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BY THE EDITOR

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He then dropped his bombshell which shook the government and the opposition: Lynch must quit the leadership or I resign.'

The special conference should decide the legitimacy of Lynch's claim to leadership and Republican orthodoxy, said Boland. If such a course was rejected, then the Taoiseach would have to call a general election.

Boland's anxiety was based on his belief that N Unionist extremists were openly training and arming for civil war against nationalism and that there would be fresh attacks by these elements this year.

Mr Boland was joined in his attack by Mr McDonnell, National Executive Committee member of Fianna Fail, who stated that nothing could stop the struggle for a united Ireland.

Mr Lynch now faces the gravest crisis in Irish politics since 1921 and, like the Ulster Unionist leadership, is trying desperately to preserve a facade of unity in the ruling party and stem the ever-growing tide of social revolt from workers and farmers.

### No answer

Threatened by the presence of British troops in the North and challenged by the rebels in his own party, who see him more and more as a Whitehall stooge, Mr Lynch and his faction can find no answer to Boland's charges other than stating that an Ard Fheis could not discuss the issues because they are sub judice!

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## I.O.S. staggers into deeper crisis

BY PETER JEFFRIES

THE COLLAPSE of Mr John M. King's attempt to salvage crisis-ridden Investors Overseas Services puts an even bigger question mark against the future of the world's largest mutual trust fund.

King's take-over bid came to an end with the refusal of the United States Securities and Exchange Commission to rescind the ban on IOS operations inside America.

Had King proceeded with his plans, he was warned, none of his many business concerns would have been allowed to sell their stock to American citizens.

There is no doubt that the SEC refusal came because of his already close ties with IOS which have only become clear in the last few weeks.

Doubts also arose about the financial value of many of the Denver millionaire's financial ventures.

### Loans

During the course of 1969 IOS lent \$47 million to several 'insiders and friends', including Mr Edward Cowett, former number two in the hierarchy, for the purpose of supporting the price of IOS stock.

Among the recipients of loans was Mr King. IOS shareholders are unlikely to be encouraged by the continued failure of the 1969 accounts to appear. Originally promised for the end of April, they were then delayed until the end of May. Now it is hoped that they will be approved 'soon'.

In the light of all the adverse publicity which has surrounded many aspects of IOS accounting practices, it seems unlikely that any group of leading European or American banks will rush in to save Cornfield's former empire.

They will certainly want to take a long hard look at the IOS accounts and books in order to judge the real value of the mutual trust fund giant which at the height of its

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## WEEKEND SPEECHES

## Wilson silent on main issues

BY MARTIN ZARROP

THE ECONOMIC crisis, wage freeze, trade union laws and unemployment—almost every vital issue facing the working class was notably absent from Harold Wilson's 70-minute election speech in Eltham, SE London, on Saturday.

Speaking to a packed audience, Wilson explained away rising food prices — 'it's a problem for every advanced modern country' — and justified high taxation — 'the national family cannot spend what it does not raise in taxation'.

Accusing the Tories of indulging in the 'luxury of negative opposition', the Prime Minister concentrated his attack on the proposed value-added tax and Tory rent policy.

'When we heard their outburst over the last monthly retail price index', he said, 'they did not tell you that the biggest item in the increase was council house rents.'

### Heckling

Amidst loud heckling, Wilson carefully avoided mentioning either why the Tory landslide in the local government elections had taken place or the government's cut-backs in its 'house-building programme'.

'Tory policy inevitably means deep substantial inroads into social services, means-testing on the social services. They will put social services on a private enterprise basis', he said.

However, the audience was hard put to determine the Wilson alternative to the Tory proposals.

'You've never dissociated yourself from George Brown's "stop weeping" speech', shouted a voice from the floor, in reference to Brown's statement when the US My Lai massacres were revealed.

### 'Marxism'

'What's happened to your Marxism?', said another member of the audience.

Wilson hoped that they weren't calling for victory to the NLF and assured everyone that Marxism had nothing to do with Cambodia.

Cynically, he referred to the Labour government's 'social revolution... in redundancy payments' and to cries of 'What about un-

## Heath lays down the law

THE TORIES' PLAN to destroy trade union rights won by workers through decades of struggle was again outlined by Mr Edward Heath in a speech at his Kent constituency of Bexley Heath on Saturday.

A Conservative government would: abolish trade union status as friendly societies, legalize contracts of employment and allow High Court judges to impose 60- to 90-day freezes on industrial disputes.

'Trade unionism is only one aspect of human relations', said Heath.

'Other human relations take place within the framework of law, but the law governing trade unions was laid down in the 19th century; we think that it is time that this was changed.'

### Punishment

High Court judges and industrial courts would dole out punishment to recalcitrant workers.

For the shop floor, the Tories propose legally enforceable contracts of employment, if both sides of industry agreed to these.

If workers broke the rules the employers could seek redress under the law, implied Heath.

Drawing out the lessons for the employers, the Tory leader said that this would allow a businessman to plan investment securely for, say, two years ahead knowing that wage rates and the level of wage increases had been decided.

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# NATIONALIST

# June 18

GENERAL ELECTION NEWS

## IRISH NATIONALISM

From JOHN SPENCER and JOHN CRAWFORD

THE POLITICS of N Ireland have generally been presented as some kind of anomaly on the British scene.

The gerrymandering of constituency boundaries, violent passions aroused by religious divisions and the dominance of the most reactionary section of the Tory Party used to be regarded as an exception to the orderly process of parliamentary democracy.

In the 1970 crisis General Election, however, Ulster must be understood as showing the way political life is developing in the country as a whole.

In this crisis, all the problems of British capitalism are felt with greatest force in Britain's oldest colony, Ireland.

Partition, embodied in the 1921 Treaty, and reaffirmed in the Labour government's 1949 Republic of Ireland Act, only changed the form of Ireland's national oppression.

The very fact that the Six Counties are involved in the election of a British parliament symbolizes the situation in which the Irish working class is cut in two.

The semi-colonial position of Ireland is reflected in the backwardness of its industry and agriculture and the extreme poverty of its working class.

The continued division of the workers on religious lines is likewise a product of the impossibility of resolving Ireland's national problems so long as capitalism remains.

This is why the implications of the crisis, the dangers in front of the working class and the urgency of the struggle for revolutionary leadership, appear earlier and more openly than anywhere else in Britain.

### Menace

The return of a Tory government to Westminster on June 18 would be an even greater menace to the Ulster workers than to the rest of the working class. In N Ireland, where unemployment runs at 7 or 8 per cent in 'normal' times, world economic crisis can mean total collapse.

Unionism represents the most reactionary section of the British capitalist class.

It is based on the 'settler' middle class, and depends entirely on the maintenance of the religious divisions in the working class. The Protestant workers, many of whom still vote Tory, are among the most oppressed and exploited sections of workers.

With the Unionist Party coming more and more under the control of the extreme right wing, led by Craig and Faulkner, the establishment of a right-wing dictatorship, protected by the Army, becomes a direct threat to all workers in England as well as Ireland. The Special Powers Act is already a step towards this.

Meanwhile, Paisley continues to advance. In April, he and his supporter Beattie won Bannside and S Antrim from the Unionists in the by-elections for the Stormont parliament. On June 18, his Protestant Unionist Party challenges Chichester-Clark for the leadership of the Protestant middle class and for power.

Only the working class can resolve the national problems of Ireland, and only a Marxist party can unite Catholic and Protestant workers, North and South of the border, in the struggle for a united socialist Ireland in a Socialist United States of Europe.

The question of how to defeat Toryism, in its form of Ulster Unionism, can only be answered in this framework, for there is no other way to break the Protestant workers from the grip of Unionism.

The Ulster voters go to the polls under military occupation, with the troops sent by Wilson, reinforced to preserve 'law and order'.

'Law and order' is no longer an Ulster issue: the Tories, preparing for battles with the entire working class, make this the major question in the election in Britain.

## The green Tories

Parliament hereby declares that N Ireland remains part of His Majesty's Dominions and of the United Kingdom and affirms that in no event will N Ireland or any part thereof cease to be part of His Majesty's Dominions and of the United Kingdom without the consent of the Parliament of N Ireland.

Clause 1 of the Ireland Bill introduced by Attlee's Labour government in May 1949.

Three years ago, the Civil Rights reformers based their campaign on the directly opposing view. For them, this was the time for reforms to be pushed forward.

Captain Terence O'Neill, the 'moderate' Tory, was going to allow all the old antagonisms to die away and permit Ulster to become a 'normal' part of 'democratic' Britain.

It is not yet clear whether Republican candidates will stand in the Election.

Their policy, supposed to be based on the heritage of James Connolly, is for the ending of Partition to precede any question of socialism.

### Unemployment

High unemployment has always been the background to Ulster politics. Today, the shadow of economic collapse stands over the workers of every country.

The efforts of churches and politicians to keep the Irish working class divided are now the model for the racists to get to work and prepare the way for a fascist movement in Britain, if they get the chance.

The polarization of class forces, and the violent clashes between the workers and the state, seen in N Ireland since 1968, were signs of the basic

revolutionary crisis developing in Britain and W Europe as a whole. The coincidence of the election with the approach of a world economic depression makes this relationship still more significant.

Today, the Civil Rights movement is in ruins. On Wednesday, John Hume, who won the Stormont seat of Derry as an independent civil rights candidate, announced that he would back Eddie MacAteer, the Nationalist Party leader, in the General Election.

The Nationalists are the 'green Tories', representatives of the Catholic capitalists. They work as hard as Paisley to keep the workers divided on religious lines.

While the Republicans, some of whom use Connolly's phrase: 'the Workers' Republic' to describe their aims, receive support from sections of the Catholic workers, they cannot find a road to the Protestant workers.

At the 1966 General Election, the Unionists held all but one of the 12 Ulster seats. The exception was Belfast West, which Gerry Fitt won as a Republican Labour candidate. The seat has shifted between the Unionists and the Irish Labour Party since 1945.

In 1964, the Tories held the seat with a minority vote against N Ireland Labour Party, Republican and Republican Labour candidates. In 1966, Fitt was their only opponent, and they lost the support of many Protestant workers.

In Belfast North and East, the N Ireland Labour Party retains some support. But this feeble echo of Wilson can never defeat the Tories.

Avoiding the real issues as far as they can, they succeed in repelling the Protestant workers without rallying the Catholic workers.

Outside Belfast the widespread constituencies are designed to

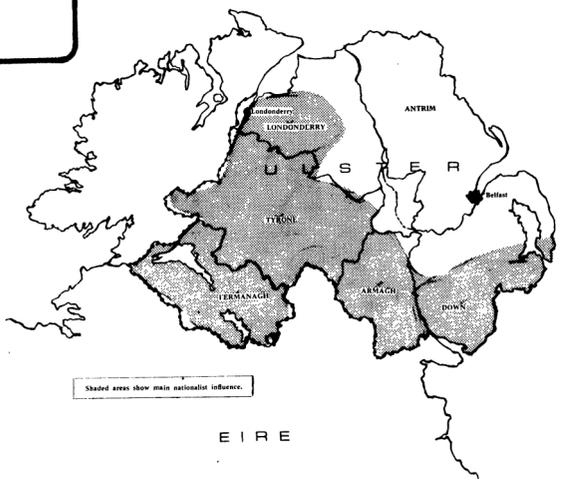
maintain the lead of the Unionists. In Londonderry—the whole county is included, not just the city—the Catholic vote is traditionally controlled by the Nationalists and the Unionists easily keep the majority.

In the East, Antrim, Down and Armagh are the Unionist strongholds. In this election, the Paisleyites will be working to pull the Protestant farmers, menaced by the Common Market, away from the official Unionist candidates.

Fermanagh and Tyrone, divided since 1949 into the constituencies of Mid-Ulster and Fermanagh and S Tyrone, is the main centre of Republican support. In 1955, both their candidates were in prison at the time of the election, and were both elected.

A court petition had them both unseated, as 'convicted felons', and two Tories installed at Westminster in their place.

During the three vital weeks leading up to the General Election, Workers Press will provide on-the-spot coverage of all major campaigns in all parts of the country and Ulster



## THE SCOTTISH NATIONALIST PARTY

## The ta

THE COMING election, says the 'Scots Independent', weekly paper of the Scottish Nationalist Party, is not a matter of politics but one of national survival.

The role of the SNP is therefore to obscure the class issues in the election and to confuse to the maximum those sections of workers who turned to Scottish nationalism in protest against the betrayals of the Wilson government.

Of the 71 parliamentary seats from Scotland, 44 are at present Labour and another six are marginal, including the one seat occupied by the SNP.

A swing to nationalism could open the door to a decisive number of Tories and secure the return of a Tory government, now urgently required by the capitalist class.

The revisionists' policy which is to abstain in the election, comes very close to the form of radical middle-class protest—the form of politics of the SNP.

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In the SNP everything is approached from the standpoint of the prosperity, the well-being and the (small) conscience of the doctors, lawyers and small businessmen who make up the leadership.

After three years of the Labour government this movement linked up with the anger and frustration of Scottish workers, building up the SNP into a party of 120,000.

In November 1967 in the Hamilton by-election, workers voted in protest against Wilson's policies to turn a 16,576 Labour majority into a majority for the SNP candidate, Mrs Winifred Ewing, of 1,799.

The Prices and Incomes Act was in full swing and wage increases for sections of Scottish workers had been held back.

Unemployment was on the increase as were prices.

Mrs Ewing said that the SNP's role was vital to head off working-class anger. If the safety valve of nationalism was not opened, then the result, she said, would be explosion.

Protected for centuries by the prosperity of capitalism, the middle class know that with the developing crisis they are threatened.

Above all they fear the upsurge of revolt which will come from the industrial centres of Scotland. Their fear is also why

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The 'Scots in its May 23

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### TV PROGRAMMES

**BBC 1**

9.38 a.m. Schools. 10.45 Watch with mother. 11.00-11.20 Schools. 1.45-1.53 p.m. News and weather. 2.05-3.10 Schools. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Hector's house. 5.25 Abbott and Costello. 5.30 London this week. 5.50 News.

6.00 WORLD CUP GRANDSTAND. Mexico v Russia. 6.45 Z CARS. 'Couldn't Happen To A Nicer Girl', part one. 7.10 STAR TREK. 'The Trouble with Tribbles'. 8.00 PANORAMA. 8.50 NEWS. 9.10 TROUBLESHOOTERS. 'Camelot on a Clear Day'. 10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Labour Party. 10.10 24 HOURS. 10.55 SONGS TO REMEMBER. 11.25 Weather. 11.27 Swim.

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11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL. 7.00 p.m. NEW HEAVENS. NEW EARTH. Ten programmes about Europe's discovery of the outside world. 'The Great Conversion'. The spiritual conquest of Mexico and the destruction of the Aztec civilization. 7.30 NEWS. 8.00 HIGH CHAPARRAL. 'The Long Shadow'. 8.50 THE FAMILY OF MAN. 'Teenagers'. 9.40 POT BLACK. Snooker competition—Gary Owen v Jack Rea. 10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Labour Party. 10.10 YESTERDAY'S WITNESS. 'The Great Scuttles'. In 1919 off the Orkney Islands 74 ships of the German navy scuttled themselves in a calculated act of defiance. 10.45 NEWS. 10.50 LINE-UP.

**ITV**

11.00 a.m. Schools. 3.55 p.m. Charlie Chaplin. 3.45 Skippy. 4.12 Once upon a time. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 Lost in space. 5.45 News. 5.55 WORLD CUP 1970. 6.20 FLINTSTONES. 6.45 MIKE AND BERNIE'S SCENE. With Danish singer Nina and singer Roger Whittaker. 7.30 CORONATION STREET. 8.00 WORLD IN ACTION. 8.30 PLAYHOUSE. 'Private Lillywhite's Dead'. A platoon find themselves off course—a dangerous situation. 9.30 THE BEST THINGS IN LIFE. 'The Red Carnation'. With Harry Corbett and June Whitfield. 10.00 ELECTION BROADCAST. Labour Party. 10.10 NEWS. 10.40 THE X FILM. 'Cat Girl'. With Barbara Shelley, Edmund Brandt, Richard May and Paddy Webster. A crazy old man believes his family lives under the curse of the leopard which takes the form of a human soul entering the body of the animal and indulging in savage blood-lust. 12 midnight LAST PROGRAMME. 'Miscellany'.

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Eamonn McCANN

### No road

If elected, they will refuse to take their seats in the British parliament, whose rights they do not recognize in Ireland.

While the Republicans, some of whom use Connolly's phrase: 'the Workers' Republic' to describe their aims, receive support from sections of the Catholic workers, they cannot find a road to the Protestant workers.

At the 1966 General Election, the Unionists held all but one of the 12 Ulster seats. The exception was Belfast West, which Gerry Fitt won as a Republican Labour candidate. The seat has shifted between the Unionists and the Irish Labour Party since 1945.

In 1964, the Tories held the seat with a minority vote against N Ireland Labour Party, Republican and Republican Labour candidates. In 1966, Fitt was their only opponent, and they lost the support of many Protestant workers.

In Belfast North and East, the N Ireland Labour Party retains some support. But this feeble echo of Wilson can never defeat the Tories.

Avoiding the real issues as far as they can, they succeed in repelling the Protestant workers without rallying the Catholic workers.

Outside Belfast the widespread constituencies are designed to

December unemployment figures 1960-1969 (percentage figures in brackets)

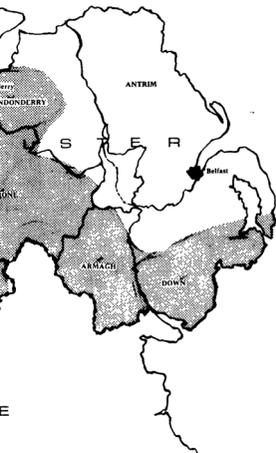
Year	Male	Female	Total
1960	26,592 (8.7)	7,829 (4.4)	34,421 (7.1)
1961	26,627 (8.7)	11,070 (6.2)	37,697 (7.8)
1962	25,728 (8.4)	11,153 (6.2)	36,881 (7.6)
1963	25,792 (8.3)	9,804 (5.4)	35,596 (7.2)
1964	20,016 (6.4)	8,626 (4.7)	28,642 (5.4)
1965	23,147 (7.4)	8,563 (4.5)	31,700 (6.3)
1966	26,613 (8.4)	11,075 (5.7)	37,688 (7.4)
1967	26,998 (8.5)	11,193 (5.8)	38,191 (7.5)
1968	30,010 (9.4)	8,566 (4.4)	38,576 (7.5)
1969	28,384 (8.8)	8,295 (4.3)	36,679 (7.1)

### ULSTER ELECTION RESULTS 1966

<b>Antrim N</b> Clark (Unionist) 31,927; Moore (Liberal) 8,941 Maj: 56.2 per cent; Poll: 56.7 per cent.	24,281. Maj: 4.0 per cent; Poll: 74.8 per cent.
<b>Antrim S</b> Cunningham (Unionist) 40,840; Stewart (NI Labour) 22,672. Maj: 28.6 per cent; Poll: 55.9 per cent.	
<b>Armagh</b> Maginnis (Unionist) 34,687; McGlennan (Republican) 13,467. Maj: 44 per cent; Poll: 63.3 per cent.	
<b>Belfast E</b> McMaster (Unionist) 21,283; McBirney (NI Labour) 17,650. Maj: 9.4 per cent; Poll: 68.2 per cent.	
<b>Belfast N</b> Mills (Unionist) 26,891; Overend (NI Labour) 19,927. Maj: 14.8 per cent; Poll: 65.5 per cent.	
<b>Belfast S</b> Pounder (Unionist) 23,329; Holmes (NI Labour) 12,364. Maj: 30.8 per cent; Poll: 63.3 per cent.	
<b>Belfast W</b> Fitt (Republican Labour) 26,292; Kilfedder (Unionist)	24,281. Maj: 4.0 per cent; Poll: 74.8 per cent.
<b>Down N</b> Currie (Unionist) 38,706; Murnaghan (Liberal) 10,582. Maj: 57 per cent; Poll: 48.9 per cent.	
<b>Down S</b> Orr (Unionist) 32,876; Quinn (Liberal) 9,586; Mussen (Republican) 8,917. Maj: 45.3 per cent; Poll: 65.8 per cent.	
<b>Fermanagh and S Tyrone</b> Hamilton (Unionist) 29,352; Donnelly (National Unity) 14,645; Brady (Republican) 10,370. Maj: 27.1 per cent; Poll: 86 per cent.	
<b>Londonderry</b> Chichester-Clark (Unionist) 34,729; Gormley (Nationalist) 22,167; Gillespie (Republican) 2,860. Maj: 21 per cent; Poll: 76.4 per cent.	
<b>Mid-Ulster</b> Devlin (Independent) 33,648; Forrest (Unionist) 29,437. (By-election held April 17, 1969 after the death of sitting Unionist member). Maj: 6.6 per cent; Poll: 91.5 per cent.	

# LIST June 18 POLITICS IN

## The three nationalisms



During the three vital weeks leading up to the General Election, Workers Press will provide on-the-spot coverage of all major campaigns in all parts of the country and Ulster

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re troops maintain the lead of the Unionists. In Londonderry—the whole county is included, not just the city—the Catholic vote is traditionally controlled by the Nationalists and the Unionists easily keep the majority.

In this election, Eamonn McCann, prominent in the Civil Rights movement, is to stand for the Derry branch of the Labour Party, but is almost certain to be disowned by the NILP itself.

Derry City is the classic case of gerrymandering in the local government elections. The wards are organized so that 20,000 Catholics and 10,000 Protestants elect 12 Unionist representatives and eight anti-Unionists.

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# June 18

GENERAL ELECTION NEWS

## THE SCOTTISH NATIONALIST PARTY

From R. SHAW

# The tartan Tories

THE COMING election, says the 'Scots Independent', weekly paper of the Scottish Nationalist Party, is not a matter of politics but one of national survival.

The role of the SNP is therefore to obscure the class issues in the election and to confuse to the maximum those sections of workers who turned to Scottish nationalism in protest against the betrayals of the Wilson government.

Of the 71 parliamentary seats from Scotland, 44 are at present Labour and another six are marginal, including the one seat occupied by the SNP.

A swing to nationalism could open the door to a decisive number of Tories and secure the return of a Tory government, now urgently required by the capitalist class.

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Such theories of abstention, coupled with the proposal that the demand for a Scottish parliament should be advanced as a transitional demand—as put forward by the revisionist Purdie of the International Marxist Group—must be viewed with great hostility.

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Mrs Ewing said that the SNP's role was vital to head off working-class anger. If the safety valve of nationalism was not opened, then the result, she said, would be explosion.

Protected for centuries by the prosperity of capitalism, the middle class know that with the developing crisis they are threatened.

Above all they fear the upsurge of revolt which will come from the industrial centres of Scotland. Their fear is also why

they oppose the Common Market.

The 'Scots Independent' said in its May 23 issue:

'But for the people of this nation, one Westminster evil is every bit as bad as the other. Both are bent on dragging Scotland into the Common Market with all its tragic implications for farmers, housewives and small businessmen.'

Advanced as a gigantic manoeuvre against American big business, the Common Market certainly threatens these sections, but its main objective is to defeat and discipline the working class.

tion of all diversions from the fight to keep out the Tories.

The SNP stands very close to Toryism. Its housing policy is for rent increases and grants to owner occupiers.

### Run-down

In Glasgow the SNP councillors supported the Tories in the determination to run down the direct labour building department.

But its programme is taken from middle-class impressions.

Roads must be built, and the 'Scots Independent' have the chairman of the Freight Trans-



Slum conditions in Glasgow.

The opposition of the middle class, which puts forward its pipe dreams of national independence, has nothing to do with the struggle which must be engaged in by the working class.

That struggle must begin with the defeat of the Tories and the return of a Labour government, and it must go on to fight for the Socialist United States of Europe.

### Swing

That is why the instinctive swing back by workers to Labour, which began with the S Aybshire by-election, was correct.

That swing was continued in the Burgh council elections during the beginning of May.

In the Glasgow Calton ward, for instance, the previous SNP councillor was defeated by 1,002 votes.

The SNP loat in all the major Scottish burghs. No effort must be spared to explain the need for the elimina-

## PLAID CYMRU

A VOTE for Plaid Cymru—the Welsh nationalist party—in the General Election on June 18 will be a vote for the enemies of the working class.

Plaid Cymru is dangerous. It conceals its reactionary policies with the language of labour reformism and in doing so deceives would-be supporters into thinking of it as the party of the people.

But it is nothing of the kind. Its economic and constitutional policies submitted in evidence to the Royal Commission on the Constitution prove, beyond doubt, that it is the party of the Welsh national bourgeoisie.

Plaid Cymru claims a membership of 40,000 in the 13 counties of the Principality and among emigre Welshmen in London and abroad.

### One seat

The Party has obtained only one parliamentary seat, at Carmarthen, where Gwynfor Evans has a 2,436 majority over Labour.

But it claims that 'hundreds of its members sit on local councils' and as a measure of its support in this General Election Plaid candidates will fight all 36 Welsh constituencies. In 1966 they fought 23.

Significantly Carmarthen is on the edge of rural Wales and Plaid draws considerable support from country districts where many of the nation's 26,000 Welsh language speakers live.

Nationalism is attractive to some in the mid-Wales counties where there is a chronic problem of depopulation and almost no industry other than farming.

The nationalists claim that the English are to blame for the neglect of the mid-Wales counties and argue that only a Welsh government with the interests of the Welsh people at heart will promote development on an acceptable scale.

In fact it has nothing to do with the English. The geographical distortion and the industrial imbalance of the Welsh economy has been brought about by the haphazard operation of the capitalist system which has everywhere pursued profit regardless of social consequences.

The Welsh bourgeoisie are engaged in a bid to protect their deteriorating economic position by attempting to build a state of their own the plunder from which they will not have to share with England.

For this purpose they have chosen to exploit the presence of a distinct Welsh language which, because it is so effective as a cement to hold the nation together, has been elevated to a position of central importance in the Party's programme.

A large number of Welsh speakers outside the rural areas are middle class. In 1970 it was claimed that 80 per cent of Welshmen spoke Welsh. But the effect of the Education Act was to convert the masses to English and they had no use, no time and no money for keeping up two languages.

Middle-class support for the Plaid comes from professional men like barristers and churchmen, librarians, lecturers and teachers, students and businessmen.

The Welsh working class has up to now given only limited support to Plaid Cymru, which in 1936 was labelled 'fascist'.

### Real enemy

Whenever the Welsh working class has been moved to action, it has not been against the English or for nationalism, but always against the real enemy, the employers and the capitalist system for which they are responsible.

In the main they have fought against the appalling living and working conditions which have more often than not obtained in S Wales through their trade unions or through the labour movement.

There are plenty of historic examples of their activity. At an insurrection at Merthyr Tydfil in 1871 troops shot down 30 to 40 people and the heroic miners' leader Dic Penderyn was subsequently hanged for his part in the affair.

In 1834 John Frost led 5,000 Chartists into Newport (Mon.) only to be met with a hail of bullets from the 43rd Foot Regiment.

Nevertheless Plaid has shown itself capable of producing policies which sections of the working class find attractive.



# ...Down in the

Throughout the 1830s mobs roamed S Wales in an action known as the Rebecca Riots pulling down Toll Gates and demanding food.

Metropolitan police and cavalry were sent to Tonypandy in 1910 to put down rioting miners who have a long history of struggle against the employers on the coalfields.

Today Plaid Cymru seeks to blame the economic plight of Wales on the English and not on the true cause—capitalism.

But if workers think they will be any better off under the rule of the Welsh bourgeoisie, let them remember that much of the hardship suffered by their forefathers was inflicted as much by Welsh bosses as by those from England.

The Cambrian Combine, Powell-Duffryn, the Lewis family of



Merthyr, the Davies family of Llandnam; these and a host of smaller enterprises were all Welsh owned. But their workers were little better off because of it.

There is evidence from by-election results that working-class disillusion with successive Tory and Labour governments coupled with Plaid's success at Carmarthen in July 1966 has led to growing support for the nationalists among working people.

In March 1966 at Rhondda West, Plaid polled 2,172 votes, but a year later their share of the vote soared to 10,067 putting them only 2,306 behind Labour who held the seat.

### Slump

At the same time at Caerphilly Plaid won 3,940 votes, but by July 1968 the vote leapt to 14,274 placing them only 1,874 behind the successful Labour candidate.

On both occasions the Tory and Labour vote fell, but the majority of the votes were snatched from Labour.

As by-elections these were special circumstances and experts predict that the share of the Plaid's vote in this election could slump so low that the seat at Carmarthen will be lost.

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Their priviledge

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**ANGLIA:** 10.58-3.00 London. 4.05 Newsroom. 4.15 Romper room. 4.35 Superman. 5.00 Tom Grattan's war. 5.25 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.45 Parties face the press. 11.10 Gideon's way. 12.10 Reflection.

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# POLITICS IN BRITAIN

## Nationalisms

### SCOTTISH NATIONALIST

From R. SHAW

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Advanced as a gigantic manoeuvre against American big business, the Common Market certainly threatens these sections, but its main objective is to defeat and discipline the working class.



Slum conditions in Glasgow.

The opposition of the middle class, which puts forward its pipe dreams of national independence, has nothing to do with the struggle which must be engaged in by the working class.

That struggle must begin with the defeat of the Tories and the return of a Labour government, and it must go on to fight for the Socialist United States of Europe.

### Swing

That is why the instinctive swing back by workers to Labour, which began with the S Ayrshire by-election, was correct.

That swing was continued in the Burgh council elections during the beginning of May.

In the Glasgow Calton ward, for instance, the previous SNP councillor was defeated by 1,002 votes.

The SNP lost in all the major Scottish burghs.

No effort must be spared to explain the need for the elimina-

tion of all diversions from the fight to keep out the Tories.

The SNP stands very close to Toryism. Its housing policy is for rent increases and grants to owner occupiers.

### Run-down

In Glasgow the SNP councillors supported the Tories in the determination to run down the direct labour building department.

But its programme is taken from middle-class impressions.

Roads must be built, and the 'Scots Independent' have the chairman of the Freight Trans-

A VOTE for Plaid Cymru—the Welsh nationalist party—in the General Election on June 18 will be a vote for the enemies of the working class.

Plaid Cymru is dangerous. It conceals its reactionary policies with the language of labour reformism and in doing so deceives would-be supporters into thinking of it as the party of the people.

But it is nothing of the kind. Its economic and constitutional policies submitted in evidence to the Royal Commission on the Constitution prove, beyond doubt, that it is the party of the Welsh national bourgeoisie.

Plaid Cymru claims a membership of 40,000 in the 13 counties of the Principality and among emigre Welshmen in London and abroad.

### One seat

The Party has obtained only one parliamentary seat, at Carmarthen, where Gwynfor Evans has a 2,436 majority over Labour.

But it claims that 'hundreds of its members sit on local councils' and as a measure of its support in this General Election Plaid candidates will fight all 36 Welsh constituencies. In 1966 they fought 23.

Significantly Carmarthen is on the edge of rural Wales and Plaid draws considerable support from country districts where many of the nation's 26,000 Welsh language speakers live.

Nationalism is attractive to some in the mid-Wales counties where there is a chronic problem of depopulation and almost no industry other than farming.

The nationalists claim that the English are to blame for the neglect of the mid-Wales counties and argue that only a Welsh government with the interests of the Welsh people at heart will promote development on an acceptable scale.

In fact it has nothing to do with the English. The geographical distortion and the industrial imbalance of the Welsh economy has been brought about by the haphazard operation of the capitalist system which has everywhere pursued profit regardless of social consequences.

The Welsh bourgeoisie are engaged in a bid to protect their deteriorating economic position by attempting to build a state of their own the plunder from which they will not have to share with England.

For this purpose they have chosen to exploit the presence of a distinct Welsh language which, because it is so effective as a cement to weld the nation together has been elevated to a position of central importance in the Party's programme.

A large number of Welsh speakers outside the rural areas are middle class. In 1870 it was claimed that 80 per cent of Welshmen spoke Welsh. But the effect of the Education Act was to convert the masses to English and they had no use, no time and no money for keeping up two languages.

Middle-class support for the Plaid comes from professional men like barristers and churchmen, librarians, lecturers and teachers, students and businessmen.

The Welsh working class has up to now given only limited support to Plaid Cymru, which in 1936 was labelled 'fascist'.

### Real enemy

Whenever the Welsh working class has been moved to action, it has not been against the Tories and Labour governments but always against the real enemy, the employers and the capitalist system for which they are responsible.

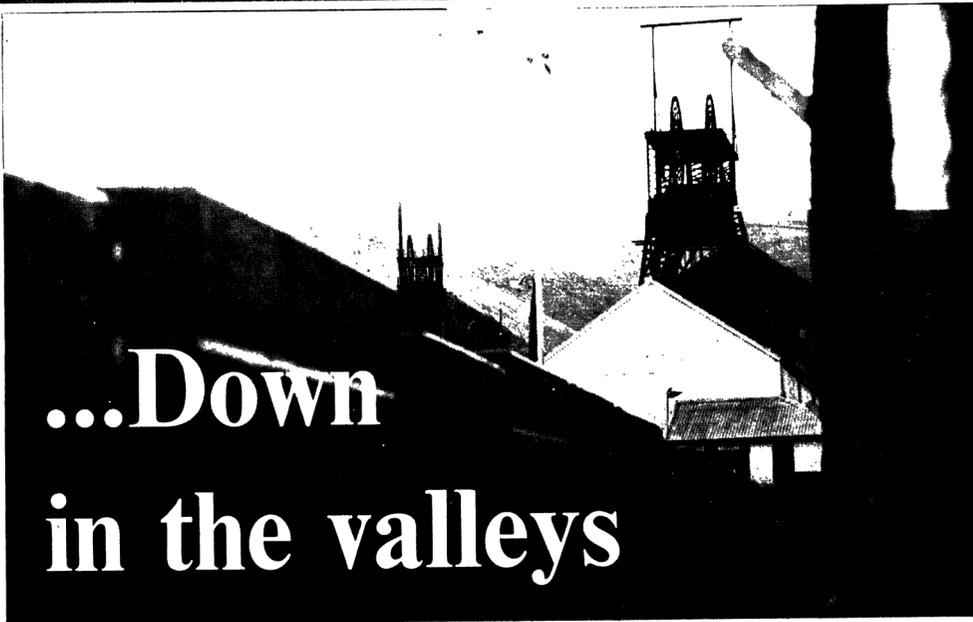
In the main they have fought against the appalling living and working conditions which have more often than not obtained in S Wales through their trade unions or through the labour movement.

There are plenty of historic examples of their activity. At an insurrection at Merthyr Tydfil in 1871 troops shot down 30 to 40 people and the heroic miners' leader Dic Penderyn was subsequently hanged for his part in the affair.

In 1834 John Frost led 5,000 Chartists into Newport (Mon.) only to be met with a hail of bullets from the 43rd Foot Regiment.

## PLAID CYMRU

From IAN YEATS



## ...Down in the valleys

Throughout the 1830s mobs roamed S Wales in an action known as the Rebecca Riots pulling down Toll Gates and demanding food.

Metropolitan police and cavalry were sent to Tonymandy in 1910 to put down rioting miners who have a long history of struggle against the employers on the coalfields.

Today Plaid Cymru seeks to blame the economic plight of Wales on the English and not on the true cause—capitalism.

But if workers think they will be any better off under the rule of the Welsh bourgeoisie, let them remember that much of the hardship suffered by their forefathers was inflicted as much by Welsh bosses as by those from England.

The Cambrian Combine, Powell-Duffryn, the Lewis family of

In Carmarthen, Rhondda West and Caerphilly the Party gained between 39 and 40 per cent of the poll, despite a heavy working-class representation in two of the three areas.

There should be no doubt. Plaid Cymru is the party of the Welsh bourgeoisie and of capitalism.

### Property

A vote for Plaid on June 18 will be a vote for a party hostile to the working class and in marginal seats it could also, by splitting the Labour vote, let the Tories in.

Gwynfor Evans has made his Party's attitude to property and capital quite clear in 'Welsh Nationalist Aims'.

'Men who have some property behind them are in a more favourable position to maintain

economy and to do so Welsh economic decay must be arrested and reversed. Hence the cry for home rule.

If Plaid Cymru achieved self government in Wales the result would be the operation of the same crisis fraught capitalist system but from Cardiff instead of Westminster.

Their policies, offered to the Crowther Commission, make it clear that it is not revolutionary change which is sought but merely a switch of masters.

The economic plan of the Party says:

'The case for self government is the duty we have in Wales to take full responsibility for our own affairs.'

It is right that the Welsh people should have responsibility for their own affairs, but it is not the intention of Plaid to

Medieval furnace at Caernarvon investiture: Plaid Cymru president Gwynfor Evans, MP, described the prince as 'a very popular young lad'.



Merthyr, the Davies family of Llandinam; these and a host of smaller enterprises were all Welsh owned. But their workers were little better off because of it.

There is evidence from by-election results that working-class disillusion with successive Tory and Labour governments coupled with Plaid's success at Carmarthen in July 1966 has led to growing support for the nationalists among working people.

In March 1966 at Rhondda West, Plaid polled 2,172 votes, but a year later their share of the vote soared to 10,067 putting them only 2,306 behind Labour who held the seat.

### Slump

At the same time at Caerphilly Plaid won 3,940 votes, but by July 1968 the vote leapt to 14,274 placing them only 1,874 behind the successful Labour candidate.

On both occasions the Tory and Labour vote fell, but the majority of the votes were snatched from Labour.

As by-elections these were special circumstances and experts predict that the share of the Plaid's vote in this election could slump so low that the seat at Carmarthen will be lost.

Nevertheless Plaid has shown itself capable of producing policies which sections of the working class find attractive.

their personal freedom than those who are propertyless.'

This is a recipe for riches for the few because the mass of people own no property nor will they ever.

He goes on, the Party 'has believed that the abolition of property would lead to evils far greater than those to which it has given rise in the past'.

The truth is exactly the reverse. Only the abolition of the existing system of property ownership will increase freedom and guarantee a high living standard for all.

The class interests of Plaid Cymru are revealed in the history of its development.

It was no accident that the emergence of Plaid Cymru in 1925, formed by a group of middle-class intellectuals at Pwllheli, coincided with a period of catastrophic economic recession.

It was no accident that they did not choose to follow the example of the Welsh proletariat which was turning to Marxism, syndicalism and the labour movement.

It was no accident because Plaid Cymru was and is the Party of the Welsh middle class who have no interest in destroying the capitalist system of property ownership and economics, but only in making it work more effectively for them.

Their goal is to safeguard their privileged position in the

hand over power to the people, but to retain it in their own middle-class hands.

Under a Welsh government the working class would continue to suffer during the inevitable crises brought about by periodic over-production and the need to develop new industries and run down old ones in order to compete in domestic and world markets.

### Profit

Ironically Plaid's economic plan is dedicated to the working class:

'This plan is dedicated to the working people of Wales who have suffered so long from an economy not designed to meet their needs.'

As it stands it is a true statement. But capitalism is never ever suited to the needs of the working people, yet Plaid, by their own admission, will continue to operate the system in Wales.

There will be no economy designed to meet the needs of the working people until the capitalist order is destroyed.

The mainspring of the economy—according to the plan—will remain as before, profit.

In a section of the plan dealing with criteria for selecting industry, eight reasons for the economic desirability of admitting any given firm are listed.

its own currency.

At the top of the list in first place comes 'profitability'. Seventh comes 'the level of wages'.

The Welsh middle class is itself divided. There are those who believe that Wales, with 8,000 square miles and 2.6 million people is too small to go it alone economically. They favour devolution of power from Westminster.

Against them are those, like Plaid Cymru, who believe that 'self government is a prerequisite of economic growth'. Both groups are pursuing common interests in different ways.

The Welsh working class should not be deceived by 'left' phrases used by Plaid Cymru.

For example workers' control in the mouths of Plaid members means collaboration with the middle class in making the Welsh capitalist economy work.

The Party says: 'We also think that consideration should be given to enabling trade union members to elect members of their own union to the boards of state-owned industries.'

It must be noted that the areas from which workers' representatives are to be chosen are carefully limited to the union bureaucrats on whose loyalty they feel—with reason—they can rely.

### Control

And, of course, it only applies to state-owned industries the status of which Plaid would not change on the assumption of power, but which would ultimately form a small part of the predominantly private enterprise economy.

The plan says: 'For the sake of this plan it is assumed that Wales will have a mixed economy with public enterprise living side by side with private enterprise.'

'A self governing Wales will have under public ownership those manufacturing centres that are today publicly owned and that the remaining sectors stay in private hands.'

Plaid Cymru will never allow genuine workers' control of industry because of the danger of a decisive challenge to the capitalist system to the prosperity of which the future of their class is tied.

Whatever its hopes of success, which are questionable, the plan envisages building Wales into a fully fledged industrial state.

But only under the system of world competition for markets is it necessary for each county to try to produce the whole range of manufactured goods.

To the festering industrial wounds of the S Wales valleys, peppered with slag heaps, abandoned works and mean towns and villages Plaid proposes to add the prospect of industry 'within 20 miles of almost every home in Wales'.

For the purpose of concrete forecasts the plan assumes that Plaid is about to come to power.

Bearing that in mind it will mean 650 miles of new roads, 160,000 new houses by 1976, a welter of new shops, offices and factories and the creation of 100,000 new jobs in six years.

All this would take place within the framework of a common market with the other United Kingdom countries to pave the way for the free movement of people, goods and, of course, capital. Wales would have its own currency.

This is a framework and a plan for establishing Wales as a member of the world capitalist system. It is not a plan to bring political and economic freedom to the Welsh working class.

It comes as no surprise that the Queen is to be recognized as head of state, her prerogative powers to be exercised in Wales by the First Citizen or Prime Minister.

There is to be a bi-cameral parliament, a supreme court to administer capitalist law, an Ombudsman and a defence court to 'permit the maintenance of internal law and order and civil security and act under the UN'.

Nothing could be clearer than this. The Welsh economy is to be capitalist, buttressed by the familiar and necessary legal and constitutional arrangements which protect the interests of the middle class.

### Cynical

These policies are not aimed at improving the living standards of working people absolutely and continuously. They are not aimed at improving the quality of life or at improving the environment.

They are aimed at the aggrandisement of the Welsh middle class at the expense of workers. Indeed the plan describes the building of socialism as 'extremist' and dismisses it in one paragraph.

Instead of policies to eliminate unemployment once and for all the plan talks cynically of acceptable levels.

It says the average excess unemployment on current figures will be around 16,000 and that the most that can be hoped for from self government is to reduce unemployment to the level of England.

By their own admission they will follow policies which will perpetuate one of the greatest hardships that workers ever have to bear—hardship brought about by the inevitable slumps caused by international competition.

There is a similar cynicism in the plan for education which, they say, must be improved, not to equip workers to lead richer lives but so that 'the labour force is trained in the skills employers will need'.

Also it says that Welsh society must 'overcome the traditional reluctance of women to work'.

These policies mean that the lives of every man and woman in Wales are to be harnessed to the cause of maintaining the Welsh ruling class in the luxury to which they would like to become accustomed and which they at present, see slipping away from them.

In their conclusions to the economic plan the party says:

'We do not apologize in any way for concentrating our attention on the need to provide work for the people of Wales.'

'Without work we can neither maintain the social and cultural life of the towns and villages of Wales nor can we provide the level of services and investment which can make Wales a better place for our children.'

Just so. The working people of Wales are to provide the wealth from which they will receive crumbs in return for their labours and on which the middle class will grow fat.

### Inequality

Welsh nationalism is the product of the inequalities between nations resulting from imperialist exploitation. Nationalism is a backward development.

But it is inevitable unless and until a real equality is created between men and nations. Only under socialism will a nation's right to secede and start up on its own become meaningless because it will not be necessary.

Socialism is not hostile to the plurality of cultures which exist in the world. It does not seek to stamp them out.

What socialism does seek to stamp out is state-building by a minority ruling class on the basis of regional cultures and languages because this perpetuates international inequalities and conflicts.

People all over the world can live fraternally together and enjoy equal living standards and freedom. But first there must be an end to the exploitation and oppression of individuals by capitalism and of nations by imperialism.

This will only be done by fighting to build a revolutionary socialist leadership in every country of the world and through the eventual triumph of the socialist order.

# Eire crisis

FROM PAGE ONE

exacerbate conflicts in Irish society and have a powerful impact on Ulster events.

The split in Fianna Fail will be carried a step further next Wednesday when the Fianna Fail Parliamentary Party meets to decide whether the whip should be withdrawn from Mr Boland. He is certain to resist such a move.

Whatever happens it is now obvious that the Green Tories of Dublin are disintegrating as rapidly as the Orange Tories in Belfast and the scene is being set for a decisive and unpostponable struggle between the Irish workers and poor farmers and the ruling class, North and South.

## Terrified

Nobody should confuse the demagogic statements of Boland, Blaney and other elements of the Irish bourgeoisie with their desire to unify Ireland along revolutionary democratic lines.

They are just as terrified of the Irish workers and poor farmers as the Lynch mob.

They hope to use the border as a convenient distraction from the crisis in the South and, at best, to provoke a situation which would permit the UN to put pressure on Britain to withdraw the troops and replace British imperialism with US imperialism, assisted by a certain amount of gun-play on the border.

Neither group can guarantee the rights and liberties of the Protestant minority.

In fact their association with the reactionary Catholic Church only serves to strengthen Paisleyism in the North and perpetuate religious divisions.

The historic betrayal of Irish unity by the stunted Irish capitalist class in 1921 is complete. No attempt by any section of the Irish capitalists to evoke the ghosts of 50 years ago will succeed today.

The task of unifying Ireland rests on the shoulders of the Irish working class alone.

The British working class can and must assist their Irish brothers to break from the bankrupt Republican ideology and take the revolutionary socialist road to power and unity.

There is no other way to do this than by fighting for the defeat of the Tories on June 18 and by demanding the unconditional withdrawal of troops from Ulster now!

# Cliff Slaughter writes on

# Why vote Labour?

**THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE has been the only organization to lead a consistent struggle in the working class for socialist policies, against the betrayal of the Wilson government.**

## Glassmen

FROM PAGE ONE

'truckers' — glass carriers — sacked five weeks ago after walking out in protest against alleged misinformation about the situation at St Helens told the Workers Press on Saturday that they had been given a different version of this agreement; that they would be reinstated or re-employed only if there were vacancies at the plant.

What is more, they have been expelled from their local union branch — although the G&MWU's Cardiff district office claims they are still members of the union.

Both the victimization at Triplex and the sackings at Pontypool were sources of considerable bitterness in St Helens at the weekend.

If cast-iron guarantees on both issues are not forthcoming from Tuesday's talks, a growing number of shop-floor workers will be calling — at the mass meeting scheduled to take place in seven days time — for further strike action.

In the summer and autumn preceding the 1964 General Election we warned the working class, through 'The Newsletter' — forerunner of Workers Press — and through the Young Socialists' campaigns of the consequences of Wilson's leadership.

Even at that time it was clear to Marxists that the post-war economic boom was drawing to an end and that any British government which did not break from capitalism would have to carry out anti-working-class policies, leading to severe unemployment and attacks on living standards.

We therefore called upon the working class to vote Labour, but to combine this anti-Tory vote with the fight to change the Labour leadership and implement socialist policies of nationalization.

The Labour 'lefts' and the Stalinists rejected such a call. They considered (and still do) that 'pressure' could force Wilson to the left.

Millions of workers understand that to return the Tories could mean a return to the 1930s — a real and bitter prospect, a matter of life and death.

They also know Wilson tried to carry out Tory policies and lay down legislative foundations for the Tory attacks.

These workers are going through a particular, concrete phase of their illusions in reformism.

On the basis of their experience, they consider that even with a treacherous and weak Labour government, it is possible to preserve the gains built up in nearly two centuries of trade unionism through independent militant action.

From the Marxist standpoint, there is no doubt that if Wilson is returned to power he will serve his capitalist masters and attempt once again to pass anti-union laws and impose a wage-freeze.

The General Election has been brought forward to June because of the galloping economic crisis and the need to put an end to the uncertain pre-election period when the workers continue to fight for wages.

Writing in 'The Red Mole' of April 15, Robin Blackburn says:

... after the recent experience of Labour government it would be absolutely incorrect for us to offer any kind of support to Harold Wilson or the Party he leads. I will assume that no Marxist can believe in passively abstaining from politics, especially during an election period when the political consciousness of the masses is stimulated. I will therefore conclude that the only principled course for revolutionary socialists during the campaign is to discredit both of Britain's large capitalist parties (i.e. Labour Party and Tory Party).

In this campaign we should certainly pull none of our punches. We should disrupt the campaigns of the bourgeois parties and their lead-

## Rejected

The predecessors of the 'International Marxist Group' (IMG)—the group of Pat Jordan, Brian Alderman and their followers now producing the magazine 'The Red Mole'—followed the same opportunist line.

They rejected our characterization of the capitalist content of the Wilson government, calling it instead 'left reformist'.

Joseph Hansen of the American Socialist Workers' Party even called it 'left centrist'.

They joined the Stalinists in denouncing the Socialist Labour League as 'sectarian' because of our policy and even accused us of repeating Stalinist 'Third Period' policies (1929-1933).

Then Stalinists dismissed all reformists as 'social fascists' and called on workers to abstain where only Labour and Tory candidates stood, and to write 'Communist' across the ballot paper.

Chapter 11 of Ernest Mandel's anti-SLL pamphlet 'Ultra-Leftism in Britain' was entitled 'The SLL echoes Third Period Stalinism'.

(Mandel is the international 'theoretician' of the tendency to which the IMG belongs.) Of course the SLL did none of these things.

## Best conditions

We carried out consistently the line of Marxists in Britain on this question ever since Lenin gave his advice in 'Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder'.

We called for a Labour vote, to provide the best conditions for the struggle against the capitalist class and its reformist agents.

In 1970 our accusers have apparently turned a remarkable somersault.

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ing spokesmen using all the imaginative and direct methods which the last few years have taught us.

The working class faces the possibility of a Tory government pledged to immediate measures against the trade unions, for 'planned' unemployment, attacks on immigrants, and repressive 'law and order' regulations.

And the revisionists advise the working class to 'disrupt' Labour meetings in the same way, presumably, as Enoch Powell!

Blackburn's criminally dangerous line represents the interests of the enemy class. It must be condemned unreservedly and driven out of any part of the labour movement where it appears.

Since the 1930s the 'left' publicist like himself, and particularly since the defeat of the prices and incomes policy and the anti-union legislation in June 1969, workers have mounted a gigantic wages offensive, embracing low-paid and previously strike-free industries as well as the highly-organized ones.

Blackburn writes about 'the recent extended experience of Labour government'. He means only the impressions of the left publicist like himself, and does not analyse the actual experience of the working class in struggle.

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## Omits entirely

Lenin insisted on this aspect in his 'Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder' and it is entirely characteristic of Blackburn and those he represents that he omits it entirely from his lengthy article.

This is because, unlike Lenin, and unlike the Socialist Labour League, he does not consider that crisis and revolutionary struggle for working-class power are on the agenda.

He scornfully dismisses the



Workers are going through a particularly sharp phase of their illusions in reformism. This was reflected in the May 1, 1969, strike (above) which helped defeat Wilson's plans for anti-union laws.

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## Umbrella

To return a Labour government in these circumstances is not a question of the 'lesser evil'.

It is a question of the necessity of going with the working class through the experience of exploding the latest illusion that a Labour government can be used as an umbrella beneath which militant trade unionism will be able to preserve the standard of living.

Furthermore, it is necessary to consider the political relationship of forces in the



The VSC-IMG march on Saturday to Smith Square (reported on page one) which carried the dangerous pro-absenteeism line.

revolutionary struggle for power being brought nearer every day by the world crisis.

This crisis finds the representatives of the capitalists nervous and hesitant, knowing they must attack, but fearful of the consequences.

How much more indecisive will they be if they fail to return their direct representatives—the Conservatives—to office, and have to operate again through the Labourites!

## Distorts

He distorts history to support his argument about not voting Labour:

... British trade unionism emerged under the tutelage of the labour aristocracy and its profoundly economic, Lib-Lab ideology.

In point of fact, trade unions emerged under conditions of repression in a wide variety of trades and industries, and the 'New Model Unionism' which answers to Blackburn's description was dominant only between about 1850 and 1889, when the great general unions sprang up and the semi-skilled and unskilled 'broke into' the organized labour movement.

The origins of the Labour Party lie not in the conservative remnants of the 'new model' unions, but in the struggle to defend the expanded movement against new legal and political attacks from the bourgeois state, particularly in the Taff Vale judgement.

## Quotation

Blackburn uses one quotation from Lenin, in which Lenin corrects those who refer to the Labour Party as the political expression of the trade unions, and says that from the point of view of its actions and political tactics, despite its worker-membership, it must be called a 'thoroughly bourgeois party'.

The speech he quotes is from Lenin's address to the Second Congress of the Third International.

What he does not tell his

## No reason

'There is certainly no reason to expect the British bourgeoisie to exchange tame bourgeois politicians of the Wilson-Heath variety for the perilous experimentation of a Hitler or a Bonaparte. Such solutions are only reluctantly resorted to by a ruling class which confronts both a strong revolutionary bid for power and a really profound economic and social crisis of the sort Germany experienced during the First World War and during the Depression. Whatever the nature of the crisis of British capitalism, and it is real enough, it certainly does not contain these two features, and in particular not a powerful revolutionary movement.'

Despite the appearance of

## Crudest

Revisionists like Blackburn always like to present themselves as very sophisticated gentlemen who have more intellectual refinement than the 'crude' Marxists.

But the fact is that they are the crudest purveyors of bourgeois ideology.

For example, Blackburn presents the Labour Party as a pure expression of the needs of the capitalist class—and of course he can quote many 'examples'.



## A reply to the ultra-lefts

But of course it would be just as true to say, in Britain, that the bourgeois state rests on the trade unions, and through them on the working class (see Trotsky 'Marxism and the Trade Unions').

Should we then withdraw from the trade unions and refuse to work in them because they provide a pillar of bourgeois rule?

On the contrary, we struggle inside them for a socialist leadership to defeat the agents of the capitalist class, and we defend these mass organizations against every attack.

Blackburn's historical views about the relation between the Labour Party and the trade unions are a travesty of the truth.

But the very existence of a Labour Party, to which the system goes in time of crisis, is itself a reflection of the strength of the working class.

And the existence of Labour governments, while reflecting the bourgeoisie's control of the working class to a definite degree, also opens up dangers of the end of this control.

But working-class consciousness is Blackburn's last consideration.

He can think of the workers only as exploited dupes of capitalism.

All the evidence suggests that the decision of which Party to vote for will be determined less by class loyalty of any kind and more by a calculation of which Party can run British capitalism better.

In other words, the workers are only interested in a well-run capitalist system.

'In such a situation', Blackburn continues, 'it would be absurd for socialists to muddy the propaganda and activities during the election by commitment to any of the bourgeois parties (i.e. Tory or Labour).'

This is the old vice of sectarian fear of the real movement, but without the virtues of the young Communist movement, where at least those guilty of sectarian tactics had made a thorough break with parliamentary and middle-class politics.

Blackburn and his friends come from an entirely middle-class political milieu which he calls the 'extra-parliamentary opposition' and can boast no work in the organized labour movement.

The best summing-up of the whole attitude of this rotten tendency is in Blackburn's closing paragraphs:

'In any case', he says, 'we must rid ourselves of the delusion that our support is likely to make any difference to the immediate outcome of this election ...

... I do not think that any revolutionary group in Britain can claim that its support would be a "rope strong enough to hang the Labour Party" (Lenin spoke of supporting Labour as a rope supports a hanging man.)

## Urgency

Everything is done to prove the hopelessness of a revolutionary intervention that can carry any weight in the working class.

The urgency for working-class unity and strength to be preserved and developed through the anti-Tory struggle is completely ignored.

The influence and prospects of the revolutionary Marxist party are not separate from these interests.

Only in so far as the revolutionary party finds correct policies for the working class, and then fights to bring them home to the masses in their experience, can the necessary change be made.

Blackburn ignores this relation between the party and the class.

For him and his revisionist friends the working class is a mass of individuals conditioned by all-powerful capitalism, while the enlightened few around 'The Red Mole' continue their path of 'imaginative methods' of disrupting meetings instead of fighting for Marxist theory and programme.

The working class will reject with contempt the adventures of this group, and Marxists will learn, in the course of struggling against such revisionists, the ways in which the bourgeoisie uses the apparently 'left' illusions of the lower-middle-class intellectuals for its own purposes.

## Deep crisis

Because the Stalinist bureaucracy has always tried to maintain its privileges by balancing between imperialism and the international working class, it now goes into deep crisis together with imperialism.

Support for Franco and the Greek colonels goes hand in hand with secret talks with Brandt and the continued recognition of the CIA puppet regime in Cambodia.

As for NATO, this anti-communist, imperialist military alliance is criticised by the Hungarian Stalinists because it failed to produce 'tangible results' at its Rome meeting!

As if NATO could achieve benefits either to the European states or the working classes in the West.

## Cambodia

FROM PAGE ONE

ing a middle course between Kosygin and Mao.

Hence the Radio commentator's judgement on Chinese diplomacy:

... although the negotiations are the only correct way to resolve open problem and war conflicts, China did not make a mistake when it cancelled the 137th meeting in Warsaw [with the US Ambassador] as a mark of protest against US aggression in Cambodia.'

## DIPLOMACY

This careful praise for Peking is, however, rounded off by a call for a resumption of secret diplomacy when the times are more opportune:

'It is a good thing, too, that its [the Chinese government's] decision does not amount to closing the doors to future meetings, should the conditions for such meetings exist.'

Nevertheless, Zagreb Radio has made some telling points on the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism in SE Asia.

Even after the resumption last week of diplomatic relations between the Lon Nol regime and Saigon, Thailand and the USA, the Soviet Ambassador to Cambodia remains at Phnom Penh.

## EXPOSE

With equal facility Kosygin claims his solidarity with the Cambodian people—and awards diplomatic recognition to the regime that is butchering them.

Without a constant campaign to expose Stalinist secret diplomacy and the aid that it renders imperialism, there can be no effective solidarity with the SE Asian people today.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS BIRMINGHAM

'The General Election and the Economic Crisis' Thursday, June 4, 8 p.m. The Wellington Cnr of Bristol St/Bromsgrove St

## COVENTRY 'Beat the Tories'

Thursday, June 4, 7.30 p.m. Shakespeare Inn Spoon St

# Soviet bloc split over NATO talks

By a foreign correspondent

FIRST responses in Europe to last week's Rome NATO conference have generally been favourable.

The Bulgarian government—noted for its servility towards the Soviet bureaucracy—announced through 'Rabnotnickesho Delo' on Friday that 'the majority of W European members of NATO, unlike the USA, were favourably disposed towards the convening of a European conference on security'.

Though more cautious, Hungarian Radio commented that while the NATO Council session had produced 'no tangible result', hopes that 'reason must prevail' were not quite groundless.

A jarring note was predictable from the German government, currently under great pressure from the Kremlin to make diplomatic and political concessions to W Germany.

'The meeting has above all revealed the dominating role of the USA and W Germany and their policy of tying the NATO states down to a policy of discrimination against the GDR.'

This comment by 'Neues Deutschland' flagrantly contradicts the opinion of the Bulgarian Stalinists, who emphasized that the US had not succeeded in forcing their line onto the majority of the NATO members!

Ironically, the international Stalinist strategy of attempting to play off the European capitalist classes against the USA (the current Bonn-Moscow talks and the Warsaw Pact proposal for an alliance with the US, NATO and Treaty are central to this plan) has led to splits in the ranks of the bureaucracy as well as the imperialists.

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## LATE NEWS

**JAPAN: ANTI-US DEMO**

An estimated 8,000 demonstrators staged anti-US rallies and demonstrations throughout Japan, yesterday against the presence of US forces and bases and the extension of the US-Japan security treaty which comes up for review next month.

A time bomb went off inside the US Air Force base at Tachikawa near Tokyo but there was no damage.

**APARTHEID PROTEST**

New Zealand All-Black rugby player Ken Gray said yesterday he protested against apartheid by resigning from rugby.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 188A Clapham High Street, London.

Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (T.U.), 180B Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

before the selection of the team to tour S Africa next month. 'With most New Zealanders, I believe all racism is wrong,' he said.

**NEW EGYPTIAN AIR RAIDS**

Cairo, Sunday—Egyptian jets swooped across the Suez Canal early today to blast Israeli positions at El Kantara and El Cap in the northern sector of the waterway, a military spokesman announced.

Fighter bombers scored direct hits and fires were seen in ammunition dumps and fortifications.

Thirteen Israelis were killed in Egyptian commando attacks along the canal yesterday — the highest toll since the six-day war three years ago.