

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● SATURDAY APRIL 1, 1972 ● No. 728 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

BEHIND THE T&GWU £5,000 FINE

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And how could it have been otherwise? The historical implications of great change between the major class forces have always been most deceptive in Britain.

For the slow movement in the appearances or form of relations between them has always been, in dialectical essence, the contradictory opposite of the deep-going molecular process going on underneath, which formed the content. This is why in times of great crisis matters of law, which have hitherto been confined to the obscurity of courts, suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, become great national issues.

Both Tory and Labour politicians may juggle how they like with parliamentary phrases. Their ancient ancestors did it in

BY G. HEALY

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Trade unionism can only be defended today by revolutionary means through a revolutionary party.

Those who refuse to create the conditions which would make the Tory government resign are in fact betraying trade unionism and the working class.

The policy of the Socialist Labour League is the only revolutionary organization to politically prepare the working class to meet the present crisis.



It's thumbs-up from the Sharston men, but what happens now?

STOCKPORT SIT-IN LIFTED

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

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the first time a court action by an employer has been successful in breaking an occupation.

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They are both Communist Party members.

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● 'Lessons of the sit-ins,' p. 12.

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RAIL union leaders will meet in London next Wednesday to review the wages battle with British Rail.

MARCH FUND

£1,478.80

—WELL OVER THE TOP!

YOU MADE IT. You made it. It was a really magnificent effort. Not only did you raise our target but you also collected £228.80 over the top. We cannot thank you enough.

These last few days have shown the determination of you, our readers, to maintain the Workers Press. There can be no doubt that there is a real need for a daily paper that stands firmly on the side of the working class and that speaks out determinedly for its principles.

We know that you are all firmly behind us. Let's therefore not sit back for a moment. Help us expand our circulation wherever you can. Take extra copies to sell at work or where you live. Win hundreds of new readers for Workers Press. Finally, if you have any more money left—don't forget our April fund starts today. Post all your donations to:

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just started a section in the Liberal Party and we've even got a few Tories who support us. It's a pretty fair spread of opinion.'

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Square rally one of CND's original organizers, Walter Wolfgang said: 'We are marching at a time when far too many people have learned to live with the bomb.'

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● See picture, page 12.

AROUND THE WORLD

NIXON BANS US RAIL STRIKE

BY JOHN SPENCER

PRESIDENT Nixon yesterday invoked the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act against railway workers to prevent two major strikes which could have closed down the entire US rail system.

Under an emergency order signed yesterday, he set up two boards to look into the disputes and banned workers from striking for 60 days.

The boards have wide powers to try and enforce a settlement before the two-month 'cooling-off' period is over.

The banned strikes were due to begin at midnight tonight, when members of the Sheet Metal Workers Union were to walk off the job in all member firms of the American Railroad Association.

On the bankrupt Penn Central Railroad, now supported by massive infusions of government cash, train drivers and guards in the United Transportation Workers Union were also due to strike.

Presidential press secretary Ronald Ziegler said on Friday that there were few hopes of settling either dispute.

A strike against the Penn Central would close down 40 per cent of rail traffic in the Eastern United States. If other unions honoured the Sheet Metal Workers' picket lines their strike could close the entire railway system.

Turkish guerrillas killed

AFTER a gun battle with strong security forces who attacked their mountain hideout, 10 Turkish guerrillas and their three British hostages were found dead.

There are conflicting reports of the final stages of the kidnap drama, but the Turkish Ministry of the Interior claims that the hostages were found shot through the head with their hands tied behind their backs.

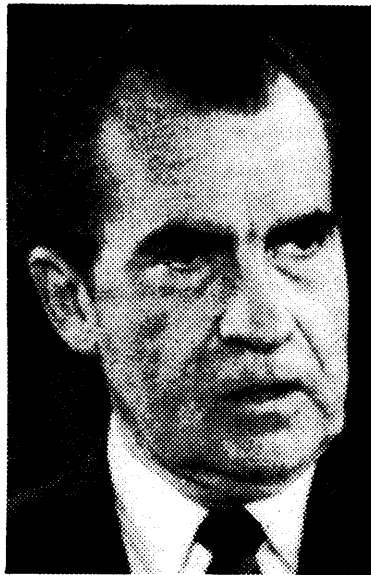
First reports said that the guerrillas had died when they blew up the house, but it was later said that they had been killed in the battle with the troops.

The main leaders of the 'Turkish Peoples' Liberation Army' were among those killed, and included Mahir Cayan and Cihan Alptekin who admitted responsibility for kidnapping and killing the Israeli consul a year ago.

This is the second time in less than a year that Nixon has invoked Taft-Hartley against a major strike threat. He used the Act to order dockers back to work during their long strike at the end of last year.

Nixon's attempts to use right-wing trade union leaders to enforce his pay-freeze policy through the Pay Board broke down earlier this month when four of the five union representatives on the board walked off in protest against attempts to cut the dockers' negotiated pay rise.

He is now forced to rely more and more heavily on the repressive anti-strike laws as the presidential election date nears.



Nixon

RUMANIAN LEADER PRAISES SUDAN ANTI-COMMUNIST

JUST eight months after the bloodbath of Sudanese communists by General Jaafar Numeiry's right-wing military dictatorship, Rumania's president Nicolae Ceausescu is in Khartoum for a four-day state visit.

At a banquet given by the Sudanese president yesterday Ceausescu pledged support to the military regime as part of what he termed the 'African struggle against imperialism'.

Numeiry said the Sudan was keen to develop bilateral relations with Rumania on the basis of full respect for national sovereignty.

He spoke of the 'fruitful co-operation' which had resulted from resumption of diplomatic relations in December last year.

Sudan broke off relations with Rumania in 1969 when Ceausescu exchanged ambassadors with Israel.

Last July, the Sudanese armed forces crushed the Communist Party and the powerful trade-union movement after defeating

an attempted coup by left-wing army officers.

The Chinese Stalinists immediately supported this counter-revolutionary bloodbath and within weeks they were joined by the Kremlin's men in Europe.

Vasil Bilak, Moscow's representative on the Czech Communist Party leadership, told a secret central committee session on October 21 last year that revulsion against the killings was 'based on a misunderstanding'.

He attacked the executed Sudan CP leader Abdel Khaled Mahgoub for 'moving towards sectarian positions' in opposition to the 'progressive forces' (i.e., Numeiry and his military backers).

Ceausescu's 'independent' foreign policy has exactly the same counter-revolutionary content.

His visit is a full endorsement of Numeiry's butchery and shows the line-up of world Stalinism against the Sudanese working class.

NLF steps up the offensive in Vietnam

N VIETNAMESE battered S Vietnam's defence line below the demilitarized zone with rockets, mortar bombs and shells, forcing the abandonment of two military camps.

Big field guns were brought into action for the first time, probably firing from N of the demilitarized zone. Ground

fighting was also raging in a number of places and the Americans brought jets and naval forces into action in an effort to stem the offensive.

The second US gunship to be lost this week was shot down over Laos where it was trying to halt the southward movement of field guns.

WHAT WE THINK

REVISIONISTS AND 'DIRECT RULE'

THE TOUCHSTONE of British politics today is the 'direct rule' plan of the Tories for Ulster. There are those who welcome direct rule like the Tories, Wilson, Labour 'lefts' and the Social Democratic and Labour MPs in Ulster. There are those who unequivocally oppose direct rule and fight to make the Tories resign, kick out Wilson and elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. This policy—the only viable socialist alternative to direct rule, the only principled opposition—is confined to the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.

And then there are those who look both ways; who accept implicitly the continuation of Tory rule and cover up their craven unprincipled submission with loud protests about the excesses of the Tories. This is the position of the middle-class liberal and radical, so succinctly expressed on the front page of the latest 'Socialist Worker', the paper of the 'state capitalist' protesters of International Socialism.

Direct rule, states the 'Socialist Worker' editorial, will not change a thing. 'Nothing that Heath or Whitelaw have done will change this situation . . . The only difference is the way in which British big business controls.'

Nobody suggests that unemployment or bad housing will disappear or be ameliorated because of direct rule, but the revisionists deliberately slur over the real objective of direct rule. To do otherwise would mean criticizing their Republican allies in the Anti-Internment League and their friends on the back benches of the House of Commons.

By imposing direct rule the Tories have secured the support of the entire Labour opposition in parliament and the tacit support of a good section of Republican-Nationalist opinion in Ireland. Thanks to this gigantic political manoeuvre, Miss Devlin and Mr McManus found themselves in a small minority in the House. What is even more significant is that this Tory political coup was followed the next day with the unprecedented legal decision against the Transport and General Workers' Union in the Industrial Relations Court.

Contrary to 'Socialist Worker' and IS, some things have changed in Ulster as a result of direct rule. It has provided the framework for a negotiated political settlement with the Catholic middle class and the disengaging of armed forces of the state in preparation for repression in Britain and elsewhere. Whether this policy was forced on the Tories by the armed resistance of the Irish ghettos is important—but not decisive. What is decisive is that the absence of working-class leadership in Ulster, and the reformist policies of People's Democracy (an IS offshoot) and the Stalinist-dominated civil rights movement, as well as the political bankruptcy of Sinn Fein, have enabled British imperialism to preserve its economic interests by sacrificing Stormont. It was a small price to pay.

In the course of this 'readjustment' it has provoked a massive retaliation from the Protestant working class. IS cannot answer the challenge of Craig and the Vanguard because they have capitulated to bourgeois Republicanism. Hence this puerile and reactionary analysis: 'It is Protestant fear that they are being betrayed by their old leaders that explains the massive support this week for William Craig's Vanguard movement.' Protestant working-class fears are partly accounted for by their privileged position—a fear that neither the IRA nor IS can dispel. These fears are also born out of a healthy hatred of Catholic bourgeois domination. Those who ignore this real feeling cannot offer a way out for the Protestant workers, or for that matter the Catholic workers.

We say that the only way to break Protestant workers from the fetishistic cult of Orangeism and lay the basis for lasting unity of Catholic and Protestant workers is to prosecute the anti-Tory struggle in Britain until the Tories are forced to resign. It is only by and through such a struggle that the Protestant workers will realize where their real salvation lies. IS consciously avoids such a policy and struggle by transferring the struggle to Ireland, by calling on Irish workers to institute a '32 Counties' Workers' Republic'.

To confine the struggle to Ireland and to refuse to unite Irish and British workers in a joint struggle to force the Tories to resign is to betray the working class and perpetrate capitalist rule in Britain and in Ireland. The IS reject direct rule in words only in order to accept it in practice.

POMPIDOU HITS AT BASQUES, AIDS FRANCO

BY IAN YEATS

FRENCH authorities yesterday banned Basque Fatherland Day celebrations. No reason was given.

In the past the holiday has led to trouble in Basque towns.

Sources say this year's ban may be linked to tension in the Mauleon area of France following a recent decision to prohibit Basque refugees from living near the Spanish border.

Two Basque leaders who published an article warning that the prohibition on refugees might touch off a 'strong reaction' have been summoned to the police station at Jean-de-Luz and told that action could be taken against them.

The Basques have said they intend to defy the ban and go ahead with their Aberri Eguna celebrations.

The clamp-down marks a further step in the development of the French government's policy of growing co-operation with Franco's regime in Spain.

Franco needs the assistance of the Pompidou government in attempting to crush the mounting tide of workers' struggles in Spain.

French harassment of Basque's and Spaniards was stepped up following talks in Paris between French Minister of the Interior, M Raymond Marcellin and Eduardo Blanco, Colonel in Chief of the fascist security services.

Chilean Stalinist backs capital

BY TOM KEMP

CHILEAN Stalinism's complicity in the moves towards counter-revolution was clearly revealed in a recent speech made by Luis Figueroa, leading Communist Party member and head of the country's main trade union organization.

Figueroa is president of Central Unica de Trabajadores.

Figueroa backed Chilean President Allende's concept of the gradual development of a 'strong socially-owned area'.

Chilean Stalinism follows the path of Stalinism in Spain in 1936 which fought for the retention of private property and against socialist policies.

In Spain, the workers and peasants, faced by General Franco's armies had taken over

factories and land, particularly in Catalonia and Aragon.

The Spanish Communist Party, in accordance with Popular Front policy, destroyed these independent mass movements. Property was restored to its former owners and the independent militias and control committees were broken up.

The logic of Stalinism was that defence of bourgeois democracy must come first—socialism would come after the defeat of fascism. History shows bitter lessons: the mass movement was disorientated

and Franco's dictatorship was established.

Figueroa states clearly that the predominant feature of the 'social area' must be worker participation: 'Participation must be expressed NOT in the ownership of the firms' property by their workers, but in an effective and active role in management and planning.'

Management councils would replace the shareholders and would become a form of revolutionary political power.

He described the growth of a voluntary work movement and increases in productivity under the democratic Allende regime.

He begged the middle class to persuade the right wing not to break out of this democratic institutional framework, because workers might take over factories and 'they will never return that property.'

'Those capitalists whose property is guaranteed by the

Popular Unity Programme had better think it over.'

Workers' participation, according to Figueroa and Allende, is then a demagogic fraud used to defend the continued existence of so-called 'democratic' capitalism and block the development of socialist policies as Chile's 'democratic' capitalists prepare counter-revolution.

● Chile's main opposition party, the Christian Democrats, plan another mass demonstration against the Allende regime, following the banning of a women's street procession last week.

A pay claim made by workers at the giant El Teniente copper mine has been settled after a strike threat.

The workers were asking for a 50 per cent rise. The settlement provides for rises of between 30 and 40 per cent with an automatic 30 per cent increase every three years.



SOVIET TRADE PUSH IN LATIN AMERICA

The Soviet Union is expected to double trade with Latin America this year as part of a spectacular economic growth in the area.

The United States, carefully playing to the rules of 'peaceful co-existence', appears to be accepting the situation for the moment. American pressure on some countries whose regimes it dislikes in fact opens the way for the Soviet Union.

However, the Russians are not particular about whom they trade with. Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia and Peru are among the countries with whom big trade deals have recently been made.

Much of the trade done with these countries, which have right-wing military regimes and hunt down and imprison communists, is conducted on favourable credit terms.

In this way Brazil will be supplied with generating equipment worth \$30m, and Col Banzer's regime in Bolivia is obtaining two refineries and assistance in prospecting for oil.

In addition to the substantial aid which keeps Castro's Cuba afloat, Soviet aid is now being furnished to Chile, which is in deep trouble with its capitalist creditors who would like to see the Allende regime overthrown.

However, the Soviet Union does not want to become too deeply committed to support for Allende. But should he be displaced by a right-wing dictatorship, no doubt the present contracts would continue to be honoured.

Likewise, in placing its orders for Latin American produce, the Soviet Union works on the principle of no political discrimination. Despite the fact that Brazil

is regarded by Washington as its main military support and jumping-off ground for the economic penetration of Latin America, the Soviet Union has showered it with offers of aid and has recently bought 10 per cent of Brazil's exportable sugar.

It would be a mistake to think that the Soviet bureaucracy has no political interest in Latin America.

Its main concern is to ensure that the revolution does not spread in an area which is alive with guerrilla movements and mass expressions of discontent. It is at one with the USA in wishing to preserve the *status quo*: that is the meaning of 'peaceful co-existence'.

Top: Castro and Allende both receiving Soviet aid as is Banzer (below left) and his Bolivian regime.



AFRICAN GUERRILLAS LINK WITH ITALIAN WORKERS

Bologna, the large Italian industrial city, is now twinned with a tiny refugee camp in Tanzania on the borders of Mozambique.

The decision to link two unequal communities—taken by the communist-dominated city council of Bologna—is a symbolic gesture of support for the Mozambique liberation struggle and the starting point for a programme of practical assistance to Mozambique.

Bologna, which has a population of 450,000 people, twinned itself with the camp of Tunduru about 20 miles from the Mozambique border, which cares for about 1,000 women and children made homeless by warfare in the Portuguese territory.

The population of the camp includes 600 children under 12 years of age who have lost their parents in the fighting.

The Bologna city council, Italy's most famous communist administration, is also sponsoring a new committee of solidarity with the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo).

This committee intends sending food and school materials to the camp as well as a team of agricultural experts to train Mozambique refugees in raising animals and growing new crops.

Bologna's move could be embarrassing to the Italian government, which does not recognize the liberation movements in Portugal's African territories.

DOCUMENT

The government was already embarrassed this month by the publication in the Italian communist press of an allegedly leaked document from the Italian ambassador in Lisbon, Signor Girolamo Messeri, urging efforts by Italy to block international recognition of such liberation movements.

The Bologna twinning ceremony is the latest, though most significant, development in a growing movement of support for Frelimo in Italy's predominantly communist region of Emilia.

The movement began in June 1970 when the first international conference of 'solidarity with the people's of the Portuguese

colonies' was held in Rome.

The conference was attended by leaders of the liberation movements of Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea, who later were received in an audience by Pope Paul, thus provoking the temporary recall of Portugal's ambassador to the Vatican.

After the conference, the vice-President of Frelimo, Marcellino Dos Santos, went to Reggio Emilia, another communist city of 116,000 inhabitants N of Bologna, for a twinning ceremony between the city's main hospital and a small field hospital in liberated Mozambique.

OPPOSITION

The Italian hospital immediately began sending gifts of medicine and equipment to its twin, the Cabo Delgado hospital in Mozambique, despite the opposition of the Italian health ministry.

The staff of the Italian hospital gave one day's pay to contribute a consignment of stretchers to Cabo Delgado, while Reggio's dustmen made a gift of a mobile operating theatre.

Under a recent constitutional reform, administration of hospitals has been transferred from the central government in Rome to regional administrations, and the Reggio hospital has this year included £3,000 in its budget for aid to Cabo Delgado.

Four Mozambique guerrillas with amputated legs have also been having treatment in the Reggio hospital since last November, and three Mozambique nurses are undergoing training there.

All this sounds jolly decent, if not paternal, pandering to the heroic struggle against Portuguese capitalism. But it takes on more sinister tones when one realizes that the CP bureaucrats are using their support among workers to give aid and gain a left face while the real politics are quietly nudged to one side.

The Stalinists' masters in the Kremlin are increasingly twinning themselves on a diplomatic and trading level with the right-wing Portuguese regime, whose forces shot off the legs of those four guerrillas now being treated in Reggio hospital.

BOOKS



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PIERRE FRANK'S ADVENTURES WITH THE DIALECTIC

by Cliff Slaughter, Socialist Labour League Central Committee member.

'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.' Lenin, and after him Trotsky, insisted upon this principle against every enemy, inside the revolutionary movement as well as outside.

In the Bolshevik Party, in the Communist (Third) International and then in the Fourth International, the middle-class attack on correct revolutionary strategy always had to be answered by deepening the struggle for basic Marxist theory.

Recently, in the International Committee of the Fourth International, political differences have once again come to the point of questioning the very foundation of Marxism, dialectical materialism.

The Socialist Labour League and the majority of the International Committee, basing themselves on the theoretical gains of the struggle against the empiricism and pragmatism of the Socialist Workers Party and other Pabloites who split from the Fourth International, have fought to consciously begin every task from the standpoint of developing Marxist theory. The Organization Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of France and a minority of the IC have rejected this struggle.

They prefer to regard Marxist theory as something embodied in the programme of the Fourth International, in the direction of which the experience of the workers' struggle will tend.

The documents of this split are now being published in Workers Press. Meanwhile the enemies of Trotskyism in the self-professed 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International' in Paris (Pabloites) are trying, with little success, to

take some comfort for themselves, no doubt to help obscure the raging difference in their midst.

One of the Pabloite leaders, Pierre Frank, writes in the March 6 issue of 'Intercontinental Press' an article 'Construct' or "Reconstruct" the Fourth International'. While consisting largely of stale and unfounded criticisms of the stand taken by the International Committee on the questions facing the Trotskyist movement since 1953, Frank's article is revealing, nevertheless, for what it reveals of his own theoretical (or rather anti-theoretical) starting-point.

Frank quotes in full the amendment proposed by the Young Socialists to the resolution presented to the Essen youth conference by the AJS (youth organization of the OCI) last year.

The primary task of the revolutionary youth

This amendment placed the struggle to develop Marxist theory as the primary task of revolutionary youth.

The first point to note is that in his lengthy article, Frank nowhere says whether he agrees with this amendment or not! He is interested in it only in order to speculate and manoeuvre. The education of his own movement on the principled questions involved does not enter his head. We have noted the evidence for this absence of any attention to such fundamental questions earlier, in exposing the explicitly idealist basis of Tariq Ali's book, 'The Coming British Revolution'.

Just as, in that book, one vital sentence ('... consciousness determines history...') was the



clue to all the positions of Tariq Ali and the International Marxist Group, the Pabloite section in Britain, so, in Frank's article, his comments on the consequences of this amendment take us to the root of the whole Pabloite conception.

Frank says: 'Lambert's refusal to vote for this amendment provoked two remarks from Healy. In the first place, this response showed that Lambert was guilty of underestimating, or renouncing dialectical materialism. On this point, we are faced with one of Healy's customs. Every time he engages in a tendency or faction struggle he believes it is necessary to introduce the question of dialectical materialism. Why? Well because Trotsky dealt with this question in the struggle against Burnham and Shachtman in 1939.'

'Trotsky did this because the question was introduced by his opponents, one totally denying dialectical materialism, the other declaring that it had no practical importance. Trotsky conducted many tendency struggles without introducing this question; but that matters little for Healy. For him, every internal struggle cannot help but pose the question of dialectical materialism. And if no one else is inclined to raise it, he will never hesitate to do so.'

'Must we add that when Healy indulges in this bizarre idiosyncrasy, he succeeds most often in making himself look ridiculous?' Pierre Frank could do well to read over the very dispute with

Burnham and Shachtman to which he refers. Trotsky says:

'The opportunists, I am informed, greet with bursts of laughter the very mention of "dialectics". In vain. This unworthy method will not help. The dialectic of the historic process has more than once cruelly punished those who tried to jeer at it.'

Suited to the petty bourgeoisie, not to the proletarian revolution

Pierre Frank, Joseph Hansen and Ernest Mandel have long ago substituted impressions for Marxist analysis. This method, suited to the petty bourgeoisie, but not to the proletarian revolution, led these gentlemen to agree on the fact that 'neo-capitalism' had so changed the proletariat that its revolutionary role would pass over to—at different stages—the revolutionary peasantry, a left nationalist revolutionary leadership *sui generis*, the students.

Frank boasts about the 1963 'reunification' of his own forces with the American SWP on the basis of this agreement. He says: '... this period [of splits in the Fourth International] ended in 1963, when the principal Trotskyist organization in the world wound up advancing identical answers to those new problems and reuniting.'

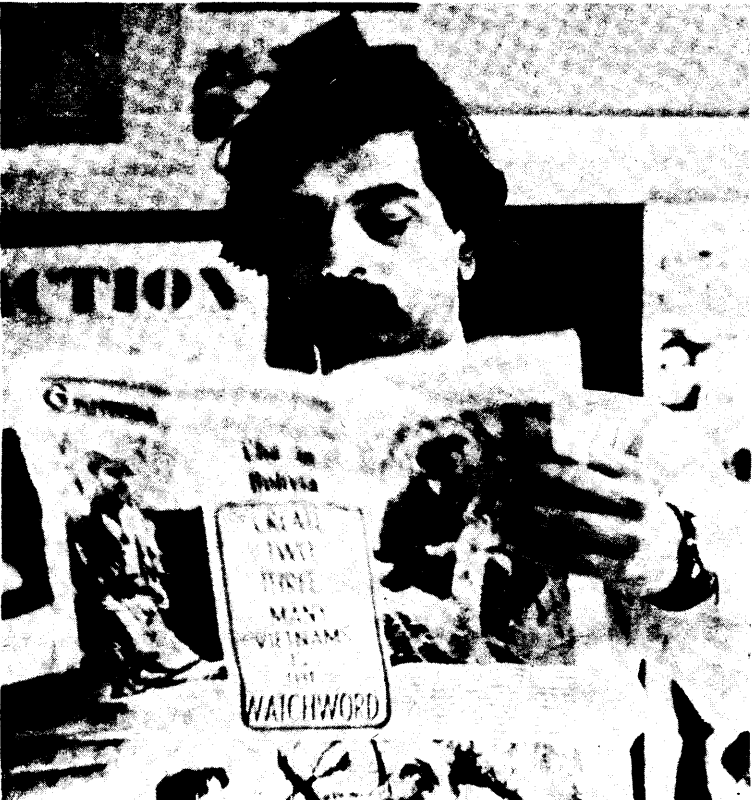
So desperate is Frank to avoid recognizing the dialectic of history which has made nonsense of the orientation to non-working-class forces that he deliberately falsifies events. He knows that within months of the 'reunification', Pablo himself and his supporters split from the Unified Secretariat!

He knows also that the Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon, hailed by him as the first mass Trotskyist party, joined a bourgeois coalition in 1964 and had to be expelled!

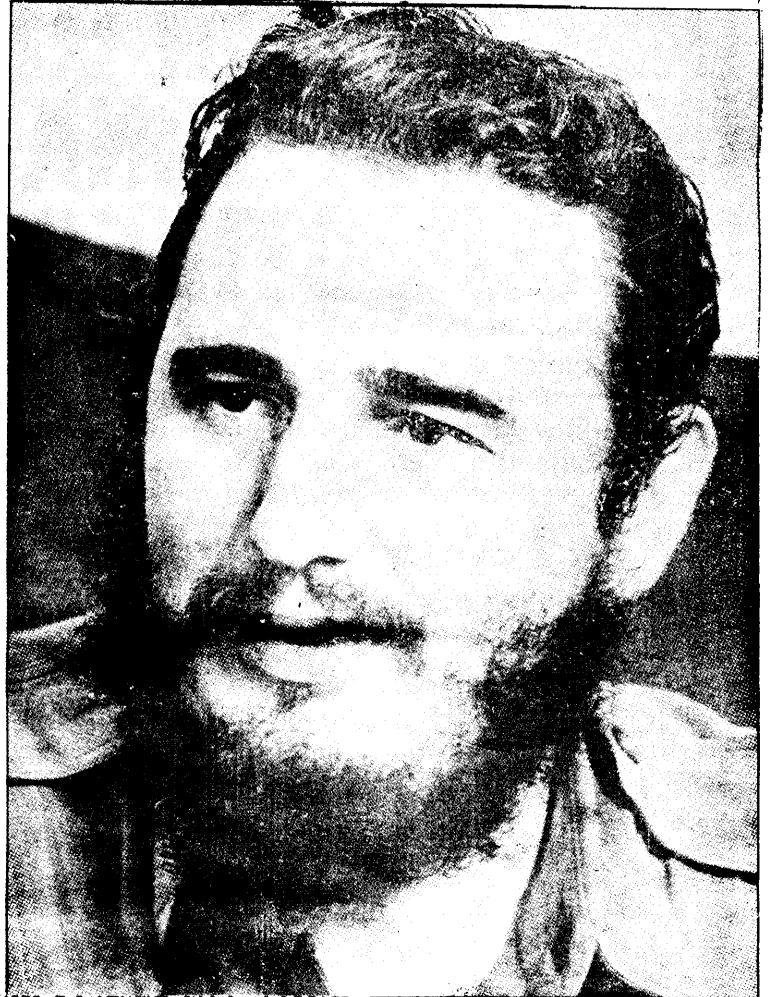
He knows that Castro, hailed as the epitome of a new 'natural' revolutionary Marxian as the basis of the 'reunification' went over immediately to the worst kind of Stalinist attack on Trotskyism.

If Frank continues shamelessly to sneer at dialectical materialism and to ignore the real history, it is because the dialectic has certainly found him out completely. Right at the time when the proletariat, written off by him, demands the development of Marxist theory, he laughs it off. That is to be expected.

His version of the 1939-1940 split in the SWP (Burnham and Shachtman) is, once again, dashed off in an irresponsible and carefully distorted fashion, very typical of the petty-bourgeois contempt for a truly theoretical revolutionary approach. Is it true that Trotsky only raised the question of dialectical materialism because his opponents did?



Tariq Ali: '... consciousness determines history ...'



Far left: Lenin. Left: Trotsky; both insisted on the principle 'without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement'. Top: Castro; attacked Trotskyism. Above: Mandel; substituted impressions for Marxist analysis.

Let Trotsky speak for himself: '... My first conversation with comrades Shachtman and Warde, in the train immediately after my arrival in Mexico in January, 1937, was devoted to the necessity of persistently propagating dialectical materialism. After our American section split from the Socialist Party, I insisted most strongly on the earliest possible publication of a theoretical organ, bearing again in mind the need to educate the Party, first and foremost its new members, in the spirit of dialectical materialism. In the United States, I wrote at that time, where the bourgeoisie systematically instils vulgar empiricism in the workers, more than anywhere else it is necessary to speed the elevation of the movement to a proper theoretical level ...

'Let me also add that I feel somewhat abashed over the fact that it is almost necessary to justify coming out in defence of Marxism within one of the sections of the Fourth International!' (Trotsky, 'In Defence of Marxism', pp. 142-143.)

A hundred other quotations from the same book could be cited to show just how far away from Marxism Pierre Frank has gone. In suggesting that dialectical materialism is some separate 'question', which only comes up by chance in certain struggles, Frank engages in a complete renunciation of Marxism.

Once having thrown out dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of the

development of consciousness, Frank must inevitably fall back on the 'commonsense' method of a series of impressions. Each stage in the history of a party is then taken only on its own particular terms and concerns only the 'concrete' questions which initially provoke a discussion.

In this way the unity of theory and practice, continuously negating and enriching each other is thrown away.

Dialectical materialism is challenged by all these revisionist forces, because it is precisely dialectical materialism which differentiates parties of the Bolshevik type from all bourgeois and reformist parties.

A clear far-sighted, completely thought out world outlook

'In order not to give way under the pressure of bourgeois public opinion and police repression, the proletarian revolutionist, a leader all the more, requires a clear, far-sighted, completely thought-out, world outlook. Only upon the basis of a unified Marxist conception is it possible to correctly approach "concrete" questions.' ('In Defence of Marxism,' p.144.)

When Pierre Frank describes the SLL's concentration on dialectical materialism as 'a bizarre

idiosyncrasy' on the part of its national secretary, comrade Healy, and characterizes the result as 'ridiculous', Frank is repeating virtually word-for-word the behaviour of the Burnham-Shachtman opposition in 1939, who went into fits of laughter at the mention of dialectics.

What is at stake is not simply formal education in philosophical texts, but the whole method of building revolutionary parties and developing revolutionary perspectives in the struggle for power. Dialectical materialism is not an abstract philosophy, separate from the sciences which deal with nature and society, but is the theory of knowledge based on the development of these sciences. Without a continuous struggle for dialectical materialism, revolutionaries cannot understand the relation between their own activity and consciousness, on the one hand, and the objectively changing class relations of which they are part.

The rejection of dialectical materialism, as surely in the case of Pierre Frank as of Burnham and Shachtman, is the surest sign of having abandoned this revolutionary practice in favour of political representation of the petty bourgeoisie, a class whose very position in society inclines it to consider its consciousness to be independent of and higher than the objective necessity of social development.

Finally, let us see how the crude empiricism which Pabloism substitutes for dialectics works

out today. Look at Frank's own version of the possible sources of the split in the International Committee (as we have seen, he dismisses without even consideration the possibility that a difference over dialectical materialism could produce a split!). We have underlined certain expressions to emphasize the type of argument Frank uses:

'... a certain rigidity on Healy's part and Lambert's unbridled opportunism appear to clash. It would not be surprising if the source of this clash lies in the international situation in the two organizations and in the relation of forces between them.

'At one time Healy carried more weight than Lambert in the "International Committee". Now it seems to be the other way around. Also, Healy's organization may be losing some of its steam. In that case, his rigidity could be explained as a means of halting this development. Lambert's document alludes to this fact ...'

In the history of the Marxist movement, surely no one has ever ventured into the explanation of political differences on a flimsier basis than this!

Lenin, for example, insisted in World War I that, in understanding the split in Social Democracy it was necessary to explain the class, economic roots (in imperialism) of the tendencies in Social Democracy, to trace the history of the differences, so as to produce a systematic analysis of the relation between revisionism, reformism, social patriotism and the struggle for a new International.

Trotsky similarly always probed to the class roots of tendency differences and traced out their origins. Without this dialectical method there is no Marxist approach to the question.

But Frank very deliberately simply compiles a list of impressions from the surface, together with his own hopes; the SLL 'may be losing steam,' 'it seems to be the other way around,' 'it would not be surprising!' Then what 'seems to be' becomes 'a fact'!

As we saw in the first part of this article, Frank is equally cavalier in his attitude to the history of his own movement. Even to open up the question of the real history of the issues on which the Pabloites 're-united' in 1963 would blow them wide apart and would show that the struggle conducted by the International Committee at that time for dialectical materialism, against pragmatism and empiricism, was the only basis for a truly proletarian orientation.

It is precisely because the petty-bourgeois infection of the movement, via Pabloite revisionism, was so virulent, that all the basic questions of the Marxist method were raised.

What Frank may not recognize today is that the more he dabbles in the differences in the International Committee, the more he will expose his own role.

This is because the development of the working class now demands from the revolutionary vanguard a struggle to deepen and develop dialectical materialism as the method of the proletarian revolution.

DISCUSSION ON INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

In preparation for the Fourth Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International, the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League are publishing the four main documents of the International Committee covering the split with the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.



DOCUMENT 3

Declaration of the Central Committee of the International Communist Organization (For the Reconstruction of the Fourth International)

Reply to a Splitting Act: For the Defence of the International Committee!

For the Reconstruction of the Fourth International!

Workers Press, the daily paper of the Socialist Labour League in the November 5 issue, and the 'Bulletin' weekly organ of the Workers League of the USA, dated November 8, published a document entitled 'Declaration of the International Committee of the Fourth International' (Majority).

This document was adopted on October 24 at the end of a meeting attended by, according to the signers, representatives of the following organizations: Socialist Labour League (Great Britain). The Workers League (USA), League for a Workers Vanguard (Ireland), International Workers League (Greece), and a German group 'Sozialistische Arbeiter Bund' formed by elements expelled from the German Trotskyist organization, IAK, for refusing to obey in action the discipline of the organization.

The title of this document is in itself a flagrant political falsehood. There cannot be any 'majority' of the International Committee any more than there can be a 'minority' since there was no meeting of the International Committee.

The factional meeting of October 24 was held in fact without informing the OCI, the League of Revolutionary Hungarian Socialists (LSRH), the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia (POR), and the Workers Marxist League (LOM) of Mexico. The document which came out of this meeting was not sent to the sections of the International Committee before being made public.

The purpose of this document is to break up the framework of the International Committee, to break up the discussion and not to provide the basis for a serious discussion. Therefore, as such, it is not so much a question of an answer, but a clarification: this is the purpose of the present declaration.

All the same this document represents by itself an element of the very discussion that it wants to prevent: this discussion will be carried out and the Central Committee of the OCI will publish next a text which will answer the basic questions posed by the present stage of the fight for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

the best way to give politics its proper rights.

For more than two years—and especially since the pre-conference of the July 1970 of the International Committee—the leadership of the SLL has been multiplying its efforts to prevent any discussion on the 'fundamental question', that is, on the concrete content of the present stage of the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

In September 1969, the OCI submitted a political text, 'For the Reconstruction of the 4th International' for discussion. In July 1970 a pre-conference of the IC sections and groups associated with it was held, a step towards an international conference regrouping organizations, groups and militants who base themselves on the Transitional Programme.

The OCI text was the only document submitted to the discussion. The SLL delegation began by affirming that the heart of the problem was 'Marxist philosophy'. Then they declared that the OCI text was correct in its overall line, but needed some amendments. Then they declared that the text was unacceptable. Finally, they asked, due to 'lack of preparation' (when it meant taking a stand on a text in their possession for nine months) that the vote be put off until the second session of the pre-conference. They proposed that this session take place in October.

The OCI delegation, fighting to preserve and strengthen the International Committee, accepted this report, taking into account the political difficulties of the sections. But—by a common proposal of the OCI and the SLL—a statement was voted on which provided a framework to continue the discussion and which characterized the OCI text as a basis for discussion in line with the principles of the Fourth International.

Since July 1970, the leadership of the SLL has refused to call the second session of the pre-conference. Instead it appealed to the leading centre of the liquidators of the Fourth International, to the 'Unified Secretariat' of Mandel and company to propose a common conference in terms not only opposed to the decisions of the pre-conference but contrary to the meaning of the whole battle of the International Committee, proof of which is the article of its general secretary Gerry Healy in the September 8 issue of the Workers Press.

At that point a clear and rapid reply by the OCI Central Committee retarded the development of this dangerous tendency. But that it was able to reveal itself to this extent shows the seriousness of the oscillations of the SLL leadership which has led the SLL today, with the document of October 24, to become the vehicle of conceptions close to those of the Pabloites to the point where the Pabloites run out to distribute it as widely as possible.

Since this episode, the SLL leadership intensified its obstructionist attitude, only to come out of it in order to launch a deliberate offensive against the unity of the International Committee, with a disloyal and slanderous attack against the POR of Bolivia: Tim Wohlforth's article in the August 30 issue of the 'Bulletin', reprinted by the Workers Press September 8, and in the October 24 document 'Our Statement on Bolivia'.

The OCI replied publicly to this public offensive, explaining its estimation of the revolutionary struggle in Bolivia (declaration of the Central Committee of the OCI September 17) without mentioning the SLL or the Workers League.

Then, after Comrade Lora wrote to the sections of the IC to ask that the IC hold a meeting as soon as possible to discuss a report prepared by the leadership of POR; the Lambert comrades (OCI), Nagy (LSRH), and Lora (POR), signed a public declaration which said:

'What is more natural than for all the difficult problems of the whole international class struggle to be reflected and concentrated within it? What is more natural than for the gigantic world struggle to be expressed in the crisis of all the organizations of the working class?'

'Today, the leadership of certain organizations of the International Committee, like the Socialist Labour League and the Workers League, lacking clarity precisely on the strategy of conquering power and on the reconstruction of the Fourth International, have given in to enormous pressures by attacking the POR.'

'The three delegations, meeting in Paris, believe that the discussion is a legitimate one, between the sections of the IC as well as within each of these sections, but that the method used by the Workers League and the SLL must be condemned, as they, without even studying the reports from the POR leadership, undertook to publicly condemn the Bolivian section of the IC.'

'This is why the OCI delegation and the Organizing Committee of E Europe support the demand of comrade Lora that the International Committee meet in plenary session as soon as possible to take a position on the report of the POR on the Bolivian revolution and on the tasks of reconstructing the Fourth International.'

No political reaction to the political problems raised, no answer to the proposals put forward, no attempt to set up a discussion, but suddenly October 24, the declaration of a split by a factional meeting, held secretly by four sections of the IC and abusively baptized 'IC Majority'.

In fact, in addition to the fact that we do not see how a majority could be created within the IC without a meeting, we must bring up the strange manner in which the SLL built this 'Majority'.

As it is well known, the activity of the IC to reconstruct the Fourth International led to the formation of new groups which did not automatically become members of the IC. There was unanimity on this question as on others. Thus, for example, the German Trotskyist organization, IAK, a sympathizer of the IC, is not a member.

The International Committee is thus composed at the present time of the following eight sections: OCI (France), SLL (Great Britain), LSRJ (Hungary), POR (Bolivia), Revolutionary Communist Party (Ceylon), Workers Marxist League (Mexico), League for a Workers Vanguard (Ireland), and Workers League (USA).²

There is presently no Greek section, because the latter, which participated in the 1966 Conference split into two groups on the eve of the 1967 coup d'etat and conditions have not allowed a study of the motives of this split and an analysis of each group's policies. Therefore, on Comrade Slaughter's suggestion, the IC decided to treat the two groups as sympathizers of the IC.

As for the POR in Bolivia the issues are clear: an old Trotskyist organization, section of the Fourth International before the split of 1951-1952, the POR rejoined the IC in 1970 on the basis of its experience and its fight against Pabloism in Bolivia itself. It joined after a meeting of the IC which Comrade Lora personally attended. Moreover this was officially announced in 'La Verite' (No. 547 March 1970) and was not denied by anybody.

The legitimate status of the POR in the IC was not challenged in the slightest by the SLL who wrote in No. 545 of its daily paper, Workers Press, August 28, 1971, on the death of a Trotskyist student leader at La Paz during the struggle against Banzer's troops that: 'the POR is the Bolivian section of the International Committee'. It would be inconceivable to think that the POR is a member of the IC when its militants are felled by fascist bullets and that it is no longer a member when an analysis of its policies must be discussed. In any case these are procedures alien to Trotskyism.

Thus, the efforts of the SLL to create, by adding and rejecting, a fictitious majority in the IC do not change the facts: There are only four member organizations of the IC among the organizations

which signed the October 24 text.

Moreover, and on the question of 'reconstruction of the Fourth International' since the October 24 document alludes to the decisions of the 1966 Conference, let us remember that the fundamental texts of that conference (general resolution manifesto and resolution on tasks) were essentially elaborated by the OCI and that they politically legitimize the use of the word 'reconstruction'.

The resolution on tasks (adopted unanimously) is moreover entitled 'Resolution on the Reconstruction of the Fourth International' and states among other things that:

'The international conference declares that the Trotskyist movement, in the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, must build the centralized leadership of the world party of socialist revolution in a fight organically linked to the fight in each country for the construction of revolutionary parties leading the revolutionary struggles of the masses. The construction of these parties and of the International must be conducted on the basis of the experience and the pursuit of an incessant battle against revisionism.'

'The IC is composed of representatives of sections designated by it. At the present stage, the decision of the IC can only be taken by unanimous vote. At this stage, the IC is not proclaiming itself the centralized leadership of the Fourth International which must still be constructed.'

Finally, concerning the Secretary of the IC, let us simply recall that in light of the difficulties the SLL faced in assuming responsibility for this post, it was agreed to institute a co-secretariat composed of Comrades Slaughter and Just.

We have insisted at length on aspects which may seem secondary and judicial in order to give a clear place to the political aspect and to show that the formal excuses have nothing to do with reality, but are only traps aimed at covering up an organizational break without political debate.

The essential thing is of course this 'fundamental discussion' that is spoken of and which naturally includes the experience of revolutionary struggle of the Bolivian proletariat and the policies of the POR for they are at the heart of the debate: the meaning of the 'imminent revolution' the question of the struggle for power and the way in which the working class can approach this problem (the United Front, a workers' and peasants' government, the institutions of dual power and the dictatorship of the proletariat).

This discussion only has meaning for Trotskyists in light of the problems of the reconstruction of the Fourth International which the leadership of the SLL seeks to avoid by wanting to break the frame-work of the IC. We must seek out this discussion, beyond the manoeuvres, the falsehoods and the amalgamisms a criticism of the October 24 document.

1. It must be noted that this German group is only mentioned as a singer in the 'Bulletin' of the Workers' League. It is omitted in the Workers Press.
2. Organization in political solidarity with the IC, the Workers' League politically has the status of a section, although as an organization it is not affiliated to the IC because of reactionary laws in the USA.

CONTINUED MONDAY



Bolivia, August 1971: workers fight (above) armed only with dynamite. Right: students and workers gather round a dying comrade.



THE SPARTACIST UPRISING



Meeting of Berlin workers, called by the Spartacists in December 1918.

Part 4 of a series by Jack Gale

On December 21, 1918, the Ebert government—at the behest of the generals—dissolved the first national congress of the German workers' and soldiers' councils.

Eight days later—on December 29—a national congress of the Spartacus League met in Berlin to discuss breaking from the Independent Social Democrats and forming a new party. The Spartacists had hitherto belonged to the Independent Party, though with their own central committee and their own paper—'Die Rote Fahne'.

The conference decided—with only three votes against—to form the Communist Party of Germany (KPD). Next day, they were joined by another revolutionary group, the Bremen Left, which had maintained contacts with the Russian Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks sent Karl Radek to represent them at the Conference.

After the break with the Independents the first strategic question facing the new party was whether to participate in the elections to the National Assembly due to be held in January. There was in the party a vociferous semi-syndicalist, semi-anarchist element of the type that emerged everywhere in the years after World War I.

The Communist International expended a great deal of patient effort trying to convince these elements—usually very courageous, militant, young workers—of the need to turn to the masses, but met with little success. And at the December conference in Germany it was decided by a large majority—against the advice of Luxemburg and Liebknecht—not to participate in the elections, but to break up the National Assembly by force.

Indeed, it was only with great difficulty that the leadership prevented the conference from deciding that Party membership was incompatible with membership of the trade unions and instructing all members to resign from the unions immediately!

The Party also failed to reach an agreement with a delegation representing the Revolutionary Shop Stewards (see previous articles) on joint action, which would have meant the Revolutionary Shop Stewards leaving the Independents and joining the Communist Party.

Although some of the leaders of the Shop Stewards were revolutionary in name only, their organization dominated the large engineering factories in Berlin and also held a powerful position on the Executive Committee of the workers and soldiers' councils. It was strong, also, in the areas of heavy industry, particularly the Ruhr and central Germany.

The conference ended on January 1, 1919, and on January 4 the Prussian government dismissed the Berlin chief of police Emil Eichhorn, an Independent Party member. This was an attempt by the Social Democrats to wrest back some of the state offices which the bourgeoisie had been forced to concede by the revolution.

Next day, mass demonstrations of workers marched through Berlin and the offices of all the leading newspaper—including 'Vorwärts', the Social Democratic paper—were occupied.

A Revolutionary Committee was created with three chairmen—Liebknecht of the Communist Party, Ledebour of the Independent Party, and Scholze of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards. This Committee declared the Ebert government deposed.

But the masses, despite the big demonstration, had not been prepared for revolution. (There is, in fact, some evidence that the occupation of the newspapers was the work of agents provocateurs.) Above all, none of the army units stationed in Berlin supported the Revolutionary Committee.

The Social Democratic leaders had, since Christmas, been pressing ahead their collaboration with the generals, particularly over the formation of the right wing Free Corps. Now they conspired to behead the new Communist Party. Army units in Berlin which were loyal to the government (in fact, had leading Social Democrats at their head) were mobilized to recapture the newspaper offices. Arrangements were made for cavalry divisions commanded by the old officers to march into Berlin.

The Central Council of workers' and soldiers' councils, by now dominated by right-wing Social Democrats, declared the uprising a 'criminal activity' and granted the government 'extraordinary powers to restore law and order'.

Under these powers, Gustav Noske—the former head of the Kiel sailors' council, now government minister for military affairs and an open collaborator with the generals—was appointed commander-in-chief of Berlin. Noske declared grandiloquently: 'A worker now stands at the head of the power of the socialist republic.'

This 'worker' then proceeded to use the military force of the old imperial regime to crush the Berlin rising. On January 15, 1919, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were arrested.

Instead of being taken to prison, however, they were taken to the Eden Hotel, the headquarters of the infamous Garde-Kavallerie - Schützen - Division. This was one of the very few regiments still totally sympathetic to the old Imperial regime and commanded by some of the most right wing of all the old guard officers.

Luxemburg and Liebknecht had their skulls smashed in by rifle butts—'while trying to escape'.

The Division then declared, through its officers, that it would not leave Berlin 'until order has finally been restored'.

But government forces everywhere seized the opportunity to arrest leading communists—more than a few of whom suffered the same fate as Luxemburg and Liebknecht. Ironically, both Luxemburg and the Bolsheviks' representative, Radek, had opposed the so-called Spartacist Uprising as premature.

Radek called it a 'hopeless undertaking' which would enable the government 'to deal a blow to the Berlin movement which may weaken the whole movement'.

Defeat for the working class, of course, strengthened the Social Democrats who, since the Independents had left the government (see previous article), were building bridges to the right.

Following the election to the National Assembly on January

19, 1919, a coalition government was formed of Social Democrats, Democrats, and the Catholic Centre. The generals and the Free Corps maintained 'order' in Berlin. A decisive shift had occurred since Christmas 1918—in a matter of three-and-a-half weeks—since the government had been at the mercy of the workers' and soldiers' councils and had seriously considered leaving Berlin.

The German right had, in fact, been stunned by the revolutionary events of November 1918 and had been unable to muster any forces in support of the monarchy it so dearly loved.

At the January 19 elections to the National Assembly, however, the right-wing German Nationalist People's Party obtained 10 per cent of the votes and 44 seats out of 421. This party consisted of right-wing conservatives, monarchists, anti-democrats and assorted authoritarians. It was also anti-Semitic.

Indeed, anti-Semitism began to grow rapidly after the defeat of the Spartacists, as the middle and lower-middle class became convinced that all their misfortunes were the result of a Jewish anti-German plot, led by Bolsheviks.

During the January election campaign, for instance, a famous poster appeared which read:

'The fatherland stands close to the abyss. Save it! It is not threatened from without, but from within: by the Spartacus group. Kill its leaders! Kill Liebknecht! Then you will get peace, work and bread! The front-line soldiers.'

In mid-February, 1919, the old anti-Semitic Pan-German League launched a comprehensive association to bind all anti-Semites together in one organization which, by August 1920, had 95,000 members.

Anti-Semitism, needless to say, was rife in the Free Corps and the Reichswehr whose loyalties lay with the old imperial regime. In July 1919, the Ehrhardt Brigade, which had just returned from putting down a workers' rising in Munich, hoisted the old imperial war colours on the palace of Berlin which, six months previously, had been defended by the red sailors.

And in November—the first anniversary of the revolution—wreaths tied with black, red and white colours were placed by the Free Corps round the Bismarck statue in front of the Reichstag.

At the end of April, 1919, when government troops occupied the Ruhr district, the Free Corps arrested all the members of the local workers' councils who belonged to the Independents or organizations further to the left.

That same month the Council's Republic proclaimed in Munich was overthrown by government troops and there was a further swing to the right and to anti-Semitism. Bavarian officers who took part in the Munich action became heroes of the middle class, particularly of the students.

Anton Drexler's extreme right wing German Workers' Party was formed in Munich on Janu-

ary 5, 1919. By the autumn a new orator was addressing this party's meetings in Munich. His name was Adolf Hitler.

Thus, throughout 1919—after the defeat of the Spartacist rising—all the reactionary forces which had briefly vanished from the scene (or gone underground) in November 1918, were regaining their strength.

These forces—the bureaucracy of the old regime, the officer corps, the conservatives and nationalists—backed up by the Free Corps and the Reichswehr units, showed in the Kapp Putsch of March 1920 how far they were prepared to go to overthrow the republican government. The Kapp Putsch was an attempt, under the leadership of the Army Commander in N Germany, General von Luttwitz, to overthrow the Berlin government.

Although the Putsch was unsuccessful, it expressed the growing confidence of the right. In the ensuing elections of June 1920, the right wing parties gained an absolute majority with 85 out of 158 seats.

The Social Democrats lost 60 per cent of their votes and gained only 26 seats. It was in this political climate that the German Workers' Party became a mass party.

The Social Democrats, having served the bourgeoisie slavishly, were contemptuously spurned by the very reactionaries whose boots they had servilely licked.

The lessons of 1918-1919 in Germany are clear. The workers and soldiers were ready to take power, indeed had it in their hands. But, because they were unable to break spontaneously from their traditional leaders, the Social Democrats, they handed power to their masters, the bourgeoisie, who used it to smash the working class before spurning the Social Democracy.

The 'lefts', the Independent Social Democrats, clung as long as possible to the right wing within the labour movement. When they were finally forced out, they could build no alternative.

November 1918 in Germany was in many respects a parallel to the February 1917 revolution in Russia. It was only the insistence of Lenin, his determined fight within the Bolshevik Party (supported, after his return from America, by Trotsky) that forced the majority of the old Bolshevik leaders to tread the path of revolutionary overthrow of the Provisional government and the establishment of Soviet power.

In Germany, the lack of a Party which had trained a cadre in long struggles for theoretical principles and which could, at the decisive moment, win the confidence of broad layers of the working class, led to the defeat of 1919.

No amount of heroism or revolutionary fervour could be a substitute for such a Party.

A further article in this series, dealing with the revolutionary movement in Austria, will appear in Friday's Workers Press.



Karl Radek. The Bolshevik representative.

HOW WAYNE WON THE WEST

BY GUEST REVIEWER
TIM HORROCKS

'The Cowboys' is part of the modern trend—it is not so much a western as an anti-western. And this is no accident.

Capitalism in crisis has created conditions in which artists no longer find it comfortable to dramatize the expansionist aggression of the American bourgeoisie (with its attendant genocide), the spread of bourgeois civilization values and its technology, and the transformation of small-time farmers into wage-slave cowboys.

I have been careful not to use the word 'glorifying', despite the fact that, whatever mindless brutality may have been involved, the opening up of the American West for capitalist exploitation was a progressive act of the bourgeoisie.

Originally the western had nothing particularly nostalgic about it. William S. Hart, the first western hero, concentrated in his movies on the spread of bourgeois civilization on the one hand, and the value of individual enterprise on the other. He saw these as essential to the American West.

If westerns have become more nostalgic, less 'convinced', it is because capitalism is exacting its price from the middle classes and working classes, and because the validity of its expansion is seen as a thing of the past.

While the Hollywood artist's attitude to the bourgeois revolution is turning a little sour, individualism is still very much part of the western. Now that the historical value of the violence in the western is no longer seen clearly, mindless brutality—usually in westerns which are 'anti-violence'—has become commonplace.

Thus 'The Wild Bunch', 'Soldier Blue', 'Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid' and 'Little Big Man', whatever the variations in their quality as individual films, are all anti-westerns. They reduce the problem of violence to a liberal abstraction instead of seeing it, as directors John Ford and Howard Hawks did, as part of a historical process and inseparable from the spread of bourgeois civilization.

It would be wrong however to pin down the western entirely to a historical definition. Once established as a genre, the western could provide a framework for all kinds of expressions of ideas, through the power and lasting validity of its features—man and horse, man and landscape, town and desert, interior and exterior and so on.

Anthony Mann rarely based his films on history. They were, on the whole, highly psychological confrontations between men and their past, or the civilized man without, versus the savage within, and so on.

Mann used the images of the western genre to give material form to his psychological expressions. Examples? 'Man of the West', 'Man from Laramie', 'Winchester 73' and 'The Far Country'.

The point I am trying to make about the modern western (post-1964 or so) is that, while returning to history for material for stories, it treats the stories idealistically, abstracting violence and greed and so on. It returns to history, yet at the same time retreats from it. Hence the Greenwich-village witticisms of 'Butch Cassidy', and the superficial liberal waffling of 'Little Big Man'.

John Wayne is a western star in many respects directly in the tradition of William S. Hart. He has the advantage of the sound cinema in which to put this over.



William S. Hart

What they share is a common belief in the glorification of individual enterprise. They differ in that Wayne could not care less about history, applying the extreme right-wing intransigence, pride and slimly motivated moralizing side of his nature to cavalry soldiers, cowboys, Red Indians and the coming Presidential elections alike.

His political image is that of the good American—proud, patriotic, highly moral, immovable, but with a heart of gold. How has this character been used in the cinema? Not as sympathetically as some writers would seem to suggest.

Starting with 'The Searchers', however, the Wayne individualism and immovability begins to be seen almost as psychotic. Director Ford's own attitude to the West turns sour, and more and more he isolates the Wayne character, making him unreasonable and harsh, and ultimately condemning him to a lone existence outside the society which has grown during the film.

Wayne is seen no longer as the spearhead of bourgeois values, but as a throwback to the more cruel, anarchistic individualism of an earlier period.

So, in 'The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance', the old and the new are played off against each other by Wayne and James Stewart—Wayne is a gunslinger, Stewart a prospective Senator. Wayne is the 'noble' avenger, Stewart the hypocrite who will take society forward. Wayne is irrelevant, Stewart is the man of his times. Even in these later films it can be readily seen that whatever values Wayne proposes in a Ford film are seen historically, and not simply from a personal, laudatory point of view.

Leaving aside the question of the admittedly more complex use of Wayne's ideology in the work of Hawks, let us go on to 'The Cowboys'.

The Wayne character is seen as stereotyped as it has ever been. He has to get his cattle to market. His workers walk out on him to seek gold. He tells them not to come back. He won't employ ex-convicts, not because they are ex-convicts, but because they lied to prevent him discovering their past.

He decides to use children from the local school. He trains them (though early on is forced to acknowledge their horsemanship, etc.) and takes them on the drive.

Wayne is seen to tolerate Jews, Spaniards and Negroes (provided they do their job and don't cause trouble). Thus, with the larger national minorities in the States taken care of and under the fatherly wing, the drive is able to begin.

The ex-cons whom Wayne wouldn't employ attack eventually, with a view to rustling, and kill Wayne. The kids, under the leadership of the Negro cook Nightlinger, get the cattle back, killing all the rustlers, and take the beef into town. They return

to the spot where Wayne died to plant a tombstone there, but can't find the grave. Then one of the kids assumes leadership by picking up one of Wayne's catchphrases unconsciously, and the kids go home.

I think there's no need to go into any more detail than the story suggests to convey the kind of character which Wayne projects.

It is basically fatherly, proud, morally 'tough' and unyielding when attacked. It is the stereotyped Wayne character, and quite in line with what is required for the man who will be a major campaigner for Nixon in this year's elections.

History is kept out of it. Everything is fantasy. The kids are cast not so much for their resemblance to apprentice cowboys of the time as for instant identification with the largest possible married audience, the Negro cook forever waxing poetic, and older workers and convicts being seen as completely outside the pale.

The film has few redeeming moments. Whenever anything good to watch is happening, Mark Rydell, the director, undermines it by shooting and cutting for effect rather than for the spectacle of stylized reality (essential to the western).

For instance, there is a broncobusting sequence in which all the kids in turn have to ride a young horse. This is just getting good when, in order to 'save time', Rydell starts intercutting shots of kids falling off the horse. At one stroke he has seized upon the totally irrelevant, sacrificed a nice idea for a clumsy effect, and, instead of conveying the fact that the kids can ride, emphasized the reverse.

This is typical.

The threat posed by the rustlers is seen not in any real sense (historically or otherwise objectively), but in terms of nasty adult versus helpless child.

Equally the film's big moral point—that if kids are introduced to the ways of violence by adults they will become violent themselves (the worst kind of liberal rubbish)—as thrown into the scenes where the kids kill the rustlers with scant respect for characterization, inner logic, or the film's structure which, in the last analysis, exonerates all with its final bout of nostalgia for the dead Wayne.

This very bad film never, of course, implicates Wayne in its theme of anti-violence. It thus falls straight between two stools, and leaves the character, for all its definition, shrouded in meaninglessness. On one level the film is a gimmicky western with the trappings of a traditional form. On the other it is an absurd piece of liberal moralizing.

The two only meet outside the film, on the level of political and commercial expediency. In short, Wayne betrays his own excellent past in the western.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

GAP

A study prepared for the United States Congress reports that the income gap between America's poorest and richest has nearly doubled in the last 20 years.

And it concludes that the poor 'are asked to pay the price necessary to stop inflation for the rest of society'.

Released by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, the study says there has been substantial growth in real income in the last two decades. But the spread between the poorest and richest categories has widened, it finds.

'The gap between the poorest one-fifth and the richest one-fifth was \$10,565 in 1949,' the study said. 'In 1969 it was \$19,071.'

Last May, a Census Bureau study of median incomes—the mid-point on the range of incomes earned—indicated an apparent loss from 1969 to 1970 in median income in constant dollars (adjusted to account for inflation). The median income was \$9,990 in 1969 and \$9,867 in 1970.

GP SEXISM

If male chauvinism isn't reeling after that assault, it certainly ought to be after the two-day conference of Stalinist women last weekend.

The 'Morning Star' reported that 'by an overwhelming majority the conference voted to send a message direct to the Party's executive urging the Party to take up the task of fighting sexism (male prejudice) and calling for a conference on the family'.

Throughout the conference the chair was occupied by well-known liberationist John Gollan, the Party's general secretary.

Even for Gollan, this must have taken some stamina, to judge from the report of the discussion given in the 'Star'.

The 'Star' described the conference as 'a women's conference of a new kind, challenging and self-critical, with



Liberationist, John Gollan

CONQUEST

New conquests for women's lib. The US navy is shortly to gain its first woman admiral, according to Defence Secretary Melvin Laird.

He gave out the glad tidings in a Chicago club after five members of a women's lib group had invaded the platform before he spoke and they stayed to hear him disclose that another sexist bastion in the armed forces was about to fall.

He told the Chicago Executives Club: 'Before I end the job of Secretary of Defence, we will have our first woman admiral.' He did not name the woman.

The members of the National Organization of Women took over the platform amid hoots and boos from the all-male audience before Laird arrived, and tried to read out a statement accusing the club of being a sexist organization.

Mary Ann Lupa, leader of the group, accused Secretary Laird of being 'guilty of sex discrimination' in his department.

The women declined an invitation by club officials to stay and hear Laird speak. They relinquished the speakers' table and left.

many astringent allusions to the realities of women's lives under capitalism as opposed to the cosy dreams presented in the women's magazines and television advertisements.

Among the gems from the debate:

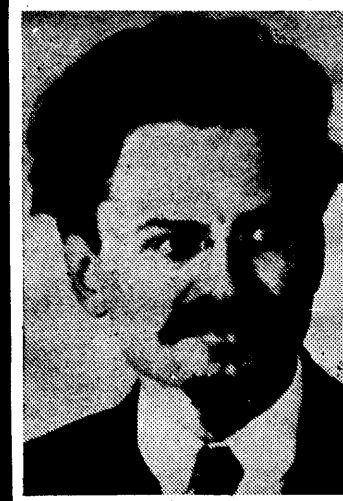
"We are all 'kept' women," Annette Wilton of Leeds, told a startled conference pointing out that most women could not live on their miserable pay and are 'kept' by parents and husbands . . .

Judith Hunt of Manchester pointed out that while women form one-third of the members of the Communist Party, they do not have this proportion of places on branch committees, district committees and other leading organizations.

Brenda Jacques of Bristol told the conference: "I joined the Communist Party because I found the world intolerable."

No doubt Gollan felt the same way after sitting through the weekend.

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TV SATURDAY

BBC 1

11.55 Weather. 12.00 Double deckers. 12.25 Pink Panther. 12.45 Grandstand. 12.55 Football preview. 1.20, 1.50, 2.20 Racing from Kempton. 1.35 Fight of the week. Joe Bugner v John Conteh. 2.05, 2.35 Show jumping. 2.50 University boat race. Oxford v Cambridge. 3.50 Rugby league. 4.40 Final score. 5.05 We want to sing. 5.35 News, weather, sport. 5.50 Dr Who.

6.15 **FILM: SAMSON AND DELILAH**. Victor Mature, Hedy Lamarr, George Sanders, Angela Lansbury. Biblical spectacular.

8.20 **TARBUCK'S LUCK**. Jimmy Tarbuck with guests Cilla Black, Joan Sims.

9.05 **THE BEFRIENDERS**. 'Lots of Friends in the Big City'.

9.55 **NEWS and weather.**

10.05 **MATCH OF THE DAY SPECIAL**. Football and boxing.

11.35 **LAW UNTO ITSELF.**

12.05 **Weather.**

BBC 2

3.00 Film: 'Carousel'. Gordon MacRae, Shirley Jones. Musical. 5.05 Private lives. 5.30 Television doctor. 5.45 Up country special. 6.05 **THE RESTLESS EARTH**. A new account of the planet we inhabit.

8.20 **NEWS, SPORT and weather.**

8.30 **RUGBY SPECIAL**. Cardiff v Barbarians.

9.05 **SOUNDS FOR SATURDAY**. The Faces.

9.50 **THE CRAFTSMEN**. Dan Arbeid—potter.

10.05 **NIRAD CHAUDHURI**. 'Adventures of a Brown Man'.

10.55 **SUNSET SONG**. 'Ploughing'.

11.40 **NEWS ON 2 and weather.**

11.45 **FILM: 'INFERNO'**. Robert Ryan, Rhonda Fleming, William Lundigan.

ITV

10.55 Road Report. 11.00 Sesame Street. 12.00 Grasshopper Island. 12.15 Joe 90. 12.45 News. 12.50 World of Sport: 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Racing from Towcester; 1.45, 2.15, 2.45, Racing from Doncaster; 3.10 International Sports Special; 3.50 Results, Scores, News; 3.54 Wrestling from Halifax; 4.45 Results Service. 5.05 News. 5.10 Both Ends Meet. 5.40 Sale of the Century.

6.05 **THE COMEDIANS.**

6.35 **FILM: 'THE PRICE OF FEAR'**. Merle Oberon, Lex Barker, Charles Drake. Man on run from racketeers framed on murder charge.

8.00 **HAWAII FIVE-O**. Didn't We Meet At a Murder?

9.00 **SATURDAY VARIETY**. The Val Doonican Show.

10.00 **NEWS.**

10.10 **AQUARIUS**. The Best Television in the World?

11.10 **THE ODD COUPLE.**

11.40 **ALL OUR YESTERDAYS.**

12.05 **IT MATTERS TO ME.**

REGIONAL TV

All regions as BBC-1 except: 12.07 News, weather.
BBC Wales: 5.05-5.35 Disc a dawn. 10.40-11.00 Match of the day. 12.07 Weather. **N Ireland:** 5.45-5.50 News, sports. 12.07 News, weather.
Scotland: 4.55-5.00, 5.45-5.50, 10.05 11.05 Sportsreel. **English regions:** 12.07 Weather.

CHANNEL: 12.45 London. 5.10 Randall and Hopkirk. 6.05 Sale of the Century. 6.35 Film: 'Circle of Danger'. 7.58 Weather. 8.00 Champions. 9.00 London. 10.10 Jason King. 11.10 UFO. 12.00 Weather.

WESTWARD: As Channel except: 12.05 Gus Honeybun. 12.05 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.15 All our yesterdays. 11.45 Thunderbirds. 12.42 Weather. 12.45 London. 5.10 Tommy Cooper. 5.40 Randall and Hopkirk. 6.30 Comedians. 7.00 Sale of the century. 7.30 Film: 'Carry On Constable'. 9.00 London. 10.10 Jason King. 11.05 News. 11.10 Aquarius. 12.10 Weather. Discoverers.

HTV: 11.25 Leaves of Autumn. 11.50 Captain Scarlet. 12.15 Seaspray. 12.45 London. 5.10 Shari's Show. 5.40 Bugs Bunny. 6.00 Dr Simon Locke. 6.30 Both Ends Meet. 7.00 Sale of the Century. 7.30 Comedians. 8.00 Hawaii Five-O. 9.00 London. 10.10 The Saint. 11.10 Aquarius. 12.05 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 7.00 Sion a Sian.

ULSTER: 12.30 Enchanted house. 12.45 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 Sportscast. 6.05 Dick Van Dyke. 6.35 Film: 'The Guns of Fort Petticoat'. 8.00 Odd Couple. 8.30 Comedians. 9.00 London. 11.10 Strange report. 12.05 Epilogue.

YORKSHIRE: 11.20 Yesterdays. 11.50 Vortex. 12.45 London. 5.10 Randall and Hopkirk. 6.00 Dick Van Dyke. 6.30 Comedians. 7.00 Film: 'Four for Texas'. 9.00 London. 10.10 Mannix. 11.05 Edgar Wallace. 12.10 Canadian short stories. 12.40 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.55 Hot Dog. 12.15 Secret Service. 12.45 London. 5.10 Bearcats. 6.10 Comedians. 6.40 Film: 'The Law v Billy the Kid'. 8.05 Hawaii Five-O. 9.00 London. 10.10 Sky's the limit. 10.45 UFO. 11.40 International detective.

ANGLIA: 11.20 All our yesterdays. 11.50 Cowboy in Africa. 12.45 London. 5.10 Rovers. 5.40 Flintstones. 6.05 Sale of the century. 6.35 Film: 'How to Steal a Million'. 9.00 London. 10.10 I spy. 11.10 Theatre.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12.10 Horoscope. 12.15 Captain Scarlet. 12.45 London. 5.10 It takes a thief. 6.05 Both ends meet. 6.30 Sale of the century. 7.00 Film: 'Behold A Pale Horse'. 9.00 London. 10.10 Hawaii Five-O. 11.10 Dick Van Dyke. 11.40 According to Mark.

TYNE TEES: 11.20 All our yesterdays. 11.50 Arthur. 12.15 Lidsville. 12.45 London. 5.10 Bonanza. 6.00 Tommy Cooper. 6.30 Comedians. 7.00 Film: 'Four For Texas'. 9.00 London. 10.10 FBI. 11.10 Plot to murder Hitler. 12.00 Avengers. 12.55 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 11.50 Bush Boy. 12.20 Primus. 12.45 London. 5.10 UFO. 6.05 Comedians. 6.35 Film: 'Frenchie'. 8.05 Randall and Hopkirk. 9.00 London. 10.10 Sport. 10.40 Late Call. 10.45 Marcus Welby MD.

GRAMPIAN: 12.15 Bugaloos. 12.45 London. 5.10 Batman. 5.40 On the buses. 6.10 Film: 'The Hard Man'. 7.35 Comedians. 8.05 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.10 Aquarius. 11.15 Jimmy Stewart. 11.45 All our yesterdays.

TV SUNDAY

BBC 1

9.00-9.30 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 10.30 Easter Communion. 11.40 One man's way of telling the story of Jesus. 11.55 Urbi et Orbi. 12.25 Lord Clark appeals. 12.30 Children growing up. 12.55 Tom and Jerry. 1.00 Wildlife spectacular. 2.05 Going for a song. 2.35 Film: 'A Man Called Peter'. Richard Todd, Jean Peters. 4.30 Show jumping. 5.10 British Empire.

6.05 **NEWS and weather.**

6.15 **THROUGH DARKNESS TO LIGHT.**

6.35 **GODSPELL.**

7.25 **ENGELBERT**. With The Young Generation and The Goodies. Guest Jack Jones.

8.10 **FILM: 'NEVER SO FEW'**. Frank Sinatra, Gina Lollobrigida. A guerrilla commander falls in love with an arms profiteer's mistress.

10.10 **NEWS and weather.**

10.20 **NIMMO IN LAS VEGAS**. Derek Nimmo.

11.20 **IF IT MOVES—IT'S RUDE!** Kenneth More with recollections of the Windmill Theatre.

12.10 **Weather.**

BBC 2

7.00 **NEWS REVIEW.**

7.25 **MUSIC ON 2**. Walton birthday concert.

8.20 **THE WORLD ABOUT US**. 'They Don't Make Them Like They Used To'.

9.10 **TUTANKHAMUN'S EGYPT**. 'The Pharaoh'.

9.30 **R. S. THOMAS**. Priest and pet reads poetry and talks of his beliefs.

10.00 **A HARDY SUMMER**. Thomas Hardy's/words.

10.10 **DANIEL DERONDA**. 'Fire'.

10.55 **NEWS SUMMARY and weather.**

11.00 **TOM JONES**. In concert with The Treorchy Male voice choir and The Blossoms.

ITV

11.00 Communion. 12.55 Out of Town. 1.15 Stingray. 1.45 University Challenge. 2.15 The Big Match. 3.15 Jason King. 4.15 Shirley's World. 4.45 Golden Shot. 5.35 Pretenders. 6.05 News.

6.15 **THE GOOD LIFE.**

6.30 **ADAM SMITH.**

7.00 **HYMN FOR TODAY.**

7.25 **ON THE BUSES.**

7.55 **FILM: 'ANNIE GET YOUR GUN'**. Betty Hutton, Howard Keel. Musical.

9.50 **POLICE 5.**

10.00 **NEWS.**

10.15 **TIME LOCK.**

11.15 **THE FROST PROGRAMME.**

12.05 **IT MATTERS TO ME.**

REGIONAL TV

All regions as BBC-1 except:

BBC Wales: 2.35-3.25 Spy trap. 3.25-4.00 Rugby union. 4.00-4.30 Canu'r bobol. 6.35-7.25 Lithiau ac emy-

nau'r. 11.20-2.10 Godspell. 12.12 Weather.

Scotland, N Ireland: 12.12 News, weather.

English regions: 12.12 Weather.

CHANNEL: 11.00 Service. 1.58 Weather. 2.00 Big match. 3.00 Film: 'Jazzboat'. 4.35 Date with Danton. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Hucksters'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Epilogue. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.30 Farm and country news. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00 London. 12.00 Weather. 12.03 Farm progress. 12.30 Trade winds to Tahiti. 1.20 Bear raid warden. 1.30 Stingray. 2.00 Soccer. 2.55 Film: 'So This Is Paris'. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'How To Steal A Million'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Weather. Discoverers.

HTV: 11.00 Service. 1.45 London. 3.15 Film: 'The Leather Saint'. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'Georgy Girl'. 9.30 Mr and Mrs. 10.00 London. 12.05 Weather.

HTV Wales as above except: 12.05 Dan Sylw. 12.40 O'r Wasg. 12.55 Utgryn Seion.

HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales.

ANGLIA: 11.00 London. 1.20 University challenge. 1.50 Weather. 1.55 Farming. 2.30 Film: 'Charley's Aunt'. 3.55 Football. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'Goodbye Charlie'. 10.00 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 London. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'High Hell'. 4.45 London. 5.45 Forest rangers. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Beauty Jungle'. 10.00 London.

ULSTER: 11.00 Service. 1.45 University challenge. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Film: 'Easter Parade'. 4.45 London. 6.30 Hymn. 6.55 Adam Smith. 7.25 On the buses. 7.53 Results. 7.55 Film: 'The Long, Long Trailer'. 9.30 Jimmy Stewart. 10.00 London. 12.05 Epilogue.



BBC 1. 8.10 Frank Sinatra in 'Never So Few'

YORKSHIRE: 11.00 Communion. 12.05 Charlie Brown. 12.30 UFO. 1.30 Farming outlook. 2.00 Soccer. 2.55 Film: 'Portrait of Clare'. 4.30 Cartoon. 4.45 London. 7.25 Both ends meet. 7.55 Film: 'The Yellow Rolls Royce'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 Communion. 1.15 Yesterdays. 1.55 Football. 2.50 Film: 'The Mating Season'. 4.40 London. 6.30 Hymn. 6.50 Adam Smith. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'The Ship That Died of Shame'. 9.30 University challenge. 10.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 London. 12.05 Charlie Brown. 12.30 UFO. 1.30 Farming outlook. 2.00 Out of town. 2.20 Where the jobs are. 2.25 Shoot. 3.25 Film: 'Nine Men'. 4.45 London. 7.25 Both ends meet. 7.55 Film: 'Designing Woman'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 11.00-12.00 London. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Aquarius. 2.50 Tom Grattan's war. 3.15 Film: 'The Rabbit Trap'. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'Betrayed'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00-12.00 London. 1.25 Farm progress. 1.55 Easter praise. 2.50 Film: 'Knights of the Round Table'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Pretenders. 6.05 London. 7.25 Both ends meet. 7.55 Film: 'The Pink Panther'. 10.00 London.

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KENT TOWN DEFIES RENT RISES

BY PHILIP WADE

COUNCIL tenants in the small Thames estuary town of Gravesend in Kent are the first to defy Tory plans to double their rents with the so-called 'fair rents' Bill.

Well over 1,000 of them on several housing estates have refused to pay an extra 50p on the rent imposed by the Tory-controlled council before the Bill is even law.

Most tenants pay two weeks in advance on their rent. But when the rent collector called early last week to collect the new rent for the week beginning April 1 he was told:

'We will pay the old rent but refuse to pay the extra 50p.'

Gravesend tenants prepared for their action by first forming a defence committee. On it sit representatives of the tenants' association, the trades council and the local Labour Party.

They then organized their own referendum among the town's 5,000 council tenants.

It asked three questions: would tenants pay increased rent as a direct result of the 'fair rents' measure? Would they allow rent assessors in their homes? And would they fill in the means test forms?

The trade unions were asked for their support. And it is said that Kent miners, many of whom stayed in Gravesend on picket duty, have pledged their assistance in case of any evictions following the refusal to pay the new rent.

A pledge was sought from the Labour Party that they would refuse to implement the Bill if they took control of the council after the local elections in May.

At the moment the council is composed of 12 Tory and 12 Labour councillors. But the Tories have four aldermen which give them overall control.

At first the Labour Party said they would give such an assurance.

But now they have backtracked and say they will have to see what the situation is when and if they win the elections.

Nevertheless the tenants remain firm.

I spoke to one of their leaders, Charlie Robins, secretary of the Gravesend Tenants' Association, formed in 1957 out of an earlier rent struggle with the council.

He already pays £5 a week for his council house on the sprawling-Denton housing estate.

'It's not that I can't afford to pay the extra 50p—it's a matter of principle,' said Charlie, showing me his rent card with an entry in the debit column of 50p.

'I'm sure that what I've worked hard for all my life is not going to be taken away just like that.'

'In my personal opinion the only way to defend ourselves now is for the trade unions to fight this Bill on a national basis.'

'If you could get the unions to say they would come out on a General Strike against it we could squash the Bill.'

'The miners' strike—that's when I reckon we missed the boat. We could have had the Tories out if everyone had come out in sympathy on things like the Common Market and rents.'

'But if this Bill goes through we might as well go back to the 1930s.'

'As far as I'm concerned I won't go through with the means test. My form went straight in the dustbin.'

'Our association is pledged to go round to any tenant when the rent scrutineer comes and tell him he's not coming in.'

'These men know what a house is worth—the bricks and mortar it's made of. What they want to come in for is to see what we've got to sell,' said Charlie, who had lived in the house for 21 years. When he first moved in the rent was about £1 a week.

'The Tories round here say to us what about your cars and things like that. But aren't you entitled to what you've worked for all your life?'



Charlie Robins, secretary of the Gravesend tenants, with his wife and their rent book: 'A matter of principle'.

'Tories must go', says tenants' leader

'Last year Gravesend council ended up with a huge surplus on their housing account.'

'The tenants' association went along to the town hall and suggested there was enough money to give everyone a rent-free two weeks.'

'They scoffed at us and said the money belongs to the landlords, which in this case was the council itself,' said Charlie.

Nevertheless the council was swift to move into action under the Housing Finance Bill.

Although it remains a Bill and

is not, therefore, law as yet, there is a provision for councils to increase their rents in April. The Gravesend Tories seized their opportunity quickly.

'Democracy is finished in this country, isn't it? Look at the way they've guillotined the Bill in the House of Commons.'

'There really ought to be a law against men like Heath!'

'The fight against this Bill is not over yet. But only industrial action will get rid of the Tories and their Bill,' said Charlie.

Spirits high on B'ham picket-line

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

A TWO-WEEK-OLD strike by workers at the Birmingham Battery and Metal Co should be made official, says the Birmingham W AUEW district committee.

They have called on the executive council to back the strike, which is the only one in the district over the national claim.

Although they had not yet heard of the committee's decision, the strikers were in high spirits as they continued their picket on Bristol Road on Thursday.

The mood of the men was summed up by former convenor L. M. Missud.

'These men are ready to fight to the end, official or unofficial', he said.

'They will stick out until every demand is won.'

There was, however, considerable bitterness among strikers at the attitude of the local social-security office.

'Their treatment of single people is diabolical,' said widower Ted Sullivan.

'As soon as I mentioned I was from the Battery I was told I would get nothing.'

'How can you live in this so-called welfare state? As far as they're concerned we can starve.'

Said Mr Missud: 'Interference with the men by the company or the social security will only harden the strike. We will not be satisfied without the full claim.'

US aids Junta

THE NIXON administration is to supply the Greek colonels' regime with 36 Phantom F4 fighter-bombers with spare parts and ground equipment.

This political act of solidarity is not without its business side. The deal will require a payment of some £58m and forestalls the French, who had hoped to sell Greece Mirage fighter-bombers.

Union chiefs back wage curb

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT DAVID MAUDE

A POWERFUL axis of trade union leaders is building up around the bankrupt, reformist and widely-suspected idea of 'threshold' pay agreements.

Carried away by their own fantastic illusions of economic expansion following the Budget, union chiefs are desperate to talk turkey with the Tories on wages.

Just how fantastic these ideas are can be seen from the employers' own evaluation of the subject.

But the idea of trading threshold deals for a promise of price restraint has apparently caught bureaucratic fancies of the right and 'left'.

Both Victor Feather, TUC general secretary, and Transport and General Workers' Union leader Jack Jones have been quoted in favour.

In theory, thresholds work like this: workers get a wage rise—lower than it would otherwise have been—which is increased again during the life of the agreement if the cost of living goes up more than a set percentage.

Figures mentioned for the sort of initial rise acceptable to the scheme's advocates range from 5 to 8 per cent.

Victor Feather says the union leaders are prepared 'to respond to any serious initiative by the government to meet us in this way'. He believes threshold clauses would guarantee workers' wage-packets against his prices—or so he says.

Jack Jones favours such clauses on the grounds that they would remove cost of living from the argument without freezing normal pay negotiations.

These men are speaking—and

it seems, acting on their words—despite a large body of opinion in the trade union movement which wants nothing to do with class-collaboration of this order.

On February 4, the TUC itself held a discussion conference involving full-time officials of most unions at which the mood was predominantly hostile.

And if good reasons for this mood are needed, a recent study made by the Confederation of British Industry gives them.

Aimed at pointing to the safeguards employers would need to incorporate into such deals before they should consider the idea, the study said that TUC claims that inflation would be reduced should be 'treated with caution'.

Said the study: 'There appears to be no way of ascertaining in advance whether an individual threshold agreement will prove to be inflationary, since its operation depends largely on external economic factors which are outside the control of the company.'

Any possibility of an overall contribution to control of inflation could only be assessed in terms of a universal system of threshold bargaining. But even in this case a number of assumptions about costs, prices and the growth of the economy would have to be made.

The study said that while there was evidence such agreements could have a disinflationary effect, the same evidence showed it was equally possible for them to work the other way.

Concluded the CBI: 'If threshold agreements are to reduce the rate of inflation, the increases in real wages to be guaranteed must be matched by the overall rise in labour productivity.'

What is more, the rate of price increases current when thresholding was introduced

would have to be low enough to facilitate initial payments which were within the bounds of future improvements in productivity.

The CBI, in other words, will only consider talking to the union leaders about holding down their members' real wages if it is already understood that whatever meagre cash rises are granted will be paid for through speed-up.

And the employers spell out their arrogant, ruling-class message even further.

It is crucial to the value of a threshold agreement that it includes an initial payment which is lower than would otherwise be the case, says the CBI study.

But it is questionable whether it would always be possible to prove that this criterion had been satisfied. It is also open to question whether the inclusion of a threshold clause would in every negotiating situation be sufficient to persuade unions to accept a lower initial payment.

'Threshold agreements have the disadvantage that their ultimate effect on costs cannot be predicted and that they involve companies in a commitment to pay further wage increases regardless of their future ability to do so.'

What the CBI wants is clearly threshold agreements without thresholds—or, to put it more plainly, just good, old-fashioned wage-cutting. Its final conditions are:

- Agreements should last for a specified period and should include an initial payment which is significantly lower than it would have been without the threshold provision.

- Calculations relating to the real increases in income to be guaranteed should take account of wage-drift and of



Feather

any improvements in fringe benefits which are conceded.

- Evasion of the mandatory 'no further claims' provision through the submission of claims at a different negotiating level must be specifically ruled out.

The pressure on the union leaders for such deals is coming not from the ranks of the trade union movement, but from the Tory government and the employers.

A careful public relations campaign has been launched over the last two weeks suggesting that the government is eager to get an extension of the CBI's so-called price restraint policy.

Talks on the subject between the CBI top brass and member firms started last Tuesday, and a final decision will be taken at the Confederation's council meeting in a fortnight's time.

Meanwhile W. O. Campbell Adamson, the CBI director-general, has deliberately let slip that informal soundings suggest a good number of industrialists are against continuing the policy.

According to the rules of the old class-collaboration poker game, therefore, the union leaders are supposed to do exactly what they apparently want to do: make a grand concession.

They must be prevented from doing so.

Lessons of the sit-ins -Week One

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

'THIS IS a small firm and it would be possible for a small number of people to get them out.

'But if it were a big factory you might want 2,000 police with tear-gas. I want to make sure that any order I make can be enforced.'

Thus spoke judge Thomas Burgess, a knight and vice-chancellor of Preston High Court, Chancery division.

The objects of his grim verdict were the 22 men of Sharston engineering, occupying their factory set among the lawns and blossoms of affluent Manchester—a most unlikely setting for the most bitter episode so far in the N engineering pay battle, now in its second week.

Hours after the ruling, which gave the Sharston bosses the right to clear the factory, a harassed John Tocher, leader of the Manchester engineers, emerged from a meeting with the men.

A court of law, he said, was not the place to settle industrial disputes. The place to do this was across the table with him.

A heartfelt cry indeed from the days of brinkmanship of which Tocher, a leading member of the Communist Party, was a tough and skilful exponent.

Many employers, however, have different ideas. It was surely no coincidence that the day of the unique Preston judgement, Jack Jones, leader of Britain's largest union was himself facing an action for contempt of court.

The Sharston men have now won a temporary respite from the dole—but the court action was successful in forcing them to lift their occupation. This lesson has not gone unnoticed elsewhere.

Closest observers of all were bosses in some 11 other factories, employing 7,000 workers, who are also faced with occupations. Technically Preston was a test case. Other firms need only to sack their employees then apply to the court for an order to clear their premises.

A day after the court ruling Tocher declared that the point of no return in the Manchester battle had been reached.

The old methods of procedure and custom and practice have been thrown aside. When workers abandoned piece work and went day rate, as has been past practice, management did not negotiate, but locked men out.

But workers faced with sus-

pension did not walk out of the gates and wait meekly at home, they occupied.

Preston is a rude shock for local union leaders. The employers are replying to union pressure with force, backed by law, and by the ever-present threat of closure and more unemployment.

John Tocher claims 14 firms have made concessions on the three points of the claim—more wages, shorter hours and more holidays.

But there are no signs big fish like Hawker Siddeley, GKN, Ferranti, AEI and British Steel are cracking. These groups have steadfastly refused negotiations with their Manchester workers.

And what happens to the Sharston men or the workers in scores of back-street engineering shops scattered around Manchester's black industrial labyrinth, men who are threatened with more redundancies as a condition to any wage increase?

It is, in fact, only until you get a physical glimpse of this fight in Greater Manchester that the treachery of the decision to abandon the pay claim nationally really strikes home.

The disintegration of the claim allows employers to exploit every weakness within the working class. At one Eccles factory a secret ballot ratified a wage 'increase' of £1.25-50p below the rise offered by employers nationally.

These facts are an indictment of the national leadership of the unions and particularly the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

The retreat has gone on. The Sheffield area, once on the brink of district action, has now entirely capitulated to the formula of plant-by-plant struggles ordered by the AUEW national committee.

Now it's Manchester's turn to come under pressure.

Bob Wright, AUEW executive council member for the area, is understood to be urging local officers to levy Manchester members to pay for the sit-ins, and there is the distinct impression that more occupations will not be welcomed at AUEW headquarters at Peckham Road, London.

Meanwhile right-wing unions, like the General and Municipal

Workers, have yet to back any of the occupations.

Their 600 members at Bredbury steel works are entering their third week of sit-in with no money from the union despite the fact they have been denied dole.

Yet not one single employer, from the pygmies like Sharston's, to the giants like GKN, has been able to suspend any workers without facing immediate occupation.

In some plants men have been offered £6, but are still sitting-in waiting for a concession on hours and holidays.

There is a need now to build on this militancy, to establish a day-to-day link between the Manchester workers, to form committees and regular communications.

As the miners discovered strikes have to be organized on the ground to be totally effective. In this way weaker sections can be encouraged to take action and workers under threat protected.

But it is impossible to win the Manchester battle with those manoeuvres alone.

As the days of struggle go by, two things become clear.

An important section of the employers will use the law, or the threat of the law, to break up union organization, and use redundancies to intimidate workers.

These are the giant issues that now overshadow the Manchester pay battle. What is urgently required is action to remove the source of the bosses' strength: the Tory government.

'I am innocent' —Angela Davis

BY IAN YEATS

ON THE first day of her trial at San Jose, California, Angela Davis dismissed as 'utterly fantastic, utterly absurd' charges that she masterminded the Marin County Courthouse shoot-out in August 1970.

28-year-old Miss Davis, a former philosophy lecturer at California University, is standing trial on murder, kidnapping and conspiracy charges arising from the shooting.

Prosecution alleges that Jonathan Jackson and three San Quentin prison inmates seized five hostages at Marin County Courthouse and threatened to kill them—including Judge Haley—unless the three 'Soledad Brothers' were set free.

Miss Davis opened her own defence by saying: 'The evidence will show that I am totally innocent of all the charges against me.'

She added that the prosecution had deliberately set out 'to transform the character of the case' by claiming that she was not interested in politics and the conditions of all the prisoners at San Quentin, but was motivated only by her alleged love for George Jackson.

Miss Davis described the prosecution's case as 'conjecture, guesswork and speculation'. She denied having anything to do with the Marin County Courthouse shooting.

She claimed she bought guns and bullets and used Jonathan Jackson as a bodyguard against threats to her life by white extremists.

The 'trumped up' charges against her, she told the court, were the logical outcome of a harassment campaign by California governor Ronald Reagan and the University of California Regents who dismissed her in 1969 because she was a communist.



A few of the Aldermaston marchers who set off from Trafalgar Square yesterday.

● Report page one.

Labour 'Young Socialists' bankrupt on Ulster

BY GARY GURMEET

LABOUR PARTY Young Socialists will be asked this weekend to allow the Tories to continue with their present Ulster policies.

A resolution before their eleventh annual conference, which

opens at Scarborough today, calls on the Tories to govern Ulster the same way as any other part of the United Kingdom is governed.

Withdrawal of British troops from Ireland does not find a mention in this or any other resolution on the subject.

The LPYS conference this year is bound to be the stage-managed job it has always been.

Unlike the real Young Socialist majority which split from the Labour Party bureaucracy in 1964, the LPYS has found it possible to co-exist and assist the work of reformism.

The witch-hunt which the labour leaders carried out in 1964 revealed their complete contempt for the construction of a mass socialist youth movement.

All those who remained servile to Harold Wilson's policies—including the revisionist 'Militant' group which now controls the LPYS—now form the bulk of the movement.

Any visitor to the conference, taking a casual look through the agenda, can hardly fail to notice one glaring contradiction—the contrast between the number of branches claimed by the leadership and the number of resolutions before conference.

The National Committee report says the organization has 499 branches. Yet only 125 have bothered to put forward resolutions of any description.

Last year their conference was attended by 150 delegates, and

the organization claimed 503 branches.

In their desperate attempt to give reformism a 'left' face, the revisionists of the so-called 'Militant' group deliberately omit any reference to the capitalist system's economic and political crisis.

Peter Doyle, in the Political Report repeats last year's main slogan, saying the 'taking over of commanding heights of the economy' can solve the problems of the working class.

'We have to point out that the movement which can carry out such a change has to be struggled for... inside the Labour Party and the trade unions.'

Not one clear statement on the need to make the Tories resign.

Instead the conference has before it no less than eight resolutions calling on the age limit of LPYS to be increased to 30.

This, says Reading South YS, will bring the LPYS 'into line with both the Young Conservatives and the Young Liberals...'

March ban stays

WILLIAM Whitelaw, Secretary for N Ireland under the Tory government's direct rule, announced yesterday that the ban on marches must remain 'for the present'.

This means that Republican marches commemorating the 1916 Easter Rising scheduled for the next few days will be illegal.

WEATHER

WEAK trough of low pressure over S and W Scotland and NE England will move slowly N.

The greater part of Scotland, N Ireland, western districts of England and Wales will remain generally cloudy with occasional rain or drizzle in the N. Central and eastern districts of England will be dry and rather warm.

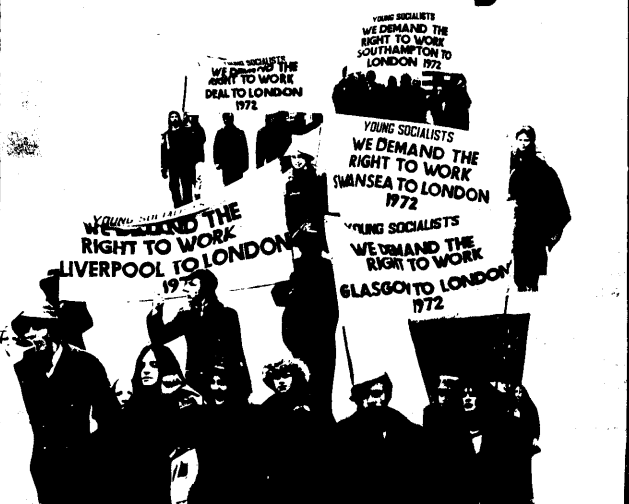
Outlook for Sunday and Monday: Mainly warm with sunny periods in the S and E at first, but cloud and rain in the N and W will probably spread E on Monday followed by sunny intervals with temperatures falling to near normal.

NEWS DESK
01-720 2000

CIRCULATION
01-622 7029

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.
Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

**We demand the right to work!
Make the Tories resign!**



**YOUNG SOCIALISTS 12th ANNUAL CONFERENCE
SCARBOROUGH**
Saturday & Sunday April 8/9 Grand Hall, The Spa

Dance to 'BRAVE NEW WORLD' Saturday night 8 pm
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Cost approximately £4.50. For tickets apply to John Simmanco, National Secretary,
186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG

Please send me details/tickets of the Scarborough Conference.

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