate Tory sceptics:

'But on the reform issue it is significant that his only threat was to call for a massive campaign of publicity and explanation to prevent the unions being 'put in chains'...'

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In February both Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon met the employers behind closed doors at the British Transport Staff College in Woking to secure 'a joint policy for industrial peace'.

What happened there we shall never know, but it was a significant pointer to future trends and coming events.

Mr Jones is seated on the largest industrial volcano in Britain: the Transport and General Workers' Union.

This union embraces some of the most militant sections of the British working class and some of the vital sections as well—in the docks and motor car industry.

Far from being frightened by a Tory government, these sections will fight and oppose every attempt of the employers to capitalize on their electoral victory.

Only two days after Jones' speech, and in stark contrast to the spirit of his speech, virtually all the dockers in Britain—even including Great Yarmouth—came out in a massive display of unity in the struggle against private ownership of the docks.

There is little doubt in our minds that the magnitude of the strike was largely determined not so much by economic questions or the call of the union leaders, but by the political threat represented by a Tory government and its manifest determination not to nationalize the docks.

We feel the same determination and class hatred will be expressed at the end of the month when the dockers decide to take action on their demands for a basic wage rise.

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# Prepare to fight the Tory govt

Statement by the Central Committee of the SLL

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the Socialist Labour League salutes all those millions of workers, professional people, housewives, pensioners and students who voted Labour on June 18 despite the treacherous betrayals of Wilson and the right-wing leaders over the last six years.

Union chief 'warns' Tories but

## Climb-down in engineering near?

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This is the question millions of workers—particularly in the key motor and engineering industries—will now be asking only four days after Edward Heath's election victory.

Trades Union Congress general secretary VICTOR FEATHER has already made clear that, given certain concessions from Heath, the Congress's 12-month-old 'fire-fighting' agreement with Wilson on strikes could be maintained under the Tories.

But what of the trade union 'lefts'? For all the heavily-shrouded threats of Transport and General Workers' general secretary JACK JONES, outright opposition from them to Conservative industrial relations policy is now widely regarded as unlikely.

### Negotiation

What is more, Amalgamated Engineers' and Foundryworkers' president HUGH SCANLON is now saying that there is room for negotiation with the Engineering Employers' Federation on their proposals for a new industrial procedure agreement.

Jones' 'warning' to the Tories was particularly carefully worded. 'If they remain inflexible in the sense that they go ahead irrespective of the views we present to put the law courts and the policemen into industrial relations,' he told a T&GWU rally at the weekend, 'there could be real trouble.'

'Trouble?' Strike action, perhaps? Not at all. 'Trouble', Jones-style, meant a campaign of publicity and explanation against the unions being 'put in chains'.

And his main concern was not with Heath and his Employment and Productivity sidekick Robert Carr, but with 'some of the threats of their more reactionary right!'

There will, of course, be threats from the right—a plenty now that the true-blues are back in the political saddle.

But the Tories' present played-down plans are no 'less' evil joy-ride. They involve compulsory registration of trade union rules, statutory cooling-off periods and ballots, loss of immunity from civil actions for damages and—by no means least—legally-binding pay and procedure agreements.

Later this week, delegates to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions Isle of Man conference—which opens today—will hear a report on new proposals for replacing their 48-year-old procedure agreement with the employers.

Such an agreement would be given legal force by the Tory plans.

The stumbling-block to an agreement up to now has been trade union insistence on the principle, dubbed *status quo*, of no management interference with existing conditions without mutual agreement.

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The Central Committee denounces in the strongest possible terms the continuous retreat of these leaders before the offensive of the international bankers and their British counterparts, as well as their criminal failure to elaborate any viable socialist policy and plan to defeat the Tories in 1970.

We state as categorically as we can that the defeat of June 18, engineered by Wilson and Jenkins, was the logical culmination of their capitalist policies, which began with Callaghan's budgets and the July 20, 1966 measures, continued with the betrayal of Rhodesia to Smith, S Vietnam to Nixon and Ulster to Clark, and concluded with the abortive White Paper and the reactivation of Part 2 of the Prices and Incomes Act and the visit of Wilson to Washington.

Wilson's reformist policies are solely responsible for this setback. No advance can or will be made by Labour under this rotten Fabian leadership and policy.

Wilson's betrayals, we point out, were made possible and even facilitated only because of the cowardly and unprincipled attitude of the Labour 'left' MPs, assisted by the Stalinists and the 'left' trade union leaders—all those who today are quick to criticize Wilson only in order to try and divert the coming revolutionary opposition to Wilsonism.

We warn all workers to place no trust in the erstwhile friends of Wilson and particularly in those 'left' MPs who voted for his wage freeze policies. They all share responsibility for this setback. Like Wilson, they will continue to betray in opposition as surely as they betrayed the workers while in power.

Because of these policies, the working class is now saddled with the most reactionary post-war Tory government. This, however, is no cause for despondency or political paralysis among socialists, provided they clearly understand the objective situation, and the economic crisis which determines it.

The Tories cannot overcome their economic crisis except by consistently attacking the standard of living of the working class. They will aggravate it by increasing the number of unemployed, possibly devaluing the pound, and by putting the clock of trade union history back 70 years, as they proclaimed at Selsdon in January.

Heath's pre-election speech on devaluation should not be discounted.

As the trading position of Britain worsens and the international competition increases, the Tories will either float the pound or devalue it while viciously attacking wages and adding to the unemployed.

Such a policy would be the prelude to a massive trade war against Europe. At the same time they hope to split the working class with anti-immigrant agitation. This is the Heath-Powell formula for the coming period.

We state unequivocally that far from rejecting the help of the TUC, the Tories will gladly use their 'help' to break strikes, penalize militants and force productivity deals down the throats of reluctant workers. Baldwin did it—so will Heath.

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## Guerrilla pressure on Cambodia growing

LIBERATION forces were reported to be regrouping in great strength yesterday South West of Phnom Penh for a new assault on the strategic town of Kompong Speu.

Two other key towns are also surrounded by guerrilla units—Kompong Cham to the North East and Kompong Thom to the South.

The tourist centre of Siem Reap is reported to be still under siege, while even further to the West near the Thai frontier, liberation forces were reportedly moving in on the second city of Cambodia, Battambang.

The rail link between Battambang and Phnom Penh is still cut by the guerrillas about 40 miles North West of the capital—effectively isolating the headquarters of the pro-US regime from the rest of the country.

### DESPERATE

The recent decision of the Lon Nol regime to cede half Cambodia to the communists—including the area 'searched and destroyed' by Nixon's invasion—indicates how desperate the situation is for imperialism in Indo-China.

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He told Workers Press at Ardglass harbour that:

'Polish and Belgian cement has definitely been brought into the six counties over the past few weeks, much of it in Dutch vessels. We have contacted the International Transport Workers' Federation to get them to stop this traffic.'

Ardglass harbour was the scene of clashes between police and pickets on Tuesday last week when a large force of the Royal Ulster Constabulary attacked pickets

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trying to stop the import of cement.

17 of the pickets—most of them members of the Peoples' Democracy organization—were arrested. They are to be tried in nearby Downpatrick today.

Strike committee members in Drogheda also confirmed that some of the scab cement coming into the South is Polish.

## £1000 June Appeal Fund up to £580 4s

WE ARE KEEPING the pressure up. Yesterday's post brought in £73 9s 3d, pushing our total up to £580 4s. This leaves us with £419 16s to raise in eight days. So far, this has been a great month. Now let us get ready for a fighting finish.

Keep the donations rolling in to:  
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## DOCKERS CHALLENGE TO THE TORIES

# Deadline for more trouble... June 29

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

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Merseyside's 10,500 dockers brought the port to a standstill, demanding:

● Full nationalization of all ports under 100-per cent workers' control.

● An end to the use of non-registered labour on container work.

● No further erosion of the national docks register and recruitment to fill the large number of jobs lost through wastage over the last few years.

Southampton, Great Yarmouth, Manchester and London's Royal, West Indian and Millwall groups of docks were also halted.

And more trouble for the Tories is on the way.

Delegates representing 53,000 Transport and General Workers' Union dockers from all ports meet in London today to discuss the employers' refusal to meet their claim for a £20 minimum wage and an 81-per cent rise from the present £11 8d basic.

Many delegates will favour strike action over the claim.

Phase two

Lastly, how will ex-foundry foreman Carr deal with the small but influential 'Blue' National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' refusal to accept the London port employers' terms for Phase Two of the Devlin 'modernization' scheme?

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Cheshire  
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And at the weekend came the announcement from the Holy See that the Pope had found himself obliged to decline an invitation to visit Poland, due to pressure of other engagements.

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### British origin

While Poland is contributing an important slice of the strike-breaking effort, the bulk of the scab shipments are of British origin.

International assistance for the strikers is now even more vital than ever.

After 21 weeks on £5 strike pay, the cement workers' strike is in danger if the organized scabbing cannot be driven back.

It is essential not only that British workers act in solidarity with the strike against the cement scab shipments, but that the scabbing activities of the Polish Stalinists be thoroughly exposed and defeated.

BY A WORKERS PRESS FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

explain that there was no political objection to the invitation, which came from the bishops of the Catholic Church in Poland, but with the approval of the Polish government.

'Open house'

So Polish Stalinism keeps 'open house' for the reactionary thugs and witch-doctors of Europe, while persecuting and jailing those who demand political rights within the labour movement in Poland.

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# Reform and Revolution in Britain

Some pages from the history of the British working class

BY PETER JEFFRIES

THE RECOGNITION of the important social gradations emerging in the ranks of the working class during the period of capitalist expansion after 1850—the subject of our last study—was true not only of the most astute employers, but of a number of liberal writers and intellectuals like Matthew Arnold and John Stuart Mill.

Matthew Arnold, appointed HM Inspector of Schools in 1851—a post which he held until 1886—was acutely aware of the dangers which continued to face the middle class in this period.

His great fear was the anarchy which could at any time erupt from that.

Vast portion of the working class which, raw and half developed, has long lain hidden amidst its poverty and squalor, and is now issuing from its hiding place to assert an Englishman's heaven-born privilege of doing as he likes, and is beginning to perplex us by marching where it likes, meeting where it likes, bawling what it likes, breaking what it likes.

It was this unknown 'great residuum' which Arnold and his fellow members of the mid-Victorian 'intellectual movement' so feared, after having seen them pulled in behind middle-class reformers in the great Hyde Park demonstrations for the Reform Act, passed in 1867, which gave the town worker the vote.

But if he was frightened at the prospect of violence and anarchy from this section of the population, Arnold also saw other elements in the working class.

His 'Culture and Anarchy', written in 1867, largely concerns the relationship between the three great classes in society: the Barbarians (the aristocracy), the Philistines (the middle class) and the Populace (the working class).

## TOP LAYERS

Speaking of the top layers of the working class, Arnold writes:

... it is obvious, I say, that this part of the working class is, or is in a fair way to be, one in spirit with the industrial middle class. It is notorious that our middle-class Liberals have long looked forward to this consummation, when the working class shall join forces with them, and then heartily to carry forward their great works, go in a great body to their tea-meetings, and, in short, enable them to bring about their millennium.

'That part of it again, which so much occupies the attention of the Philanthropists at present, the party which gives all its energies to organising itself, through trades unions... this lively and interesting part must also, according to our definition, go with the Philistines.'

As the same writer explains, he and others like him had 'a passion for diffusing, for making prevail, for carrying from one end of society to the other, the best knowledge, the best ideas of our time.'

Such an aim was to be realized through state education. It is significant that many groups of employers, such as A. J. Mundella, Samuel Morley and Thomas Brassey, whom we shall deal with later, were also staunch advocates of compulsory education for the working class and many of

# THE EMERGENCE OF THE LABOUR BUREAUCRACY

(2)

them fought to pass the Education Act of 1870.

But if the populace should get out of hand, Arnold was quite prepared to use the most brutal methods to repress it. Warning the Liberals of the dangers of summoning up the power of the working class as a means of defeating the Whigs and Tories he declared, quoting his father, Dr Thomas Arnold:

'As for rioting, the old Roman way of dealing with that is always the right one; flog the rank and file, and fling the leaders from the Tarpeian Rock!'

'This opinion', went on this great 'liberal' and 'progressive', 'we can never forsake, however our Liberal friends may think a little rioting, and what they call popular demonstrations useful sometimes to their own interests and to the interests of the valuable practical operations they have in hand.'

John Stuart Mill, the father of English liberalism, also saw in education the key to the 'social problem'.

Indeed he spent a considerable portion of his time impressing upon his more short-sighted middle-class friends that the 'stupid and ignorant mass' would remain dangerous if they were denied access to education.

Likewise Mill's advocacy of an extension of the suffrage to workers in the towns in order to draw them into the machinery of public life and render them safe.

6

A Broadsheet acclaiming the passing of the 1867 Reform Bill—which gave workers in towns the vote.

By 1875 the unions had been given legal protection, a protection which was not to be seriously challenged until the end of the century.

Typical of this group was Mundella, the powerful Nottinghamshire hosiery manufacturer, later Liberal MP for Sheffield and President of the Board of Trade.

In the 1860s Mundella was prominent in the establishment of Conciliation and Arbitration Boards for the hosiery industry which were designed to avoid strikes and conflict. Boards which were to be highly praised in the 1869 Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions.

## POSITIVISTS

Frederic Harrison, one of the circle of Positivists (so-called because they followed the Positivism of Auguste Comte) who sympathized with the trade union movement, writing to his friend Professor E. S. Beesly, spoke highly of Mundella's evidence before the Royal Commission, on which Harrison sat as a nominee of the Junta.

'Mundella's evidence is first-rate. He is a thorough trump—a regular unionist by nature, who, like Pisistratus or someone, "has taken the demes into partnership" and made a joint union of masters and men which at any rate keeps quite within the field and bullies outside employers savagely. . . . He will turn Roebuck out for Sheffield, who is now very uneasy. That is Apple-garth's doing.'

This was a reference to the work of Applegarth—perhaps the most venal and subservient of trade union leaders—in securing the support of the Sheffield workers for Mundella's nomination and election.

He was duly rewarded by his appointment to the Royal Commission on Contagious (venereal) Diseases in 1871, the first unionist ever to be elected on to such a body.

His nomination was largely the work of Mundella who promised to assist him in securing a government post after he was forced to resign as secretary of the Woodworkers.

Mundella, Morley and others were regular visitors and platform speakers at the TUC Congresses in the 1870s.

## FABIANISM

But if Mill, Arnold and other literary figures were important as a reflection of these tendencies, it was only at a later stage, with the emergence of Fabianism, that a group of intellectuals sought deliberately and consciously to spread the ideas of reformism amongst the working class with the collaboration and assistance of the trade union and labour bureaucracy.

More important at this stage were the activities of sections of the employers and members of the Liberal Party. Thomas Brassey, Lord Elcho, Samuel Morley and A. J. Mundella were typical examples of this group of employers who went out of their way, as an act of policy, to encourage trade unionism and win the support of its leaders.

They were invariably large employers who were in a dominant market position, relatively sheltered from competition from their rivals.

Even at the time of the 1869 Royal Commission on Trade Union Report, leading elements in the capitalist class saw the virtues of accepting trade unionism amongst the more conservative layers of workers, at least.

'True statesmanship', declared 'The Times' soon after the publication of the Report, 'will seek neither to augment nor to reduce their influence, but, accepting it as a fact, will give it free scope for legitimate development.'

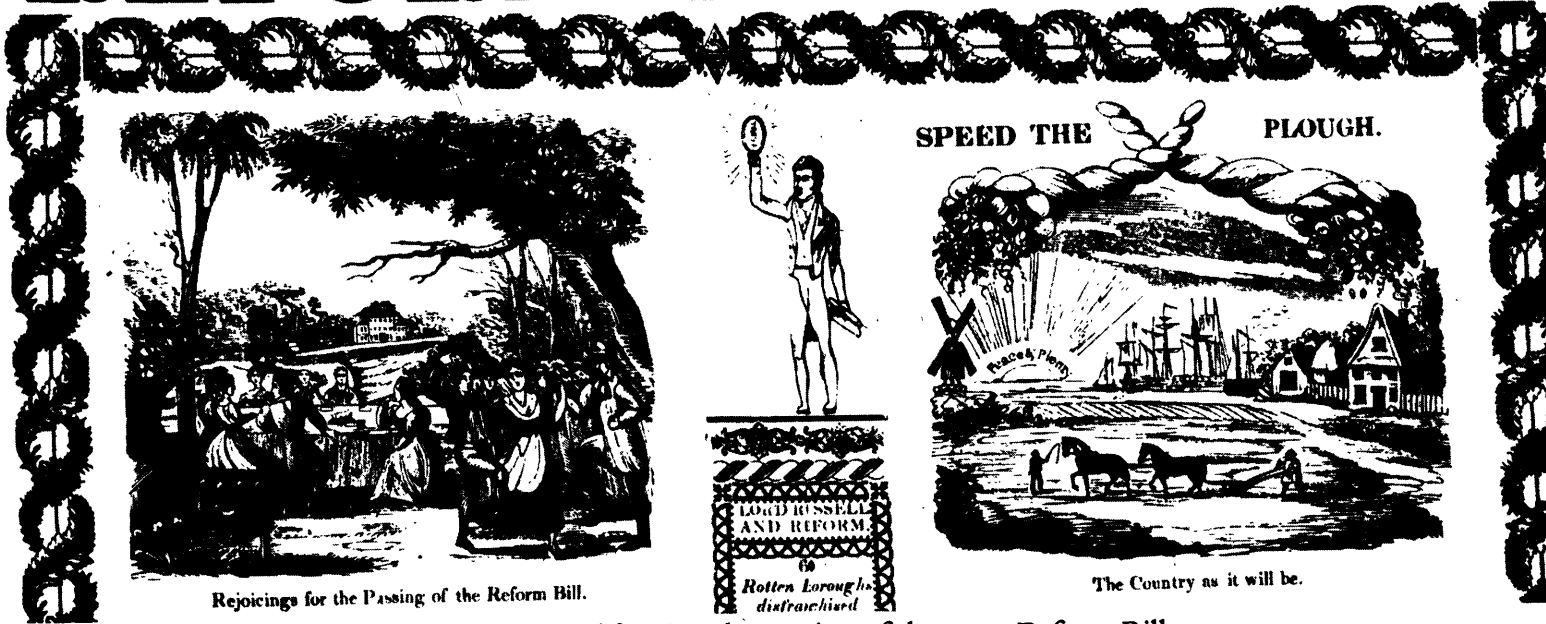
'The Trade Union Congress falls very heavily upon me', wrote Mundella to a Sheffield newspaper owner at the beginning of 1872, 'but I am doing my duty and marvellously good is the apparent result. Much more forbearance and moderation characterized all their proceedings. . . . I wish you could have been at the breakfast this morning, given by Morley, myself and the borough members. The kindly tone which prevailed at the gathering was excellent. It is very pleasant to have such evidence of the usefulness of one's labours.'

'It is better', explained Morley to his fellow employers, 'that large employers of labour should be willing to hear all that can be said by the advocates of the working class, rather than from over-sensitiveness as to their reputation, or indifference as to the condition of the people, or even fear of "unconscious irony", shut themselves within their own circle.'

This same apprehension—that the trade union movement, if left alone and isolated, even under its collaborator leaders, might be dangerous—was a common theme in the speeches and statements of the 'progressive' employers such as Morley.

'I think it highly desirable', declared Mundella on the eve of the 1874 TUC Congress, 'that the members of the Conference should not be left in a state of isolation. Liberal and sensible employers should

# Great and Glorious News for Old England REFORM BILL PASSED.



Rejoicings for the Passing of the Reform Bill.



SPEED THE PLOUGH.



The Country as it will be.

A Broadsheet celebrating the passing of the 1867 Reform Bill.

manifest their sympathy with this labour parliament in all efforts of a reasonable and laudable character tending to improve their class. I am afraid the Sheffield middle class are very antagonistic towards them and will resent my appearance amongst them.'

Upon taking office as President of the Board of Trade in the Gladstone Administration of 1866, Mundella appointed John Burnett, Secretary of the ASE, to the post of Labour correspondent in the Bureau of Statistics.

Such developments, declared the 1866 TUC President, 'are significant signs of the times, and reflect great credit upon ministers who brought them about. But we must not stop here. They should not be regarded as concessions, but as a recognition of the just right of workers to a share in the government of the country. Personally I shall not be satisfied until we have representatives of unionism within the charmed circle of the Cabinet.'

So by the 1880s, a definite pattern of close collaboration had developed between a leading group of trade unionists, centred on the Parliamentary Committee of the TUC and an influential body of employers and spokesmen in the Liberal Party.

Little wonder that James Fitzpatrick, in his Presidential Address to the 1875 TUC, could declare that this body 'was now one' of the institutions of the country and the great power it possessed and the immense constituency it represented, caused its deliberations to be watched keenly by all classes in this country, from the highest officials in the land to the most humble toilers of the soil.'

As one of the historians of the TUC (Professor B. C. Roberts) has remarked:

'By bringing the trade unions "within the pale of the constitution", the danger of their adopting revolutionary ideas was practically eliminated. The role of the Parliamentary Committee was of considerable significance, for through it the attention of the organized workers was focused on reform through parliament.'

The important point is that, in Britain, the emergence of a full-time labour bureaucracy with policies of class compromise and having close relations both with the employers and parliamentary life was considerably advanced before the imperialist epoch.

In this lay one of the 'unique' features of the British labour movement. But the limits of this development must also be appreciated. While it may be that all workers, in some degree, enjoyed some benefits from Britain's dominant world economic position after 1850, these benefits were very unevenly distributed.

During the period we have discussed, we must stress, the great mass of workers remained outside the 'labour movement'.

## MONOPOLY

It was the sharp crisis which the development of imperialism brought with the challenge to this monopoly position, which was to end this situation, and end it in a comparatively short period at the end of the 1880s and early 1890s.

It was this period which was to see not only the beginning of the processes—technical changes, shifts in the pattern of world trade, etc.—which were to undermine the position of some sections of the labour aristocracy.

It was also to see the entry of the unskilled and hitherto unorganized sections into the labour movement, a section which was to be at the backbone of the fight for an independent political expression for the working class in the shape of the Labour Party, established in 1900.



JOHN STUART MILL, the father of English Liberalism.

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# POP ART transformed - FROM MARYLIN MONROE TO HO CHI MINH

**KELPRA PRINTS.** Exhibition at the Hayward Gallery near Waterloo Station.

June 17 to July 7

THE LAST exhibition of this kind in London, which gave an idea of where art has been going in the 1960s, was the one called Pop Art, last year.

At that time I felt that, although some great works were on show, such as Rosenquist's and Rauschenburg's work, two American 'pop' artists, the whole thing was deathly cold, and miles away from any contact with real life today.

It seemed that they were looking back to the 1950s of Marilyn Monroe and back further to the beat and rocker generation, but they had nothing to say about today.

The collection of Kelpra prints has some tremendous works in it, in particular those of Kitaj, which stand head and shoulders above the rest; but are themselves based on the whole of a 'school' of artists working closely with highly-skilled technical assistants.

A new kind of silk-screening, which makes use of photosensitized gelatine or paper film, has opened the road for a complex and rich new form of art. Paolozzi was the first to make these type of screen prints, in 1962, but he repeats the same themes over and over again—that is making the machine into an object of play and aesthetic interest, a theme begun by the Dada artists in 1917.

But this is all Paolozzi has to say, with an added Baroque stiffness derived from the involutions of a played-out idea.

By 1964, Paolozzi was joined by nearly all the best artists in making these silk screens.

## DIVISION

The exhibition shows a sharp division between those artists, such as Paolozzi, Victor Pasmore, Hepworth and others whose main interest is to express some ideas about one aspect of the visual surroundings, and, on the other side, there are those like Sidney Nolan, Kitaj, Tilson and Hockney, and Hamilton, who immerse themselves in a tradition.

This involves nostalgia in the sense that certain forms and characters, such as Ned Kelly, acquire a symbolic significance. The great advance they are making, is that their pictures mean a great deal in terms of our own experience, because we know what they are talking about.

Kitaj draws upon the tradition of the 1920s, both for his subject matter and for his style. He is concerned with the rise of fascism and the revolutionary struggles of the 1920s, and 1930s right up to problems of today.

Each of his works is different and expresses new ideas.

He combines an extraordinary freshness and variety of colour with a hundred textures produced by blowing up photographs, gluing on wallpaper, paint and crayon, always under the discipline of the silk screen and the uniform picture plane.

He plays off abstract forms against photographs, flat surfaces against the illusion of depth, black and white against colour.

Each element employed in a work is used with a full consciousness of its history.

Joe Tilson seems to have moved towards Kitaj, towards the left, in his most recent works.

His picture 'Jan Palach: suicide by fire January 1969', his picture of Che Guevara, and Ho Chi Minh idealize the people involved.

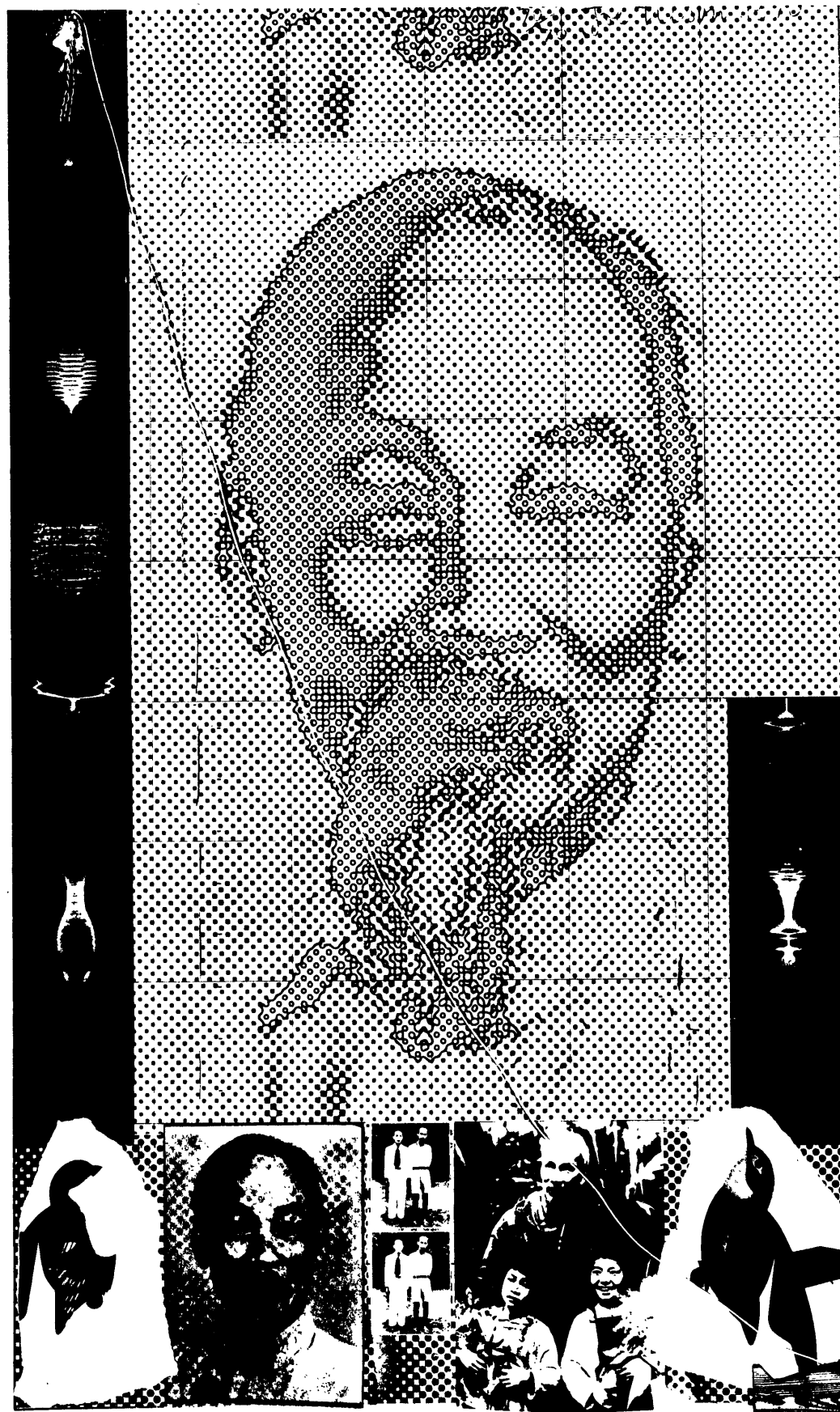
## ART FOR ART'S SAKE

Although he does not go beyond Kitaj, he has made a break with his art for art's sake, past 'Transparency Clip-o-Matic Lips', the enormous realistic red lips and white teeth.

The main driving force behind Pop Art is the desire to integrate art with a popular culture, to bring together art and the message. The early pop art drew on advertisements and comic strips but it became an object for rich patron's collections.

This exhibition shows artists breaking from the formal gimmicky nature of the early pop art. Where will they go next?

This must depend on a change in their relation to the working class, that they begin to see themselves not just as observers, but as themselves taking part in the enormous social transformations that are being posed through the development of the crisis today.



## CISSY LODGE

HO CHI MINH by Joe Tilson

**VISITS THE 'KELPRA PRINTS' EXHIBITION AT THE HAYWARD GALLERY NEAR WATERLOO STATION**

PRIMO by R.B. Kitaj (from a recent exhibition at the Marlborough New London Gallery).



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PROBLEMS OF CULTURE UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT  
Leon Trotsky

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# behind THE NEWS



Nixon

## A slight hitch

FRANKNESS is not the common attribute of capitalist politicians or their apologists, especially in relation to matters which question the sanctity of the system they love.

Crisis, revolution and other items of historical import are carefully treated with a pat phrase and at most a confession of 'Hey, we've got a problem here!'

Nixon's latest speech on American television was no exception. With Wall Street crumbling round his ears, he began cheerily 'Good afternoon, my fellow Americans' which roughly translated means 'I have some crippling problems which I think you should take off my shoulders.'

He went on: 'The American economy is the strongest in the world' (It must be by now).

'We must deal with the problems of a nation in transition from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy' (The 'progressive' touch).

'This is a historic reordering of our national priorities.' (The 'patriotic' touch).

'The costs in defence spending mean a shift of job opportunities from defence production to the kind of production that meets social needs.' At one point this means that 300,000 defence workers are to be shifted onto the streets.

☆

'Despite the difficulties of this transition... With its trials and hopes... While our economy adapts... And so on.

The message is meant to convey the feeling that all is well, but...

Of course, the technique is not exactly new.

When the US space programme was slashed to ribbons, the United States Information Service headed its comments:

'Lowered Space Agency Budget Geared to the Future', an element of truth in that, I suppose.

Just to emphasize the seriousness of the situation, it insisted that the programme was to be 'broad and balanced' and 'strongly oriented to the future', which probably implies that Apollo-14 is either a hoax or will consist of a large orbiting dustbin.

That was in February of this year. As the American economy continued to 'adapt', the USIS came up with the following gem: 'US to develop new programme for peaceful uses of nuclear explosives.'

What new catastrophe here? Project Ploughshare, the Atomic Energy Commission's programme for the peaceful uses of nuclear explosives had effectively been wound up.

All the plans for speedily blasting artificial harbours and a new sea-level canal through Central America to supplement the existing Panama Canal were gone, a shift in emphasis... brought about by Federal budget constraints.

What remains is the part most lucrative for private industry — 'freeing underground gas, oil and mineral deposits safely and economically.'

☆

(In fact, none of the two dozen or so suggested engineering uses of nuclear explosives have as yet been demonstrated to be 'feasible, economic and safe in practice', according to Dr Ken-

neth Parker of Aldermaston. In the case of Projects Gasbuggy and Rulison, the chimneys were sealed for six months because of radioactivity.)

Nevertheless, the collapse of Ploughshare is no small matter.

If sufficient safety precautions could be imposed, such a programme opens up the possibility of changing the face of the earth and even the climate by diverting rivers and creating reservoirs. Such projects have been planned out in the USSR.

But in the United States, these projects are now cut back to the bone, along with many, many others.

How many more 'new developments' to come?

## DIALATORY

ONE OF THE QUESTIONS Tory leader Edward Heath failed on at least three occasions to clarify fully at his pre-election news conference during the last two weeks concerned the party's plans for the nationalized industries.

Towards the beginning of June, the Post Office Engineering Union issued an ingeniously-designed leaflet entitled 'Hands Off.'

'One of the most disturbing features of Conservative policy recently,' this claimed, 'has been the frequent reference to the possible denationalization of Britain's telephones. The Conservatives and their City friends, see in telecommunications a rich financial harvest that can provide them with lush profits at the turn of a dial.'

Pressed by Workers Press reporters for an answer to the POEU's claim, Heath merely countered with a guarded statement that his party would introduce further 'elements of competition' into the nationalized industries and a reference to the party's manifesto.

A reading of Conservative Central Office's 'A Better Tomorrow' yields the following: 'We will progressively reduce the involvement of the state in the nationalized industries, for example in the steel industry, so as to improve their competitiveness. An increasing use of private capital will help to reduce the burden on the taxpayer, get better investment decisions and ensure more effective use of total resources.'

But, as the March issue of the POEU's journal pointed out, Tory front-bencher Sir Keith Joseph—now strongly tipped for Anthony Wedgwood Benn's old job at the Ministry of Technology—has been rather more forthright.

'The Post Office,' he said recently, 'has no competition and

steel has a virtual monopoly... Any worthwhile competitive policy must reach into these sanctuaries, stop them growing and transfer their functions where practicable into private enterprise where market pressures and competition do bite.'

Just what are the Tories' plans here?



## THE ENTERPRISING DOCTOR

'LET FREE ENTERPRISE get things moving again'. Throughout the election campaign, hundreds of posters blared out the message from as many hoardings, warning all and sundry that 'creeping socialism is crippling industry, the economic heart of the country. And you're paying'.

This was the handiwork of Aims of Industry, which proclaims itself 'the non-party organization—in the interest of free enterprise', and just happened to receive £29,000 in donations from big business last year.

During the four-day print strike, there issued forth from its Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, office a non-union four-page 'newspaper' — 'Free Enterprise News'.

Flicking through this 'non-party' publication, the eye alights on the name of Dr Paul Einzig, economic and former political correspondent of the 'Financial Times', writing on the 'Truth about that Surplus'.

☆

In it he repeats the arguments expounded in his book 'Decline and Fall', published in March 1969, namely that while inflation — 'the English disease'—was confined to Britain, we had a trade deficit but, once other countries became 'infected', a trade surplus followed.

'But don't let us make any mistake about it,' he warns.

'Judging by the wage explosion Britain will soon be leading once more in this inflation race. And then the surplus will give way once more to a deficit.'

In his book, Dr Einzig makes quite clear his position on the working class.

According to this 'non partisan'

gentleman, workers have nothing to do with the production of wealth.

He speaks of '... the quasi-religious belief that, since physical labour alone can create goods, physical labourers are to be worshipped as the ruling classes...'

☆

'[The worker's] attitude has deteriorated because he has been spoiled by successive governments, politicians, trade unions and employers since the war.'

Obviously, the Wilson government's attacks on the working class did not come up to expectations.

Will the new Tory government under Heath fit the bill? Perhaps

exiled to prisons in the Lipari islands.

Needless to say the Duce and his methods were greeted with gleeful approval from many British reactionaries (see last Friday's Workers Press).

A professional economist who visited Italy and met Mussolini and other fascist leaders was also favourably impressed. He wrote that... in Signor Mussolini, Italy possesses a leader who inspires hero-worship and an enthusiasm that makes his followers eager to work for the community...

'If instead of leaving the fascist movement to the mercy of demagogues... its economic ideas were to be taken up seriously by responsible people, mankind could only gain by it.'

☆

The 'responsible person' writing here was Dr Paul Einzig, whose book 'The Economic Foundations of Fascism' was published in April 1933, extolling that system as the way to 'industrial peace'.

'In no country was it so easy as in Italy to obtain the consent of employees to a reduction of wages in accordance with the fall of prices and with the depressed state of industries' (p. 31).

'Yes, those were the days! Hitler and Mussolini could never be accused of pampering and spoiling workers... only working them to death and massacring them.'

Nowadays, of course, Dr Einzig speaks in slightly more subdued tones and—naturally—in non-partisan journals such as those printed by Aims of Industry.



Mussolini

not, for Dr Einzig is used to stronger medicine.

In fascist Italy before the war, the government of Mussolini was much firmer, of course. It crushed all political opposition.

Socialists and communists were beaten up and murdered. Thousands of militants were

### More lay-offs at Corby

THREE HUNDRED more workers were laid off yesterday from the British Steel Corporation's plants in Corby, Northants, because of the continuing strike of 2,100 craftsmen.

This brought the total of production workers laid off to 4,600.

The craftsmen were to meet last night in Corby. But the AEF district committee—one of the two unions involved—had earlier found no basis for a return to work when it discussed the last round of talks between management and strike leaders.

The strikers are demanding that all bonuses should be unconditionally raised to £5 8s, but the management is insisting on productivity concessions.

### B.B.C. PAY

A GENERAL 11-per-cent salary increase for monthly-paid staff was announced by the BBC yesterday.

The settlement has been agreed with the Association of Broadcasting Staffs, the National Union of Journalists, the Electrical and Plumbing Trades Union, and the National Association of Theatrical and Kine Employees.

It takes effect from July 1.

### WEATHER

London area, SE England, E Midlands: Mostly cloudy with some rain at first. Becoming clearer with sunny periods and scattered showers. Wind southerly, then mainly South-West, light or moderate. Near normal. Max. 22C (72F).

Central S England, W Midlands, Channel Islands, SW, NW and central N England: Sunny periods and scattered showers. Wind south-westerly, moderate. Near normal. Max. 20C (68F).

Edinburgh and Glasgow area: Sunny periods and scattered showers. Wind south-westerly, light or moderate. Near normal. Max. 18C (64F).

N Ireland: Sunny periods and scattered showers. Becoming cloudy with some rain later. Wind south-westerly, moderate. Near normal. Max. 16C (61F).

Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Changeable, with periods of rain and sunny spells in most districts. Temperatures near normal.

# Doxford fitters' strike needs support

THE 230 FITTERS on strike at the three Wear-side shipyards of Doxford and Sunderland voted at a mass meeting during the weekend to reject pay and productivity proposals negotiated between management and their union last week.

AEF district secretary Mr Henry Wilkinson said after the meeting that the 14-week-old strike would continue.

The company is attempting to push through a deal which includes the acceptance of Measured-Day Work, MTM, interchangeability, flexibility and mobility of labour.

It has the sole aim of achieving a huge increase in output from a drastically reduced labour force.

### Proposals

During last week's five-day talks, agreement was reached on only some of the management proposals.

But the accepted clauses were rejected by the men.

Grave dangers still confront the strike.

At the beginning of this month Mr Wilkinson said: 'We are willing to give them [the management] 90 per cent of what they want...'

The union has agreed to achieve a higher rate of output per man hour by the acceptance of new methods and an accurate work measurement based incentive bonus scheme and to 'introduce work study, method study and such management techniques as may be required from time to time'.

At one stage in the negotiations the only main differences between the officials and the

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

## Spanish building workers strike

TWENTY-FIVE thousand building workers in the area round Seville, in SW Spain, were on strike at the weekend for wage increases as part of a new national labour contract.

The strike, which started a week ago, spread rapidly and by Friday involved three-quarters of the workers in the area.

Police intervened against a demonstration in the centre of Seville, arresting 14 workers.

Three policemen and an unknown number of demonstrators were injured.

strike committee were over one clause concerning pipe erection, the two years 'wage freeze' principle and the wage increase attached.

Allegations have been made that the officials of the unions in the yards have allowed the labour force to be split.

A fortnight ago 230 plumbers and electricians returned to work on instructions from their executive after striking for 13 weeks.

The EETU/PTU said at that time that the return to work was on the basis of the right to negotiate clauses within the productivity deal.

However, an AEF official has told the fitters that the agreement is accepted in its entirety before a return to work and that none of its aspects can be subject to further discussion.

The Doxford productivity deal is a challenge to the whole trade union movement in the Tyneside and Wearside areas.

There must be an end to the splitting of the fight in Doxford against the deal and a determined campaign waged throughout the area behind the decision of the Sunderland AEF district committee to call out all members in other yards and engineering factories if the talks on the fitters' strike fail.

### Engineers

FROM PAGE ONE  
The joint union-employer working party which has been discussing the procedure has now reached a stage where recommendations could be made to both parties.

In its April report on dispute procedures, the Confederation of British Industry



Heath's Minister of Employment and Productivity Robert Carr.

claimed that the TUC's June 1969 'Programme for Action' already accepts—by inference—management's right to decide:

● Restriction of overtime, short-time working or lay-offs where there is an externally-caused fall in demand.

● Transfer of labour from department to department in the case of labour bottle-necks or machine break-downs.

And with reference to dismissals and redundancies required by outside factors, to the starting of new production-lines or machines and to payment for new methods of working, said the CBI 'the more restricted are the issues to be subjected to status quo arrangements the easier it is to arrive at a reasonable definition'.

It is highly unlikely—particularly under a Tory government—that there would be any disagreement between the CBI and the Engineering Employers' Federation on these questions.

So what exactly is the substance of Scanlon's new proposals?

### Agreement signed

Madrid, Monday—Spain and France today signed a five-year military co-operation agreement here aimed at strengthening the security of the two countries in the Mediterranean.

The agreement, which will be renewable every two years, was signed by French Defence Minister Michel Debré and Spanish Foreign Minister Gregorio Lopez Bravo.

# Funeral of Sukarno— Indonesian Bonaparte

LARGE crowds lined the funeral route of former Indonesian President Achmad Sukarno, who died on Sunday aged 69.

Yesterday's burial ceremonies marked the end of an opportunist political career which carried 'neutralist' policies to their ultimate and—for the Indonesian people—brutally tragic limits.

Virtually a prisoner since the bloody collapse of the October 1, 1965, left-wing coup, he lived to witness the massacre of over 500,000 communists and the domination of Indonesia by a right-wing military dictatorship tied firmly to Wall St, the Pentagon and the White House.

In an attempt to check the forces of reaction, he leaned on the three million strong Indonesian Communist Party and sought diplomatic support from Moscow and Peking.

But when the right wing struck back, the coalition of bourgeois nationalists and Stalinists fell apart, and Moslem fanatics were able to unleash an anti-communist terror equalled only by Hitler's bands in Germany.

The fate of other 'neutralist' regimes, such as Sihanouk's in Cambodia, has only under-

## Jones

FROM PAGE ONE  
but a dozen Tory governments.

As far back as February, the Workers Press warned that 'the trade union leaders are incapable of leading any opposition to the Tories'.

We call on all trade unionists to step up the fight against the Tories and to join the Socialist Labour League and build an alternative Marxist leadership in the trade unions—the All Trades Unions Alliance.

## CAV store pay fight

STOREKEEPERS at CAV's Acton rotary components stores are refusing to recognize the authority of their foreman following a dispute last week over training pay.

The men, who claimed that the foreman had broken an agreement stipulating the payment storekeepers should receive during their training period, staged a successful sit-in strike which lasted throughout Friday and delayed production on several assembly lines.

# If the mausoleum won't come to Stalin...

THE KREMLIN campaign to 'rehabilitate' Stalin took a new turn over the weekend. Soldiers were seen guarding a fence round Stalin's grave next to the Kremlin wall. A policeman told reporters 'They are putting up a granite monument to Stalin'.

Stalin's corpse was removed from the Lenin mausoleum after the first public admission of his crimes against the Bolshevik Party and the working class, made during the 1961 22nd Party Congress.

The year following Khrushchev's removal saw the launching of a non-stop campaign of intimidation and persecution against leading dissident intellectuals.

STOOD GROUND  
But unlike the dark days of the three Moscow Trials, when the entire international working class had been beaten to its knees by fascism and Stalinist betrayal, those put on trial stood their ground and refused to withdraw their charges against the bureaucracy and its repression of cultural freedom.

Over the last two years, the anti-bureaucratic movement has moved on to a higher plane. Groups of workers have been drawn into the opposition and strikes have been reported from key industrial areas like Kiev.

### MINORITIES

The Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia brought Pavel Litvinov and his comrades out onto the streets of Moscow to demonstrate their solidarity with the workers and students of Prague—an act that was unthinkable during the rule of Stalin.

### Cambodia

FROM PAGE ONE  
force is pulling out of the Fish Hook and Parrot's Beak border regions back into S Vietnam with no other force than the NLF and its Cambodian allies able to fill the military and political vacuum.

Trade unionists and shop stewards who have been warned!

We emphatically state that workers can expect nothing from this quarter except retreat and rout.

This role of the trade union and Labour leaders in opposition as well as the crisis in the Tory Party create grave dangers of a resort to coalition as the economic situation deteriorates.

Such a coalition, which would split the working class and allow the ultra-right wing to organize its forces, could well be the prelude to a Bonapartist type of dictatorship, if the program of revolutionary leadership remains unresolved.

We are completely confident that the Tories can and will be defeated before any such dictatorship is set up, not only because the unity and retaliatory power of the powerful British working class remains undiminished, but because the revolutionary weapon for its liberation has been forged in the struggles for political and theoretical understanding and clarity, in the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.

## Prepare to fight govt

FROM PAGE ONE  
an unmistakable sign of the compromise and capitulation policies of the trade union bureaucracy.

Trade unionists and shop stewards who have been warned!

We emphatically state that workers can expect nothing from this quarter except retreat and rout.

This role of the trade union and Labour leaders in opposition as well as the crisis in the Tory Party create grave dangers of a resort to coalition as the economic situation deteriorates.

Such a coalition, which would split the working class and allow the ultra-right wing to organize its forces, could well be the prelude to a Bonapartist type of dictatorship, if the program of revolutionary leadership remains unresolved.

We are completely confident that the Tories can and will be defeated before any such dictatorship is set up, not only because the unity and retaliatory power of the powerful British working class remains undiminished, but because the revolutionary weapon for its liberation has been forged in the struggles for political and theoretical understanding and clarity, in the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.

More important, the work of revolutionary construction



Stalin's grave after he was removed from the Lenin mausoleum.

Union has also been openly upheld by other anti-Stalinists like Kosternin and Grigorenko. And despite intensified persecutions, the movement grows stronger and cuts deeper into the youth and working class.

The bureaucracy realizes that 1970 is not 1937—the year of the 'Great Purge'—its return to Stalin has to proceed by a series of manoeuvres.

It is not yet able to stage massive 'show trials' either in Moscow or Prague—so it

builds a monument to the man who pioneered these techniques of counter-revolution and repression instead.

Another aspect of the Kremlin pro-Stalin campaign is the recent release of a set of gramophone records on Lenin, with speeches by his wife and Stalin.

This is the first set of records to reproduce Stalin's voice since the 1956 20th Congress of the CPSU.

(As a final artistic touch,

his bust is currently being displayed in a Moscow Academy.)

Stalin is being revived and honoured at home while the bureaucracy extends a hand of friendship abroad to the Greek colonels, to the Spanish fascists, the Portuguese colonialists and the pro-US regime in Cambodia.

Their strategy is counter-revolution all along the line. But this time, with revolutionary leadership, the Soviet and international working class can win.

# African racialists cheer Heath victory

WHITE supremacist reactions in Africa to the Tory victory have been running true to form.

While the British ultra-left cannot see any difference between a Labour and Tory majority in parliament, the Smith and Vorster regimes—like their friends on the London Stock Exchange—certainly can.

Johannesburg Radio commented on Friday:

'Mr Heath... has given a pledge that he will reverse the East of Suez withdrawal plan. Britain will also under the Tory government become a more active partner of the Republic of S Africa in defending the sea routes around southern Africa.'

The broadcast then proceeded to give details of the Tory 'better tomorrow' in the country of apartheid:

'In April this year, Mr Geoffrey Rippon, who will probably become the new Minister of Defence, told a S African Club dinner in London that a Conservative government would not only supply arms to S Africa and abide by the letter as well as the spirit of the Simonstown Agreement, but would build upon the agreement to the benefit of both countries, NATO and the free world.'

Behind the cynical guise of a love for cricket, the British Tories made it clear to their S African allies that an election defeat for Labour would open up a new era of collaboration between the British ruling class and the Vorster white supremacists.

### Rich demagogue heads French poll

THE SUCCESS of Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber in Sunday's by-election to the National Assembly at Nancy, in southern Lorraine, marks a step forward for demagoguery and cash in French politics.

Servan-Schreiber took 44 per cent of the first-round vote with 27 per cent going to the Gaullist candidate, Michel Antoine, the Communist.

All three will stand their ground at the run-off. If Servan-Schreiber wins next week he will attempt to form a new parliamentary group.

He has said that up to 80 sitting deputies may be prepared to join him.

Headline  
Yesterday's Communist Party paper, 'L'Humanité', explained the result with the

headline 'The right swaps horses at Nancy'.

But this is only a small part of the story. Servan-Schreiber picked up votes with his promises to induce industrialists to develop Lorraine, where unemployment has been high for years, and by playing on the foolish tactics of the government in sending a new motorway through the North of the area.

As a vehicle for his political ambitions he is using the Radical Socialist Party, of which he is now head.

Allegedly he spent over £80,000 during the two-week election campaign. The mixture of crusading for 'reforms', promises of favours from his friends in big-business circles and chauvinistic, anti-Americanism on which his bandwagon rolls can easily prove a basis for extreme political reaction.

## Young Socialists and Socialist Labour League SUMMER CAMP

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### LATE NEWS

STRIKE HITS VAUXHALL  
Production of Bedford trucks at Vauxhall Motor's Dunstable plant has been cut drastically because of an unofficial strike at Midland Motor Cylinder Company in Smethwick.

HEATHROW STEWARDS TO MEET  
Stewards representing over 10,000 workers at London's Heathrow airport have called an emergency meeting to give evidence at a possible re-opening of the government's inquiry into the airport's labour problems.

They have so far refused to do so because of a threat of legal action against stewards' committee chairman Iain Stewart.

### LINES RE-START

Limited production began today at Chrysler GB's Linwood car factory in Scotland after last week's strike.

2,000 Transport and General Workers' Union members went back to work.

National Union of Vehicle Builders' members at the plant yesterday decided to end their six-day-old strike.

The strikers were demanding that jobs in the press and machine shops should be filled by men wanting to transfer from the assembly lines.

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