

T.U.C. Vietnam resolution

ANTI-COMMUNIST AGREEMENT

BY ROBERT BLACK

WITH PREDICTABLE servility, the Stalinist 'Morning Star' yesterday reproduced the TUC General Council resolution on Vietnam under the headline 'TUC leaders' solid "No" to American atrocities'.

Approved unanimously—and it is evident why—its main section runs:

'It is now clear that the war in Vietnam by its nature involves the civilian population, in their homeland, in the possibility of such abhorrent and inhuman incidents, by whichever side they may be initiated, whatever their own political convictions may be and wherever they may lie.

'The declaration of the US government that such incidents do not conform to their policies or intentions lead the General Council to hope that investigation and inquiry will not be limited to the proceedings which the US authorities now have in hand, but will extend to the general purpose of the war, and to the question of whether its further pursuit can serve the material ends or the ideals of the free world. . . .

Every Communist Party member, 'Morning Star' reader and militant trade unionist knows that this resolution is anti-communist to the core.

The General Council not only equates the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people with the barbarities inflicted on them by imperialism, it even compliments Nixon on his statement that atrocities are not part of and do not arise from US policy in Vietnam.

But the resolution goes even further than that. Its only quarrel with US imperialism is based on the doubt that the present method of conducting the war 'can serve the material ends or the ideals of the free world' (emphasis added).

This is the crude, cold-war language of 'communism at its most virulent'.

The 'defence of the free world' was the slogan on the lips of every imperialist spokesman during the years when US imperialism, willingly served by the Attlees and the Bevins, constructed a ring of atomic bases around the Soviet Union and People's China, and launched its war on the Korean workers and peasants.

'Free world ideals'

And now, when the embattled Vietnamese people need every ounce of solidarity the international working class can muster, the cold war warriors of the General Council declare that US imperialism has been fighting all these years for the 'ideals' of the 'free world'.

Perhaps this cynical statement is intended to console the bereaved relatives of the thousands slaughtered in the recently-disclosed atrocities.

Any militant trade unionist, faced every day with the fight to defend his wages and working conditions against the attacks of those who own and rule this 'free world', will only react with disgust.

They will certainly want to know who was responsible for moving this anti-working-class, anti-communist resolution. The 'Morning Star' tells us that too:

'The resolution was moved by busmen's leader Mr Bill Jones and was passed unanimously after he explained that he wanted a statement which reflected the broadest views of the General Council members.

'Some other left-wing union leaders would have preferred a more sharply-worded motion, but finally agreed with Mr Jones' view that the resolution should reflect the overwhelming opinion of the whole of the General Council members.'

Stalinism revealed

Here the hand of Stalinism reveals itself.

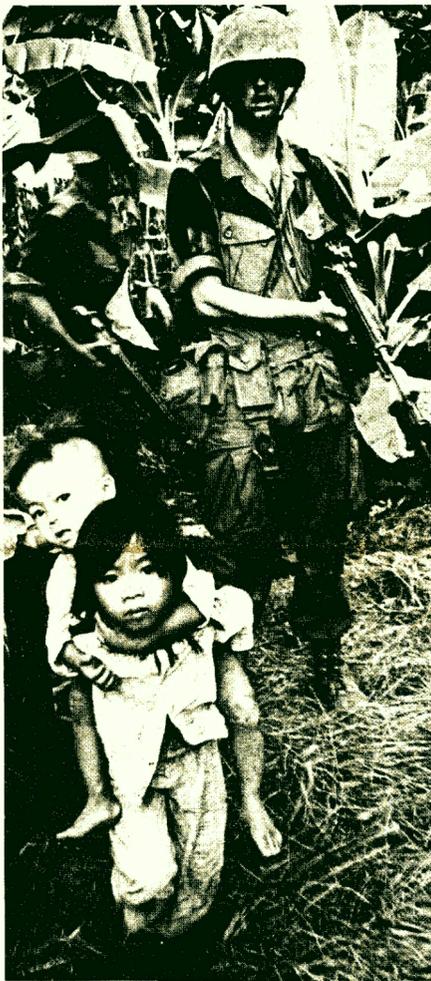
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Exactly who, trade unionists should ask, is responsible for the drafting of this 'broad' resolution—so broad that it could get the support of Nixon himself?

We are told by the 'Star' that some members of the General Council wanted something 'sharper'—perhaps even a condemnation of US imperialism and a call for the withdrawal of troops.

But in the interests of unity, Bill Jones, the right wing—won the day and the resolution was

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The TUC General Council's resolution, couched in crude cold-war language, condones the genocidal acts by US troops in Vietnam. Left: Two children scamper out of the way of a GI search party.

ECONOMY

No room for illusions

REASSURING government statements about the economic future were given some rude shocks by publication of the October production figures and the latest OECD report on the British economy.

By an Economics reporter

Although most of the fall in the industrial production index for October can be accounted for by strikes, the most favourable interpretation still shows stagnation.

Retail sales this autumn have also been quieter.

The optimistic talk in government circles received little support from hard facts.

Even the improvement in the trade figures depends, as the OECD report suggests, upon special factors, notably rising costs and bottlenecks in other exporting countries.

Danger

To respond to these pressures would raise the danger that the improvement in the balance of payments would be killed stone dead, resting, as it does, largely upon the ability to keep down costs and maintain confidence in the pound by a 'tough' policy.

Temporary

The slight advantage gained by British industry may thus prove temporary.

In view of the expected recession in the United States, more intensive competition can be expected next year,

Gold situation confused

US TREASURY officials claimed that no basic change had taken place in the American position on gold sales after talks with South Africa in Rome this week.

The main American aim seems to be to continue the practice whereby central banks do not buy South African gold.

At the same time the South Africans are being urged to regulate their sales to the International Monetary Fund and to the free market in order to preserve the two-tier gold price system.



TOMORROW
Playwright
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answers questions on the Vietnam war and the 'Stop Wilson's visit to Washington' campaign

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All-London Transport strike

Jones seeks 'peace' formula

BY DAVID MAUDE

LEADERS of London's 28,000 busmen—who have threatened to stop on New Year's Day—will accompany top union officials to the Ministry of Transport today in a bid to avert the strike.

Jobs and earnings may suffer, the men fear, as a result of cuts in services following the Greater London Council's January 1 take-over of all the capital's transport services.

They say that they have been kept in the dark about this.

Railwaymen and maintenance staff are also concerned about the effects of the take-over.

A call for all London transport workers to strike on January 1 was made on Wed-

nesday night by 200 branch officials of the National Union of Railwaymen, Electrical Trades Union, National Union of Vehicle Builders, Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers and Transport and General Workers.

However, the busmen's official ten-man negotiating committee has said that it is prepared to reconsider its strike threat in the light of today's meeting with Transport Minister Mr Fred Mulley.

T&GWU general secretary Mr Jack Jones, who instigated

the meeting, is expected to call for a public inquiry into the state of London's transport services.

He says they are in a state of 'virtual collapse'.

Transport workers are faced with threats to their jobs and living-standards as a direct result of the Labour government's cut-back policies.

Only a political and industrial struggle against these policies can solve the problems now facing all sections of transport workers.

STOP WILSON'S VISIT TO NIXON

Glasgow boilermakers say: Mobilize labour movement

GLASGOW boilermakers have called for action by the labour movement to stop Wilson's January visit to Washington.

Their resolution is to be sent to the Glasgow Trades Council and the executive committee of the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers and calls on them 'to demand that the United States withdraw its troops from Vietnam immediately. It condemns the Labour government's shameful support for American policy in Vietnam and supports the greatest possible mobilization of the labour and trade union movement to stop Wilson's visit to America in January, 1970.'

LIVERPOOL Amalgamated Engineers and Foundryworkers' shop stewards have demanded the cancellation of the visit.

At their quarterly meeting on Wednesday night, the following resolution was carried by a large majority:

'This shop stewards' quarterly condemns the slaughter of innocent men, women, children and babies by the US Army in Vietnam. It considers that enormous damage has been done to the British labour movement by the continued support of the Labour government for the US government and its war in Vietnam.

'It considers that the coming visit of Wilson to Washington is a symbolic gesture by the Labour government pledging the continued co-operation of the British government despite the world-wide horror and anger at the American atrocities.

'We, therefore, demand that Wilson's visit to Washington be cancelled.'

THE Birkenhead branch of the Construction Engineering Union has unanimously endorsed the Workers Press campaign to stop Wilson's visit.

ON WEDNESDAY'S London building workers' demonstration, 33 marchers signed the Workers Press petition demanding that Wilson's visit to Washington should not take place.

Communist Party executive member Lew Lewis refused to sign. SEVEN members of the Hackney No. 2 branch of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers have signed the petition.

SWINDON AEF shop stewards' quarterly meeting passed a resolution demanding that Wilson should not go to Washington. This will be submitted to the union's district committee.

Building deal backs M.D.W. drive

THE WAGES deal signed by leaders of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives is the worst kind of betrayal.

The final negotiations at the employers' London offices were continually disturbed by speeches broadcast over loudspeakers to the 1,000-strong building workers' meeting outside, all of which

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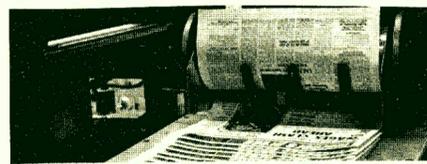
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'I hear I'm for the high jump but I would be prepared to do it again. I wasn't voting with the Tories. It was against the government.'

'Several other people should have done the same thing as I did. My view is that it is about time the left actually put their money where their mouth is.

'For a long time, inside the Party and in the country, the left have been regarded with a certain amount of cynicism—not wholly unjustified—because it has been said they vote a certain way only when they could afford to do so.'

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Industries Exhibition Centre
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Speakers

MIKE BANDA (Editor of Workers' Press)

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AMBULANCE WORK TO RULE: Ambulancemen in Surrey yesterday started a work-to-rule.

They are demanding a uniform allowance. Four London stations already have an allowance of £2 10s.

Their action—which will not affect emergency services—is expected to last for a week.

What we think
A cringing abstention

DISCIPLINARY measures are certain to be taken against Norwich South MP Christopher Norwood for voting against the government in Wednesday night's incomes policy debate.

Early yesterday, the first steps were taken to possible withdrawal of the Labour Whip. Why?

Norwood took an entirely principled position on what was widely recognized in the labour movement as a matter of burning political importance.

The other 'lefts', after a few disapproving noises in the debate, sat tight and allowed the reactivation of legal powers against wages to go through.

Yet this could and should have been effectively defeated.

If we repeat the arithmetical calculations blasted out by every capitalist newspaper and television news broadcast it is because they reveal the extent of this cringing betrayal.

Voting was 289 to 261, a government majority of 28—29 Labour 'lefts' abstained from voting.

Far from being last-ditch opponents of wage restraint, these gentlemen thus are nakedly revealed as the abject defenders of reformist treachery!

Tottenham MP Norman Atkinson's claim that this was for them a matter of principle is farcical.

The increasingly confident movement of the working class in defiance of the Labour leaders finds the 'lefts', the union leaders and the Stalinists in full retreat—as usual—before the right wing.

Mrs Castle, of course, was nothing loath to wipe her feet on their prostrate torsos.

She confidently called on her colleagues to vote for reactivation on the basis of the Trades Union Congress's statement that it would cooperate with the government in changing the framework of incomes policy.

The government, she claimed, was steadily moving in this direction.

Perhaps the most blatant abstainer was Merseyside MP Eric Heffer.

'The labour and trade union movements' Heffer correctly told the Commons, 'have stated almost unanimously throughout the entire country that they do not wish this policy to continue.'

Telegrams had poured in to him from the Merseyside labour movement. All of them demanded a firm stand against reactivation.

Building workers, now to be made the first chopping-block for Castle's policy, had been particularly vocal. But Heffer abstained.

Much editorial blood had already been sweated in order to find a cover for the 'lefts' in yesterday's 'Morning Star' report of the debate.

A bit of mind-reading was clearly called for.

'Mr Christopher Norwood', ran the report, 'was the only Labour MP to vote against the government, but the others could not bring themselves to go into the same lobby with the Tories.'

Instead, 'defending free collective bargaining', they sat firmly upon their backsides.

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HOOPER
MAR 17 1971
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Temporary

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In view of the expected recession in the United States, more intensive competition can be expected next year.

By an Economics reporter

especially from Japan and West Germany.

The pressure on Chancellor Roy Jenkins to produce a 'give-away' Budget in April as a vote-catching device will no doubt continue as Labour MPs contemplate forced retirement from Westminster.

His task is rendered more delicate by the signs that unemployment will rise during the winter months, since this will provoke further demands for a relaxation of the squeeze.

Danger

To respond to these pressures would raise the danger that the improvement in the balance of payments would be killed stone dead, resting, as it does, largely upon the ability to keep down costs and maintain confidence in the pound by a 'tough' policy.

If British capitalism wants to aim at a strong pound and avoid a further devaluation, if it wants to maintain a balance of payments surplus and pay off some of its debts, it must necessarily strike further blows at the working class.

The illusions of the Labour 'lefts' and other advocates of expansion on Keynesian lines have no basis in reality.

On the other hand, the return of the Tories will bring the whole weight of the state to bear against the working class on behalf of monopoly capital.

Gold situation confused

US TREASURY officials claimed that no basic change had taken place in the American position on gold sales after talks with South Africa in Rome this week.

The main American aim seems to be to continue the practice whereby central banks do not buy South African gold.

At the same time the South Africans are being urged to regulate their sales to the International Monetary Fund and to the free market in order to preserve the two-tier gold price system.

The price of gold on the free market has now fallen so that it now stands close to the 'official' price of 35 dollars an ounce.

The Americans want to keep it that way, but their balance of payments remains weak and is expected to worsen next year in view of the recession which is forecast.

Meanwhile the slide in the free market price has weakened the bargaining position of South Africa as the main gold-producing country.

It has meant a big loss in foreign earnings and a big strain on the balance of payments.

To stand out against American pressure now would require a deflationary policy which the Vorster government regards as untimely in a pre-election period.

How successful the US has been in driving a hard bargain with South Africa during the talks remains unclear.

Meanwhile, European bankers would like to buy gold directly from South Africa, which the Americans are so far standing out against, because it would tend to drive the price upwards once again.

The present position is thus full of uncertainty since no one knows what moves the US, South Africa and the big central banks are likely to make or whether the two-tier system can long survive.

The pessimistic assessments now being made of future economic trends in the United States must also strongly influence the situation.

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HIRE-AND-FIRE discipline, Measured-Day Work, 'scabbing' by agreement, fines, re-deployment, closures, sackings, wage-freeze, grading, mobility of labour and shift work are all to be found either directly or by implication in the enclosed docks productivity agreement rejected by London's dockers in mid-November.

The most likely outcome of this week's preparations by the port employers for new talks with officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union would seem to be a new wage offer for these same terms.

But, as the Workers Press reported exclusively—more than 24 hours before the deal was published—on November 4, it is 'a blue-print for far-reaching attacks on jobs and conditions . . . "almost a carbon-copy of the Measured-Day Work deals the car bosses want to push through"'.
Its proposals are aimed entirely at breaking the organised strength of port-workers and cannot be accepted at any price.

The purpose of the agreement—as stated on its first page—is to promote efficiency, to introduce and operate mechanization and improved working methods and to improve wages and conditions. A careful reading of its 12 pages will show what this amounts to.

The deal has the following eight main aims:

'Back-door' M.D.W.



THE SETTING of a fixed wage with no extras, tied to the unlimited right to increase productivity through a combination of 'modernization' and time-and-motion methods. This is what Measured-Day Work is all about.

The introduction of the fixed wage in place of piece-work payment ensures that the massive increases in output—and profits—brought about through the use of new methods will not be reflected in the wage packet.

Time-and-motion systems make certain that the docker is working flat out every second of the day.

Involved here is an entirely sly, underhand method of introducing MDW.

While its basic principles are laid out on different pages of the agreement, no mention is made anywhere that it is Measured-Day Work that is being put forward.

This 'backdoor' introduction shows that the employers are quite clear as to what sort of vicious speed-up system this is.

But where are the union officials on this? Nowhere have they exposed this fraud or explained the full implications of this agreement, or of the MDW system which is leading to major disputes in every section of the motor industry.

The relevant passages in the agreement are:

● **On the Fixed Wage:**
Page two, clause five states 'This wage structure will incorporate the modernization allowance and be paid on the understanding that it includes an allowance for shift-work and also that all additional time-rate payments, for any reason whatsoever, are discontinued.'

Weekly payments are given in the rejected deal as £33 10s. for category 'A' dockers and £25 for those assigned to category 'B'.

Even if the employers raised the 'A' figure to £37 10s. or even £39 . . . remember, it would be a fixed time-rate!

● **Time-and-Motion:**
Page 6, clause 16 states: 'This agreement involves the application of modern techniques of method-study and work-measurement which will necessitate the implementation of training programmes and appreciation courses for those employers and employees who need to familiarize themselves with such methods. Employees attending such courses will be paid the basic weekly wage.'

review committee and the arbitration committee.

The tie-up between the above two clauses is dealt with in clause 13, on page five. Paragraphs ii (a) and ii (f) state:

'The terms and conditions in this agreement require employees to achieve a satisfactory level of throughput', and

'When an employee regularly fails to work at the accepted speed he will be subject to the disciplinary provisions of the Dockworkers' Employment Scheme, 1967.'

'Scabbing' by agreement



CLAUSE 13, headed 'Observance of the conditions of service contained in this agreement', includes the following:

'Where an employee refuses to work and his action prevents other men who are willing to work from working on that job it is agreed that:

- (a) replacements may be put in if necessary and available or
- (b) the remaining men will continue to work.

'Should the employer deem (a) and (b) impracticable the men will be redirected to other work.'

Acceptance of such a clause would mean that the employers would be entitled to call in union officials to enforce 'scabbing' during disputes.

This clause has nothing to do with wages or conditions, but is entirely concerned with breaking militancy and encouraging 'scabs'.

Discipline



THE CLAUSE headed 'discipline' contains only the statement that:

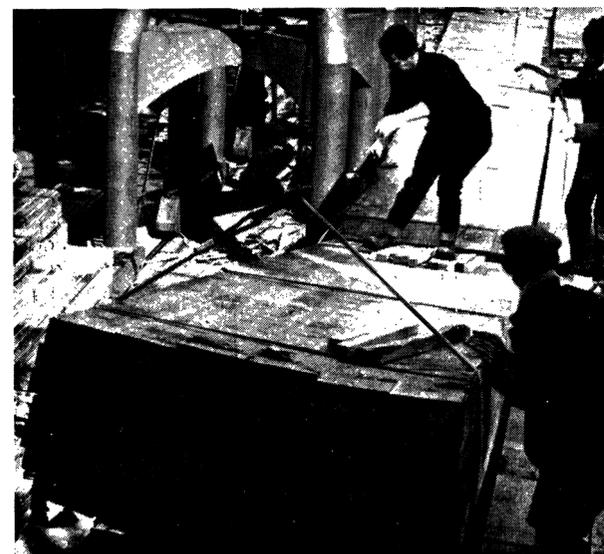
'The parties recognize that employees and employers are subject to the disciplinary provisions of the Dockworkers' Employment Scheme, 1967.'

However, the sections quoted above on not working fast enough also amount to discipline clauses.

The agreement also adds that if the employer is not satisfied with a worker's performance, he can call on the union officials to instruct him to get a move on. Clause 13's paragraph ii (b) states:

'If an employer considers an employee is not achieving a satisfactory level of throughput the employer will consult with the employees representatives.'

If the efforts of the official as acting supervisor are not a success, the employer can then take the worker before the joint arbitration procedure and 'the arbitration committee's decision will be binding on both parties'.



The productivity agreement demands the flexibility of labour—gangs, such as the one on the left at Tilbury, would be reduced in number and the militants weeded out.



No retreat on Devlin Phase Two

A VICIOUS AGREEMENT



Closures and cuts in manning



THOUGH NOT directly mentioned in the agreement, its principles add up to cuts—far more drastic than those that have taken place up to now—in the number of dockers at work.

Since the first stages of Lord Devlin's docks 'modernization' were introduced, London has seen the closure of St Katherine's dock, Abbey wharf, London dock, Regent's wharf, London dock, Dundee wharf and Mark Brown's wharf, as well as 'rationalization' of lighter-men's, canal lockmen's and tugmen's jobs. The latest to go is Hay's wharf.

More cargo shifted by fewer men through fewer berths.

This, quite simply, is what the combination of new handling methods and modernization means. So men who are told that only higher productivity can save their jobs find their jobs disappearing altogether . . . as a result of higher productivity.

'London faces labour surplus of 600', claimed 'The Port' (December 4). 'Before Christmas', added

an article about the closure of Hay's wharf, 'a number of smaller wharves are closing, too.'

After commenting that a thousand more men would have to be offered 'voluntary severance', it went on to report that 'a suggestion from employers that a number of "ineffectuals"—men who have not yet accepted voluntary severance but who are not capable of doing dock work—should be compulsorily severed with compensation will not be accepted by the unions.'

This is the result of Devlin's first phase.

If the employers were to get the upper hand with the second, more closures would follow almost immediately.

(The closure of the Surrey Commercial Docks is being discussed at present. The Port of London Authority has recently denied a rumour that it is considering the immediate shutting-down of the India and Millwall group.)

Who would be next to be 'compulsorily severed'?

FINES FOR TIME-KEEPING DEDUCTIONS for lateness are given in the agreement as:

- 'Up to 30 minutes late. Loss of half-an-hour's pay at the appropriate rate for the shift in question.
- '30 minutes to one hour. Loss of an hour's pay at the appropriate rate for the shift in question.
- 'More than one hour. Loss of pay for the shift in question.

'Persistent lateness, absenteeism or unauthorised absence during working hours', it is stated, will be subject to the disciplinary provisions of the Dockworkers' Employment Scheme, 1967.'

Shift-work



THE EMPLOYERS are taking their drive towards seven-day, round-the-clock, three or four-shift working in stages.

Their present proposals simply aim at getting the principle of shift-working accepted everywhere. If the employers were to get the upper hand they could always enforce changes at a later date.

The relevant clause states: 'The basic working week (Monday to Friday) will comprise 35 hours, including 3 1/2 hours meal-breaks. This working week will be on a two-shift basis.'

'First shift—7 a.m. to 2 p.m. (including 45 minutes break). Second shift—2 p.m. to 9 p.m. (including 45 minutes break).'

'Apart from the meal break of 45 minutes in each shift, employees will be required to work from the agreed starting-time until the finishing-time of a shift.'

The bit about the basic working week being 35 hours is so much rubbish. Were these terms agreed, dockers—as well as having to change and wash in their own time—could be asked to do certain other tasks outside the 35 hours (remove or replace hatches, return mechanical gear, shift cranes).

At this rate, the dockers would find themselves back near the 40-hour week.

Flexibility and re-deployment



THE AGREEMENT demands complete mobility and flexibility as required by the employer, including:

For example, instead of four gangs being started on the morning the jobs could be arranged so that one gang would do all four jobs in turn in a set time.

Full flexibility can also be used to split up militants or break up gangs which are complaining about conditions.

'Frozen' wages



THE INTRODUCTION of modernization combined with speed-up methods brings about such enormous increases in output that any system tying wages to productivity would mean very large payments being made continuously.

BY BERNARD FRANKS

In order to forestall this, the employers try to change to a system of payment in which the output, profits made or the cost of living have no effect on the wage packet.

The worker is, in effect, being told by the employer 'once we've paid a fixed sum for your ability to labour, what we do with it or what we make on it is none of your business.'

As we can see from the graph, the traditional methods of payment and wage bargaining, especially when backed by strong organization and the ability to back demands with strike action, have the best chance of keeping up with the cost of living.

Under the new methods (incentive bonus tied to work-study and Measured-Day Work), rates—though often begun at a slightly higher level than traditional—soon fall below a living wage.

£37 10s. or even £39, in other words, would make little difference to dockers in the longer term.

It is being argued that new demands for a rise can always be put in at regular intervals and they can be fought for on a 'militant' basis.

But the employers are banking on the terms of these agreements to break down militancy and stop rises taking place.

The last paragraph in effect gives the employer the right to reduce the number of men in a gang at any time.

This use of maximum mobility also enables the employers to reduce the number of gangs.

If it is signed, hordes of work-study consultants will invade the docks.

Permanent work-study departments would be set up to time each job and to fix time-standards for every action.

The level of 'standard performance' decided by the time-and-motion people would be tied to the fixed payment and to the disciplinary procedure as outlined in the agreement.

But even this would not be the last word.

Devlin Phase Two aims at preparing the way for Devlin Phase Three—more closures, more discipline, more refined work-study methods.

The National Ports Council is already examining the various 'predetermined motion-time systems' where times are taken from a standard times manual which has been compiled by backroom 'experts'.

At the same time, the employers would use the latest technical developments—lighter-board-ship (LASH) vessels and container-carrying 'Jumbo Jets'—to prove that competition was increasing and dockers must make even greater concessions.

Already, many employers are using modernization to make inroads into the concept of registered dock labour.

The attitude of the current gaggle of Transport and General Workers' Union officials in keeping quiet on the real aims of Devlin and using a postal ballot shows that no real fight is going to come from this direction.

Similarly, the British Communist Party, which, with its own daily paper at the very outset of Devlin was easily the best-placed organization to expose it, has never at any time analysed the situation or led a campaign against the scheme.

Instead, it organized a diversion for 'better redundancy payments', a higher selling-price and 'no-sacking guarantees'.

As the government has now published its White Paper on nationalization, presumably everything is now alright as far as the CPGB is concerned.

In fact, as the dockers know, everything is far from alright.

The Labour government's 'nationalization' plans are aimed solely at extending the work of their Devlin scheme and at centralizing modernization and manning control.

At the same time docks like Felixstowe, many container terminals and other depots are to be left in private hands.

Unlike the Communist Party, we say:

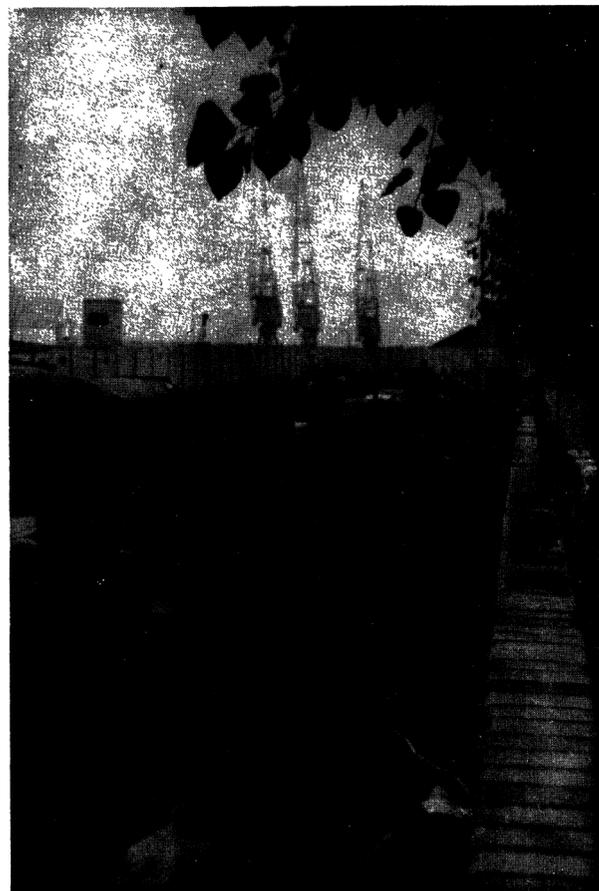
● **Nationalization under workers' control of all ports and associated industries!**

● **A basic increase in wages with no productivity 'strings'!**

● **Unity of all ports against the Devlin scheme!**

● **No 'competition between ports'!**

● **A fight in the unions for an alternative socialist leadership which fights on these policies.**



Since the introduction of Lord Devlin's docks 'modernization' London has seen the closure of St Katherine's dock, Abbey Wharf, London dock, Regent's Canal dock, Dundee Wharf, Mark Brown Wharf, and the Surrey Commercial docks (seen left) is due for closure soon.

LUKÁCS wrote 'The Historical Novel' in 1936-1937, at the height of the Moscow Trials and in the period when the Popular Front alliance with liberals and middle-class radicals was being developed by the Comintern.

He had been Minister of Culture in Bela Kun's revolutionary government in Hungary in 1919 and, after its overthrow, had become a member of the Comintern in the early 1920s.

He played a prominent part in the 'Bolshevization' of the Communist Parties that took the form of a bureaucratic removal of all opponents of Stalin within the international communist movement and that, because it involved the artificial and enforced development of young Communist Parties, beheaded many of these Parties.

Organizational

Lukács succumbed politically to Stalinism, in that he saw Bolshevism as a series of organizational tasks, not as above all a problem of the theoretical development of Marxism and its application to the specific problems of different countries.

He followed every twist and turn of the Stalinist line although he was more intelligent than many intellectuals and writers who became mere servants of Stalinism.

'The Historical Novel' is a product of this Popular Front period and very much inferior to his 'Studies in European Realism'.

It is not only that Lukács gleans world literature for all those writers who can be

BOOK REVIEW

Karl Marx

crammed into what he calls the 'humanist' tradition.

But it is also that Lukács' inability and refusal to break with Hegelianism, which would have taken him towards the Left Opposition, joins up with the philosophical and political needs of world Stalinism.

The deep theoretical degeneration in the Comintern that inextricably accompanied the destruction of the Old Bolsheviks in the mid-1930s pervades Lukács' book.

Interaction

He announces in his introduction that the book aims to trace the interaction between the historical spirit (sic) and the great genres of literature which portray the totality of history.

As always, Lukács is looking for supra-historical laws of personal and artistic development.

And in line with Hegel, he looks for those 'personalities' whom he sees as making history and for whom, as it were, history and the conflict of classes exist.

Although he constantly pays lip-service to historical materialism, he turns Marx and Engels back on to their Hegelian head.

This is the supra-historical law of fictional development that he announces in the early pages:

'If any form of knowledge pretends to be absolute, ignoring the dialectical character of the merely relative, i.e., incomplete, reproduction of the infinity of objective reality, it is inevitably falsified and distorts the picture.'

Compromise

He softens and compromises the dialectic into being not the conflict of opposites through which development takes place, but into the mere relatedness of objects in which gentle and Utopian progress takes place.

The development of consciousness takes place not at the sharp point of conflict between theory and practice, but as an approximation to what is and always has been there in objective reality.

In other words, although Lukács claims to treat literature historically, objective reality does not develop so far as he is concerned, but is given and fixed.

Perhaps his long section on Shakespeare best clarifies Lukács' method.

Shakespeare wrote on the threshold of the English bourgeois revolution—at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century.

His work spans the transition from Elizabeth's to James I's reign.

The period of Elizabeth's reign seemed to allow some compromise between the Crown and the rising bourgeoisie, but the enormous development of capitalism during her reign prepared the even greater clash between the two classes that came to a head in the first half of the 17th century.

Shakespeare, like many writers, hoped to find a middle way in this clash, but found that there was none.

On the one hand, he romanticized chivalric feudalism in characters like Hotspur in 'Henry IV', though the overblown and overstated language implies his criticism of the dreamy and historically expiring aristocrats.

In later plays he softened this into the idealized portrait of the passive, spiritualized and historically unsubstantial aristocratic Cordelia.

On the other hand he disliked the 'new men', the representatives of the capitalist class, exponents of realpolitik like Bolingbroke, unimaginative and, so far as he was concerned, treacherous.

He recognized that there was no way out of the revolutionary clash that was to take place in the middle of the 17th century as a result of which the bourgeoisie was to take political power.

He was extremely sensitive to the social shifts taking place at the turn of the century and that affected all layers of society.

If his greatest work is in the tragedies, that is because he sees the downfall of the aristocracy as tragic.

Acute

The conflict is inevitable and Shakespeare recognizes that the Learns of the world must perish.

He is the most historically and artistically acute of all English writers.

Lukács though, seeks to transform Shakespeare into a type of early liberal, acceptable to the many liberals that were incorporated into the counter-revolutionary work of the Popular Front.

This is how he characterized Shakespeare's writing:

'Therefore Shakespeare states every conflict, even those of English history with which he is most familiar, in terms of typical-human opposites; and these are historical only insofar as Shakespeare fully and directly assimilates into each individual type the most characteristic and central features of a social crisis.'

The 'only' in the sentence tells all.

The very essence of Shakespeare's art is that there is no differentiation between the 'human being' (in Lukács humanitarian terms) and the social and historical forces that create him.

Lukács-idealist treatment of Shakespeare

Everything is falsely compartmentalized in Lukács' world. Later he writes that Shakespeare 'is historically faithful and authentic because the human features absorb the most essential elements of this great historical crisis'.

Lukács always writes of a human 'soul' or human 'features' or a human 'nature' that pre-dates the whole of man's history.

Hence Lukács tries to see the whole of literature in terms of how well or badly a work illustrates this pre-conceived, and it must be said,

God-given, 'human nature'. Because he looks on literature and art as illustrative of a pre-existent reality, he fails to grasp literature as one of the ways in which man struggles to develop his consciousness of the world and develop weapons to control it.

Lukács' 'The Historical Novel', for all its apparatus of historicism and praise of concreteness, presents literature as a very pale reflection of an abstract process.

It is, above all, as a philosophical idealist that Lukács could strike his compromise with the Stalinist bureaucracy.



'THE HISTORICAL NOVEL' By Georg Lukács Penguin Books 469 pages 20s. By Dave Spooner

THE TITLE of John Gollan's Communist Party pamphlet, 'The Common Market: why Britain should not join it' is already a programme.

Instead of presenting a policy for the working class of Britain and of Europe to fight monopoly capitalism and the ruling class, Gollan sees the question as one of loss of national sovereignty and thus of the ability of a British government to 'advance to socialism'.

Beginning with the theory that each country advances to socialism independently, the whole approach to the European Common Market is made one of loss of sovereignty. Even from this point of view Gollan writes his pamphlet not on the basis of the actual struggles between the different national governments representing the ruling class of each member country, but from the texts and documents of the Common Market itself.

Integration

The supranational apparatus, the bureaucracy of the Common Market, has not yet by any means superseded national sovereignty.

Nor is there any sign, in the near future, that real and effective steps will be taken towards political or even economic integration as set out in vague terms in the Treaty of Rome.

In fact, it is not this bureaucracy which is the main danger for the working class, but their own ruling class and employers.

It may be true, as Gollan puts it, that 'the logical extension of the EEC idea is for a single West European capitalist state which in all aspects of policy, foreign and military as well as economic, is centrally controlled in the interests of the super-trusts'.

Bitter

But the differences between the national sections of the European ruling class, as well as between the big monopolies in fields like motor cars, chemicals and electronics, are deep and bitter.

The Common Market institutions, far from constituting a ready-made framework for some kind of 'super-imperialism', are a cockpit of struggle for the long-standing historical rivalries between the ruling class and big capitalist interests of the European states.

Limitations

These ruling classes and monopolies are forced to establish institutions like the Common Market because the developments in technology and large-scale economic organization beat against the limitations of the old state frontiers which are part of the social relations of capitalism.

BY TOM KEMP

The C.P. and the Common Market

But they cannot solve their problems in this way.

They only carry the conflicts to a higher level.

Brought together, too, by fear of the working class and by the pressure of the non-capitalist states of eastern Europe, they are, nonetheless, incapable of resolving their differences or of really unifying Europe.

National

It is therefore not enough to conclude, with Gollan, that 'The Common Market and its institutions are the monopolists' dream and the monopolists' creation'.

When Gollan considers the arguments about Britain's entry he does so from a typically national standpoint: will it or will it not help overcome 'Britain's plight'?—will it be in 'the interests of Britain'?—will it help the economy to grow faster?

Some of the 'authorities' he quotes against the Common Market from this point of view are, like William Pickles and Douglas Jay, on the extreme right-wing of the Labour Party.

They, like Gollan, fear that entry into the Common Market will mean 'the loss of control over Britain's economic future'.

Law-making

They fear, like Gollan, that parliament would lose many of its law-making powers to the Common Market bureaucracy and its supra-national institutions (see page 18 of Gollan's pamphlet).

What a pity it would be for 'the mother of parliaments', what revisions of 'The British Road to Socialism' would be necessary!

Market, 'anti-monopoly' forces on a non-class basis.

Coat-tails

When Gollan quotes approvingly from constitutional lawyers on the powers of parliament he shows that he has tied himself to the ideological coat-tails of the bourgeoisie.

There is not a grain of Marxism in this pamphlet. Lenin might never have written 'Imperialism'. With slight modifications it could appear under the imprint of the Fabian Society or 'Tribune'.

In obedience to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy Gollan makes a big point about the need for 'a firm system of European security' based on an understanding between the West European countries and the Warsaw Pact (the Soviet Union and its East European allies) and the opening up of East-West trade.

But these recipes for confusion are just as illusory as the rest.

Monopolies

The all-European Security Pact was supposed to include all states, irrespective of their social systems. In other words, the monopolies would continue to rule in half of Europe.

How can the big monopolies and the European bourgeoisie accept this kind of 'peaceful co-existence'?

Gollan does not tell us because this part of his pamphlet contradicts much of what he has previously written about the role of the mammoth international monopolies.

What the bureaucracy evidently has in mind is a peaceful co-existence of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, of the EEC and COMECON.

Programme

And he goes on to add:

'At present we have the power to compel parliament to change government policy.'

This is certainly a programme—a good, social-democratic, reformist programme anticipating gradual measures towards socialism, not even by capturing a parliamentary majority, but by pressure on parliament.

Such a programme, in the epoch of imperialism, the domination of the big monopolies and the use of the state power against the working class and its organizations in Britain, France and Italy, is not only obsolete, it is reactionary and counter-revolutionary.

The fight against the Common Market on this basis can only be a sham fight.

The French and Italian Communist Parties have led the way in this for over a decade and now accept in practice the existence of the Common Market and work within it.

To make the question of the 'sacrifice of British sovereignty' the central one is to avoid the class issues which are involved.

It means that the Communist Party is prepared to enter an alliance of anti-Common

ing, education, social services and pensions is a petty-bourgeois Utopia.

Of course, having assumed this, it is not difficult for Gollan to say what might be done if, 'Instead of undermining British sovereignty and the power of parliament and giving up control over the most vital areas of economic policy, which entry into the Common Market entails, we should, by mass political campaigning, ensure that the sovereign power is used to introduce an entirely new alternative economic policy in Britain' (p. 27).

But to quote this sentence is to reveal the whole conception which underlies his pamphlet.

This is a concrete application of 'socialism in one country', a reactionary, nationalist and narrow petty-bourgeois doctrine which, as a matter of fact, has nothing to do with socialism as understood by Marxists.

Answer

There is a belated appeal, right at the end of Gollan's pamphlet, for co-operative action by the trade unions of western Europe and this is said to be 'the real answer to the Common Market'.

But where has Gollan been all these years since the signing of the Treaty of Rome?

Doesn't he know that there are mass Communist Parties in France and Italy, both inside the Common Market, which control powerful trade union federations?

Has he forgotten the existence of the World Federation of Trade Unions to which they belong?

Isn't he able to tell us one thing about the struggle of these Communist Parties and trade unions against the Common Market in a pamphlet of 28 pages of pandering to nationalist sentiment?

The answer is no, because as Gollan knows it would be more than a little embarrassing to have to admit that the Communist Parties of France and Italy have confined themselves to verbal criticisms and actually pursue a policy of live-and-let-live with the Common Market.

Pitiful

Perhaps they are waiting for Britain to go in so that the powerful forces of the Communist Party of Great Britain, under the leadership of John Gollan, can give them the courage which they need to fight it!

All that can be said in conclusion is that this is a pitiful effort which exposes once more the CP's theoretical bankruptcy and political misleadership.

The Common Market can only be fought as part of the class struggle in Britain and internationally which puts as its goal leading the working class to power in the capitalist countries and in the states of East Europe and the formation of a United Socialist States of Europe.



Gollan: Supports right-wing Labourite Douglas Jay's arguments against entry.

FRIDAY TV

I.T.V.
3.30 p.m. More Best Sellers: 'The Fabians', 4.00 Judi Dench and Christmas, 4.40 Hatty Town, 4.55 Lost In Space, 5.50 News From ITN, 6.03 Today, 6.30 Peyton Place, 7.00 p.m. Wheel of Fortune, 7.30 'Strange Report: 'A Most Curious Crime'.

REGIONAL I.T.V.

CHANNEL: 4.50 p.m. Puffin's Birthday Greetings, 4.55 Thunderbirds, 5.50 National News, 6.00 Channel News and Weather, 6.10 Channel Report, 6.30 Crossroads, 7.00 A Date With Danton, 7.05 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased), 8.00 The Untouchables, 9.00 Curry and Chips, 9.30 Parkin's Patch, 10.00 London, 11.25 Peyton Place, 12.15 a.m. News and Weather In French, Weather.

SOUTHERN: 4.00 p.m. Houseparty, 4.15 News Headlines, 4.17 Hatty Town, 4.30 Mad Movies, 4.55 Forest Rangers, 5.20 Captain Scarlet, 5.30 News, 5.40 Day By Day, 6.00 Scene South-East, 6.40 Out Of Town, 7.00 Curry and Chips, 7.30 Marcus Welby MD, 8.30 Parkin's Patch, 9.00 Happy Ever After, 10.00 London, 11.30 Weekend and Southern News Extra, 11.40 Cinema, 12.10 a.m. Weather Forecast, Happy Christmas.

WESTWARD: 4.10 p.m. Westward News Headlines, 4.12 Peyton Place, 4.40 The Gus Honeybun Show, 4.55 Thunderbirds, 5.50 News, 6.00 Westward Diary, 6.25 Sports Desk, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 A Date With Danton, 7.05 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased), 8.00 The Untouchables, 9.00 Curry and Chips, 9.30 'Yesterday', 10.00 London, 11.30 Faith For Life, 11.36 Weather.

HARLECH: 3.40 p.m. Judi Dench and Christmas, 4.20 Judi Dench and Me, 4.26 Castle Haven, 4.55 Joe 90, 5.20 Very Very Varied, 5.50 News, 6.01 Report, 6.20 Batman, 6.30 Crossroads, 7.00 The Friday Film: 'Arrowhead' with Charlton Heston and Jack Palance, 'The only good Indian is a dead Indian', 9.00 It Takes A Thief, 10.00 News, 10.30 The Avengers, 11.30 Report Sport, 12 mid-night Weather.

Harlech (Wales): 4.20 p.m. Interlude, 4.29-4.55 Toby, 6.01 Y Dydd, 6.30-7.00 Welshcenn.

ANGLIA: 3.40 p.m. Judi Dench on Christmas, 4.25 Anglia Newsroom, 4.35 The Romper Room, 4.55 Cowboy In Africa, 5.50 News, 6.00 About Anglia, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 It Takes A Thief, 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 Hadleigh, 9.30 London, 11.30 The Horror Film: 'House Of Dracula' with Lon Chaney, Jr. 12.47 a.m. Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 4.00 p.m. News Headlines, 4.02 Survival, 4.15 Peyton Place, 4.40 Paulus, 4.55 Thunderbirds, 5.50 News, 6.00 ATV Today, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.30 Randall and Hopkirk (De-

8.30 Hawaii Five-O.
9.30 Curry and Chips.
10.00 News At Ten.
10.30 What's A Girl Like You...
11.30 Man In A Suitcase: 'Web With Four Spiders' with Richard Bradford.
12.55 a.m. Responsibility For The Job.

8.30 London. 11.30 Midland Member: Woodrow Wyatt (Labour MP for Boswell), 11.50 Interpol Calling, 12.15 a.m. Pulse, Weather.

ULSTER: 4.30 p.m. Romper Room, 4.50 Ulster News Headlines, 4.55 Cowboy In Africa, 5.50 News, 6.00 UTV Reports, 6.35 Crossroads, 7.00 Star Western: 'Lone Star' with Clark Gable, Ava Gardner, Broderick Crawford, 8.30 Hadleigh, 9.30 London, 10.30 Sports-cast, 10.55 Friday Night, 11.00 What's A Girl Like You... 12 midnight Weather.

YORKSHIRE: 3.00 p.m. Play Better Golf, 3.30 All About Riding, 4.00 News Headlines, 4.02 Houseparty, 4.15 Felix The Cat, 4.20 I've Married A Bachelor, 4.55 Tarzan, 5.50 News, 6.00 Calendar, 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune, 7.00 Parkin's Patch, 7.30 Randall and Hopkirk (Deceased), 8.30 Cartoon Time, 9.30 London, 10.30 Yorksport, 11.00 Bonanza, 11.45 Late Weather.

GRANADA: 4.15 p.m. News Headlines, Hatty Town, 4.25 The Short Story, 5.00 Captain Scarlet, 5.20 Woodbinds - Animal Doctor, 5.50 News, 6.00 News-View, 6.05 The Beverly Hillsbillies, 6.30 All Our Yesterdays, 7.00 Parkin's Patch, 7.30 The Friday Film: 'The Bramble Bush' with Richard Burton and Barbara Rush, 9.30 London, 9.50 Cartoon Time, 10.00 London, 11.30 International Detective.

TYNE TEES: 4.08 p.m. North East Newsroom, 4.10 Felix The Cat, 4.40 London, 4.53 North East Newsroom, 4.55 Cowboy In Africa, 5.50 News, 6.00 Today At Six, 6.30 Peyton Place, 7.00 Parkin's Patch, 7.30 The Dave King Show, 8.00 The Untouchables, 9.00 Hadleigh, 10.00 News At Ten, 10.30 Your World On Friday, 11.00 Late News Extra, 11.15 The Name Of The Game.

SCOTTISH: 4.10 p.m. Scotland Early, 4.30 Laurel and Hardy, 4.55 Arthur, 5.20 Skippy, 5.50 News, 6.00 Scotland Now, 6.30 Wheel Of Fortune, 7.00 Parkin's Patch, 7.30 Peyton Place, 8.30 I've Married A Bachelor, 9.00 Hadleigh, 10.00 London, 11.30 In Camera, 12 midnight Curry and Chips, 12.30 a.m. Late Call.

GRAMPIAN: 4.15 p.m. News Head-Haven, 4.55 Thunderbirds, 5.50 News, 6.00 Grampian News, 6.10 Why On Earth? 6.35 Bonanza, 7.30 The Dave King Show, 8.00 It Takes A Thief, 9.00 McCue's Music, 9.30 London, 11.30 Survival.

All regional programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times:
Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East, Weather, 11.32 News Headlines, Weather.
Scotland: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Reporting Scotland, 9.10-9.35 Current Account, 9.35-10.00 He And She, 11.05-11.35 Monty Python's Flying Circus, 11.35 Epilogue, News Headlines, Weather.
Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Scene Around Six, Weather, 11.32 News Headlines, Weather.
North of England: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Look North, Weather, 11.32 News Headlines, Weather.
Wales: 1.30-1.45 p.m. Ar Lin Mam, 6.00-6.25 p.m. Today, 6.45-7.05 Heddiw, 7.05-7.30 Bob Yn Dri, 7.30-7.55 Week In Week Out, 10.00-10.30 Amateur Boxing, 11.05-11.30 Llydard Y Geinog, 11.32 Weather.
South and West: 6.00-6.25 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-West, Weather, 11.32 News Headlines, Weather, Weekend Road Works Report.

10.05 Italian Cinema: 'La Edda' (The Challenge) directed by Francesco Rosi with Rosanna Schiaffino and Jose Suarez.
11.30 Westminster At Work.
11.50 News Summary and Weather.

B.B.C.-1
12.55 p.m. Ble Caroch Chi Fynd? 1.30 Watch With Mother, 11.45-1.53 News and Weatherman, 2.25 Racing From Ascot, 4.20 Play School, 4.40 Jackanory, 4.55 Christmas Crackerjack, 5.40 Junior Points Of View, 5.50 National News and Weather, 6.00 Entertaining With Kerr, 6.25 Television Brain of Britain, 6.45 The Virginian, 7.00 Not A Front Of The Children, 7.55 Golden Silents: 'Cops and Robbers', 8.50 The Main News and Weather, 9.10 The Survivors, 10.00 Rock Hudson's Cinema: Talk, with movie scenes, 10.30 24 Hours, 11.05 Late Night Horror: No Such Thing as a Vampire, 11.30 Weatherman.

B.B.C.-2
11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School, 7.30 Newsroom and Weather, 8.00 Wheelbase, 8.25 The First Churchills, 9.10 Dateline: Documentary on the Generation Gap in San Francisco.

Lightermen still fighting threat

THAMES LIGHTERMEN yesterday continued their week-old strike against the use of non-licensed labour to do their work.

to jobs

By our industrial reporter

Some 2,000 workers—the majority of London's lightermen—are now involved and there is growing congestion in the port.

After Wednesday's rejection by the men of their union's recommendation to return to work, employers threatened to ship back 100,000 cases of Australian and New Zealand dairy produce because they could not be off-loaded.

The dispute started over one company's refusal to withdraw proposals for non-licensed workers to transport oil in self-propelled barges.

Union Lighterage, operating from St Leonard's wharf, planned to sub-contract work to its non-registered subsidiary Beagle Shipping.

Others join
Men from most of London's other lighterage firms soon joined the strike in sympathy.

The resolution was a referendum on the arrest of three students, following an attack by a large group of racist youth, for carrying offensive weapons (hockey sticks) which they had defended themselves.

Attack
This attack was the most recent in a series of about ten which have taken place this term.

Other organizations contacted for support include West Ham Trades Council, the district committee of the Transport and General Workers' Union and branches of the Electrical, Electronic Telecommunications Union, the Plumbers' Trades Union, the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers and the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers.

Emergency
This contact with trade unionists in the Newham area is being carried out as a result of a resolution passed at an emergency meeting of the YSSS last Friday which resolved to campaign within the trade union and labour movement to mobilize workers and students to fight together to stop the growth of racism and to smash fascism.

Attack
This contact with trade unionists to support our demand that charges against West Ham students be dropped and to organize to prevent the occurrence of further attacks.

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Boilermakers back students' campaign after racist attack

THE LONDON district committee of the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers has unanimously agreed to support the campaign launched by West Ham College of Technology's Young Socialist Students' Society against racist attacks on overseas students from the college.

Mr E. Burke, delegate to the district committee, said that they deprecated the attacks and that the secretary had been instructed to include a strongly worded report of the situation in a circular to the London branches — approximately 9,000 members—to be sent out early next week.

Mr Burke also stated that the committee would be pleased to co-operate in any action proposed in the future.

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ANTI-COMMUNIST AGREEMENT

FROM PAGE ONE

carried. But unity with whom?

A resolution on Vietnam that wins the support of the die-hard anti-communist and pro-Wilson right wingers, many of whom openly supported the proposed penal clauses against 'unconstitutional strikes', can only lead to unity with imperialism in its war against the Vietnamese people.

Both Wilson and the leaders of the British Communist Party are anxious that nothing should disrupt the intricate series of international negotiations taking place between imperialism and the leaders of the Soviet bureaucracy.

These secret contacts range from the Helsinki negotiations on nuclear arms limitation, the proposed mutual security pact between NATO and Warsaw Pact powers and the new turn of the Kremlin towards the Brandt government in West Germany, to the four-power proposals on a Middle-East 'package deal' and the border talks between Chinese and Soviet leaders.

The Wilson visit to Washington takes place within this international framework of collusion between imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy.

Only Wednesday night Wilson visited the newly-opened Soviet trade mission in Highgate, where he met and discussed with the Soviet Ambassador in London, Mikhail Smirnovsky.

Anglo-Soviet trade was probably not the only subject for discussion.

It had nothing to do with international solidarity with the Czech working class in their struggle against Stalinism.

Having said the first letter of the anti-communist alphabet, Gollan and company must now move on to the second and the third.

All pretence at solidarity, or even neutrality, is dropped in this resolution, which is in no way criticized by the 'Morning Star'.

The appeal to end the war is not addressed to the British working class, for whom the General Council claims to speak.

Instead of class action to end the war, the General Council addresses itself to 'those governments who were parties to the Geneva Conference', who 'should consider whether an approach can be made to a political settlement, as the TUC have consistently advocated, which would not abandon Vietnam to continued internal conflict and its people to further suffering'.

This resolution runs completely against the working-class feelings on Vietnam, which has already begun to express itself in widespread support for our call to halt the Wilson visit to Washington.

The Stalinists, of course, support the visit, though many Communist Party members have dissociated themselves from this policy by supporting our campaign.

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NEW FACTOR

It has led millions of workers to defeat and fascist rule all over Europe.

But here an entirely new factor is introduced.

The Gollan line of opposing the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia on the basis of appeasing anti-communist and 'liberal' opinion in the labour bureaucracy and the middle class now hits directly at the Vietnamese people.

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Dissenter or agent?

THE CIRCULATION in Britain of a lengthy analysis of Russian society written by a young intellectual and writer Andrei Amalrik raises certain important questions.

Apparently, although imprisoned in 1965 because of the 'anti-Soviet and pornographic character' of his plays, he was released after a short time.

Despite the publication of his latest anti-Soviet article no action appears to have been taken against him.

Is he therefore a genuine dissenter or did he, in return for his release from prison, agree to do some work for the KGB, the Russian secret police?

The question leads to another: whose interests are served by the particular ideas he chooses to express and the vehicle through which they are published?

Doubtful
It is doubtful whether a genuine dissenter, at any rate the sort whom the KGB most fears and generally charges and imprisons, would have decided to publish his work in an organ such as 'The Worker'.

Many members of the CBI are unwilling to commit themselves at this stage.

Other sections of industry hope that freer access to what they assume will be a rapidly growing market will make it possible to expand trade and profits.

Even so, it is understood that entry would mean a sharper competitive struggle both in the European and in the British market and require heavier investment than most industries have undertaken in recent years.

The view that entry would be a panacea for all its ills now has few if any adherents.

Discredits
If designed to discredit the genuine opposition it could not do better.

Amalrik says that it is small, mainly 'middle class' and ineffective.

He expresses fear and contempt for the 'lower classes' they are to be replaced by.

Until the next war, therefore, the only changes which can be expected are those necessary to enable the bureaucracy to survive.

Amalrik merely claims complete personal freedom, including the freedom to publish work outside Russia and draw royalties on it.

Washes hands
This might be the individualism of free enterprise or of Russian nihilism.

He washes his hands of any concern for the fate of the Russian people, the implication being, more or less, that they deserve what they get.

It could be that the heavy hand of the bureaucracy drives sensitive souls into such extreme positions—but is prepared now to tolerate them (as long as they publish their work only abroad) as harmless idiots.

Then it might be said that because of his social irresponsibility Amalrik unconsciously does the KGB's work.

On the other hand it would not be inconceivable for it to commission this sort of prose in order to counteract the effect outside and inside Russia of the genuine 'samizdat'.

The question of who stands to gain is certainly a very relevant one.

But even if Amalrik is a genuine dissenter, the views he expresses are wrong and reactionary and need to be opposed.

ZIONISTS BOMB SUEZ
ISRAELI aircraft bombed residential areas of Suez town on Wednesday in a day of heavy raids along the canal.

Military spokesmen in Cairo claimed that two Israeli planes were shot down in the attack on the southern section of the canal.

WEATHER
London area, SE England: Isolated snow showers, sunny intervals. Light southerly winds. Cold. Maximum 2C (36F).

Central Southern England: Occasional sleet or snow, rain near coasts. Light southerly winds. Cold. Maximum 3C (37F).

Edinburgh: Snow or hail showers. Sunny intervals. Fresh or strong SE winds. Cold. Maximum 2C (36F).

Glasgow area: Cloudy. Periods of rain, sleet or snow. Strong to gale, SE winds. Cold. Maximum 4C (39F).

W Midlands, NW England: Cloudy, periods of sleet or snow. Moderate or fresh southerly winds. Cold. Maximum 3C (37F).

New legal clamp-down on Czech working class

THE CZECHOSLOVAK parliament has passed new laws imposing two-year jail sentences for those accused of 'insulting the republic'.

HUNGARIAN STALINISTS ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH FASCIST SPAIN

IT WAS announced on Spanish Radio on Wednesday night that Hungary has established consular relations with the Spanish fascist government.

The Franco regime already has diplomatic links with the bureaucracies of Rumania and Poland.

The announcement claimed that the new agreement was a significant step towards opening up diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union—a policy, the

broadcast stated, which had been pursued for the last ten years by the Spanish government.

This latest news is completely in line with current Stalinist policy of working for an all-inclusive European 'Collective Security Pact'.

Of necessity, it involves the closest relation with the rulers of the most reactionary dictatorship in Europe, not only in Greece, but Spain.

Another law will empower factory managers—no longer elected by the workers as under the Dubcek government ousted last March—to sack workers on the spot for alleged slacking.

These new laws now make permanent acts of the Husak regime, the main blows entailed in these new laws are directed primarily against the powerful and politically-mature Czech working class.

The category of 'insulting the republic' can and will be applied to all those who fight against the Kremlin occupation and those who serve it in the Czech government and party leadership.

Like all the previous repressive acts of the Husak regime, the main blows entailed in these new laws are directed primarily against the powerful and politically-mature Czech working class.

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COMMON MARKET

CBI reports on entry

BRITISH industrialists as a whole are less enthusiastic about the advantages to be gained from Britain's entry into the Common Market than they were in 1966.

This is the conclusion which can be drawn from a big report produced by the Confederation of British Industries.

While the balance of industrial opinion is still in favour, a closer look is now being taken at the disadvantages entailed.

Some industries, such as shipbuilding, have come down against entry altogether.

Other sections of industry hope that freer access to what they assume will be a rapidly growing market will make it possible to expand trade and profits.

Even so, it is understood that entry would mean a sharper competitive struggle both in the European and in the British market and require heavier investment than most industries have undertaken in recent years.

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Builders

FROM PAGE ONE

roundly condemned the deal and called for the rejection of all productivity strings.

All over the country sites stopped work for the day against the deal.

Immediately the deal was signed, the National Federation of Building Trade Employers announced its declaration of war, with a statement of industrial relations policy which it made clear was to be implemented by all member firms.

MDW
The NFBTE's offensive is to be spearheaded by the drive for full Measured-Day Work.

The NFBTE statement outlines the employers' intention that each worker should be subject to a grading by skills.

For each grade, which is to be determined by job-evaluation, a standard wage will be decided by the National Joint Council.

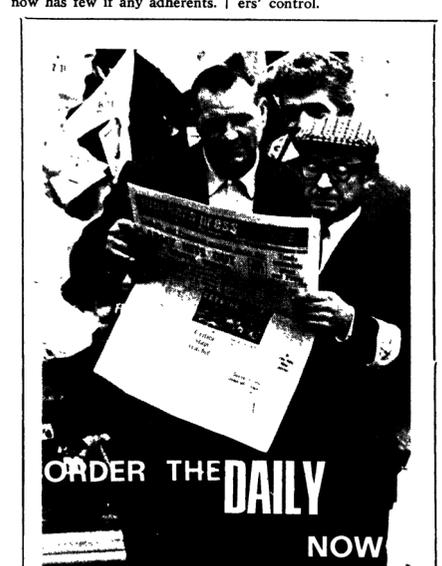
This allows the specialist work-study experts to roam at will on the sites and is the prelude to the full implementation of MDW.

The standard wage means that the basic wage under the new agreement will also be the maximum wage as the job-evaluated grading scheme enables bonuses to be cut out altogether.

Now as never before the task before building workers is the construction of a new union leadership which will reject all attempts by the employers to solve their crisis at the expense of the rank and file and fight for the nationalization of the land, construction and building supplies industry under workers' control.

Tough times
In or out, British capitalism faces tough times in the years ahead.

The view that entry would be a panacea for all its ills now has few if any adherents.



Full subscription (Posted daily) £10 a year £2 10s. for three months I would like to subscribe to Workers' Press for

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KEEP LEFT WEEKEND RALLY

Saturday and Sunday, January 10 and 11 1970 marks the 19th year of the Young Socialists' official newspaper. Selling at 4d for 16 three-colour pages and with a circulation of 20,000, it is the foremost youth paper in the labour movement today.

KEEP LEFT INVITES ALL ITS READERS TO THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

East India Hall, East India Dock Road, London, E.14

Saturday, January 10 2.30 p.m. Young Socialist National Speaking Contest

DANCE IN THE EVENING The Crescendos The Element of Truth

Special appearance LONG JOHN BALDRY East India Hall 8 p.m.-11 p.m.

FILM MAKING AND THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS