EDITORIAL

Meaning of the W. German **elections**

take to overlook the political significance of the West German elections.

The Brandt and Scheel coalition is in many respects and policy-wise just as much to the right as that of the Christian Democrats.

Nevertheless the event itself heralds, for the first time since the end of the Second World War the movement of the German working class towards independent

political action.

For almost 25 long years, since 1945, the crimes of Stalinism in the East and the pressure of bureaucracy aided by imperialism from the West has kept the German working class politically immobilized.
This was reinforced by the

terrible after-effects of Fascism and the Second World War in which two generations of workers were wiped out.

This was a very serious factor in holding back revolutionary events in western Europe. For the working class in West Germany is a decisive

force in this respect. Two factors are responsible for what is now taking

place.
Firstly, the break up of the Bretton Woods international currency agreement which has given way to a growing economic crisis thoughous the world.

Secondly, the crisis in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, which in itself is a reflection of the deteriorating economic position of world capitalism. Both of these crises now feed off each other, and in do-

ing so are radicalizing large masses of workers in eastern as well as western Europe. The growing militancy of the British working class has now been powerfully reinforced by the results of the West German elections.

or the working class of Britain and Germany will be a decisive factor in the coming European revolu-

The favourable conditions that have given rise to the publication of the Workers' Press in Britain must now also act as a stimulus for the development of a party of the Fourth International

in West Germany. The demand for the Socialist United States of Europe is now becoming more and more the only realistic answer to the bankruptcy of capitalism.

Withdraw troops from Ulster

BRITISH troops in Ulster are now beginning to treat Protestant and Catholic workers in the same brutal way as the workers in Aden and other British colonial possessions.

For Marxists there could not be the slightest doubt about their role since the moment the troops arrived on the scene.

They represent the British capitalist state machine, and as such will at all times be used to defend private property, that is the

ing of capitalism. Like all reformists those revisionists and renegades from Marxism who utilized religious conflict in order to justify the presence of the troops, reject the Leninist conception of the

This is the real position of the state capitalists, the International Socialist group not only on the state, but

PAGE 4 COL. 1 ->

and their hangers-on. They reject Leninist theory in his concept of the building of the revolutionary

← Militants of the Trotskyist

Down with secret diplomacy!

POMPIDOU AND THE KREMLIN SECRET TALKS

STRIKE-BREAKER Pompidou of France has accepted an invitation to go to the Soviet Union some time in 1970. The ground is already being prepared by the five-day visit of Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann, who flies to Moscow on

Thursday. Schumann will take the

chair of the so-called 'great commission' on Franco - Soviet co-operation, but some of his time, it is reported, will be spent in talks with top Soviet

Reports from Paris indicate that the main purpose of the trip will be to re assure the Kremlin that de Gaulle's policy of friendship with the Soviet bureaucracy is not being abandoned, despite the improvement of relations with the US since Pompidou's election.

Cancellation

This gesture by Pompidou towards Kosygin possibly accounts for the sudden cancellation of the projected visit to Paris in November by president Rumanian Ceausescu.

It has been the policy of the Rumanian bureaucracy over the last few years to turn to the capitalist states, counter-balancing the political by the Soviet bureaucracy in East Europe. This trend was accelerated

after the Kremlin's invasion Czechoslovakia. Though internally a repressive Stalinist regime in the early post-war mould, it has developed a foreign policy similar to that of Tito in Yugoslavia.

Dependent

The French capitalist class continues the general imperialist policy of separating the East European states from the Soviet Union and making them economically more dependent on trade with the capitalist world. But at the same time it tries

to maintain good relations with the Kremlin itself. The Pompidou visit to Moscow and the cancellation of Ceausescu's trip are both integral parts of this overall strategy.

The present shifting and hesitation in diplomatic quarters has deep roots in the problems facing the major capitalist powers and the Stalinist bureaucracies. A new, social-democratic

PAUL HIRZEL died on

More than 500 Trotsky-

ists, militants from the

Youth Alliance for Social-

ism (AJS), a large delega-

tion of workers from

'Figaro' and workers from

the Parisian Book and

Typographers section of the

CGT, attended his funeral

at the Saint Denis cemetery

on Saturday, September 27.

following homage to the militant Trotskyist worker,

Paul Hirzel in the name of

the Trotskyist Organization.

Pierre Lambert paid the

September 25, 1969.

just begun to move.
In Britain, Wilson begins his preparation for a general election without having solved a single basic economic prob-

Italy threatens daily to erupt into a movement on the scale of France in May-June 1968, while in Czechoslovakia the Kremlin is faced with the immense problem of imposing the working class some of the most hated eastern European bureaucrats.

bureaucrats rest on opposed economic systems.

But they are still thrown

economic and political crisis. The embassies and the lega-China to Czechoslovakia and

Lucas men demand £5 allowance

Workers' Press reporter

MERSEYSIDE Lucas shop stewards have asked workand CAV Fazakerly — for

The decision to fight for increased shift allowance was taken on Sunday, August 17, when a committee of stewards from the four works was established to draft a statement to go before the workers in these factories.

Death of Paul Hirzel

construction of the Fourth

International, militants of the

Youth Alliance for Socialism,

militants of the Federation of

Alliance, comrades and

The man we are accom-

panying here was Comrade Paul Hirzel. A Trotskyist

since 1935, he was one of the few militants who, in the dark years before the war,

after Hitler had taken power

and before Stalin extermin-

ated the October generation,

answered Leon Trotsky's call. From 1935 on, the total involvement of the young

Paul Hirzel with the prole-

Fourth International was un-

month, year after year, for

Day after day, month after

tarian

revolution and the

Committees of the Workers'

● PAGE 4 COL. 1 →

government has come to power in West Germany, where the working class has

Alliance

Imperialists and Stalinist

into a temporary alliance when faced with threats to their rule, posed by the deepening tions more than ever become the venues of conspiracy against the international working class, from Vietnam and

Unlike the secret diplomacy of the Soviet bureaucracy, we campaign for our policies

We have nothing to conceal from the working class.

ers in the area's four Lucas factories - Victor Works, Girlings, Lucas Fazakerly their support in a campaign for £5-shift allowance.



ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

'Support Ellesmere Port-Throw out scabs' charter'

LUTON Friday, October 10, 8 p.m. The Cock Park Square

'Unemployment and the

lessons of GEC-English Electric' LIVERPOOL

Sunday, October 19 7.30 p.m. Museum Lecture Hall William Brown Street Speaker: C. Slaughter Central Committee

Socialist Labour League

35 years, calmly and un-

ostentatiously our comrade

Paul Hirzel carried out mili-

tant work, political work and

organizational work without

which there would be no as-

Militants of the Fourth International! Militants of the

Youth Alliance! Paul Hirzel

shunned affectation, pretence

illusions all his life. He had

to build, to take up what

collapsed in order to build

again, to start again.

similation of Marxism.

Women canteen workers join Monday's picket line.

By our foreign editor

Robert Black

6,000 out over Maxi cut-back

CAR PRODUCTION was halted at Morris Motors, Cowley, on Monday when 6,000 workers struck for the day against the company's threat to introduce shorttime working on the new Maxi circuit.

Pickets were joined by women canteen staff, who struck in sympathy with the

No food for the few hundred blacklegs who cross the

Stewards were encouraged by the solidity of the strike. 'It's an even better response than there was to the May 1 stoppage', commented one senior steward.

but most workers supported the stewards' call, issued after a meeting on Friday afternoon, for the strike to go Maxi line steward Tom

By David Maude

MacNicholas told the Workers Press: 'I'm for all out strike action until the company meets our demands in full.
'Their treatment of the Maxi workers has been scandalous. I don't think we've had four full weeks since the

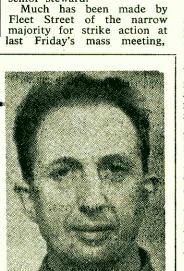
beginning of the year.' The company has now cut back its production programme by 300 cars a week and is hoping to put 1,500 men on four days or three

Each man would thus lose between £5 and £8 a week, if this is carried out. For the first time the com pany has refused to deal with

the programme reduction by creating a labour pool. Stewards see this as part of the management's campaign to weaken the fierce resistance of Morris workers to their plans for the introduction of Measured-Day Work British-Leyland, they say, must bend all its efforts to do this before the new £70 million development opens up in

The Maxi dispute thus involves every section of the factory, insists a leaflet issued by the T&GWU 5/55 branch yesterday morning, calling for complete opposition to the

18 months time.



Before the war he trained to be a typographer for the newspaper. When the material, means and finances were non-existent, Paul worked day and night so that the news-

came out at any cost on time. During the war, in the period of illegality, when he was responsible for the tech-



● PAGE 4 COL. 6 →



VIETNAM

dependent on U.S. troops

Puppets

SOUTH VIETNAMESE President Thieu revealed the instability of the Saigon remost regime in a speech to his 'parliament' on Monday.

'As long as aggressive North Vietnamese forces remain in our territory, the United States and Allied forces should not be withdrawn from the territory of the Republic of South Vietnam', he said.

Thieu knows that the main body of the liberation forces are South Vietnamese workers and peasants.

But what he is admitting is fear of a US withdrawal, leaving his clique of landlords and corrupt bureaucrats unprotected from the wrath of the Vietnamese people.

Routine

After routine remarks about being 'determined to replace the bulk of US fighting units in 1970', Thieu underlined his continued dependence on US backing, stating that US withdrawal would depend on American military and financial aid and the strengthening of the South Vietnamese armed

With a desertion rate approaching 100,000 per year, the point is a forlorn hope.

Last week the Thieu regime attempted to bribe the National Liberation Front leaders with offers of a coalition if they cut off all links with their compatriots in the North and made a clean break from communism.

Monday's speech returned to this theme from a new angle:

I wish to confirm again today that we are ready to discuss with the other side any problem, including the problem of a ceasefire, if they have the goodwill to hold serious discussions

. . A number of people and groups, and public opinion both in our country as well as abroad are talking about the problem of cease-

Battlefield

On the battlefield, the fighting continues. Three NLF raids on the US base at Tay Ninh, 53 miles northwest of Saigon, were reported in one night.

mortar attacks on Saigon regime bases and installations throughout the South. Thieu's speech reflects the

There were 26 rocket and

problems and internal weaknesses of the Saigon regime. The NLF must press home their attacks to the full, and not be diverted by the traps laid for them in Paris.

The international labour movement must unceasingly campaign for the uncon-ditional withdrawal of all US

Dustmen's strike in danger

THE LONDON dustmen's strike is in danger because productivity deals are seen by their unions as the way to win the £20 basic wage.

This clashes with the big opposition to such deals shown by the men at Friday's Caxton Hall negotiations.

had spread to all but three of London's 32 boroughs, and also to Lewisham, Greenwich and Bromley.

About 5,500 dustmen and

M.D.W. AT

MORGAN

COMBINE

ing, transport and electrical

unions have concluded a

productivity deal at the

Morriston (Swansea) fac-

tory of Morganite Carbon

Ltd., which goes well be-

yond anything agreed in the

The deal is likely to have

company's other plants.

● PAGE 4 COL. 7 →

By Peter Read

3,000 other local authority workers were estimated to be By Monday the strike

MORE LENIENT

The danger to the strike is illustrated by the statements of Mr Derek Gladwin, joint secretary of the negotiating council, who was reported as saying that the employers had been 'completely unconstruc-

have taken a more lenient line if the employers had been prepared to examine ways of meeting the men's demands through such means as productivity schemes.

He said the unions might

In other words union officials are preparing to sell productivity concessions for Indeed the unions already complain of councils' slow-

ness to implement deals agreed 'in general terms'. The national joint council meets tomorrow in Edinburgh and the 15s. claim for 680,000

local authority workers will be on the agenda. UNOFFICIAL

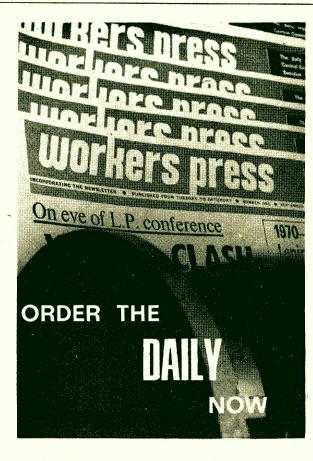
Whether or not the unions will press the £20 basic claim at Edinburgh remains to be seen, but they now seem most unlikely to make the strike official before the meeting, despite promises of early

This delay and uncertainty should be a warning that dustmen must take the leadership into their own hands for a strings.

No reliance at all can be placed in the trade union bureaucracy to carry through

The men must rely on their own strength and beware of a deal being worked out at their expense.

• See story page four



Full subscription (Posted daily) £10 a year £2 10s. for three months	OR	Two editions (For any two day you select) £4 a year £1 for three mon
I would like to	subscribe to	Workers' Press
Name	••••••	
Address		

Clapham High Street, London, SW4. (Tel: 01-720-2000)

EDITORIAL

Meaning of the W. German **elections**

IT WOULD be a great mistake to overlook the political significance of the West German elec-

The Brandt and Scheel coalition is in many respects and policy-wise just as much to the right as that of the

Christian Democrats.

Nevertheless the event itself heralds, for the first time since the end of the Second World War the movement of the German working class towards independent

political action.

For almost 25 long years, since 1945, the crimes of Stalinism in the East and the pressure of bureau-cracy aided by imperialism from the West has kept the German working class politically immobilized.

This was reinforced by the terrible after-effects of Fascism and the Second World War in which two generations of workers were wiped out.

This was a very serious factor in holding back revolu-tionary events in western For the working class in West Germany is a decisive force in this respect.

Two factors are responsible for what is now taking place. Firstly, the break up of the Bretton Woods international currency agreement which has given way to a

growing economic crisis in outshout the first world. Secondly, the crisis in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, which in itself is a reflection of the de-teriorating economic position of world capitalism.

Both of these crises now feed off each other, and in domasses of workers in eastern as well as western Europe. growing militancy of the British working class has now been powerfully re-inforced by the results of the West German elections. For the working class of Britain and Germany will

be a decisive factor in the coming European revolu-The favourable conditions that have given rise to the publication of the Workers' Press in Britain must now also act as a stimulus for the development of a party

of the Fourth International

in West Germany.
The demand for the Socialist United States of Europe is now becoming more and more the only realistic answer to the bankruptcy of capitalism.

Withdraw troops from Ulster

BRITISH troops in Ulster are now beginning to treat Protestant and Catholic workers in the same brutal way as the workers in Aden and other British colonial possessions.

For Marxists there could not be the slightest doubt about their role since the moment the troops arrived on the scene.

They represent the British capitalist state machine. and as such will at all times be used to defend private property, that is the continuation and functioning of capitalism.

Like all reformists those revisionists and renegades from Marxism who utilized religious conflict in order to justify the presence of the troops, reject the Leninist conception of the

This is the real position of the state capitalists, the International Socialist group and their hangers-on. They reject Leninist theory not only on the state, but in his concept of the building of the revolutionary

● PAGE 4 COL. 1 →

Down with secret diplomacy!

POMPIDOU AND THE KREMLIN IN SECRET TALKS

STRIKE-BREAKER Pompidou of France has accepted an invitation to go to the Soviet Union some time in 1970. The ground is already being prepared by the five-day visit of Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann, who flies to Moscow on

Thursday.

Schumann will take the chair of the so-called 'great commission' on Franco - Soviet co-operation, but some of his time, it is reported, will be spent in talks with top Soviet

Reports from Paris indicate that the main purpose Gaulle's policy of friendship with the Soviet bureaucracy is not being abandoned, despite the improvement of relations with the US since Pompidou's

Cancellation

This gesture by Pompidou towards Kosygin possibly accounts for the sudden cancellation of the projected visit to Paris in November by Rumanian president Ceausescu.

It has been the policy of the Rumanian bureaucracy over the last few years to turn to the capitalist states, counter-balancing the political and economic pressure exerted by the Soviet bureaucracy in East Europe. This trend was accelerated

after the Kremlin's invasion of Czechoslovakia. Though internally a repressive Stalinist regime in the early post-war mould, it has developed a foreign policy similar to that of Tito in

Dependent

The French capitalist class continues the general imperialist policy of separating the East European states from the Soviet Union and making them economically more dependent on trade with the capitalist world.

But at the same time it tries to maintain good relations with the Kremlin itself. The Pompidou visit to Moscow and the cancellation of Ceausescu's trip are both integral parts of this overall strategy.

The present shifting and hesitation hesitation in diplomatic quarters has deep roots in the problems facing the major capitalist powers and the Stalinist bureaucracies. A new, social-democratic

government has come to power in West Germany, where the working class has

scale of France in May-June 1968, while in Czechoslovakia the Kremlin is faced with the of the trip will be to real the working class some of assure the Kremlin that de the most hated eastern European bureaucrats.

Alliance

the venues of conspiracy against the international working class, from Vietnam and China to Czechoslovakia and Britain.

of the Soviet bureaucracy, we campaign for our policies

ceal from the working class.

Lucas men demand £5 allowance

Workers' Press reporter

MERSEYSIDE Lucas shop stewards have asked workers in the area's four Lucas factories - Victor Works, Girlings, Lucas Fazakerly and CAV Fazakerly — for their support in a campaign for £5-shift allowance.

● PAGE 4 COL. 1 →

just begun to move. In Britain, Wilson begins

his preparation for a general election without having solved a single basic economic prob-

lem.

Italy threatens daily to erupt into a movement on the

Imperialists and Stalinist bureaucrats rest on opposed

economic systems. But they are still thrown faced with threats to their rule, posed by the deepening economic and political crisis. The embassies and the legations more than ever become

Unlike the secret diplomacy

We have nothing to con-

ALL TRADES UNIONS **ALLIANCE MEETINGS**

The decision to fight for increased shift allowance was taken on Sunday, August 17, when a committee of stewards from the four works was established to draft a statement to go before the workers in these factories.

'Support Ellesmere Port-Throw out scabs' charter'

LUTON

Friday, October 10, 8 p.m. The Cock Park Square

Unemployment and the lessons of GEC-English Electric'

LIVERPOOL Sunday, October 19 7.30 p.m.

Museum Lecture Hall William Brown Street Speaker: C. Slaughter Central Committee Socialist Labour League Women canteen workers join Monday's picket line.

By our foreign editor

Robert Black

6,000 out over Maxi cut-back

CAR PRODUCTION was halted at Morris Motors, Cowley, on Monday when 6,000 workers struck for the day against the company's threat to introduce shorttime working on the new Maxi circuit.

Pickets were joined by women canteen staff, who struck in sympathy with the

No food for the few hundred blacklegs who cross the

Stewards were encouraged by the solidity of the strike. 'It's an even better response than there was to the May 1 stoppage', commented one

Much has been made by Fleet Street of the narrow majority for strike action at last Friday's mass meeting,

By David Maude

but most workers supported the stewards' call, issued after a meeting on Friday afternoon, for the strike to go

ahead. MacNicholas told the Workers Press: 'I'm for all out strike action until the company meets our demands in full. 'Their treatment of the Maxi workers has been scan-

dalous. I don't think we've had four full weeks since the beginning of the year.' The company has now cut back its production programme by 300 cars a week and is hoping to put 1,500

men on four days or three Each man would thus lose between £5 and £8 a week, if this is carried out. pany has refused to deal with

the programme reduction by creating a labour pool. Stewards see this as part of the management's campaign to weaken the fierce resistance of Morris workers to their plans for the introduc-

tion of Measured-Day Work. British-Leyland, they say, must bend all its efforts to do this before the new £70 million development opens up in 18 months time. The Maxi dispute thus in-

volves every section of the factory, insists a leaflet issued by the T&GWU 5/55 branch yesterday morning, calling for complete opposition to the company's plans.



Puppets dependent on U.S. troops

SOUTH VIETNAMESE President Thieu revealed the instability of the Saigon runner regime in a speech to his 'parliament' on Monday.

'As long as aggressive North Vietnamese forces remain in our territory, the United States and Allied forces should not be withdrawn from the territory of the Republic of South Vietnam', he said.

Thieu knows that the main body of the liberation forces are South Vietnamese workers and peasants.

But what he is admitting is fear of a US withdrawal, leaving his clique of landlords and corrupt bureaucrats unprotected from the wrath of the Vietnamese people.

Routine

routine remarks After about being 'determined to replace the bulk of US fighting units in 1970', Thieu underlined his continued dependence on US backing, stating that US withdrawal 'would depend on American military and financial aid and the strengthening of the South Vietnamese armed

With a desertion rate approaching 100,000 per year, the point is a forlorn hope.

Last week the Thieu regime attempted to bribe the National Liberation Front leaders with offers of a coalition if they cut off all links with their compatriots in the North and made a clean break from communism.

Monday's speech returned to this theme from a new angle:

'I wish to confirm again today that we are ready to discuss with the other side problem, including the problem of a ceasefire, if they have the goodwill to hold serious discussions

'. . . A number of people and groups, and public opinion both in our country as well as abroad are talking about the problem of cease-

Battlefield

On the battlefield, the fighting continues. Three NLF raids on the US base at Tay Ninh, 53 miles northwest of Saigon, were reported in one night.

There were 26 rocket and mortar attacks on Saigon regime bases and installations throughout the South.

Thieu's speech reflects the problems and internal weak-nesses of the Saigon regime. The NLF must press home their attacks to the full, and not be diverted by the traps

laid for them in Paris. The international labour movement must unceasingly ditional withdrawal of all US troops from Vietnam.

Dustmen's strike in danger

THE LONDON dustmen's strike is in danger because productivity deals are seen by their unions as the way to win the £20 basic wage.

This clashes with the big opposition to such deals shown by the men at Friday's Caxton Hall negotiations.

had spread to all but three of London's 32 boroughs, and also to Lewisham, Greenwich and Bromley.

About 5,500 dustmen and

M.D.W. AT

MORGAN

Combine

OFFICIALS of the engineer-

ing, transport and electrical

unions have concluded a

productivity deal at the

Morriston (Swansea) fac-

tory of Morganite Carbon

Ltd., which goes well be-

yond anything agreed in the

The deal is likely to have

company's other plants.

● PAGE 4 COL. 7 →

By Monday the strike

MORE LENIENT

involved.

The danger to the strike is illustrated by the statements of Mr Derek Gladwin, joint secretary of the negotiating council, who was reported as saying that the employers had

By Peter Read

3,000 other local authority

workers were estimated to be

He said the unions might have taken a more lenient line if the employers had been prepared to examine ways of meeting the men's demands through such means as pro-ductivity schemes.

'completely unconstruc-

In other words union offi-cials are preparing to sell productivity concessions for

Indeed the unions already complain of councils' slowness to implement deals agreed 'in general terms'. The national joint council

meets tomorrow in Edinburgh and the 15s. claim for 680,000 local authority workers will be on the agenda.

UNOFFICIAL

Whether or not the unions will press the £20 basic claim at Edinburgh remains to be seen, but they now seem most unlikely to make the strike official before the meeting, despite promises of early

This delay and uncertainty should be a warning that dustmen must take the leadership into their own hands for a strings.

No reliance at all can be placed in the trade union bureaucracy to carry through this fight.

The men must rely on their own strength and beware of a deal being worked out at their expense

• See story page four

नगा समार गामिडे Mos loke ukoce Mos loke ukoce Mos loke ukoce ORDER THE

Full subscription (Posted daily) £10 a year £2 10s. for three months	0R	Two editions (For any two davs you select) £4 a year £1 for three months
I would like to s	ubscribe to	o Workers' Press for
Name		
Addisəs		

Death of Paul Hirzel

PAUL HIRZEL died on September 25, 1969.

More than 500 Trotskyists, militants from the Youth Alliance for Socialism (AJS), a large delegation of workers from 'Figaro' and workers from the Parisian Book and Typographers section of the CGT, attended his funeral at the Saint Denis cemetery on Saturday, September 27. Pierre Lambert paid the following homage to the militant Trotskyist worker, the Trotskyist Organization.

▲ Militants of the Trotskyist Organization for the re-

construction of the Fourth International, militants of the Youth Alliance for Socialism, militants of the Federation of Committees of the Workers' Alliance, comrades and

The man we are accompanying here was Comrade Paul Hirzel. A Trotskyist since 1935, he was one of the few militants who, in the years before the war, after Hitler had taken power before Stalin exterminated the October generation, answered Leon Trotsky's call. From 1935 on, the total involvement of the young Paul Hirzel with the prole-tarian revolution and the

Fourth International was unflinching. Day after day, month after month, year after year, for 35 years, calmly and unostentatiously our comrade Paul Hirzel carried out militant work, political work and organizational work without which there would be no assimilation of Marxism.

Militants of the Fourth International! Militants of the Youth Alliance! Paul Hirzel shunned affectation, pretence, illusions all his life. He had to build, to take up what collapsed in order to build again, to start again. Before the war he trained to be a typographer for the

newspaper. When the mat-

erial, means and finances were

non-existent, Paul worked day

and night so that the news-

came out at any cost on time.

During the war, in the period of illegality, when he was responsible for the tech-● PAGE 4 COL. 6 → paper, the review, always

POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IRISH REPUBLIC

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by galiant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Iraland to the ownership of Iraland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully festered by an allen government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune mo

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for

We place the cause of the Irisa republic under the protection of the state high doc-whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthyof the august destiny

P. H. PEARSE, JAMES CONNOLLY.

Now in 1969 the old questions have come up once again in violent

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God,

Signed on Behalf of the Previsional Gove

THOMAS J. CLARKE,
SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,

capitalists:

2. Socialism and Struggle in Ireland

IN THE FIRST part of this article, the present situation in Northern Ireland was traced to the Unionist (Tory) conspiracy, beginning in 1912, to prevent national independence by armed force and terrorism.

Sir Edward Carson and the Northern Ireland capitalists, supported by the Tories, succeeded in preserving their own interests by partitioning the six 'Ulster' counties from the South and North-West.

Now, in 1969, the 'old' questions have come up in violent forms. History cannot be cheated. In the 20th century, the age of imperialism, only the working class and the socialist revolution can solve the problems of national independence, democratic demands and the land in backward countries.

In Northern Ireland, only a working class, socialist programme, with the working class organized for independent action behind a Marxist party, can finish the historic task of ending the rule of the Unionists, capitalist representatives of imperialism. Reformists and middle-class tendencies cannot

In the Republic, the South, an aborted form of national independence, with various constitutional modifications since 1920, was established.

Since then the Irish native bourgeoisie has ruled the country in defence of its own and foreign capital. The working class of the Irish Republic, leading the small farmers, is breaking from the capitalist parties and moving into action in its own interests.

Prime Minister Lynch and the government party make a few speeches about the North and the need for unity of the nation 'in the long run'!

But this trick, of seeming to represent Irish independence as a way of keeping the people's allegiance, will not work any

The more the struggle against the government in the South grows alongside the violent clashes in the North, the more the working class sees that its traditional 'nationalist' representatives use their nationalism only as a cloak for their class interests.

It is in the interests of the workers of Northern and Southern Ireland to unite against their own bosses, Unionist and 'nationalist', and against British imperialism which they defend: that means to aim at a united workers' and small farmers' republic, a Socialist United Ireland.

For the capitalists, North and South, this is the great

They want the present connection with Britain, because they have no real economic independence from British capital and no strength of their own to keep down the working

This is what has just been proved in the North. The Unionists' police and 'Special' forces in the North, even when backed by the thousands of armed Orange 'irregulars', could not keep 'law and order', and 7,000 British troops have been called in.

The British Labour government used its troops to defend capitalist property and to de-fend the Conservative caretakers of British imperialism in

These Unionists are part of the ruling class and the Tory establishment in Britain.

By supporting them the Labour government was providing strength to the British ruling class for its economic and political battles with the working class.

All those who do not oppose the sending of troops are collaborating in this imperialist war of intervention.

This raises the other side of the story which is necessary for working out a programme and strategy for the Irish wor-king class: the connection between the struggle in Ireland and the class struggle in Britain. We shall return to this point.

Republic was compelled to put

on a 'left' face, talking about

'socialism' being restored to

Although their programme

turned out not to be socialist

at all, what they are doing is

modifying their statements to

comply with the pressure from

Recent recruits to their par-

liamentary party, like Conor Cruise O'Brien and other

liberals, help them in this

What they hope is this: the old nationalism, helped by Catholicism, will not be able

to contain the struggle much

longer; in these days of mod-

ern capitalism, we should drop

the old nationalist myths, and

form a truly modern reformist, social-democratic party for the

Irish workers. (See Conor Cruise O'Brien in 'New Left Review', 37 May-June, 1966.)

In this way, they are very like the 'lefts' who formed **P**eople's Democracy in the

North, with their perspective of a 'rationalized' capitalism in

the North and an opening for

reforms in the shape of civil

Now there is certainly plenty for reformists to get their

teeth into (if they had any teeth) in the Republic of Eire. The standard of living is, on

official figures, less than 60 per

cent of that in Britain and 20

per cent lower than that of the

Even if we consider only the

town workers, who are better off than the small farmers and

agricultural workers, we find

average earnings about £3 10s.

per week lower than in Britain.

cause of differences in State

subsidies and pricing policies,

added of course to the poor

quality of land in the West,

production per acre annually is

£19 on grass and milk output,

compared with £59 in the

It is worth giving a few

other examples, because one

big question comes up among

Northern Irish workers, which

will more and more be asked

in the South also: what price

a united Ireland under Lynch

and the 'Green Tories' of the

in the North asks that ques-

tion, he is not referring at all

only (or even primarily) to the

future of religious freedom or

discrimination, but to the basic

living and welfare standards of

The Catholic worker in the

But when they both 'ask'

this question politically, and

fight for an alternative, jointly

with the workers of the South

—on that day the prospect of

a united socialist Ireland opens

Unemployment benefit, like all welfare benefits, is the

same in Northern Ireland as in

Britain. In the South, an un-

employed man with a wife and

two children gets £7 18s. 6d.; in the North £9 4s.

In the South, old-age pen-

sion is not due until 70, and is

North asks the same question.

When the Protestant worker

As for the countryside, be-

North.

North.

South?

the workers.

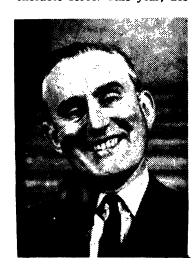
their programme.

the working class.

deception.

In the first of these articles we showed how the crisis prospects facing the Protestant majority of Belfast workers (in shipbuilding and engineering) were like a time-bomb underneath the present situation, in which the Catholic workers have been the first to move.

In the South, the situation is coming to a head with inexorable force. This year, des-



The Unionists, led by Prime Minister Chichester-Clark, are part of the ruling class and Tory establishment in Britain. By supporting them with troops, the Labour government also provides strength for the British ruling class in its economic and political battles with the working class.

pite frantic government appeals wage-restraint, despite threats of legislation with the Criminal Justice Bill which could jail strikers, the maintenance electricians of the Electricity Supply Board fought a bitter struggle through to the end and won an increase of 25

Within a few weeks, following their example, building workers won an approximate increase of 20 per cent, phased over nine months. Other sections are now moving into the

In the West, the Tynagh mining company, having got its hands on very rich silver and other deposits with the prospects of gigantic profits, has been crippled by a two-month

Already the men have re-fused a £4-a-week increase and the prospects grow of a long and bitter struggle.

In conditions where workers in the West of Ireland have in recent months gained confidence from a temporary spring and summer improvement in employment, these strikes are bound to increase the militancy of other sections.

Under the impact of this revival in the labour movement, and the recent General Election campaign, the government party withdrew its proposed anti-union legislation this year. It will certainly try to re-introduce it, and this will bring a political struggle against the legislation.

In the last three years, the small farmers have mounted considerable campaigns against the government.

After the partition of Ireland, definitively settled in 1923, the division of the land, despite the indemnity conditions attached to it, successfully took the heat out of the century-old agitation in the

But the pressure of finance capital and the big banks has put an intolerable squeeze on the small farmers. Like the small traders of the town, driven out by the supermarket investors, they are made bankrupt in their thousands every

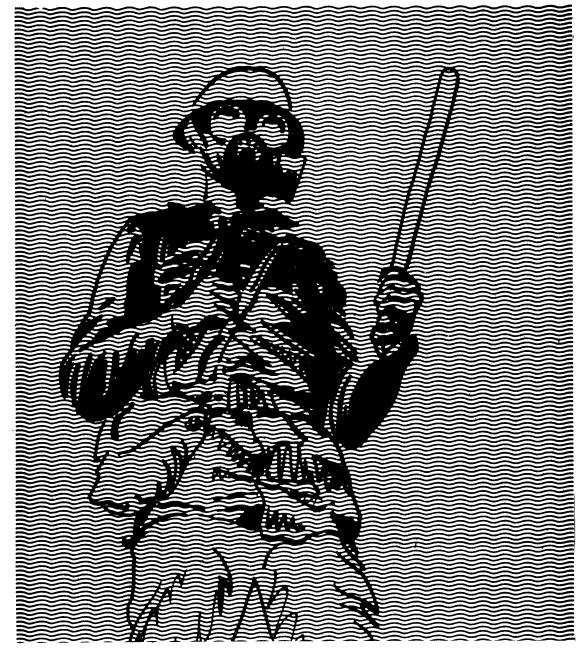
On top of these basic problems in the class struggle sits the powerful Catholic church. Its economic strength and its political influence in high places continue, but the ruling class is fearful of the daily growing rejection of religious authority by the proletarian

In the recent elections, the Labour Party of the Irish

The Political Background



The second of two articles by Cliff Slaughter



'There are no troops in the world who could have done the job that has been done by the British Army better'-James Callaghan, Home Secretary at the Labour Party conference in Brighton last week.

The Health Service hardly exists at all in the South. In 1965 the maternity grant was £4 (and contraception was banned). A widow with two children in the South gets £5 6s. a week, in the North £10.

New houses built in the South in 1965 reached the record figure of 8,146. The North, with less than half the population, and still with a disgraceful housing situation, built 9,516 houses in the same

Northern Ireland's education budget last year was £51 million. The South, with double the population, spent £49

These social benefits in the North are supported by a subchequer of about £130 million annually. This is always presented in government publicity as some sort of gift from

It is of course a great deal smaller than the annual amount extracted in profits by British and international capital each year, not to mention the advantages gained by British capitalists from the flow of Irish emigrants suffering under a 7½ per cent unemployment rate in Northern Ireland.

We saw in the first part of this article that, with the growing world economic crisis, the reform programme of 'civil rights' could not solve in any way the jobs and housing problem for the workers in the North, which must get worse

well as the Catholic. What is the prospect for any such reform in the South?

As already outlined, the Fianna Fail government is already preparing anti-union laws, let alone 'democratizing' and 'reforming'. Behind these measures are two factors.

In the first place, the low level of capital investment in southern Ireland, compared with any advanced country, cannot provide the basis for any advance in the economy.

The heritage of British im-

perialism, involving generations of literally wholesale destruction of people and of productive forces, ruled out any possibility of a capitalist colution

And yet the Irish capitalists face a working class whose

forms. History cannot be cheated. Only the working class and the socialist revolution can solve the problems of national independence and democratic demands. A step along this road was taken in Ireland in 1916, when a provisional government was set up during the Easter Rising in Dublin. It issued the declaration above.

historical traditions of struggle link up with the international offensive now being mounted by the working class.

to which it is called.

Secondly, the international strength of the working class, at the centre of a profound international crisis of capitalism, compels the Irish, like all other capitalists, to seek to increase the rate of exploitation and cripple the trade unions, in order to compete internationally in more competitive conditions—but this must be done in the teeth of a rising tide of working-class struggle!

In other words, we have the same basic ingredients for revolutionary struggle, though with all sorts of historical factors which aggravate the situation still further, as we find in Britain, as reformism proves its bankruptcy and its reactionary nature under the Labour government!

One reason why the nationalist demagogy of the Southern capitalist politicians has been wearing thin in recent years is that they have begun to look for a way out of their economic problems by moving, first through closer relations (Free Trade Agreements, etc.) with the North and with Britain, into the European Common

In any case, of course, the Common Market represents a forlorn attempt by the European capitalists to overcome the contradictions between modern production and the nation-state.

If that contradiction becomes stifling for the advanced countries, what a hopeless situation exists for the bour-geoisie of a backward country like Ireland.

Since 1958, the Irish bourgeoisie has encouraged an in-flow of foreign investment, and until 1965, as part of the last stages of the world capitalist boom, this brought a reduction of unemployment and the workers were able to increase real wages.

For Ireland, however, this could not be enough.

In every country, the expectations and strength of the working class built up during these years has intensified capitalism's crisis, and in Ireland that coincides with historical problems.

More people left the land (even with agriculture doing moderately well) between 1958 and 1965 than the number of new jobs provided by the industrial expansion.

If this was the situation during boom, what are the prospects for workers and small farmers in a recession?

Already the downturn in the economy in 1965 had a great radicalizing effect on the wor-kers, strengthened by the boom, and the recent wave of strikes flows from that period.

Every section of capitalist opinion in the Irish Republic, including the government through official reports, is hit ting out at the working class as 'responsible' for the growing crisis and advocating wagefreezing. This is the purpose of the proposed Criminal Justice Bill.

This wages question in Ire-land is political dynamite, just as it is throughout Europe. The Irish bourgeoisie has no chance of 'getting into Europe' in time to rejuvenate itself, even if that were possible.

Since the 1967 Free Trade Agreement with Britain, Eire's balance of payments and trade have rapidly deteriorated. The editorial of the Dublin newspaper 'Irish Independent' puts clearly the dilemma of the

EAMONN CBANNT,

'Imports have exceeded exports by more than £20 million in each month of this year—a very considerable worsening since 1968.

'It does not seem that a trade deficit of the present size can be tolerated for very much longer. The deficit will be given added impetus by the income increases which are beginning to work their way through the economy. Consumer buying and imports will both be stimulated considerably. The economy is not in a position to withstand this added pressure which looks like developing.' ('Irish Independent', September

The fact is that 70 per cent of the exports of Eire are to the United Kingdom. Like the capitalists of Britain, those of Ireland were very well that entry into the Common Market is not just to get some dream of 'economic integration' and expansion, but to strengthen them against the working class.

In the North, the future for the embattled Catholic workers is in unity with the Protestant majority of workers against their employers, against the Unionist government, and imperialism which sustains

The developing world crisis will create such problems for the Northern industries that this unity will be posed in the very near future.

In Britain, the working class is faced with a struggle for socialist policies and revolutionary leadership, the Labour leaders having been exposed with the ending of the boom.

In their struggle against the Tories and their agents in the labour movement, the British workers will need unity with the workers of Ireland against the Unionists.

They will thus need to fight for the **ending** of imperialist control in Ireland, in order to weaken their own enemy.

These struggles will make the Irish workers in England, Scotland and Wales a strong force in the British working class.

In the South of Ireland, the working class is being forced to recognize the illusory nature of the 'national independence' maintained under bourgeois leadership. It is orought into battle

against a government of capitalists who openly turn to their bourgeois allies in Westminster and the City of London for common policies against the working class. That same government tolerates the British presence in the North for the same reasons.

Never was it more clear that the liberation of Ireland is only to be achieved by the working - class struggle for

It is the international turn in that struggle, the great steps being taken by the European socialist revolution, which have opened up a new phase in the heroic history of the Irish workers and small farmers.

This time there will be no reliance on bourgeois nationalist leaders. This time the struggle in Ireland merges with the historic situation in which the workers of Britain must break from reformism, from imperialism and all it stands

The workers of Ireland, North and South, and of Britain are going to strike a mighty blow for the United Socialist States of Europe!



The Irish capitalists face a working class whose historical traditions of struggle link up with the international offensive now being mounted by the working class. That is the reason for blatant attacks like the Burntollet Bridge ambush of a civil rights' march by B-Special thugs (above).

By David Madd

Correspondent

gamated Uni

our Industrial

Seen with Ernie Roberts

(left), assistan Secretary

1017

NOW that the euphoria surrounding the 68th Labour Party conference's closing session the mawkish votes of thanks to all concerned, the singing of 'The Red Flag' and 'Auld Lang Syne' — has subsided, many delegates will no doubt be getting down to some sober questioning.

In his summing-up, Wilson described the Party's present position as that of 'a family free to argue but fundamentally united'. But this is clearly nonsense.

The conference finished up split down the middle over the government's pay laws, with 2,272,000 out of some 6.000,000 votes cast against the executive's 'Agenda for a Generation' (a policy statement intended to form the basis of the Party's manifesto for the next general election).

The bulk of these opposition votes came from Britain's two major unions, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundryworkers and the Transport and General Workers.

From the outset, however, it must be made clear that the centrist leaderships of neither of these unions wanted to vote this way.

Deplorable

AEF president Mr Hugh Scanlon said on Tuesday night the possibility they might have to do this was 'most deplorable'. By Thursday, he was looking towards what was to happen the next morning 'with some concern'.

Last Friday itself was a 'heads together' morning, as Transport and General Workers' Union general secretary Mr Jack Jones conferred with Scanlon, then with Party secretary Mr Harry Nicholas, and with other trade union chiefs, in a last-ditch attempt to avert

Just before the vote, he



Barbara Castle, Minister for Employment and Productivity.

went to the rostrum to ask for an executive statement that the document 'in its present form will not be issued until the national executive committee have revised it'.

The executive, however, was not playing politics.

Big forces, rarely even so much as mentioned at Brighton, determined this split.

Reluctant

Government spokesmen, on the one hand, were answering the demands of international capital expressed by the International Monetary Fund, on the other, the union leaders were pressed reluctantly forward by the mounting opposition in the working class to the attacks of the Labour leaders.

Whatever the conference's decisions, of course, these attacks will continue.

Beneath the electioneering surface of all the major government policy statements at determination to press forward with the same policies.

Brighton lay a hard edge of

Just returned from the IMF talks in Washington, Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr Roy Jenkins told delegates last Wednesday that while progress had been made during the year this did not mean there was going to be any relaxation particularly in the squeeze on home consumption.

What was needed, he said, was 'positive determination to continue with the policies which have got us this far'.

His claim that there was nothing he said to the IMF that he would not be glad for the Labour conference to hear should, of course, be treated with considerably more scepticism than his assertion that, there is nothing I am going to say to this conference which I would not be glad for the IMF to hear'.

Although many delegates cheered both statements indiscriminately, it was, as one disgusted union official commented as he left the conference hall that morning, 'like a banker addressing his share-

Unchallenged

With the help of a solid block of right-wing unions and constituency parties, Wilson comes away from Brighton with his major policies—wage restraint, the squeeze and entry into the Common Market-unchallenged.

Both left and right of the party jumped unhesitatingly during last Monday's debate into Home Secretary Mr James Callaghan's pocket over Ulster -adding yet more power to his elbow in the use of troops. For their part, Wilson's Ministers themselves are committed to little if anything at

Thursday's Common Market debate, the draughtsmen's union dropped their amendment calling on the government to withdraw from negotiations for entry and allowed the T&GWU's motion - which called merely for 'adequate safeguards' — to go through unopposed.

Mrs Castle's pledge to legis-

trade union leaders.'

late for equal pay came, of

course, in the same speech as

her commitment to re-activate

Part Two of the Prices and

Incomes Act and must be

taken in line with Wilson's

Portsmouth declaration that

progress towards equal pay

will be firmly linked to the

requirements of the incomes

Role

It is in this context that we

must look at the role of the

HOW FLEET STREET

SEES THE 'LEFTS'

'Superficially, Messrs. Jones and Scanlon seemed to be

shaping up to be the sort of leftist union demagogues

that the public love to hate. . . . It's clear enough that

they are shaping up not only to become the Terrible

Twins of the left but, more importantly, outstanding

'On the two major controversies, the Common

Market and incomes policy, Mr Wilson's authority

survived intact . . . to his delight, he has received the

assurance from the most militant trade union leader,

Hugh Scanlon, that the unions will fight for his re-

election as their leader just the same.'

(David Haworth, 'The Observer',

(Nora Beloff, 'The Observer',

from the TUC!

Labour government.

October 5.)

October 5.)

standing of these questions

Then on Thursday afternoon

the 'lefts' lined up, without ex-

ception, behind the AEF's

pledge of support for the

Labour and trade union 'lefts'.

After Brighton

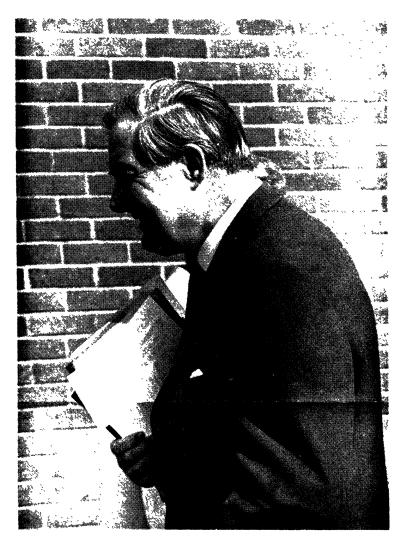
Their 'unity' with the right wing at Brighton was built up almost entirely around the already-tottering edifice of the Trades Union Congress's 100day-old agreement to do the government's dirty work in the unions and the hope that some equally rotten compromise might be reached over the incomes policy.

onstration'-really just a rally on the Sunday before conference began, 'star' speaker Mr Victor Feather pledged that the undertaking would be 'carried out 100 per cent'.

At the Labour Party's 'dem-

The TUC's work towards improving productivity, moreover, was expanding.

Feather seemed proud of his claim that many managers were now getting their under-



James Callaghan, Home Secretary

create a strong economy'.

Instead of fighting to mobilize their members against the whole range of the government's anti-working-class policies, so as to finish with the Wilson leadership and fight the Tories on a socialist programme, the 'lefts' took every opportunity to make play of Party unity—emphasizing how good most of the Party's policies were and what good economic 'progress' had been

As 'left' MP Eric Heffer (Walton, Liverpool) said last Thursday night, when he and Sid Bidwell MP (Southall) got together at a public meeting with 'state capitalists' Paul Foot and John Palmer in yet another diversion to prevent delegates drawing the real lessons of the conference, 'when I hear the slogan "Wilson out!" its means "Heath in,

formists like yourself to fight decisively against it.

The 'state capitalists', similarly, have nothing but a kind of souped-up reformism to offer Labour Party members who want really to fight for a Having stayed inside the

Party to the bitter end, during the entire right-wing witchhunt and expulsion of the Young Socialists, they are now out of the Party without a word of principled explanation as to how they got there. The real debate today,

claimed their leaflet for the meeting, was between those 'who still see the Labour Party as a possible agent of socialism . . . and those who believe that the time has come for the working class to discard such a party and throw up its own organizations'.

Socialists, the All ridden homosexuals who fur-

That this split took place is further confirmation that the conditions are maturing for a real fight against the right

This will be taken forward, way through the network of above all, through the fight for neurotic and obsessive midleadership in the trade unions dle-class culture, where underneath the brittle sophisti--against the centrists. It is in this struggle that the Socialist cation lie loneliness and insecurity, aggression and deso-Labour League will play a decisive role.

TELEVISION

BBC-1

9.15 a.m.-12.25 p.m., For Schools and Colleges. 12.25-12.50, Apna Ili Ghar Samajhiye. 12.55-1.25, Ble Carechi Chi Fynd? 1.30, Watch with Mother. 1.45-1.53, News and Weather. 2.5-2.50, For Schools and Colleges. 3.45, Representing the Union. 4.20, Play School. 4.40, Jackanory. 4.55, Zokko! 5.15, Wild World. 5.44, Babar. 5.50, National News and Weather.

6.00, London-Nationwide: news, features, opinions.

6.45, The Newcomers. 7.10, Tom and Jerry.

7.25, The Laugh Parade. 8.50, The main news and

9.10, The Wednesday 'Patterson O.K.'.

10.00, The Horse of the Year

10.40, 24 Hours including 11.15, The Conservative Party Conference. 11.40. Weatherman

All regions as BBC 1 except at the following times:

Idlands and East Anglia: 6.0-6.45, Midlands Today, Look East, Weather and Nationwide 11.42, News Summary, Weather for the Midlands and East Anglia.

Northern England: 6.0-6.45 p.m., Look North, Weather, Nation-wide. 11.42, Northern News

Headlines, Weather, Wales: 6.0-6.45 p.m., Wales Today, N Heddiw. Nationwide. 6.45-7.10,

Scotland: 6.0-6.45 p.m., Reporting Scotland, Nationwide. 10.0-10.15, Sportsreel. 11.55, Epi-Scottish News Headlines, Weather,

Northern Ireland: 10.25-10.45 a.m., For Schools: Ulster in Focus. 6.0-6.45 p.m., Scene Around Six Nationwide. Weather, 11,42. Northern Ireland News, Headlines, Weather South and West: 6.0-6.45 p.m.

Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-West, Weather, Nationwide. 11.42, South and West News Headlines.

BBC-2

Coverage of key debates of Con-

servative and Unionist Party to be

11.00-11.20 a.m., Play School.

7.00 p.m., Expecting a Baby.

7.30, Newsroom, Weather.

8.00, Man Alive: 'The Few'

8.50, Know Your Onions. 9.10, Rowan and Martin.

10.00. Peter Sarstedt. 10.30, News Summary, Weather. 10.35, Line-Up.

Wed Oct 8—Border Television—1.40-2.50 p.m., For Schools. 2.55, Conservative Party Assembly from Brighton. 4.00, Border News Headlines. 4.02, Houseparty. 4.15, Castle Haven. 4.40, Paulus-The Wood Gnome. 4.55, The Sooty Show. 5.20, Sexton Blake. 5.50, National News. 6.0, Border News and Lookaround. 6.35, Cross-roads. 7.0, University Challenge. 7.30, Coronation Street. 8.0, The Champions. 9.0, Special Branch. 10.0, News At Ten and Border Weather. 10.30, Sez Les. 11.0, Professional Wrestling. 11.45 Border News Summary and

She, exquisitely played by

Ali Margraw, has all the ar-

rogance, confidence, skittish-

ness and petulance that wealth

from the labour of others has

American capitalist dream,

the illusion incarnate, yet she

is bound by precisely the

forces that have created her.

abruptly, when the demands

of family, guilt and depen-

dency assert themselves over

any affection she has for him.

He walks away, disillusioned,

It is a slight, well observed

and muted piece with plenty

of accurate detail and a re-

freshing and unsensational

Contradictory

'EASY RIDER' is by far the

most interesting and contra-

It is a nakedly idealist

piece with all the current

illusions of drugs, the return

to nature, so much favoured

by the capitalist press, yet

in spite of this the very

seriousness with which the

makers, Richard Hopper and

Peter Fonda, have approached

their subject, their dedica-

tion to present a real objec-

tive world, transcends their

dictory of the three.

The film and the affair end

She is the high point of the

privileged her with.

into the night.

sensuality.

By Brian Moore

THREE films from America this week, all made with that consumate professional confidence that characterizes the best of Hollywood, reflect an uncertainty, an insoluble sense of despair, a restlessness and incompleteness.

The first is 'Midnight Cowboy', directed by an Englishman, John Schlesinger, who made 'Billy Liar'. The first thing that is instantly apparent is the way in which he has responded to a different environment.

The film crackles with impressions of America that flash out from the screen with a strident commercial vul-

The ear is assaulted by the incessant chatter of disc jockeys, the banalities of television programmes, the eye of the hurdy gurdy of neon adverts, the concrete expanses of highways, the threat of the endless rolling traffic. Amongst this nightmare men women move with a kind of bewildered yet defensive isolation, indifferent through fear of each other.

Objectivity

In this Schlesinger has found a critical objectivity which has been lacking in his British films. The detail of casual meetings in buses, the overheard conversations, the random events of the streets build up a sharp mosaic of American life.

tively walk the streets.

Innocence

Tex steers his ingenuous

Hollywood

'Midnight Cowboy' is really journey of innocence through the inferno of capitalism in decay, yet at a point there is, as it were, a failure of nerve by the director, an inability to see through the nightmare and he falls back on a mawkish sentimentality which is evasion of his theme.

Banality

What promised to be a sharp and stringently objective film lapses into banality; almost with an audible sigh the issues are ducked and the Hollywood home ground tear-jerking takes its

IN CONTRAST to the numbing indifference of metropoliisolation, 'Goodbye Columbus' is set amongst the claustrophobia of the wealthy self-made country club Jewish community.

nant comedy of two young

people who have an affair

She comes from a rich,

self-made Jewish background,

and he from a poorer Jewish

family, determined to break

from its fetters, to make life

restrictions of custom, of

what is expected of him, the

good job and position.

as he wants it, free from the

during a summer holiday.

own ideological intent.-For a whole layer of American society is revealed in all its contradictions. Gleaming technology stands side by side with impoverished southern shanty towns, modish 'hip' dialogue clashes with small-town backward culture with all its suspicions. fears and hostilities: violence erupts at any moment, love transformed into hate, illu-

Inhumanity

sions into despair.

What emerges is a sense of complexity, imminence of breakdown, the grotesque inhumanity of imperialism incapable of solving its contradictions, where youth's energy and idealism are shrouded in a pathetic desperation.

Hopper can see no way out; he is in recoil from the monolith where, as with his characters, the end can come arbitrarily out of the blue from the barrel of a shot gun.

All three films have in common a middle-class confusion about, but intensely felt hostility towards, the contradictions and barbarism of bourgeois culture, but they see it entirely from an individualist standpoint which offers in itself no solution.

Neither death, nor dropping out, nor walking away transforms the nightmare one iota.

Unless the situation is grasped from the point of view of dialectical materialism, where the key to the future is in the revolutionary mobilization of the working class as a class, then individual despair can be the only conclusion. However deeply felt the

protests are, they remain the impotent squeals of anguish of the middle class, which unless anchored to the revolutionary struggles of the working class must inevitably spin off into the clutches of reaction and barbarism.



Hugh Scanlon, President of AEF



Jack Jones, General Secretary T&GWU

Withdraw

●FROM PAGE ONE

The building of such a party in Ireland can only be carried out when religion, be it Catholic or Protestant, is rightly understood as the 'opium of the people'.

It is true that such a position cannot receive popular support at this time, but that is not the point.

The test for Marxists in Ireland is to educate a revolu-tionary cadre of leaders.

It is impossible to do this except through a struggle for the withdrawal of British troops.

This is a class issue directly affecting the working class in Britain. Concretely it will be carried out by a conscious effort to mobilize the British working class against the employers and the Labour government on every issue possible.

The fight to withdraw the troops from Ireland is inseparable from the fight for more wages in the factories and unions, although many workers will not recognise this at first.

The Marxists must always keep such a relationship in the forefront of their

Once again, like Czechoslovakia, Ulster has demonstrated to all the
importance of Trotskyism
which is the application of
Marxism to present day

Lucas men demand £5 allowance

●FROM PAGE ONE

Feeling in favour of an increased allowance is growing among the workers in all the Mersey Lucas factories. This is the first time that all four factories have gone into action together on the same issue.

The demand was rejected by the management at Victor Works and Fazakerly when it was put forward three months ago.

As the shop stewards point out, company policy is clearly to resist any rise in the shift

Inadequate

In a leaflet distributed at all four factories, the stewards' committee says 'the shift allowance is totally inadequate in relation to the domestic and social life. We are tied up for 25 weeks of the year and on the other 25 we can't get a proper night out as we are up early the

'I. Lucas on Merseyside have got away with paying shift-workers approximately only £1 more than day-workers for the inconvenience of losing half their

The leaflet points out that the demand for an all-round £5 was put forward because the loss of hours and burdens of work are the same for everybody-skilled, unskilled,

Mersey dockers

may boycott

containers

LIVERPOOL dockers are to

boycott a new container

service to the United States

today unless agreement is

reached on the port wages

Shop stewards announced

this decision on Sunday after considering the employers'

They are demanding an in-

crease in their basic rate from

So far the employers have

only offered £16 provided a

number of bonus items are

The threatened container

consolidated into the flat rate.

service is run by Sealand In-corporated, and was due to

use the Mersey Docks and

Harbour Board Terminal

London dockers are also

refusing to work new con-

tainer schemes without agree-

ment on wages.
The £2 million container

berth of Overseas Containers

and Associated Container

Transportation, at Tilbury, re-

latest pay offer.

£11 ls. 8d. to £16.

berth in Liverpool.

mains closed.

DUSTMEN FIGHT INCOMES POLICY RACKET IF THE STINK from rotting refuse is beginning to

get up the noses of people in high places, including some trade union leaders, then they are at least getting a hint of the conditions some workers are having to put up with every working hour.

They may also be getting an insight into just how important these so-called non - essential' workers really are.

'Non-essential' because this is the term often used to excuse the low wages of all workers employed by local authorities, the implication being that they are second-rate employees.

For carrying out really essential services in local communities, council workers have been fobbed off time after time with a pittance which, they are told, is all that can be allowed under the government's incomes

'The only way you can get more is to accept a productivity deal, bleat the em-

ployers. On this basis large numbers of very well-paid consultants have been wandering round local authorities sweepers, cleaners, electricians, grave-diggers, office workers, sewer-

Effort

Men and women on the boroughs have been told they can earn a 331 per cent bonus, 'with no extra effort'. But in practice, the workers involved are finding what a fraud these schemes are. While output goes up two, three and fourfold, the incentive - bonus keeps wages down to a mini-

At the same time, departments are being cut down 'natural wastage' sys-

But put the responsibility for these schemes squarely where it belongs. managers in local authorities did not just happen on the same scheme at

the same time. It was the Prices and Incomes Board, set up and operated by the Labour government, which in 1967 duced its report — The Pay and Conditions of Manual Workers in Local Authorities, the National Health Service, Gas and Water Supply'.

Scene

It was this document that set the scene for 1,100,000 manual workers in the four industries concerned (gas 75,000, water 26,000, National Health 250,000, local authorities 749,000 - 600,000

of the total are women). The 80-page report commended work-study for with payment incentive bonus everyone, through schemes; but on page 48 it

says:
'The systems of payment to be considered should include not only incentive bonus schemes

Italian strikes

mobilize poorest

THE ITALIAN strike

wave has now roused the

most oppressed sections of

the working class to

The 100,000 inhabitants

of Rome's 'shanty town'

have organized themselves

into a single movement to

fight against their appalling

Many of Rome's three

million population live in huts

and sheds improvized out of

packing cases, corrugated scrap iron, rough blocks of stone and the remains of

While many slum and

shanty dwellers are already

occupying empty blocks in

the centre of Rome, a petition signed by 20,000 has been sent to the presiding officer of the Chamber of

The first sentence makes

huts, in caves, under the arches of the aqueducts,

intend with this petition to

'We who are living in

housing conditions.

classical Roman ruins.

struggle.

Deputies.

ts aim clear:

workers

does not warrant an increase. in which payment varies directly with performance but also Measured-Day Work and productivity agreements in which inment

FLASHBACK TO FEBRUARY: Lambeth dustmen's fight to

defend 'totting' was a fight against productivity.

creased pay is related to an acceptance of different working methods.' Measured-Day Work is the vicious speed-up system over which struggles are taking place daily throughout the car industry.

greater flexibility of

movement between the pre-

sent occupational groupings'.

cept the new methods, while

the long-term schemes mean speed-up, and running down

with an absolute freeze on

wages, leading to full opera-

Since this agreement came

out, any aspiring work-study consultant has been able to

notch up 'experience' by fol-lowing council workmen

While these people knock up huge salaries for their

'study work', while contrac-

tors queue up for more lucra-tive work, always available

from the councils, and while

investors can collect 7,8 and 9 per cent rake-off from

workers on the job are given

101 reasons why their work

draw the attention of pub-

lic opinion to the situation

in which we live and pro-

test against the Rome

politicians who have sys-

tematically avoided taking

our problems into con-

sideration, limiting them-

selves to empty promises.'

Miracle

This is the grim reality

Italian capitalism's cheap

exports and low imports rest

on conditions such as these-

right in the heart of Rome.

The 100,000 shanty dwel-

lers of Rome now begin to

speak politically for the first time, adding their voice to

the millions of industrial,

agricultural and clerical work-

ers already in action against

the employers and the govern-

This newly forged unity

will be frustrated without

revolutionary leadership. The

most urgent task is now the

fight for such a leadership on

the basis of the programme of

the Fourth International.

Italy's 'economic

behind

borrowing,

tion of MDW eventually.

round with a stopwatch.

the departments along

Proposals Also recommended was the se of job-evaluation—to end demarcation between levels of skill and to secure

It is now becoming clear **Private** that when this report talked of 'short-term' and 'long-term' schemes that the shortterm proposals mean a few advantages to the workers involved to get them to ac-

Public Employees, in particular, has been selling workstudy to its members.

examined the original Prices and Incomes Board Report. Over recent months Lonbasic increase in wages.

that this is a battle to be fought for all lower-paid workers against the incomes policy is 100 per cent correct. All workers must unite to: Smash the government's

incomes policy. Throw out the PIB and its productivity swindle.

Campaign for a proper council service to tenants and ratepayers run by well-paid

unions to remove officials who have sold out time after • Replace those leaders with others dedicated to revolutionary socialist policies. Such a leadership is provided in the development of

the All Trades Unions Al-

sacked by contractors

Matthew Hall at the Wat-

ney Mann brewery site,

Isleworth, Middlesex, on Fri-

day for alleged industrial

misconduct, called on Mon-

day for union support to

The sackings follow the electricians' rejection of a bonus scheme under which

they claim to have been underpaid by some £200 a head.

The electricians were still

oppose the sackings.

On top of this, the governrecently announced

* *

'The building industry will be allowed in the £100 million a year market for work awarded at present without competition by local authorities to their direct labour depart-ments.' ('The Times' Busi-ness News. July 29,1969) The report added:

'The freedom of the departments from competition and often from adequate accounting disciplines has been a source of constant criticism by building contractors and

In other words, the Labour government is paving the way services and amenities back to private tender and capitalist 'enterprise'.

have been playing their part in promoting productivity bargaining.
The National Union of

Plan for the Future' and 'NUPE Sets the Trend', headlined NUPE's journal in two-inch high letters when it

don's firemen, GLC electricians and Lambeth dustmen productivity schemes and for ('How do we increase pro-ductivity?' asked one fire-mens' poster 'Light our own

Labour government's attacks on all workers in the service industry must be fought.
The dustmen's recognition

Oppose any attempts to of Tory profiteers.

Fight for a £20 minimum

workers.

Demand direct workers' control of local authorities.

• Prepare for a fight in the

Scottish C.W.S. breaks fire rules

By Mickle Shaw

THE SCOTTISH Co-operative Wholesale Society was fined the maximum penalty of £300 at Glasgow Sherriff Court on October 1 for contravening the fire protection clause of the Factories Act.

A factory inspector said that on visiting premises occupied by the SCWS on August 14 he found that one of the fire exit doors would not open.

He reported that it took two joiners 15 minutes to re-lease the door fastening, appeared to have jammed due to lack of maintenance.

The building was a sevenstorey furniture warehouse in Glasgow which also housed a radio and television repair workshop and a watch and clock repair workshop. About 350 people were employed on the premises.

The watch and clock repair employees and 50 other workers would have needed to use the jammed emergency exit in case of fire.

In his annual report, published on the same day as the court prosecution of the SCWS, HM Inspector of Fac-tories stated that the courts have not always supported efforts by the factory inspectorate to ensure that tragedies like Glasgow's James Watt Street fire did not occur elsewhere.

November in a furniture warehouse where fire exit doors were locked and windows shielded with iron bars.

The jury found that the deaths were due to the fault and negligence of the firm.

Register

Arising from the inquiry several recommendations were made, including the compilation of a register of factories found to be in serious breach of statutory fire regulations. Other points made were: bars on the windows of fac-tories be prohibited; there should be control of the storage and use of foam plastics and other materials.

There have been meetings and discussions in various local and national government departments, but the recommendations do not appear to have been put into effect. Iron bars remain at many warehouse windows, insufficient precautions are taken in the storing and handling of inflammable materials and

inflammable

By Bernard Franks

Airport

retreats

The men fear that the

new company's operations

will lead to redundancies.

Authority

Workers' Press reporter

THE DECISION made last week by 10,000 Transport

and General Workers' Union (T&GWU) members to hold a one-day strike today has forced the British Airports

Authority to delay the start of work by the ground

The Authority said work

by the company would not begin while negotiations are

Meeting

The ground handling staff are meeting today to decide

The Department of Em-

ployment and Productivity has already intervened to see how serious the situation

Its intervention to aid the

introduction of contract work

must be seen as part of the Labour government's strategy

to weaken and break down

trade union organization in every industry.

MORGANS

repercussions at Morganite's Battersea (London) factory,

which is to close in two years,

with the transfer of some workers to South Wales.

include almost complete flexi-bility of labour in the trade

and production departments.

Work payments system agreed

achieve production targets

will mean bonus loss or some

other unspecified disciplinary

Tea-breaks and washing

times are to be cut completely

out of the working day, it

Youth Alliance! Such was the

life of Paul Hirzel, of our

He always did it calmly, with a smile full of life, with confidence in the Fourth

And for several weeks it was another struggle, the last

A struggle to prepare him-self for death, a death to

which our comrade gave him-self fully, a death he chose as a materialist and an atheist.

Paul Hirzel truly under-

stood what Rosa Luxemburg

wrote about the militant life:

'One must get used to taking things as they come,

calmly, generously, and with a very warm smile.'
Paul Hirzel is dead. The

The tasks will be carried

organize to construct the in-

struggle continues.

at Morriston,

measures.

Death of Paul Hirzel

International.

International.

Under the Measured-Day

failure

Provisions in the agreement

FROM PAGE ONE

on future action.

handling company, General Aviation Services.

the lack of adequate factory inspection remains.

● FROM PAGE ONE

nical side of the work, he gave himself completely.

All the organs of the Fourth International 'The Soviet', 'The Only Road' and

The Truth' were published

and circulated because they had to be published; without

a press, without publications,

without a newspaper, there is

Militants and youth! You must understand that the newspaper could only have been printed and circulated

in the German army because

from beginning to end Paul Hirzel did the composition,

against

no organization.

without a regular job) has led to repeated disputes in recent months. The Cadeby Main col-71s., but this still leaves them over 14s. a shift below the

MINERS

FACE THIRD

WAGE DEAL

THE National Coal Board's stubbornness over

the rates paid to market men (skilled miners

NPLA rate.

local issue.

workers.

For a year now the All Trades Unions Alliance has been demanding the NPLA

rate for all skilled workers

prepared to go on the face and has been warning of the dangers of the third day-wage

structure.
The Cadeby strike is not a

All miners must unite behind the demand for 85s. 2d. minimum for skilled workers,

whatever job they are allocated to, and link this with

a campaign for decent pay for

craftsmen and lower paid

A victory for the Cadeby men is vital for all miners

throughout the country.

liery strike is the latest of these.

A new light is shed on these struggles when they are seen in connection with the third day-wage structure due to operate from late October.

There are already two daywage structures in the mining industry: the National Power Loading Agreement (NPLA) for face workers and a day-wage structure for lower-paid

workers.

The third day-wage structure will affect some 60,000 65,000 men not covered by the other two structures—rippers, headers, repairers, supply workers, transporters and market men.

GRADES

Within the third day-wage structure itself there will be three grades of men.

It is now clear that the Coal Board is reluctant to pay market men the NPLA rate (85s. 2d.) because it wants to keep them on a lower rate within the third day-wage

Thus, there is much more at stake at Cadeby than the jobs allocated to 130 market

The regrading of market men into different categories at less than 85s. 2d. would be a national agreement and could therefore mean wage cuts for men at present on or over that rate.

The failure of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) leadership to fight for the NPLA rate for all skilled face workers, plus a decent wage for day-wage men, leaves the door open for the Coal Board.

Already, since the miserable award of 7d. to 2s. a shift for piece-workers and task-workers (agreed last February) the national leadership has permitted a virtual wage-freeze to operate, while the third day-wage structure negotiations have dragged

INTRODUCTION

The introduction of this structure was first postponed for six months, then delayed delayed again for a further

The area leaderships have not led a real fight either. The Cortonwood strike earlier this year raised some men's pay from 49s. 10d. to

Grants Committee and the

Vice-Chancellors' Committee began last week with Mrs Shirley Williams, Minister for Higher Education, in attend-The Department of Educa-

tion and Science has had to revise upwards by 40 per cent estimates of university candidates for 1970-1975 made in the Robbins Report.

The vice-chancellors are considering various productivity proposals such as allowing the staff-student ratio to orsen still further

It has dropped by 10 per cent in five years.

Loans

'Official quarters,' says 'The Times', are said to be considering whether students should live at home.

They are also considering the introduction of loan schemes instead of grants for students.

Pegging grant levels would, it is thought, force students to seek loans. Universities are to be called

upon to use resources more efficiently, to adapt and adjust buildings and equipment. The vice-chancellors are even considering a six-term year to cram extra students

This, combined with the falling staff-student ratio, can only herald an English 'Fouchet' (French Minister for Education in 1968) plan with consequent struggles involving both students and lecturers.

Trades Unions Alliance conference

Motor workers' conference All car, car components and delivery workers are invited motor workers'

conference Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth

Birmingham Saturday November 8

2 p.m. to 7 p.m. Write for credentials to: R. Parsons,
21 Strawberry Path,
Blackbird Leys,

Conference fee: 5s. a person

Registered with the GPO as a newspaper. Published by Workers' Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.
Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

made up the pages, and printed 'Arbeiter Und Soldat' ('Worker and Soldier') which revolutionary party and the This fire broke out last Fourth International: an arduous road, which at each called on the German soldiers to organize and struggle against Hitler and the Gerstage forced him to reevaluate the problems, to reman bourgeoisie, against capitalism, for socialism. When the war was over Paul Hirzel continued his orient his life.

22 people were burned alive.

He soon signed on at 'Figaro' and became CGT

the workshop.

delegate. He took up his tasks as a militant worker

with the same confidence.

militant Trotskyist work.

He knew, because of his

whole development, that Marxism is the science of the proletariat for the liberation

of humanity.

Illegal work made way for

legal work. Paul returned to

Isleworth site sacks 25 E.T.U. men

Workers' Press correspondent on the site on Monday morning, but were expecting to be ejected by police.

As well as sacking the electricians, the company also made four shop stewards redundant, leaving only the plumbers' steward on the site. The workers claim that a pipe-fitter's mate, made redundant on Friday, has al-

been replaced

another hired on Monday. The five members of the

tricians said:

'We don't seem to be able to get the backing of the

Constructional Engineering Union on the site were on strike on Monday in support of their 'redundant' shop steward, while the 20 remaining workers waited for union delegates to visit the site. A spokesman for the elec-

and death on August 20, 1940 declared: I am confident of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward.' •

Greetings comrade, of your comrade. Faithful to the programme and to the organization of the Fourth International, he was to our conscious of the job to be done for the victory of the proletarian revolution. **Press** New generations, the strug-gle of Paul Hirzel is the continuity of the struggle for Marxism; is the continuity, during its darkest hours, of

DAVE MARTIN, member of the struggle for the Fouth Liverpool district committee, Amalgamated Union of En-Lasting 34 years, the conscious life of Paul Hirzel merged with the difficult struggle to construct the gineering and Foundrywor-kers; Convenor at CAV Fazakerly (in a personal capacity):

I have been very impressed by the Workers' Press and by its broad and deep coverage of industrial news in particular. The Hackney dustmen's strike is a case in point. We have needed a paper like this. I wish it every success and hope it goes from

strength to strength.

A voung journalist writes: CONGRATULATIONS on the it, and you have provided it.

It is a tribute to the dedication of everyone concerned, from the comrades who provide the copy, to those who deliver it to the workers, and of course, to all who have made financial contributions.

I know by the dedication shown by League members in this area just how strong the belief in what you are striving for is, and how such dedica-tion cannot fail to grow and lead the way for the working class.

out in their time, in their hour, with order and method. As one who has long con-New comrades by the thousands will rise and sidered himself a socialist, although ignorant of Marxism and Trotskyism, I have read 'The Newsletter' over the months and have been educated into the true meaning of the word.

organize to construct the instrument of the victory of the proletariat, the revolutionary party, the Fourth International.

Comrades, Paul Hirzel is one of those who had the right to the last words of Leon Trotsky who before sinking into unconsciousness and death on August 20, 1940 For me you have begun the process of a political education. You are now in an even stronger position to do the

Once more, congratulations on a magnificent achievement and the huge step taken in

Workers' Press reporter HIGHER education is not to escape the cuts at present under way at primary and secondary level. Meetings of the University