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November
total reaches
£1009-8s.-4d.

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This is truly splendid when one takes into account the really great efforts by our readers to successfully build up the circulation of Workers Press.

We shall have more good news later on this week — so now on to December 31st £1,000 monthly fund.

Send the donations in early. Post to:

Monthly Appeal Fund
Workers Press
186a Clapham High Street
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"This horror can't be shrugged off by sacrificing Lieut. Calley or Capt. Medina as the fall guys", commented the Communist Party's general secretary. "The real criminal is Nixon as commander-in-chief"...

Having condemned Nixon as the real criminal, what does Gollan propose as the next step to develop solidarity with the Vietnamese people?

Does he demand that Wilson refuse to meet this exponent of genocide? On the contrary.

Gollan says that he should go to Washington:

"Which voice is it going to be when Wilson goes to Washington? [our emphasis]. That of George Brown [Gollan's 'fall guy'] who says stop the weeping and get on with the war, and Stewart who justifies the atrocities, or that of the labour and pro-

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Here we have the heart of counter-revolutionary Stalinist politics.

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Yet it is precisely now, when the opportunities exist in Britain for similar class action, that Gollan builds up Wilson as the main agency for halting the war:

'Mr Gollan said that pressure should be exerted on the Prime Minister now. He called on every organization and every individual to flood Downing Street and the MPs with the demand that Britain should dissociate itself from the war and that US troops should be withdrawn now.'

So just at the time when the working class's revolt against Wilson's wages policy reaches a level when it can be broadened into a struggle on international aspects of Wilson's policy, Gollan steps in to protect the Labour leaders, calling upon Wilson to 'speak for Britain' when he visits the 'real criminal' in Washington early next year.

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Now the Stalinists again come to the hard-pressed Wilson's assistance, just when the growing revulsion against the war is threatening to challenge the imperialist foundations of the Labour government's foreign policy.

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The strikers' mood was clearly expressed in the roar of 'No!' which went up when they were asked if they would accept rumoured offers of £84 or £100.

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Faced with this kind of determination, platform speakers made an effort to appear militant—without committing themselves to anything beyond the present less than half-hearted action.

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The strike, he said, had 'really shown people right throughout the community that teachers mean business'.

Having thus absolved the Labour government, Newsen went on to appeal demagogically for a cut-back in overseas military expenditure—the savings to be invested in education.

By obscuring the teachers' real enemy—the Labour government—the 'lefts' and NUT leaders are doing their best to keep the struggle on the level of protest, providing a safety-valve for militancy in 'selective' strikes, instead of making it an all-out national action.



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Scottish bus strike spreads

Edinburgh men warn management

BUSMEN from Edinburgh's New Street SMT depot have decided to stop work in support of East and Central Scotland crews who have been on strike for two weeks.

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Their resolution was carried 130 votes to 22 at a midnight meeting on Saturday (November 29). Management was warned to start immediate negotiations for an £18-a-week minimum wage.

The strike began in Kirkcaldy, originally over the operation of indicator board levers.

But this issue became submerged in the wider demand for a £4-a-week increase in pay and the strike spread to bus depots throughout East and Central Scotland.

There is a real determination to win the claim and a growing awareness that this can only be done in conflict with the leaders of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

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The bonus, they say, is exceedingly hard to earn due to job-times which are extremely fine.

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Resolutions were passed at the delegate meeting to be sent to the leadership of the main craft unions and the National Union of Railway-

men protesting about the disparity.

A motion to withdraw the payment of trade union dues was defeated, but decisions for the taking of further action and the extension of strikes to depots in the South were carried.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETING

Czechoslovakia, persecution of Soviet intellectuals and the Communist Party Congress

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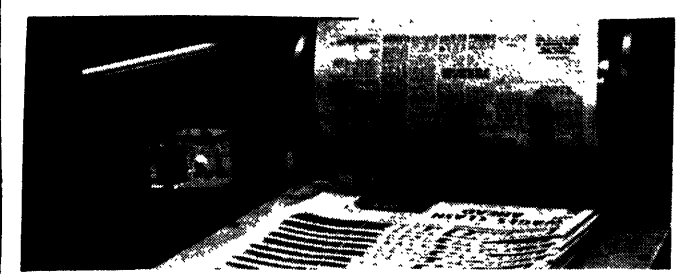
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New productivity threat at Rolls Royce

ALTHOUGH the 16-week-old strike of Hillington's (Glasgow) Rolls-Royce electricians ended last Friday, there are already indications of a new conflict—involving not only the electricians—as stage two of a pay and productivity deal is brought forward.

The decision to return was taken at a meeting of the 70 strikers when union officials announced an agreement for re-grading electricians after an investigation by independent consultants appointed and agreed by union and management.

In Fife, bus crews of W Alexander & Sons rejected the return to work by 740 to 163.

In Falkirk, a return-to-work motion was carried by 11 votes.

The 115 against the return called on their union officials to resign and said they had been 'sold down the river'.

At a further meeting it was agreed that those in favour of strike action should continue the strike.

Picketing is being carried out at all main depots.

Solidarity action is now needed from busmen throughout the whole of Scotland and from workers in other sections of transport secure an all-out victory for the £18 minimum with no productivity 'strings'.

A small minority vote were against the calling off of the strike without a scrapping of the job-evaluation deal, which was introduced last year.

The electricians are to receive a £150 bonus payment as an incentive to get the factory back to normal working within two weeks.

Electricians were approached on the day they returned to work round the clock to clear the backlog of work.

What is involved is not only clearing up after the strike, but the hurry to introduce further job-evaluation measures.

MANDEL REVISES MARX

OVER THE last few years, the Pabloite chief Ernest Mandel has acquired something of a reputation in middle-class circles as a 'Marxist economist'.

His two-volume 'Marxist Economic Theory' has been translated into several languages and the 'New Left Review' and others have taken up his writings on the nature of contemporary capitalism.

In fact there is nothing 'talented' or 'original' in his thought, as his friends claim.

His writings not only suffer from fundamental theoretical weaknesses; they serve to show that there can be no 'scientific' political economy from one who rejects the revolutionary role of the working class and the struggle to construct a leadership of that class.

Mandel's pamphlet 'An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory' has recently been reissued by Merit Publishers, publishing house of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who are in political solidarity with Mandel.

Objective

A recent issue of 'Militant', organ of the SWP, recommended the pamphlet as the best available introduction to the principles of Marxist political economy.

Before dealing with Mandel, we may perhaps recall Marx's purpose in writing 'Capital'.

Marx aimed, in his great work, to demonstrate the objective nature and revolutionary consequences of the

that Mandel has rejected both of these fundamental principles.

We shall deal in this article with Mandel's rejection of Lenin and Trotsky's analysis of imperialism.

'In the current period of expansion,' he says, 'we are witnessing an accelerated technical progress, a genuine technological revolution, for which the expression "second industrial revolution" or "third industrial revolution" hardly seems adequate. We find ourselves, in fact, before an almost uninterrupted transformation of the techniques of production.'

Mandel's use of the term 'industrial revolution' to describe post-war capitalist changes is no accident.

Leadership

One of the basic principles of Trotskyism and Leninism is that capitalism in its imperialist stage is moribund and decadent.

In this phase of capitalist development there can be no systematic development of the productive forces.

The Transitional Programme of the Fourth International makes this point concrete. 'Mankind's productive forces stagnate.'

Capitalism survived after 1917 not because of its inherent strength, but only because the working class has been unable to resolve its historical crisis of leadership.

This Mandel denies. By speaking of an 'industrial revolution' after 1945 he is indicating not merely that a series of important technical changes took place more rapidly.

The industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries was one which completed the

changes after the war to these qualitative changes.

But if changes of this nature have taken place, wasn't Lenin wrong to designate imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism? Surely 'neo-capitalism' (his term for these post-war changes) is a new stage, according to Mandel.

In his latest pamphlet 'The Inconsistencies of State Capitalism' (a reply to the State Capitalist attack on his book) Mandel is forced to face these issues.

'Does this view of a new industrial revolution' he asks, 'overthrow the classical Marxist-Leninist conception of imperialism as the final stage of capitalism?'

'It does not, no more than the appearance of monopoly capitalism overthrew the classical Marxist conception of competition being the driving force of capitalism.'

'The third phase [NB] in the history of capitalism reproduces most of the basic features of imperialism on a higher scale, just as monopoly capitalism reproduces capitalism on a higher scale.'

This is sheer trickery with words—Lenin was talking about imperialism as the last stage of capitalism.

Opposes Trotsky

It was not that imperialism merely reproduces the features of earlier capitalism on a higher level.

It was a stage which had had grown organically out of capitalism in which many of the characteristics of 19th century capitalism were by this century turned into their opposite, e.g., the relationship between finance and industrial capital, the development of monopoly out of competition and, crucially, the transformation of capitalism as a progressive force into one which was now a complete fetter on the further development of the productive forces.

Mandel openly admits his opposition to Trotsky and the Transitional Programme.

'In any case, the key aspect of this development is to understand the oversimplification of the assumption (of which even Lenin and Trotsky were at moments victims) that the structural crisis of the world capitalist system, which undoubtedly began with the First World War and the Russian Revolution, somehow is identical with an absolute in the development of the productive forces.'

'And each time, when a period of revolutionary upsurge of the working class in the industrial imperialist countries ends in defeat, this creates a situation in which the economic recovery is not only possible but inevitable for the imperialist bourgeoisie.' (My emphasis. P.J.)

For Mandel, the defeats of the 1930s—defeats inflicted on the European working class by the counter-revolutionary politics of the Stalinists, which Mandel and his followers are now courting—were merely 'events' which created a situation in which capitalism was given a new lease of life.

For the Fourth International these defeats, and the crisis of leadership which they exposed, have been the only means by which capitalism has survived.

This is the meaning of the Transitional Programme, a Programme which Mandel rejects.

Mandel also abandons Lenin when he writes:

'It seems obvious to me that the period 1913 to 1940 was one of these long-term cycles of stagnation in capitalist production, during which all the successive cycles from the crisis of 1920 to 1929 were marked by particularly severe depressions because of the fact that the long-term trend was one of stagnation.'

Boom

For Mandel, the inter-war period was not a manifestation of a crisis of imperialism, but merely a period of long-term capitalist stagnation which has been replaced by a similarly long-term period of expansion.

Because Mandel rejects Lenin's conception of the epoch and the tasks for Marxists which flow from that conception, he is unable to analyse the nature of the post-war boom.

'... the 1940-1965 cycle, or 1940-1970 cycle has, on

the contrary, been characterized by expansion and because in this expansion the margin for negotiation and discussion between the bourgeoisie and the working class has been enlarged, the possibility has been created for strengthening the system on the basis of granting concessions to the workers, a policy which is being practiced on an international scale in western Europe and North America, and may even extend to several countries in southern Europe in the near future.' (My emphasis. P.J.)

Like all petty bourgeois, Mandel does not start from the contradictions of capitalism during the boom.

By
Peter
Jefferies

Operating from purely surface impressions he has sought to make Marxism respectable in the eyes of the trade union and labour bureaucracy whose position was temporarily strengthened during the period of expansion.

But if capitalism was not only strengthened but entered a new phase ('neo-capitalism') after the war then all prospect of social revolution has vanished. This is the logic of Mandel's position. And he says as much:

'The working class is therefore confronted with a fundamental choice between a policy of reform in the neo-capitalist structure, which implies an integration of the trade unions in the capitalist system so that they are transformed into gendarmes for the maintenance of social peace during the amortization phase of fixed capital, and a basically anti-capitalist policy [not socialist policy NB], with a programme of short-term anti-capitalist reforms.'

In other words, the choice before the working class is reformism or... 'structural reformism'!

But much more important than even this reformist conclusion (which is identical to that adopted by the most right-wing element within Stalinism, notably the Italian Communist Party) is Mandel's rejection of the basic Marxist theory of historical materialism, which is implicit in this position.

If the contradictions of capitalism are such that the working class is no longer driven to revolution to solve its basic problems then what is the material basis for the struggle for socialism?

This is the choice for Marxists, as presented by Mandel.

'Either one stands squarely inside the framework of the capitalist system on a completely logical and consistent basis, and consequently accepts the fact that the only way to guarantee a constant increase in investment and industrial upsurge based on such increases in private investments is through increasing the rate of profit; or one refuses, takes the socialist position, rejecting the road of increasing the rate of profit, and advocates the only alternative road which is the development of a powerful public sector in industry, alongside the private sector. This is the road out of the capitalist framework and its logic and passes over to the arena of what we call structural anti-capitalist reforms.' (My emphasis. P.J.)

Mandel's reformist position is the perfectly logical outcome of his long opposition to the principles of Trotskyism, his attempt to turn it into an adjunct of the Stalinists and reformists.

According to Mandel capitalism can now devise policies which guarantee a stable rate of profit and therefore a stable rate of expansion.

Whether one rejects such a 'solution' is for him merely a moral, individual question.

Socialism has, at the hands of this revisionist, been transformed into a Utopian dream to be dangled before the working class to keep them happy.

As we have stressed, for Marx and all those who have followed him, the taking of power by the working class arose out of the material con-



The defeats of the 1930s inflicted on the working class by the years of unemployment and the counter-revolutionary politics of Stalinism, are for Mandel just 'events' which created a situation in which capitalism was given a new lease of life. Above: Soup queues in New York.

traditions of capitalist society.

Marxists identify themselves with this material and objective struggle and dedicate their lives to the building of a party for the taking of power by this class, not as an abstract moral choice which flows from their 'sympathy' with the lot of the working class, but because the further development of the productive forces and

hence man's control over nature can only take place through this revolution.

In other words, our struggle with Pabloism and with Mandel was not and is not a conflict over 'immediate' issues alone.

Involved in the break with Marxism which Mandel and company made in 1953 was a

complete break from the whole conception of scientific socialism and historical materialism.

It is from this fundamental revision of the very theoretical foundations of the revolutionary movement that we must understand all Mandel's weakness, mistakes and distortions in the field of political economy.

THE RECENT approval by the United States government of British Petroleum's plans to merge with the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, underlines the urgency with which the US imperialists are now seeking out new oil sources outside the Middle East.

The development of the Arab guerrilla movement and the crisis of the national bourgeois and feudal regimes now faces the giant oil companies with the spectre of expropriation in the not-too-distant future.

The BP-Standard Oil combine will account for 53 per cent of the total oil production of Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait together!

The discovery of a rich oil field in northern Alaska and the successful voyage of the tanker S.S. Manhattan through the icy North West Passage now point the way to new supplies and the possibility of cheap distribution by opening up the Arctic waters as commercial sea routes.

EXPLORATION

The discovery of the oil on Alaska's 'North Slope' has spurred increased oil exploration activity in neighbouring northern Canada and geological structures similar to the oil-bearing strata of Alaska are present elsewhere around the rim of the Arctic Ocean.

Walter Levy, a prominent US oil consultant, has stated: 'The centre of gravity of exploration for oil is shifting from the Middle East to the Arctic.'

No one, at the moment anyway, is predicting that the Arctic will match the Middle East oil either in volume of total supplies or in cheapness of production costs.

It could, however, become of decisive importance if the stranglehold of the oil monopolies is broken in the Middle East.

As an indirect result of the Alaskan oil discovery, the Arctic might become a supplier



Towing the forward section of the S.S. Manhattan in preparation for her voyage through the North-West Passage.

of other raw materials as well. Northern Canada is known to contain valuable mineral deposits.

Until now, however, little attempt has been made to develop them commercially because of formidable transportation problems.

Getting the oil out of Alaska's 'North Slope' raises big problems, too, but the prospective profits look attractive enough to make the petroleum companies willing to pour millions of dollars into the effort to solve them.

In particular, the development of an economically feasible route through the water- and-ice passages around the

ice-free port on Alaska's south coast.

It is thought that this will be a bigger construction project than the building of the Panama Canal—perhaps the single biggest construction job ever undertaken.

The mainline will be 48 inches in diameter and 800 miles long and initially will be capable of carrying 500,000 barrels of oil a day.

Later, capacity could be stepped up to two million barrels a day.

The consortium of oil companies that is building this line also plans to build 400 miles of smaller-diameter lateral lines.

Inevitably in such an area there will be major construction snags.

The soil in northern Alaska's tundra region containing, as it does, a large quantity of ice crystals, has a disconcerting tendency to acquire a soupy consistency whenever warmed—as it would be by oil flowing through a pipeline.

A pipeline laid down in the conventional manner might just keep sinking. To get round this problem, part of the northern end of the line will probably be elevated on cross bars held up by piles driven into the earth.

Construction is scheduled to begin next spring and oil is expected to be flowing through the pipeline—and on to US West Coast ports in tankers—some time in 1972.

GAMBLE

The possibility that some 'North Slope' oil might go to US East Coast markets has led the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and its domestic subsidiary, the Humble Oil Company, into an expensive gamble to determine if oil tankers can be specially designed to plough through the floating blocks and ridges of ice that have so far frustrated the development of a commercial trade route around the north of North America.

The S.S. Manhattan, a 150,000-ton tanker hastily

adapted for the job and fitted with a new ice-breaking bow, did manage to reach Port Barrow, Alaska, from the east, on September 21 this year, becoming the first commercial vehicle ever to make the trip.

Considerably more testing and evaluation is still needed, however, before it can be determined if the tanker route would be economically feasible.

If the answers are favourable, specially designed ice-breaking tankers much larger and more powerful than the Manhattan would be built solely for the North West Passage route.

DEFICIT

Before the voyage, oil company officials estimated that shipping by ice-breaking tankers in this way might be 60 cents a barrel cheaper than by the pipeline across Alaska and then to the US East Coast through the Panama Canal in tankers.

Other possible means of transporting the oil have been discussed, including transcontinental pipelines.

The United States west of the Rocky Mountains is the first logical market for Alaskan oil.

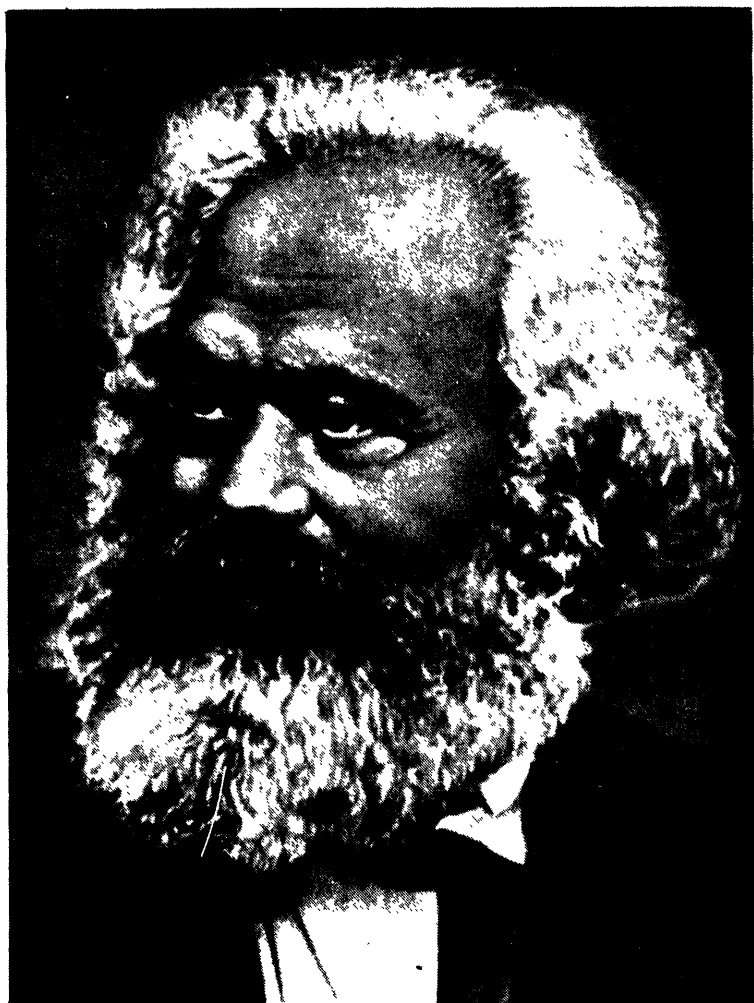
The region now consumes more petrol than it produces.

Not counting 'North Slope' oil, the deficit is expected to grow to between 800,000 and 1,200,000 barrels a day by 1975, and to 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 barrels a day by 1980.

By that time, Alaska may be producing enough oil to cover this deficit.

For the United States as a whole, it is estimated that by 1980 there will be a need for 8,700,000 barrels a day more than it will produce in the 49 States other than Alaska.

This reveals the magnitude of the problem. The States will have to find nearly 7,000,000 barrels a day from outside sources by 1980 and the rapid development of the struggle of the Arab masses threatens to cut off the cheap oil on which they have relied for so long.



Marx showed that the logic of the class struggle under capitalism was the taking of power by the working class.

contradiction between the developing productive forces under capitalism—of which the working class was the most revolutionary—and the social relations of production.

It was this objective conflict which made the working class—the sellers of labour power—the only consistently revolutionary force in modern society.

Marx showed that the logic of the class struggle under capitalism was the taking of power by the working class.

Socialism was not a Utopia—a vision of a new society—but an objective necessity which arose out of the material struggles within capitalism. Marx in 'Capital' demonstrates the scientific and objective content of the struggle for socialism.

Lenin and later Marxists in the study of the imperialist stage of capitalist development went on to show that by the end of the last century capitalism had completed its historical mission, that it was no longer a progressive force and that the epoch of proletarian revolution had now arrived.

We start with these basic points because we shall find

establishment of the power of capitalism over the whole period and political structure of Britain.

A new class, the working class, emerged as a result of these changes and the remnants of the old feudal order were finally destroyed.

Mandel is likening the



Ernest Mandel: Rejects fundamental principles of Marxism.

Wilson's visit

FROM PAGE ONE
 this stage by halting Wilson's visit to Washington. The visit can have only one purpose, and Gollan knows it. Wilson's visit will renew his support for Nixon's war in Vietnam.

But the millions of workers, most of them trade unionists, who voted Labour in 1964 and again in 1966 did not vote for such a policy and the continuation of such a dreadful war.

That is why we insist that Wilson, as the leader of the Labour Party and as the Prime Minister of a government elected by workers' votes, must not consort secretly with the architect of genocide in Vietnam.

No amount of pressure on Nixon, which the Stalinists claim can be exerted by Wilson in Washington, is going to stop new 'pinkies'. It is the independent action of the working class against traitors to socialism such as Wilson and Brown that will finally defeat US imperialism and its supporters in the British labour movement.

'Relations'

But why, many might ask, cannot Gollan support the demand for Wilson to cancel his Washington visit?

Part of the answer at least is on page three of the same 'Morning Star', where under the headline, 'Optimism over US-Soviet relations', the 'Star' Moscow correspondent writes: 'There is a note of qualified optimism in "Pravda" today, following one of the most hopeful weeks of US-Soviet relations of the past decade.'

These 'hopeful weeks' for the Moscow Stalinists saw the trickle of US troop revelations grow into a flood, accompanied by the most horrifying pictures and eyewitness accounts of US imperialism in action.

The extermination of the Vietnamese people does not concern the Soviet bureaucracy in the least.

They would have made a deal with US imperialism years ago but for the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The Stalin-trained Gollan is acutely aware of the growing accord between US imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy and despite differences over the correct way to tame the Czech working class, he supports this policy to the full.

Gollan's call for 'pressure' on Wilson is based on the same blue-print for defeat that the British Communist Party has been applying to the class struggle in Britain.

Anything rather than the independent action of the working class.

Our reply to this international treachery of Stalinism must be the stepping up of the campaign to block Wilson's visit to Washington—the visit that not only world imperialism, but only British Stalinism, supports.

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Unborn babies

FROM PAGE ONE
 safe dosage of such chemicals and in the Vietnam war such a concept is in any case a complete nonsense.

In October the US Defence Department very belatedly acted on the report by limiting the use of '2, 4, 5-T' to uninhabited areas.

Professor Pfeiffer saw this to be cynical white-washing when he observed an airborne defoliation expedition in March.

'Then as we were over a very watery place around the tributaries of the Mekong, one of the sprays failed to work and 1,000 gallons of this stuff (2,4,5-T) were evacuated on the one spot.'

'On another occasion, because of some difficulty, one of the pilots had to evacuate the entire lot over the town of Ho Nai.'

These revelations, taken with the growing stream of accounts of the atrocities of US imperialism in Vietnam, will stiffen the determination of all those fighting to end the war and to aid the Vietnamese revolution through to victory.

6,000 B.R.S. workers out

SIXTY of Britain's 89 British Road Services parcels depots were strike-bound yesterday. More than 6,000 drivers and loaders were out solidly behind their demand for a substantial increase in their basic pay.

They were joined by 200 drivers from a Birmingham depot.

Union and management representatives met across the table at the road transport industry's national joint negotiating council yesterday evening.

BRS and BRS (Parcels) management were in attendance.

The men have already rejected a 30s. offer tied to productivity 'strings'.

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Behind the Tilbury container ban

BY DAVID MAUDE

CONTAINERIZATION—on which London's port employers and union leaders meet tomorrow—last week again became a front-line issue for dockers in both London and Liverpool.

Hack writers and cartoonists for most of the national newspapers, some of whom clearly had only the very faintest of ideas what was at stake, did their best to whip up an anti-working class hysteria against the 22-month-old ban on new container berth agreements in London docks.

Claims have been made, among others, that the ban is going to turn Tilbury into a fishing village, lose Tilbury dockers their jobs, kill Tilbury, kill London (!) and ruin the entire British economy (!).

All this has been contrasted with the new-found virtue of Liverpool dockers, who have allegedly agreed to handle ships for a third transatlantic container service even before a pay-and-productivity deal for the work is finalized and agreed.

Then on Friday, like the icing on a particularly nauseating cake, the government finally published its plans for docks 'nationalization'.

Much of what has been written on all these subjects is nonsense, a good deal of it just plain wrong. Some of it, however, is quite deliberately misleading.

Last Wednesday's decision to maintain a nine-month-old ban on working two highly-mechanized container berths stemmed from growing fears of speed-up and redundancies as a result of Labour government employer plans for rationalization of the docks.

As during Merseyside's four-day strike at the beginning of July, all the major horns plugging the working class were quickly stirred up.

The employers threatened closure; the Tories demanded government action; the Department of Employment and Productivity, the Trades Union Congress and the Transport and General Workers' Union all 'intervened'.

Pressure

Pressure of one kind or another is being exerted by all these bodies for the dockers to lift their ban.

The Communist Party has apparently decided to play a similar role.

The employers, claimed a 'Morning Star' editorial on Friday, 'could have ended the dispute ago by making a pay offer acceptable to all London dockers'.

As we pointed out in Saturday's Workers Press, this is to treacherously invite dockers to sell their jobs for more wages.

What has the Liverpool docks Communist Party branch, which in July pointed out that 'containerization is the most urgent issue facing dockers today', to say about this?

Prospect

As a leaflet it produced during the strike over the Aintree container depot stated, containerization 'poses a threat to our jobs, livelihood and future... employers are splitting dockers into groups and sections, managing to get separate agreements not only in various ports, but also in different areas and sections in particular ports'.

As far as it goes, this is quite correct.

The Socialist Labour League has always insisted that redevelopments like containerization present a prospect of

greater co-ordination, simplification and planning of goods traffic on an international scale; a big rise in the productivity of labour; easier, cleaner and more interesting work for those involved in it.

But this prospect can only be realized within the framework of the struggle for socialism.

Under capitalism, it can only mean speed-up, wage-cuts, a vast increase in exploitation, even more cut-throat competition, massive redundancies and a far greater instability of jobs for those still employed.

In 1967, the management consultants McKinsey and Co. estimated an eventual 90 per cent redundancy on Britain's docks.

The International Labour Office recommends a 30 per cent cut—16,500 jobs—by the end of 1970.

In Rotterdam, 20 per cent of the dockers—3,000 men—are to lose their jobs by 1975.

fore the ban, has a 12-hour turn-round on its vessels at Tilbury.

For all the scare about loss of jobs, only a handful of dockers will actually be employed on OCL-ACT's berth 39 and Seaboard Shipping's berth 46.

On the £5 million berth 39 it would be about 30.

As one steward replied to a previous threat to move the trade:

'You might as well move it to Hong Kong for all the difference it's going to make to us.'

None of these all-important issues quite deliberately have been discussed by the 'Morning Star', yet this is the background to the No. 1 committee's ban.

The second article in tomorrow's Workers Press will deal with the role of the union leaders and the government's proposed docks 'nationalization'.

United States Lines, one of the companies operating be-

Work-study

As well as cutting down the number of jobs, employers introducing the high-cost equipment necessary to handle containers must intensify the work done.

Thus Measured-Day Work, method-study and work-measurement are inevitable concomitants of containerization.

United States Lines, one of the companies operating be-

Blind workers angry - Claim rejected



OFFICIALS of the National League for the Blind meet next weekend to consider the refusal of workshop management to grant their claim for a 25s. increase in wages.

'At the moment', League secretary Mr T. J. Parker told the Workers Press yesterday, 'there seems to be an impasse on interpretation of an agreement of two years ago that our wages would rise in line with general wage movements.'

'There can't be many workers in this country getting only 4s. to 5s. more than they were in July 1967, as blind workers are.'

'How can they expect our

members to live on £13 a week, as many of them have to at the moment, when prices are rising all the time.'

League representatives on the National Joint Council for Workshops for the Blind were shocked by the management's refusal to grant what they considered a modest and reasonable claim.

Several hundred blind and disabled workers lobbied outside the meeting for four freezing hours (above). They were angry and disappointed by the adjournment of talks for a further two weeks, said

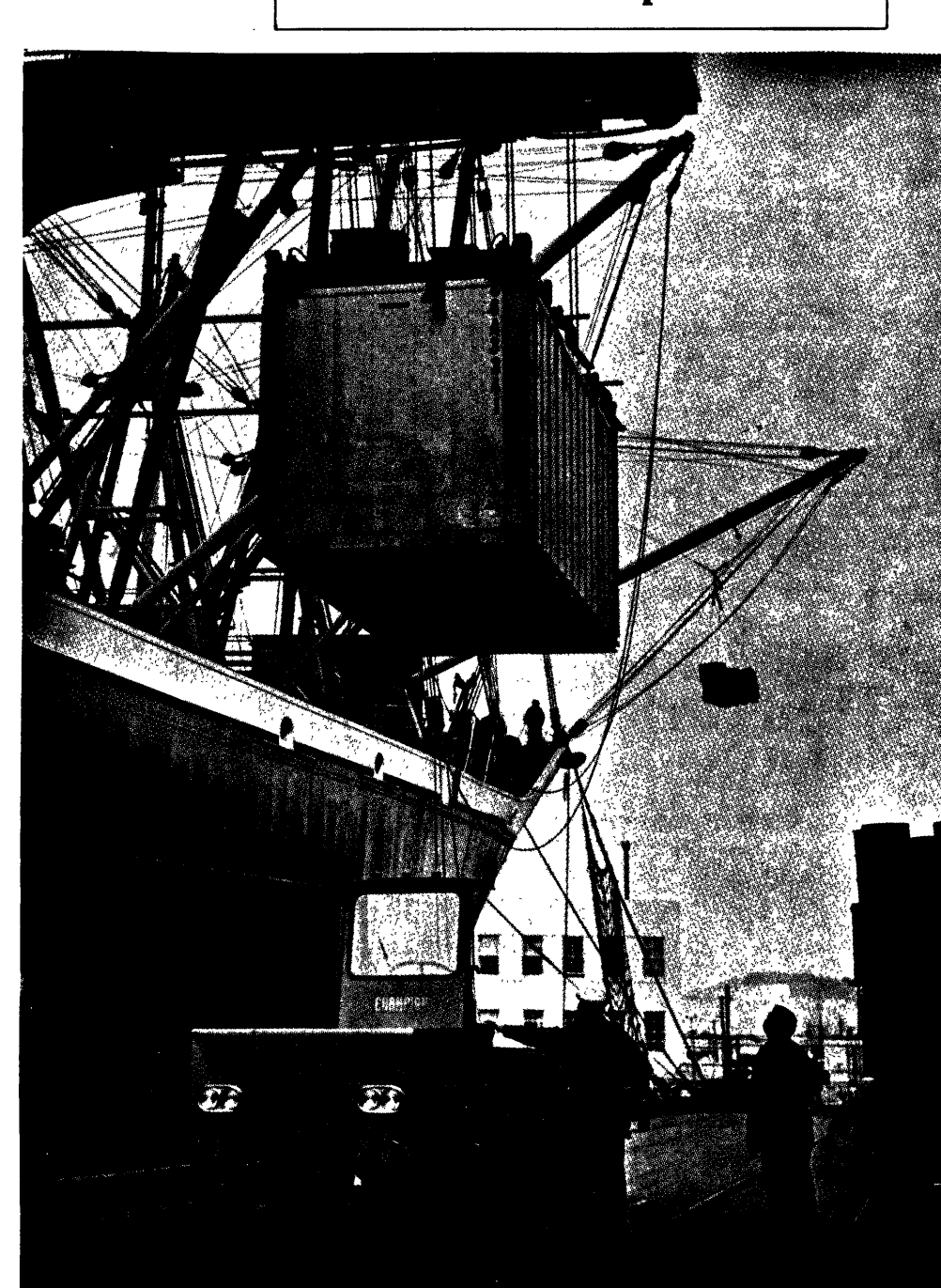
League president Mr Dan West afterwards.

Forty areas—some workers coming from as far afield as Aberdeen, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Swansea and Warrington—were represented.

Many branches of the League feel that they should be demanding more than the official claim. Vigorous chants of 'We Want £2 Now!' came from large sections of Friday's demonstration.

'There's a lot of feeling that we should go for the maximum—like the dustmen, who were in fact in a lower grade before the wages were restructured,' explained Mr Parker yesterday.

The first of two articles on containerization in London and Liverpool



Small gangs load one 20-ton container every five minutes on America's West Coast, above. Under capitalism, containerization threatens massive redundancies.

Plessey workers demand meeting on new deal

A PETITION is circulating in Liverpool's Plessey factory asking shop stewards to convene a mass meeting to discuss productivity.

It is reported that a deal—under discussion since the beginning of the year—is now reaching final negotiations.

Management and senior stewards are believed to be having discussions away from the factory.

Already four sections of workers have held meetings and rejected any 'strings'.

The management's industrial relations department has recently issued a state-

By our industrial reporter

ment in the form of question-and-answer. It reads:

'What will be in the productivity exchange, the Soviet bureaucracy has decided to make formal approaches to Bonn.'

This 'summit' meeting, Kosygin and Brezhnev hope, will agree on a common policy towards West Germany and the broader questions of 'European security'.

'The increases are tied closely to a programme of work-study and productivity improvements and it is therefore in the employee's interests to help achieve this programme', it continues.

The petition has met quite sharp opposition amongst stewards and senior stewards.

The centre of the management's proposals is the basing of wages on a standard form of job-evaluation by the 'direct consensus method'.

'In any work-situation', says part of the management's negotiating statement to the trade unions, 'a consensus of opinion will normally be found to exist concerning the relationships between various jobs... a latent body of opinion which expresses an environmental sense of justice about pay differentials.'

'The philosophy underlying the direct consensus method is that a wages structure will be more acceptable to employees and, therefore, more durable if it takes account of this.'

Consistent

Another document admits that 'no method of job-evaluation is scientific. All methods are an attempt to apply subjective judgements in a systematic and consistent way'.

The employers, of course, are consistent in only one way.

Through Measured-Day Work, job-evaluation and other productivity schemes, they want to pare down their labour force, speed up production and gear their factories for the maximum exploitation of those who work in them.

Every class-conscious worker knows this.

The Socialist Labour League advocates implacable hostility to productivity deals such as that proposed by Plessey's.

A detailed analysis of the company's proposals to be published in the next few days, will show why.

A new crisis in the Italian C.P.

LAST week's suspension of three Central Committee members of the Italian Communist Party is only the pale reflection of a deep internal crisis within Italian Stalinism.

In many of the recent strikes, particularly in the massive Fiat works at Turin, workers have clashed physically with Stalinist trade union officials attempting to impose a moderate policy on the strikers.

In Bologna, 60,000 workers demonstrated against the Stalinist-controlled local council for refusing to side with workers in their fight for higher pay and improved social facilities.

Numerous groups, styled 'Maoisti' and based largely on students, have attracted the interest, if not active support, of many younger workers.

The radicalization of millions of workers, driven into struggles that pose the question of power, was certain to create strains within the two-million strong Stalinist party.

Like all Stalinist parties in the advanced capitalist countries, the Italian Communist Party is totally committed to the parliamentary road to socialism, and, unlike most others, presents this as being possible through a coalition with the 'left' wing of the main capitalist party, the Christian Democrats.

TESTED OUT

Many workers, especially those in the engineering industry where the power of the monopolies is most heavily concentrated, have tested out this reformist strategy and found it useless.

They also see the rise in fascist activity and the increased police brutality towards strikers.

At the funeral of the policeman killed in a recent police attack on Milan strikers, the fascist salute was given and the Christian Democratic Prime Minister, allegedly a 'liberal', kissed the corpse of the dead policeman.

Moscow meeting on 'European security'

THE SOVIET news agency Tass announced yesterday that Soviet and East European state and party leaders are due to meet in the next few days at Moscow.

The main subject under discussion will be the foreign policy of the recently-elected Brandt government in West Germany.

After several weeks of tentative exchanges, the Soviet bureaucracy has decided to make formal approaches to Bonn.

This 'summit' meeting, Kosygin and Brezhnev hope, will agree on a common policy towards West Germany and the broader questions of 'European security'.

B.S.C. strengthens S. African ties

THE British Steel Corporation has concluded an agreement with a group of South African steel firms on the reorganization of its holdings in that country.

The regroupment will be achieved through the creation of a new holding company, which will control at least 51 per cent of the shares in Denmar Long (Africa), Vanderbilj Engineering and Stewarts and Lloyds of South Africa, the last firm having acquired the entire share capital in Tube and Pipe Industries and Baldwins.

The proposed regroupment will mean that the new company's capital will be held jointly by the South African firms of Iscor, Afgate and Metkor (40 per cent), the British Iron and Steel Corporation (30 per cent) and 10 per cent by the Anglo-American Corporation.

The remaining 20 per cent will be offered to the public.

Plaything

This so-called 'nationalized' industry becomes, in the hands of its capitalist managers, a plaything of international big business.

What is even more to the point is that, in this case, it becomes an open prop of the apartheid system in South Africa, which draws its capitalist profits from the super-exploitation of the enslaved African workers.

Wilson-style 'nationalization' has nothing to do with socialism.

This deal must be terminated at once.

By a foreign correspondent

All these events have been noted by the most advanced Italian workers, the vast bulk of whom are organized in the Communist Party.

They can see now that to follow the line of structural reforms within capitalism based on a coalition with the Christian Democrats spells political suicide for the Italian working class.

They have not forgotten the terrible experience of fascism under Mussolini.

SUPPORT

That is why the CP opposition group based on the journal 'Il Manifesto' won such an immediate and widespread support inside the Party.

Edited by the three disciplined Central Committee members (Rossana Rossanda, Aldo Natoli and Luigi Pintor) the journal sold 150,000 copies within a few months of its first number appearing in June.

Why has 'Il Manifesto' found such a ready readership?

It rejects the parliamentary road, and calls for a return to the revolutionary line of Marx and Engels.

It also resolutely opposes the Soviet invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia.

Unlike the reformist leadership of the Italian CP, it does so on revolutionary and not liberal grounds.

Against the total reformism of the official Party line, the group calls for a revival of 'the sense of revolution as a rupture and overthrow of the existing order...'

Similar previous opposition groups within the Italian CP, it is led by long-standing members with deep working-class roots.

Rossana Rossanda, for example, is a veteran of the Communist-led partisan move-

the point, 'Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat'. It should be emphasized again that these were not students but industrial workers from the biggest factories in Italy.

The delegation from Fiat of Turin ran into the central meeting place carrying Vietcong flags to the ecstatic roar of 100,000 workers.

These are the forces now at work inside the Italian working class and they are basically the same as those which will smash Stalinism wherever it has exerted its counter-revolutionary grip on the labour movement.

But though tendencies such as 'Il Manifesto' reflect this crisis, they cannot resolve it.

The Italian working class requires a thoroughgoing settlement of accounts with the entire history of Stalinism, which in Italy is particularly rich in its record of betrayals.

Those workers now moving towards Rossana Rossanda as a pole of opposition to the Italian Communist Party must be rallied to Trotskyism and the Fourth International.

This is the only way ahead to the Italian revolution.

E.E.C. talks begin at the Hague

LEADERS of the six Common Market countries arrived in The Hague yesterday for the vital 'summit' meeting which will consider Britain's application to join the EEC.

Much hinges on the attitude of France.

Pompidou has insisted that before any date can be fixed for negotiations on the admission of new members, the Six will have to agree on a definitive farm financing policy.

The Market is due to complete its transition stage to a uniform economic policy by the end of this year, but agriculture, which in France has seen a series of bitter revolts by small farmers against government policy, remains a tremendous problem.

Pressure

The National Federation of Farmers' Unions is coming under increasing pressure from smaller French farmers to take a more militant line against government agricultural policy.

The Federation leadership is being strongly criticised for its refusal to support the anti-government rallies held last Monday by the National Young Farmers' Centre.

Despite their ban, more than 30,000 farmers took part all over France.

Extinction

Thousands of small farmers and peasants are threatened with extinction in the near future as the French government sides openly with the large-scale capitalist farmers.

Their present leadership, dominated by these richer farmers, has no intention of leading any campaign to save them.

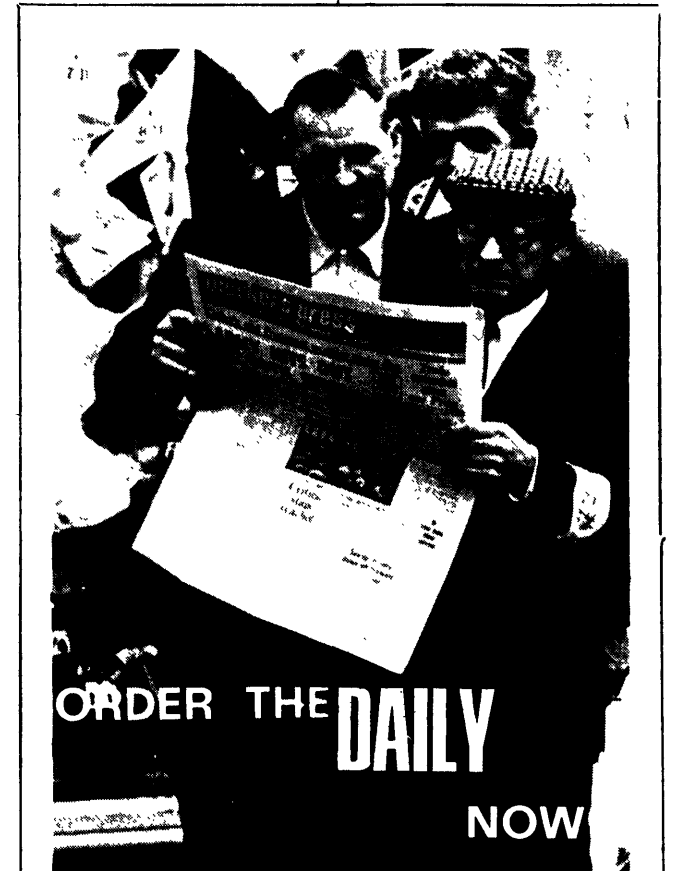


Rossana Rossanda: One of three suspended CC members

ment in the war and has already experienced one betrayal of the Italian Revolution.

Many workers will rally to this tendency.

In last Friday's 100,000-strong workers' rally in Rome, called in support of wage contract negotiations currently in progress, big contingents of strikers carried banners proclaiming 'The contract of the revolution' and even more to



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