

Workers Press

The daily organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • PUBLISHED FROM TUESDAY TO SATURDAY • NUMBER 227 • SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1970

PRICE 6d.

DOCKERS—Learn lesson of Ford and the pits

Devlin plan means Measured-Day Work

BY THE EDITOR

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When 'modernization' is accepted, dockers will be paid £36 10s basic with down-hold workers receiving £39 for a 31¼-hour working week.

To some dockers this might seem a tantalizing offer for which the rejection of Devlin would seem inappropriate.

This is not so. Behind the increased wages, improved amenities and the seductive propaganda of the modernization committees, there are enough productivity strings to strangle the militancy of the dockers for good.

No one should be lulled by the rosy prospects offered by the employers. As the 'Financial Times' remarks:

'In return for the wage increases, two shifts a day will be worked in the enclosed docks, with flexible manning and the abolition of piecework.'

Played down

With its prosaic euphemisms the 'Financial Times' tries, in fact, to play down the real threat of Devlin which most dockers — unlike some car-workers — are not acquainted with.

It is the threat of Measured-Day Work and job evaluation which must follow the termination of piecework on the docks.

Dockers, if they accept this Trojan Horse, will soon find themselves in an even worse position than the Ford car-workers whose leadership in the early 1960s accepted Measured-Day Work in return for a plausible wage structure and a grading scheme which looked superior to other car-workers' operating piecework and bonus schemes.

Within a few years, however, they discovered that they were at the bottom of the wages league while the Ford Company was making record-breaking profits, thanks to MDW and thanks, moreover, to the Stalinist misleadership of the Ford's stewards.

It is no exaggeration to state that the intensity of work and exploitation is highest in these factories operating these schemes.

The docks industry will be no exception.

Dangers

Dangers for the dockers are compounded—and here there is little comparison with Ford's — by the massive run-down of the labour force projected under Phase Two.

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Wages too high—Carr

BY DAVID MAUDE

NO MENTION was made at yesterday's meeting between Tory ministers and Confederation of British Industry leaders of the £48-a-week wage increases announced for nationalized industry chairmen—or, for that matter, of the massive rises recently granted to some of their counterparts in the private sector.

Emphasis was all on the 'serious economic difficulties' that would result from what Employment and Productivity Minister Robert Carr described as the continuing high level of factory-floor settlements.

'The paramount need of the time,' said CBI president John Partridge at a press conference later, 'is for some cooling off of this fever of pay settlements... and we've all got to see this is done.'

The CBI will be issuing a letter to all its members next week reporting the gist of its discussions with Carr, placing wages high on the agenda of next month's meeting of its governing council and organizing a further meeting between the Minister and leading industrialists, probably in early September.

All these moves, said Partridge, would be directed towards implementing the policy agreed at the DEP.

The CBI, it was made clear yesterday, wants 'to ensure that as much emphasis as possible is laid on productivity in pay settlements.'

● PAGE FOUR COL. 7

Sharp reactions to airport inquiry expected

THE SECOND report of the government-backed Committee of Inquiry into industrial relations at London's Heathrow Airport, published yesterday, comes down heavily in favour of the British Airport Authority's grant of a ground-handling contract to the US-controlled agency General Aviation Services.

Following up its findings on the Heathrow firemen's dispute, published at the end of June, the inquiry team submits the following findings on the GAS issue:

● The BAA's decision to encourage the establishment of an independent ground-handling service at Heathrow was 'reasonable and well-founded'.

● There was 'nothing improper' about the Authority's choosing of the company.

● Fears of a threat to jobs, wages and conditions aroused amongst airport workers by the contract the Committee attributes to 'a failure in communication and consultation'.

Responsibility for the arousal of these 'groundless' fears is laid on the BAA, British European Airways and British Overseas Airways management and to a lesser extent on the trade unions.

And the report slams the airport's unofficial shop stewards' liaison committee for acting 'wrongly in encouraging industrial action against GAS and pursuing policies of its own outside the constitutional channels'.

With de-nationalization fears heightened by the BUA affair, a sharp reaction to the inquiry findings can be expected from airport workers and their stewards.

The review date for the enclosed docks agreement only will be 12 months from June 28, 1970.

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Brewery 'strings' knocked back

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Special Powers pressure on Ulster premier

MAJOR James Chichester-Clark, the N Ireland prime minister, returns from holiday in Spain at the weekend to face yet another government crisis.

Right-wing Unionist backbenchers—including Joseph Burns, chairman of the powerful 1966 committee—are demanding the rearming of the police and the activation of the Special Powers Act to allow internment of Republicans indefinitely and without trial.

Burns saw deputy prime minister Senator John Andrews on Thursday, and afterwards stated that there was 'no fundamental difference of aim' between the government and the backbenchers on the issues of law and order, though there was 'some difference of emphasis'.

The Ulster Cabinet is known to have considered taking powers to intern, but is unlikely to decide finally until after Chichester-Clark's return.

Paisley's demands

Centre of the agitation in favour of the Special Powers is the Rev Ian Paisley, who leaves for the United States today to visit his fundamentalist co-thinkers there.

He wants the partial lifting of the ban on parades, reintroduction of the B Specials, arms for the Royal Ulster Constabulary and internment of 'IRA men'.

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The intensifying right-wing

'Peking is aiding Zionists'

MOSCOW RADIO ACCUSATION

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'If all this were done,' says Moscow, 'it would mark an important advance towards solving completely the Palestine problem.'

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Of course, the broadcaster knows quite well that a deal with the Israelis and their US backers would leave Palestine under the control of Zionism.

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'PEACE'

'Today, when there is a real possibility of a peaceful settlement of the Middle Eastern conflict,' says this Yiddish-speaking Stalinist, '... much depends on the attitude Tel Aviv is going to assume.'

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The award, affecting day-workers, is expected to cost the combine about £1 million in a full year.

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their strike over a manning dispute which has stopped production of the 1800 model. It was the last of three strikes to end there.

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This dispute now goes into procedure.

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1970: Thirty years since Trotsky's assassination

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Memorial Meeting

ACTON TOWN HALL High St, Acton

August 23 Sunday

Starts 3 p.m. Admission 2s

Speakers: G. HEALY (SLL national Secretary), M. BANDA (Editor Workers Press), A. JENNINGS (Editor Keep Left).

Chairman: C. SLAUGHTER (SLL Central Committee).



Leon Trotsky's last words:

'I am confident of the victory of the Fourth International Go forward!'

This means: Forward with the first Trotskyist daily newspaper—WORKERS PRESS

ALSO: The first public showing of the latest Young Socialists' film—'Youth in Action in the Year of Lenin and Trotsky'.

What we think
CP cynicism on dock strike

BELIEVE it or not the Communist Party weekly 'Comment' (August 8) is saddened by the retreat of Jack Jones and his delegates on the dockers' basic wage demand.

'Many dockers in Britain's ports feel a sense of disappointment and even anger (sic) at the majority decision... of the dockers' committee.'

As the Workers Press pointed out many, many times the retreat was inevitable since the CP-dominated national shop stewards' committee placed all its eggs (and not a few of them were rotten) in Jack Jones' basket and fervently hoped he would hatch them.

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One well-known Party member on the Royal group admitted that the Workers Press was right about Jones and he was wrong—but that was about all he would say.

Other, more prominent members refused to criticize Jones publicly and carried out a snide campaign suggesting that the Socialist Labour League and Workers Press wanted militants expelled from the union by urging them to openly criticize the union leadership.

Dockers are not only angry at the docks delegates, they are also incensed at the two-faced policy of Stalinist stewards who supported the policy of 'no retreat' till the fateful docks delegates' decision on Black Wednesday and then did a complete somersault and supported a unanimous return.

When union officials informed mass meetings that a strike was over, not one CP member said a single critical word.

This was not exceptional because we now know, on good authority, that the CP weak and wavering in the dockers' conference in 1967 to try and call off the London and Liverpool dock strike.

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Trotskyism alone represents the real revolutionary strength of the British working class.

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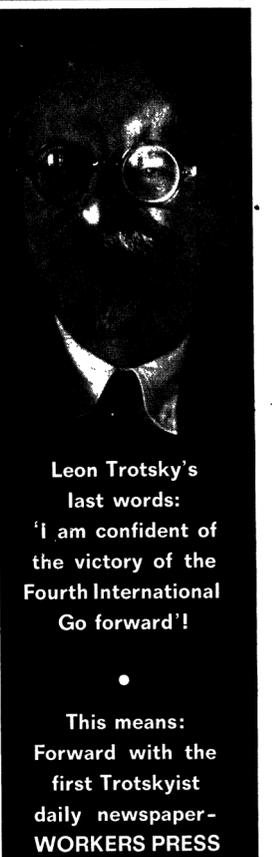
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CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE: POLITICS AND REVOLUTION

(i) 'Class in itself' and 'class for itself'.

THE STRUGGLE of the working class against the bourgeoisie arises from the latter's appropriation of the surplus product of the worker's labour over and above that portion of the product required to replace the value of labour-power purchased in order to set production in motion.

In so far as all workers share this characteristic of being exploited because of their ownership only of labour power, which is sold as a commodity, they form a class—a class 'in itself', as Marx, following the expression of Hegel, termed it; but not yet a class 'for itself'.

Process

For the latter, a process of development was necessary:

'The political movement of the working class has as its object, of course, the conquest of power for the working class, and for this it is naturally necessary that a previous organization of the working class, itself arising from their economic struggle, should have been developed up to a certain point.

'On the other hand, however, every movement in which the working class comes out as a class against the ruling classes and attempts to force them by pressure from without is a political movement.

'For instance, the attempt in a particular factory or even a particular industry to force a shorter working day out of the capitalists by strikes, etc., is a purely economic movement.

'On the other hand, the movement to force an eight-hour day, etc., by law is a political movement. And in this way, out of the separate economic movements of the workers, there grows up everywhere a political movement, that is to say a movement of the class, with the object of achieving its interests in a general form, in a form possessing a general social force of compulsion.

Marx is here expanding the concepts put forward in his early works (particularly 'The Poverty of Philosophy', 'The Communist Manifesto'): in so far as the proletariat is created by the advance of the bourgeoisie, by its 'other', it constitutes a class 'in itself', 'in relation to capital'.

But this is only the pre-condition for a process: '... in the struggle... this mass unites and forms itself into a class for itself.'

There is not some metaphysical, predetermined necessity that each class 'in itself' will become a class 'for itself'. It is only in so far as the material struggles forced upon

(Marx, Letter to Bolte, 23 November, 1871.)

the class make is possible for it to unite and realize itself in political action that this transformation takes place, a transformation which can then bring from the political level of the class's activity a decisive reaction upon the economic level from which it sprang.

As Marx's letter to Weydemeyer (quoted at the beginning of the previous part of this series) put it, the class struggle under capitalism leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat and through this to the abolition of classes.

The same point is brought out, this time 'negatively', but with a more detailed exposition of its meaning, in Marx's analysis of the peasantry in France in the revolutionary period 1848-1850:

'The small peasants form a vast mass, the members of

wealth of social relationships.

'Each individual peasant family is almost self-sufficient; it itself directly produces the major part of its consumption and thus acquires its means of life more through exchange with nature than in intercourse with society. The small holding, the peasant and his family; alongside them another small holding, another peasant and another family. A few score of these make up a village, and a few score of villages make up a Department.

'In this way, the great mass of the French nation is formed by simple addition of homologous magnitudes, much as potatoes in a sack form a sackful of potatoes. In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that divide their mode of life, their interests and their

dissolve or at least to divide it as a class: some become bigger farmers, but others go down into the proletariat; or, characteristically, peasant agriculture declines and stagnates at the side of big industry and large capitalist farming for whole historical periods, and the members of this class eke out their living and protect their 'independence' in sharper and sharper opposition to the other members of their own class.

Collective

From time to time they organize collective struggles and protests, which even on the largest scale issue in defeat and despair so long as they are not combined with the development of the proletarian revolution.

The potential in the working class of political independence, of its social force achieving an expression which is not simply an affirmation of its oppressed position, which is not used simply to develop quantitatively the existing tendencies in the political life of capitalist society, but can bring about a qualitative, revolutionary transformation, is the essence of the problem around which the development of Marxism in this century has centred, that of working-class consciousness and revolutionary leadership.

Consciousness

What immediately suggests itself is that the working class will require a consciousness which cannot be derived

directly or completely from its braces the overall development of society.

It is interesting to note Marx's original formulation of this aspect of the problem, in which he describes the proletariat as

'... a sphere which does not stand in a one-sided contradiction to the consequences, but in a general and all-round contradiction to the very hypotheses of the German state.'

In understanding the Marxist view of this problem, it is important to approach it as a process of struggle for work-

(Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, 1843.)

ing-class consciousness and not in terms of whether a given set of ideas 'fits' the abstractly conceptualized position of the proletariat in society 'in general'.

Marxists must obviously answer the question of how to characterize the level of consciousness represented by political leaders of the working class who certainly represent or control organizations at the level of the mobilization of the class as a class, and yet do not embrace the revolutionary outlook of Marxism.

It is, of course, not uncommon to find commentators who explain such political ideas by saying that they reflect the class itself and are in this way historically justified.

Such an interpretation has nothing to do with Marxism.

A political leadership is never the automatic 'reflection' of the economic needs of the class.

'Men of Politics'

Political parties and tendencies are formed at the level of the political superstructure, and 'men of politics' take their stamp from the prevailing forces in that sphere so long as they are not engaged in constant and conscious struggle against it with an explicitly critical and revolutionary theory and practice.

'Only vulgar "Marxists" who take it that politics is a mere and direct "reflection" of economics, are capable of thinking that leadership reflects the class directly and simply. "In reality leadership, having risen above the oppressed class, inevitably succumbs to the pressure of the ruling class. The leadership of the American trade unions, for instance, "reflects" not so much the proletariat, as the bourgeoisie.'

Implicit in Trotsky's remarks is the basic point which he himself had so strongly emphasized in his 'Literature and Revolution': the notion of 'economic base-ideological superstructure' is applicable only at the level of society or socio-economic formation.

To reduce it to the scale of a particular class, as if the latter had its 'own' base and superstructure is to mutilate the theory.

Character

While the conditions of life and experience common to a particular class give a distinctive character to the habits and opinions of its members, it must be borne in mind that the ideological superstructure of the whole society, developed as a reflection and at the same time an instrument of the domination of the ruling class, is concentrated into very ideological and political manifestation in the society, including the spontaneous reactions of the oppressed classes.

If this were not the case, revolution would be an automatic growth, whereas it is in fact the product of, on the one hand, objective economic contradictions, and, on the other, the resolution of an ideological and political crisis in the midst of the revolutionary class itself, in which the old ideological forms are thrown aside and the objective character of the contradictions is perceived.

(Trotsky, 'In Defence of Marxism', p. 14.)



TROTSKY

Only vulgar "Marxists" who take it that politics is a mere and direct "reflection" of economics, are capable of thinking that leadership reflects the class directly and simply. 'In reality leadership, having risen above the oppressed class, inevitably succumbs to the pressure of the ruling class. The leadership of the American trade unions, for instance, "reflects" not so much the proletariat, as the bourgeoisie.'

In Defence of Marxism P. 16

which live in similar conditions, but without entering into manifold relations with one another. Their mode of production isolates them from one another, instead of bringing them into mutual intercourse.

'The isolation is increased by France's bad means of communication and by the poverty of the peasants. Their field of production, the small holding, admits of no division of labour in its cultivation, no application of science and, therefore, no multiplicity of development, no diversity of talents, no

culture from those of the other classes, and put them in hostile contrast to the latter, they form a class.

'In so far as there is merely a local interconnection among these small peasants, and the identity of their interests begets no unity, no national union and no political organization, they do not form a class.'

Origin

Whereas the proletariat's economic origin constantly leads it into a common struggle, binds it into closer internal relations, forces it to undergo radicalizing experiences in industry through the development of the productive forces (science, communications, technique), and thrusts it towards the necessity of its independent political expression of this common experience as a class, in 'a form possessing a general social force of compulsion', the opposite is true for the small peasants.

The inexorable 'revolutionization of the conditions of production' in the bourgeois epoch certainly affects the peasantry, but, in contrast to the proletariat, in such a way as to

(Marx, 'The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', in Selected Works, Vol. II pp. 414-415.)

What then is the characteristic political reflection of the class nature of the small peasantry? Marx answers:

'They are consequently incapable of enforcing their own class interest in their own name, whether through parliament or through a convention. They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented. Their representative must at the same time appear as their master, as an authority over them, as an unlimited governmental power that protects them against the other classes and sends them the rain and the sunshine from above.

'The political influence of the small peasants, therefore, finds its final expression in the executive power subordinating society to itself.'

And this small peasantry is the explanation of the latest and highest phase of the development of an executive power of state standing above the classes in France. Thus:

'And yet the state power is not suspended in mid-air. Bonaparte represents a class, and the most numerous class of French society at that, the small peasants.'

(Ibid.)
(Ibid.)

own experience in economic and day-to-day struggles.

The political tasks posed before it require a historical and analytical critique of the whole field of social structure and culture, of the economic, political and ideological tendencies in all classes intentionally, for it is the intercourse between all these classes at all levels which decides the total framework within which the life and struggles of the working class develop nationally and internationally.

'Working-class consciousness', conceived in relation to the historical needs and tasks simply as the sum of the consciousnesses of workers, in this sense coincides with the development of Marxism itself, for the latter is a conscious striving to reflect scientifically all the life-processes which determine the course of the struggle of the proletariat.

'Ideology'

This is not the same thing as saying that Marxism is an 'ideology' of the working class. Indeed the contrary is the case: it is the very necessity of the working class's transcending, abolishing its own mode of existence, that explains its imperative need for a consciousness which em-

MOSCOW



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TV SATURDAY

BBC 1

12.35-1.05 p.m. Y'Steddfod. 1.10 Weather. 1.15 Grandstand. 1.25 International show jumping. 1.50, 2.50, 3.30 Racing from Lingfield. 2.05, 3.35 Swimming. ASA championships. 2.05, 3.05, 3.35 Athletics. AAA championships. 3.35 Cycling. 5.05 Results service. 5.15 Best of Basil Brush. 5.40 Debbie Reynolds show.

6.05 NEWS and weather.

6.15 THE ICE SHOW.

6.50 HIGH ADVENTURE. 'Taggart.' With Tony Young and Dan Duryea. Western about a young man hunting his parents killer.

8.15 IT'S LULU. With guest stars Aretha Franklin Mike Newman and Lonnie Donegan.

9.00 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE. 'Roundup on a Bad Rap.'

9.50 NEWS and weather.

10.05 MATCH OF THE DAY. FA charity shield. Chelsea v Everton.

10.55 CHAMPIONSHIP NIGHT. Swimming and cycling.

11.30 QUIZ OF THE WEEK. 12 midnight Weather.

Thames Hills. With Don Murray, Richard Egan and Lee Remick. Western. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 News. 11.45 Weather. Action 70.

HARLECH. 12.35 Skippy. 1.00 London. 5.15 Robin Hood. 5.45 London. 5.50 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 6.45 London. 7.15 Cinema: 'Honest about.' With Elvis Presley and Barbara Stanwyck. A young tough joins a travelling carnival. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Cinema: 'Caged'. With Eleanor Parker and Agnes Moorehead. A young girl is put in a particularly hard women's prison.

HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.45-7.15 Y dyd.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions at BBC 1 except:

Midlands and E. Anglia, North, South and West: 12.02 a.m. Weather.

Scotland: 5.00-5.15 and 10.05-10.55 Sportsreel. 12.02 News, weather.

Wales: 11.00-11.20 Cadi ha. 5.40-6.05 Dyna wall. 10.05-11.05 Y 'Steddfof. 12.02 Weather.

N Ireland: 11.30-1.10 and 11.30-12 midnight Gallaher Ulster open championship. 12.02 News, weather.

ANGLIA: 12.15 Seaway. 1.00 London. 5.50 Weather. 5.55 Brande. 6.15 Sky the limit. 6.45 London. 7.15 'Quadrant' Diary. With Preston Forster, William Bendix, Lloyd Nolan and Anthony Quinn. America's first victory over Japan in Second World War. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Name of the game. 11.35 All our yesterdays. 12.05 Reflection.

BBC 2

3.00-4.15 p.m. CINEMA: 'Poet's Pub'. With Derek Bond and Rona Anderson. An Oxford undergraduate takes over a run-down Tudor Inn.

7.30 NEWS, sport and weather.

7.45 GREAT ZOOS OF THE WORLD. San Diego, California.

8.15 CAMERON COUNTRY. 'Jomo and the Coat of Many Colours.' Documentary film on Kenya.

9.00 SUMMER REVIEW. 'The Three Girls.' By Cesare Pavese.

9.45 GARDENERS' WORLD.

10.05 THIRTY MINUTE THEATRE. 'Reparation.' A Jewish couple go before a German Appeals Court to claim compensation for the suffering under the Nazis.

10.35 VAL DOONICAN SHOW.

11.20 NEWS and weather.

11.25 MIDNIGHT MOVIE: 'The Savage Innocents.' With Anthony Quinn and Yoko Tani. An Eskimo from northern Canada travels South to sell his furs.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12.35 Robin Hood. 1.00 London. 5.15 Jokers wild. 5.45 London. 5.50 Ours is a nice house. 6.20 Tarzan. 'Tarzan and the She-Devil'. 7.35 Name of the game. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Theatre. 'Act of Separation'. 11.10 Espionage, weather.

GRANADA: 11.40 House repairs. 12.05 Letter driving. 12.30 Stingray. 1.00 London. 5.10 Flipper. 5.45 London. 5.50 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 6.45 London. 7.15 'The Man in the Hat'. With Alan Ladd. An artist suspected of murdering his wife seeks to uncover the truth. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.15 Man with a suitcase. 11.10 The other Reg Varney.

TYNE TEES: 12.30 Joe 90. 1.00 London. 5.50 Bonanza. 6.45 London. 8.15 Film: 'The Horse's Mouth'. With Alec Guinness and Kay Walsh. 10.00 London. 10.10 Theatre. 11.10 Gazette. 12.05 Epilogue.

BORDER: 12.10 All our yesterdays. 12.35 Captain Scarlet. 1.00 London. 5.50 Joe. 6.20 Brande. 6.45 Kenny Everett. 7.15 London. 8.15 Film: 'Angels One Five'. With Jack Hawkins, Michael Denison and Dulcie Gray. 10.00 London. 10.15 Name of the game. 11.35 Party's moving on.

SCOTTISH: 12.20 London. 12.35 Richard the Lionheart. 1.00 London. 5.15 News. 6.15 Sky the limit. 6.45 Movie: 'Pirates of Tortuga'. With Ken Scott, Leticia Romo, Dave King and John Richardson. 8.30 Ours is a nice house. 9.00 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Match report. 10.25 Late call. 10.30 Movie: 'Sunset Boulevard'. With William Holden, Gloria Swanson and Erich von Stroheim.

GRAMPIAN: 12.20 London. 12.35 Skippy. 1.00 London. 5.50 Bonanza. 6.45 Movie: 'Hot Enough For June'. 7.15 News. 8.15 House. 8.30 Des O'Connor. 10.00 London. 10.10 Movie: 'Underworld USA'.

ITV

11.50 a.m. RAC road report. 11.55 Stay alive. 12.20 p.m. Wind in the willows. 12.35 Captain Scarlet. 1.00 News. 1.10 World of sport. 1.12 Australian pools. 1.15 On the ball. Preview of Watney Cup Final. 1.20 They're off! 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Racing from Newmarket. 1.45, 2.15, 2.50 Racing from Redcar. 3.10 International sports special. 4.00 Wrestling from Brent Town Hall. 5.00 Results service. 5.15 Stewpot. 5.45 News. 5.50 Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.

6.15 THE BEVERLY HILLBILLIES.

6.45 OURS IS A NICE HOUSE. 'The Belle of the Ball.'

7.15 DES O'CONNOR SHOW.

8.15 'THE ADVENTURES OF QUENTIN DURWARD.' With Robert Taylor, Kay Kendall, Robert Morley and George Cole. A young Scot goes looking for the Countess of Marcy in the France of the Louis XI.

10.00 NEWS. 10.10 THE GOLD ROBBERS. 'An Oddly Honest Man.'

11.10 GARRISON'S GORILLAS. 12.10 a.m. PROTEST!

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 1.00 London. 5.15 Westward. As Channel except: Garrison's gorillas. 6.10 News. 6.15 10.00 London. 11.10 Channel. 12.05 Beverly hillbillies. 6.45 London. 7.15 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 12.32 Weather. 12.35 Mr Piper. 1.00 London. 5.15 Secret vice. 5.45 London. 5.50 Cowboy in Africa. 6.45 London. 7.15 Film: 'These

TV SUNDAY

BBC 1

9.00-9.25 a.m. Nai zindagi-naya jeevan. 10.30-11.30 Parish communion. 1.25-1.50 p.m. Farming. 2.10 Heritage. 'The Competition For Land'. 2.34 News headlines. 2.35 In a class of their own. 'Lil' Thompson'. 3.05 Film for the family. 'Kismet' With Ronald Colman and Marlene Dietrich. 4.40 Going for a song. 5.05 Undersea world of Jacques Cousteau.

5.55 SHARI LEWIS SHOW.

6.05 NEWS and weather.

6.15 D-DAYS AND V-DAYS. Can 'the past' affect us now?

6.50 SONGS OF PRAISE.

7.25 PAUL TEMPLE. 'Double Vision.'

8.15 IN TIME OF WAR. 'They Were Not Divided.' With Edward Underdown and Helen Cherry. Story of the comradeship of an American and an Englishman during Second World War.

9.55 NEWS and weather.

10.05 OMNIBUS AT THE PROMS. Schubert and Britten.

11.05 WORLD CYCLING CHAMPIONSHIPS FROM LEICESTER. 11.30 Weather.

can psychiatric clinic. 10.00 London. 11.15 The other Reg Varney. 12.15 Weather.

HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 and HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 1.30-2.00 Testun trafod.

ANGLIA: 11.00-12.15 London. 1.10 Kenny Everett. 1.40 Weather. 2.15 News. 2.15 Afternoon out. 3.45 University challenge. 4.15 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Weather. 6.05 News. 7.25 'Carry On Teacher'. With Ted Ray, Kenneth Williams, Kenneth Connor, Charles Hawtrey, Joan Sims, Hattie Jacques and Leslie Phillips. 9.05 Hawaii five-o. 10.00 London. 11.15 The other Reg Varney. 12.10 Faith for life.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-12.25 London. 1.40 Douglas Fairbanks presents. 2.15 Watney Cup final. 3.15 'Stranger in My Arm'. With June Allyson and Jeff Chandler. 4.40 London. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'Torpedo Run'. With Glenn Ford, Ernest Borgnine and Diane Brewster. 9.05 Saint. 10.00 London. 10.15 The other Reg Varney. 11.15 Sports report, weather.

GRANADA: 11.00-12 noon London. 12.25 p.m. Imaginary dialogues. 12.55 5.00 Barenboim on Beethoven. 1.20 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Interpo calling. 2.15 Watney Cup final. 3.15 Time tunnel. 4.15 Gilligan's island. 4.45 London. 5.30 Feature. 5.35 'H.A. Purnstuf'. 6.00 Felix the cat. 6.05 London. 7.25 Picture. 'The Cardinal'. With Tom Tryon and Carol Lyness. A priest with a decision that can change his life. 10.00 London. 11.15 Ffolly squad.

TYNE TEES: 11.00-12.15 London. All our yesterdays. 1.50 Farming outlook. 2.10 Mattie. 'Crash Drive'. With Dermot Walsh and Wendy Williams. 4.35 Hungry wolf. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Cartoon time. 6.05 London. 7.25 Film: 'No Place for Jennifer'. With Janet Scott and Leo Genn. 9.05 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased). 10.00 London. 10.15 The other Reg Varney. 11.15 Wayne and Shuster take an affectionate look at... Mae West. 12.10 Beautiful Weardale.

BORDER: 11.00-12.15 London. 1.50 Diary. 1.55 Farming outlook. 2.20 Soccer. 3.20 Saint. 4.15 Hogan's heroes. 4.45 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Cartoon. 6.05 London. 7.55 Live American style. 8.50 London. 9.53 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 11.15 Wayne and Shuster take an affectionate look at... The Westerns. 12.05 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 1.45 London. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 Gazette. 3.45 University challenge. 4.15 London. 5.30 Tom Grattan's war. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.55 Picture: '36 Hours'. With James Garner, Eva Marie Saint and Rod Taylor. Second World War spy story. 9.30 Hark at Barker. 10.00 London. 11.15 The other Reg Varney. 12.10 Live love.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.45 London. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.42 Weather. 1.45 London. 2.15 Farm progress. 2.45 London. 3.45 Seaway. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 5.30 Captain Scarlet. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.25 Picture: '36 Hours'. With James Garner, Eva Marie Saint and Rod Taylor. Second World War spy story. 9.30 Hark at Barker. 10.00 London. 11.15 The other Reg Varney. 12.10 Live love.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as above except:

Midlands and E. Anglia, North, South and West: 11.32 Weather.

Wales: 2.35-2.55, 3.25-3.50 Doctors. Scotland, N Ireland: 11.32 News, weather.

BBC 2

1.50-8.30 p.m. CRICKET. The John Player League. Somerset v Kent. 7.00 NEWS review and weather.

7.25 THE WORLD ABOUT US. 'The Stone Age Circus.' New Guinea.

8.15 CAROL BURNETT SHOW. With guests Steve Lawrence and Edward Villella.

8.55 MUSIC ON 2. 'The Eye Hears, the Ear Sees.' Norman McLaren.

9.55 WHERE WAS SPRING? With Eleanor Bron and John Fortune.

10.20 SENTIMENTAL EDUCATION. 'A Start to Loving.'

11.05 NEWS and weather, cricket scoreboard.

11.15 FILM NIGHT.

ITV

11.00 a.m.-12 noon Parish Mass. 12.10 p.m. Sunday session. Casting around. 12.40 Families talking. 1.05-1.20 Decimalization. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 University challenge. 2.45 Big match: Watney Cup Final. 3.45 Never a cross word. 4.15 Joe. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.30 Forest rangers.

6.00 BARNEY BEAR. 6.05 NEWS.

6.15 BURNING WATER. 6.55 STARS ON SUNDAY.

7.25 PLEASE SIR! 'Norman's Conquest.'

7.55 HAWAII FIVE-O. 'Leopard on the Rock.'

8.50 THE OTHER REG VARNEY. 9.50 POLICE FIVE.

10.00 NEWS.

10.15 'ACT OF SEPARATION.' Adaptation of a Guy de Maupassant story with Jack Watling and Lisa Daniely.

11.15 AQUARIUS. 'Heaney in Limboland.'

11.45 THE PARTY'S MOVING ON. 12 midnight PROTEST!

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 11.00-12.15 London. 2.13 progress. 2.45 London. 3.45 Seaway. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 5.30 Captain Scarlet. 6.00 Popeye. 6.05 London. 7.25 Picture: '36 Hours'. With James Garner, Eva Marie Saint and Rod Taylor. Second World War spy story. 9.30 Hark at Barker. 10.00 London. 11.15 The other Reg Varney. 12.10 Live love.

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EAST & WEST European REVIEW



'The Communists in conference assembled declare for the Soviet (or Workers' Council) system as a means whereby the working class shall achieve power and take control of the forces of production; declare for the dictatorship of the proletariat as a necessary means for combatting the counter-revolution during the transition period between capitalism and communism; and stand for the adoption of these means as steps towards the establishment of complete communism wherein the means of production shall be communally owned and controlled. This conference therefore establishes itself the Communist Party on the foregoing basis, and declares its adhesion to the Third International.'

From a resolution adopted at the founding conference of CPGB.

WITH VERY little drum beatings or fanfares, the British Communist Party leadership observed the 50th Anniversary of the Communist Unity Convention, which met in London from July 31 to August 1, 1920, to launch the British section of the Third International.

tions of struggle was the keynote of the convention.

But its proceedings also reflected deeply-rooted weaknesses in the British workers' movement—weaknesses which still hold it back today.

A careful study of the Convention minutes reveals that not a single reference was made in the two days of discussion to the role of Marxist theory in building the revolutionary party.

Tactics and organization predominated to the exclusion of a serious debate on the theoretical basis and history of Bolshevism.

Many times Lenin's name is invoked to win an argument over the need to participate in parliament or seek affiliation to the

Unity Convention and today's Stalinist Party.

More rapidly than any other section of the International, the British Communist Party swung behind Stalin's theory of 'socialism in one country'—a sharp break from Marxist internationalism and economic theory.

In other parties, supporters of the Left Opposition were active in the fight for Leninist principles, especially in those countries that had a long Marxist tradition.

But in Britain, Stalin's programme and policy won hands down. It was not until the early 1930s that a group, basing itself on the writings of Trotsky, emerged to challenge the Politburo leadership.

Tony Chater, chairman of CPGB.



Dedicated

For whatever their weaknesses—and they had many—the delegates who gathered at the Cannon St Hotel on July 31, 1920, were genuinely dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of the British ruling class.

Inspired by the example of the Russian Revolution, and driven by their own experiences in Britain towards a break from both purely trade union forms of struggle and reformist conceptions of socialism, the founders of the British Communist Party took the whole British working class an enormous step forward when they voted for affiliation to the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky.

This desire to break from reformist and national concep-

Labour Party, but not a single delegate really gets to grips with the theoretical basis of Lenin's approach to tactical questions, the core of which is the dialectical method developed by Lenin in his struggle against the revisers of Marxist theory.

Here perhaps is the real connection between the Cannon St

Based in S London, it became known as the 'Balham Group'. Later its supporters were to become the founders of the British Trotskyist movement.

It was also not by chance that Stalin selected the British Communist Party to pioneer his programme of the 'Parliamentary Road to Socialism'.

Purely reformist in content, 'The British Road to Socialism' was approved by Stalin, published in 'Pravda' in 1950 and then foisted on the British Party a year later.

Its central feature, which is the constitutional, non-revolutionary advance to socialism, remains to this day.

Reformist

So when the former CP chairman Tony Chater marks the anniversary in the Stalinist weekly 'Comment', the Party's reformist and nationalist record inevitably dominates over its internationalist and anti-parliamentary origins:

'It was a Party with a new role, and as yet an old type of organization. This was soon remedied at the Party's Fifth Congress held in October 1922.

'Thereafter Britain had, for the first time, a political Party with revolutionary aims and the form of organization needed to make those aims a reality.

'In the "British Road to Socialism", it now has a programme which is a creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory to the specific conditions of Britain, in the world as it is today.'

Chater, impervious to the fact that his Party was launched under the banner of workers' councils (Soviets) and the revolutionary destruction of the existing capitalist state machine, proceeds to outline this 'Marxist-Leninist' programme:

... in the course of struggle ... the labour movement will

No illusions

The circular inviting delegates to attend the Convention, issued by Arthur MacManus and Albert Inkpin, harboured no illusions about the 'peaceful road' later embraced by Chater—and Stalin:

'An invitation to representation at this National Convention is cordially extended to all organizations, branches of organizations, local communist groups and independent socialist societies which accept the fundamental bases of communist unity:

- (a) The dictatorship of the working class;
- (b) The Soviet system [i.e., rule by workers' councils];
- (c) The Third International.'

So not a single Stalinist, currently 'celebrating' the 1920 Unity Convention, would have been permitted to attend it!

Two volumes

The History was begun after the Party's 1956 Congress. Since that date two volumes have appeared covering the period from its foundation in 1920 up to the General Strike of 1926.

So six years of actual Party history have taken approximately twice as long to unearth and record!

At this rate—and he has shown no signs of accelerating—Klugmann will reach the Moscow Trials by 1990, the Stalin-Hitler Pact by about 1995, and the drafting of the 'British Road' in the year 2020.

(Mathematicians will already have noted that as Klugmann is being overtaken by history at the rate of six months per year, his 'History of the CPGB' will never reach the present.)

Fortunately, these and other landmarks in the history of British Stalinism—which Klugmann nears with such understandable timidity—are already well-documented in the just-published book 'Stalinism in Britain', by Robert Black.

Published by New Park Publications at 225 6d soft cover and £2 hard cover, this book of 440 pages throws a revealing light on how the CPGB made the transition from its 1920 founding convention, so full of enthusiasm and promise, to the reformist fraud which today poses as Britain's Communist Party.

Neither Klugmann nor any Stalinist for that matter can write the true history of the British Communist Party. They are all too deeply involved in its betrayals and crimes.

That is the reality behind the 50th Anniversary charade.

Executive Committee of the Community Party of Great Britain with Headquarters staff, 1921. The five men seated l. to r. are: Tom Bell, Albert Inkpin, Arthur MacManus, Willie Gallecher, Fred Peet.

IMPORTANT READING

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A TROTSKYIST ANALYSIS BY ROBERT BLACK

NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS
186A Clapham High St



James Klugmann

Westway 'victory' claim avoids main fight

ANY WORKER who might still consider that the Communist Party will lead any fight against the Tory government should look closely at its attitude to the struggles which have centred on the new Westway highway in West London.

Along with the capitalist press, the 'Morning Star' has concentrated on the problem as one of intolerable noise levels caused by traffic passing within 20 feet of some houses.

It is therefore natural that Thursday's 'Star' editorial hails the decision of the Tory GLC to rehouse some of those affected as 'a victory for united militant action by the residents' and goes on to draw the lesson that 'the determination of the local community has squeezed some justice from the GLC.'

'Their example will encourage others who may be similarly afflicted.'

On Friday the 'Morning Star's' great 'victory' turned out to be something less spectacular when the 'Star' reporter informed his readers on page 3 that 'Motorway families plan to march again unless... Unless what?'

ANGER

It transpires that the Walmer Road Action Committee have found 'little to celebrate' because the occupants of only eight houses there are being rehoused and this has 'doubled the anger' of remaining families.

They plan to march on to the motorway tomorrow and disrupt traffic unless they are rehoused.

Mr George Clarke of the Golbourne Social Rights Committee has assured Walmer Road tenants that the council will consider their case.

Be that as it may, the 'Star's' attitude is still extremely suspect.

The editorial, for example, does not mention the Tories once!

Yet at the centre of the dispute is not the siting of motorways, but the fight against racism and the Tory government's proposals to cut back on housing expenditure and create a landlords' paradise.

For the Tories there is nothing strange in the most modern roads passing within spitting distance of the most squalid slums. Both can be extremely profitable on the capitalist side of the class fence.

For the working class there have been evictions, soaring rents and worsening living conditions on top of every other conceivable attack on the value of the wage packet.

The coming to power of the Tories holds out the promise of reduced housing subsidies, means tests and the go-ahead for every would-be Rafterman.

Even the decision to rehouse 300 of the Golbourne tenants will not see the landlords go short—£220,500 is to be paid out in compensation plus the rent that would have been paid up to the time of demolition, sometime in 1971.

Mr Clarke stated that the 'remarkable victory... shows

that there is hope in this democracy and that the human will can prevail over the juggernaut.'

Yet he provides editorial material for the Stalinist 'Morning Star' who are only too pleased to proclaim 'victory' in order to avoid every political question.

Throughout the six years of the Labour government, the State fight around the tenants' movement into one blind alley and adventure after another.

Far from learning anything, they now proceed to beat the retreat before the Tories in a situation of extreme danger for the working class.

There can be no solution to the housing problem without the nationalization of the land and banks.

It is not 'pressure' on the Tories that is required, but a fight around a socialist programme for their resignation.

This represents an increase of 65 on the previous rate.

The Granada strikers had been demanding a daily minimum of 27s and a 40-hour week.

As the deal was fixed between the fascist and completely bought 'trade unionists' and the employers, the rank-and-file workers had absolutely no say in deciding its terms.

One of the main demands of the Spanish working class is the right to independent unions which can negotiate directly with the employers free from the intervention of the capitalist state.

In France, as in other European countries, the conviction is growing that the forces of war and aggression can be curbed.

The French government reacted favourably in principle to the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty nations.

It spoke up, specifically, in favour of calling an all-European conference...

substitute a potential danger for the European continent, on a new basis, in conditions of mutual trust.

To regard such a conference as a European Security Conference.

It is not accidental that Brandt and Kossygin come to terms at precisely the time when Nasser accepts the Rogers Middle-East plan, talks with Franco begin on Soviet diplomatic recognition of Spain and the new and allegedly 'dovish' Nixon diplomat Bruce takes up his post at the Paris peace talks on Vietnam.

The Kremlin pact with Brandt is therefore part of a larger strategy to arrive at a lasting settlement with imperialism, so that the bureaucracy can free its hands for a fight against the working class and oppositionist intellectuals at home.

This, and not the preservation of 'peace', is the goal of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

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Spanish workers maintain strike offensive

BY A WORKERS PRESS FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE STATE - controlled 'Sindicatos' have announced a new contract for Granada's 12,000 building workers, three of whom were shot dead by police during a demonstration of strikers two weeks ago.

The terms are those already imposed on building workers in Madrid and Seville—a 48-hour week and a minimum 21s-a-day wage.

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BY ROBERT BLACK

AFTER TWO WEEKS of bargaining, the Soviet and W German Foreign Ministers yesterday initialled a non-aggression pact in Moscow.

The full text of the pact will not be made public until after the agreement has been formally approved and signed by the governments of the two countries—expected within the next few weeks at the most.

Its full text is thought to include a preamble, five articles and two separate appended clauses.

Brandt's Foreign Minister Walter Scheel was reported by one of his aides to be satisfied with the pact.

It 'completely fulfilled' the directives issued to the negotiating team by the Bonn Cabinet prior to Scheel's arrival in Moscow on July 26.

The Kremlin has reportedly finally agreed to the insertion in the pact's preamble of a clause allowing for the re-unification of Germany 'by peaceful means', which was pressed for by the Bonn delegation and opposed at first by Gromyko.

The Soviet government will not endorse this part of the treaty, but simply note that German re-unification by peaceful means is the aim of the Brandt administration.

In return, Brandt has agreed to accept the 'inviolability' of all Europe's present frontiers, which includes a recognition that the Polish and Soviet annexations of East Prussia and Silesia are final; something which previous W German governments have not been prepared to do.

BERLIN

While the Soviet team refused to discuss the Berlin question, they have made it known to Scheel that once the pact is finalized, talks of this thorny problem could begin.

Already confident the pact would be signed, Moscow Radio began its expected offensive on the 'collective security' theme several days ago.

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W German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko who initialled the pact between their two countries on Thursday night.

Bonn-USSR pact: Part of a wider deal

The same broadcast—a dispatch from Paris published in 'Izvestia' of August 5—emphasized that 'those taking part would be able to settle more easily and quickly problems that constitute a potential danger for the European continent, on a new basis, in conditions of mutual trust.'

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Witch-hunters, rebels, raincoats in Wilson honours

'AS I understand it, I have to pick a title, but I hope that to everybody I will simply remain George Brown,' said the new Belper Baron yesterday.

Socialists, however, can think of more suitable appellations for this veteran right-winger.

Trade unionists will long remember him as the man whose activities as Economics Minister opened the way for anti-union legislation.

He also deserves a place of honour for his My Lai massacre comment: 'Stop the weeping!'

But he would certainly figure in a Young Socialists' Honours List for his heroic work as chairman of the Labour Party's Organization Sub-committee in 1962-1964.

In this capacity, he was in charge of the hunting down of Trotskyists in the Labour Party.

Other names on Wilson's resignation roll of honour read like a witch-hunter's reunion.

Here is Alice Bacon, a new life peer, who was prominent as an expeller of left-wingers back in the 1950s, using Stalinist material when it helped her purpose.

Dame of the British Empire, Sarah Barker, was promoted from Labour Party Assistant National Agent to National Agent after riding the Party ranks of a record number of 'subversive elements'.

Sir Harry Nicholas, as we must learn to call him, was also an enthusiastic Trotskyist-hunter long before he became Labour Party Secretary.

While representing the Transport and General Workers' Union on the Labour Party Executive in 1959, he moved the proscription of the Socialist Labour League, and its paper 'The Newsletter'.

But next to the witch-hunters, the honours list contains the names of several one-time rebels and 'lefts'.

Joining so many other former radicals in the House of Lords, Jennie Lee, once the youthful terror of the Independent Labour Party, becomes a baroness.

How many fiery speeches against the ruling class and its decoration of those who serve them has she disclaimed in her time?

Perhaps she will recall them when she meets in the Lords her old colleague of Bevanite days, Anthony Greenwood.

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Devlin

FROM PAGE ONE

increasing intensity of labour and the introduction of labour-saving equipment will enable the employers to make even greater profits from a reduced labour force.

Dockers' scepticism will also be hardened by what modernization has done to the miners who were, in the early days of nationalization at least, one of the best-paid sectors of the working class.

Today the miners, despite a massive increase in productivity (9 per cent in 1968) and efficiency, do not enjoy an eight-hour day and have to threaten a national strike to realize a £20 minimum wage for surface workers and £30 a week on the coal-face.

This is the price the miners have to pay for 20 years of Stalinist and centrist leadership and a Labour government which systematically uprooted thousands of miners by shutting down 600 pits.

Not even the National Coal Board dares to deny the

scandal of miners' earnings after 23 years of nationalization: 'Donkey'

'No one gets the best out of his donkey by starving him,' says the NCB in a reply to the government this week.

The tactic of starving the proletariat 'donkey' is not new to the British employer and it will soon be the turn of the docker, under modernization, to feel the whip of insecurity and speed up while the carrot of productivity bargaining is dangled before him.

Dockers would do well to consider, in contrast to Ford's and the mines, the considerable achievements of the Cowley BLMC car-workers who have successfully resisted the introduction of productivity dealing and Measured-Day Work and, in consequence, appreciably advanced their earnings this week by as much as £4 to £7 per week without any strings attached.

This was due entirely to the politically principled leadership in the factory.

If it can be done in Cowley, it can certainly be done in the docks.

Dockers must learn the lessons of the July retreat and set about building a new leadership which will not compromise with Devlin and will integrate all wage struggles to force the Tories to resign.

This is the main reason why the leadership feels itself threatened by the view that it should break from this servility to make possible a political union of all left forces, a unity which would not be merely an electoral trick. [Probably a reference to the Stalinist policy of seeking election pacts with the leaders of the right-wing French Socialist Party.]

'This continual deception of the Party rank and file has led the Political Bureau to wall itself off miserably in the lies and distortions of Marchais, who avowed in 1970 that he was a Party worker in Germany from 1942 before the introduction of the law on the STO of February 1943

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Coal strike