

# WORKERS PRESS

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY STEPHEN JOHNS

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They witnessed a unique event in the history of the working class—a three-hour pageant of the struggle for basic democratic rights performed by workers and youth from four areas of Britain.

Throughout the afternoon and evening the crowd was electrified by the power and clarity with which the making of the British working class was brought to life.

The vivid and moving performance was continually punctuated by spontaneous cheering from the vast arena.

The scene was unfolded from the massacre at Peterloo, Manchester, in 1819 to the building of the Labour Party in 1906, on the floor of Empire Pool itself and on a specially erected stage.

Four TV cameras projected details of the action onto a huge cinema screen at the head of the arena. The whole scene, the music, the lighting, the props, the intricate technical equipment, and above all the power of the acting made Empire Pool a unique occasion.

It was a great blow against the Tory government and a historic step by the working class along the road to power.

After the Pageant, Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, welcomed the audience.

'This historic occasion would not have happened without the fight put up by the League and its supporters,' he said. 'The message from this Pageant is to go forward and transform the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party.'

Comrade Healy said this was not meant to be simply an appeal. Every worker involved in struggle today had the responsibility to join in this decisive battle for socialism.

He warned of the great betrayal being prepared in the Labour Party.

The right-wing clique around Roy Jenkins and Dick Taverne were busily erecting a barrier to isolate the party from the trade union movement.

Like MacDonald before them they were preparing to split the movement wide open. 'It is in this hour of greatest danger that we demand a special conference of the Labour Party to deal with these traitors.

'They must be cast out of the ranks immediately.

'This conference should prepare for the battle ahead. It should lay down a socialist

# A GREAT STRIDE FORWARD

policy for expropriating capitalism and it should form a pact with the trade union movement in a struggle to create the industrial and political conditions to force the Tories to resign.'

Such a struggle was now long overdue. The international crisis of capitalism was threatening a complete collapse of economic life in the capitalist nations of the world and especially Britain.

The conditions of the working class could sink far lower than those of the 1930s.

Meanwhile the reactionary military clique around Heath were preparing to back up with armed action the Tory drive to rob the working class of its basic democratic rights.

A struggle for democratic rights was now a revolutionary task, said comrade Healy.

'That is the lesson of history, that is the lesson of working-class struggle in every country of the world. This lesson must be heeded here at this great meeting today.

'Forward to the revolutionary party.'

Gary Gurmeet, editor of 'Keep Left', weekly newspaper of the Young Socialists, said the Heath government was heading for a presidential-style corporate state.

'The Tory government may have succeeded in legislating itself into a powerful position but it still has to face the organized strength of the working class and its conscious leadership,' he said. 'But today's rally expresses the determination of that working class.'

● Pageant pictures, pp 6 and 7.

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G&MWU officer John Edmonds (right) failing to convince Sunderland gasworkers after Friday's delegate conference.

## WHAT WE THINK

# 'New' gas offer: a crude splitting offer

SUNDERLAND gasworkers lobbying Friday's General and Municipal Workers' Union delegate conference have the right idea about the Gas Corporation's 'new' pay offer. 'When all's said and done, we've got nothing', they declared uncompromisingly after a long, post-conference exposition from John Edmonds, G&MWU national gas officer.

There is nothing new about the offer. In a crude attempt to split the gasworkers, the Gas Corporation has done some arithmetical juggling with a surplus on its pension fund to reduce employee contributions by perhaps 40p or 50p per week. It has held out the possibility that 2,500 men due to start losing their jobs in April may not have to go until October.

But not a single penny of new money is being offered—and the Tory principle of state control of wages, which the gasworkers are fighting, is maintained intact.

Were the gas union leaders putting up a real struggle against state wage control, the Gas Corporation's splitting tactics would be re-

jected universally and out of hand by all 47,000 workers in the industry. Saturday's decision by shop stewards in the north-east, to recommend the end of a four-week strike next week, reflects a growing feeling that the leaders of their own unions and the TUC are hell-bent on selling out.

Both the G&MWU and the Transport and General Workers' Union initially attempted to separate the issue of whether the gasworkers would get an offer from the principle of state wage control. Then they involved their members in a campaign of selective strikes which, Workers Press warned from the outset, would tend to isolate them, dissipate their strength and produce moods of disillusionment.

Even now they insist on babbling that all they want is 'fair treatment', when the Heath government has itself laid it on the line that without its removal there is to be no concession.

For Edmonds and the union leaders to postpone their planned escalation of industrial action, as they have done, itself signals a clear retreat on their part.

After Saturday's north-east stewards' meeting, G&MWU regional organizer Eric Easey said that the Gas Corporation's offer contained the germs of a peace solution. Some stewards reckoned that it was worth £2.80 to £3 a week, he said.

This is exactly the kind of speculation the corporation and the government hope for—but it is only made possible by courtesy of the union leaders.

It is time to halt the retreat. To do this, those north-east stewards who fought on Saturday for an all-out strike will have to fight hard, with those who think like them all over the country, to stop their leaders accepting state wage control on the basis of alleged concessions.

This can be done. In every gasworks and depot the feeling is growing: every section of the working class must be mobilized to force the Tory government to resign. And Empire Pool, yesterday, demonstrated that the leadership is now being built which will carry through these historic tasks.

## Hospital workers fight on 'for our rights'

THE MAIN hospital ancillary workers union NUPE has asked the TUC for official support, as pledged by the special Congress. The application will be discussed by the Economic Committee on Wednesday.

Meanwhile hospital workers have again stepped up their picketing action and the hundreds of strikes and other industrial actions around the country are becoming more and more effective.

Linen-room worker Mrs. Hyacinth Bailey, from St. James' Hospital, London, talked to Workers Press on the picket line during the one-week strike there called by NUPE, the G&MWU and COHSE.

'We do the dirty work, so we should get fair pay,' she said. That's what we are fighting for. If we don't get our claim at the end of this strike, we should go on strike again. I believe in fair pay.

'The people who don't do any work have all the money and those who work get little pay.'

'I have a large family to help my husband support, so I have to fight for my rights. I am prepared to go on fighting for them.'

'Hospital workers and gasmen and railway workers are all on strike together. I think they all feel the same way.'

Mrs Bailey said she was sorry for the patients, but pinned the blame firmly on the Tories. 'We are providing emergency services,' she said. 'It's the government's fault we're out at all.'

'The patients are sympathetic to us. They know we get low wages and they would help us if they could.'

## Pompidou enters the arena

AN UNPRECEDENTED last-minute intervention by president Georges Pompidou marked the last hours before polling in the crucial second round of the French election at the weekend.

Pompidou went on television on Saturday to tell the electorate that if they voted in a Left majority it would mean the end of individual liberty and prosperity.

He attacked the opposition coalition of Communist, Socialist and Left Radical parties as 'Marxist communists with their assured allies'. The Left parties claimed his intervention was a breach of electoral law.



## Oxford march slams pay laws

ABOUT 500 workers from the Oxford area staged a march and rally on Saturday to protest against state pay laws.

The demonstration was called by the hospital ancillary staff unions together with local gasworkers, the T&GWU 5/55 branch from the car industry and the Oxford and District Council of Action and with the full and unanimous support of the Oxford and District Trades Council.

The column of trade unionists shouted 'Tories Out' and 'Socialism in' as they marched from

The Plain to an open air meeting at St Giles.

There were delegations of gasworkers, hospital staff, civil servants, car workers and representatives of different political groups.

A leaflet given to shoppers said the rally was called 'in opposition to the wage control policy of the present government who are attempting to use the lowest-paid workers as the whipping boys for their own economic mismanagement.'

'The government arrogantly

claims that the British people support its unwarranted attacks on the living standards of the low paid and vitally important sections of the community.

'Yet thousands of working people are engaged in industrial action, many for the first time ever, in an attempt to secure a wage which will keep them marginally above the poverty line.'

'And the British people are being asked to accept hardships and inconvenience to show their support for this disastrous policy.'

## Nixon to restore death penalty

PRESIDENT Nixon has revealed plans to restore the death penalty in the United States where it has not been used for almost six years. Announcing a 'reform' of the Federal criminal code, the president said that he regarded the death penalty as an effective deterrent 'contrary to the views of some social theorists'.

Nixon added that in view of the 'immediate need' for the restoration of capital punishment a new statute would be put before Congress as soon as possible. It will apply only to Federal crime, but the State governors are being encouraged to take similar action.

The Supreme Court has ruled

that the death penalty is discriminatory because a disproportionate number of people executed were poor and black while the white and wealthy were spared. Nixon's new statute may evade this objection by making the death penalty mandatory for such crimes as hi-jacking, arson, kidnapping and killing police and prison officers.

## Peking pips Kremlin to Madrid post

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE CHINESE government has established full diplomatic relations with fascist Spain and the two countries will exchange ambassadors within three months.

The news was announced after a regular cabinet meeting in Madrid, presided over by the Head of State, General Franco.

The agreement, signed after secret talks between the Chinese and Spanish ambassadors in Paris, is regarded as an important step towards relations with all the Stalinist powers.

General Franco already has full diplomatic relations with East Germany and less formal diplomatic ties with Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and the USSR.

The Soviet Union is now certain to want full diplomatic relations as well. Lopez Bravo, the fascist Foreign Minister, expects to have full relations with the Soviet Union and all east European countries by the end of the year.

China's decision to recognize Spain marks a further sharp turn to the right by the Peking Stalinists, who have already established American imperialism.

Franco's courts have recently imposed heavy sentences on the clandestine Spanish supporters of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. What have British Maoists and their chairman, AUEW executive councillor Reg Birch, to say about the Chinese betrayal?



## ARMY COLLEGE FOR THOSE IN ESSENTIAL INDUSTRIES AND SERVICES

The Tory government is pressing ahead feverishly with its plans to build up an army force to deal with a General Strike.

Workers Press has already reported the recruitment of 15,000 young men to the Territorial Army Volunteer Reserve (TAVR). And we also drew attention to an advertisement which the TAVR placed in a civil service magazine asking for part-time intelligence officers. 'Earn good money' as a part-time spy, the advertisement said.

### 'EMERGENCIES'

Now Sunday newspapers are carrying an advertisement for tutors for the Home Defence College at Basingwold, near York.

The advertisement says: 'A new residential college has been set up to promote study of the problems of utilizing peace-time services to meet war-time needs and major emergencies.'

'Courses normally of short duration and with groups and syndicate work will be designed for senior staff from local and central government, nationalized and other essential industries and the services.'

### 'TERRIERS'

Applicants are asked to lead discussions 'in home defence in relation to the changing socio-economic environment of this country'. The successful applicants are due to take up their duties in two months' time.

The 'Terriers' are living up to their name as Britain's 'Phantom Army'.

## DANGERS FOR BUILDING WORKERS

Britain's building workers, who in terms of accidents work in one of the most dangerous industries in the country, also face another danger—hypothermia.

This condition, of low body temperature, which is a frequent cause of death among old people, has been discovered to also affect a large number of workers in the construction industry as a result of inadequate protective clothing.

This has been disclosed by Dr Geoffrey Taylor, a consultant physician, who was employed by the Ministry of the Environment, and its predecessor, the Ministry of Works, to carry out on-site examinations of workers.

But Dr Taylor's report has not been published. And neither the government nor the building employers have been prepared to do anything about the problem.

In fact, the Medical Research Council, which runs artificial

climatic chambers at Hampstead suitable for testing protective clothing, is planning to close them down next year, claiming that there is no further use for them.

These chambers were previously used for developing suitable clothing for both hot and cold weather for the forces. Scientists and research workers working there have suggested that building workers' clothing could be the next line of research to be carried out.

In a recent report in 'The Guardian', Malcolm Stuart quoted Dr Taylor as saying in his report that hypothermia was a very common and serious problem even in moderately cold weather with little wind or rain.

Of the men he examined, on sites from Lerwick to Swindon, a third had skin temperatures of 95°F or under. The lowest temperature he recorded was 52°F, and only 11 per cent of the men had skin temperatures of 98°F or above, which would indicate a normal body temperature of 98.4°F.

Stuart goes on to quote Dr Taylor as saying, at his home in Somerset: 'I told the Ministry that what was needed was a really effective protective suit that minimized sweating.'

'But now the department says that this is a matter for building firms. In recent months I have been in touch with all the large contractors, but all I have received is polite brush-offs, nor have I had any response from the TUC. They consider it a matter for the government.'

As well as inadequate clothing, Dr Taylor notes in his report that there were disturbing signs of malnutrition among many of the men he examined. He recommends an educational campaign to encourage extra vitamin C in diets, especially in the north and in Scotland.

But while it may be true that poor dietary habits are a factor, many building workers will probably point to conditions in the industry as at fault—no proper canteen on most sites and only a half-hour dinner break, meaning that workers have little time to go

Building workers: cold, inadequate clothing and poor diet.

off the site for a meal or to digest it properly.

(Stomach complaints, such as ulcers, are also common among building workers as a result.)

Added to which, of course, we need hardly mention what is happening to food prices at present!

'The Guardian' report concludes by quoting Dr Taylor: 'When I first started visiting building sites I was amazed to find that many of the apparently old men were still in their forties. In fact you hardly find a man over 50 in the open.'

'Cold conditions, inadequate clothing, and often a poor diet, turn healthy young men into old men at 50, with arthritics, rheumatism, and chest complaints.'

\* The issues raised by this report have been taken up by building workers in Lancaster. Lancaster No 2 branch of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) decided to draw the matter to the attention of the union executive, and to urge them to demand that Dr Taylor's Report be published, and that adequate measures be taken to deal with the problem of protective clothing.

## DONATIONS TO TORY COFFERS

British big business is handing out hefty sums of money to the Tory Party and right-wing groups who fight against socialist policies.

The largest single donation to the Tory coffers is again from Guest Keen and Nettlefold. This company, which is at present negotiating with the government to regain control of British Steel Corporation plants, handed over £33,000 in the financial year 1971-1972.

A survey carried out by Labour Research Department shows that 167 major companies contributed a total of £632,086 to the Tories and their friends in that year.

Of this sum, £268,678 went to the Tory Party and the rest was shared by outfits like British United Industrialists (£229,675), Economic League (£55,855), Aims of Industry (£32,478), Industrialists' Council (£27,950), European Move-

ment (£11,100), Common Cause (£4,850) and the Aldnor Trust £1,500.

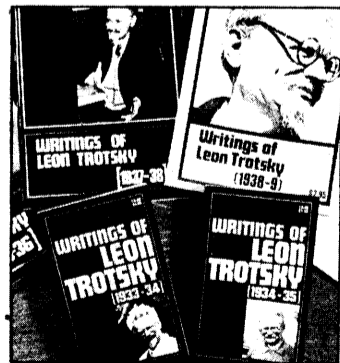
The Economic League is dedicated to the preservation of 'free enterprise' capitalism. Labour Research adds: 'It combined this, however, with a more sinister task: "to supply information on subversive activities to companies, mass media and leaflet readers".'

As well as exposing militant trade unionists and left-wing organizations it operates a blacklist and 'intelligence service'. Its total income in 1971 was £299,761.

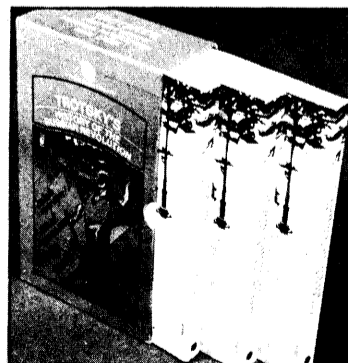
Not surprising, many of the more generous contributors to these organizations were firms that are headed by leading Tories.

Slater Walker, the finance conglomerate formerly headed by Peter Walker, Secretary for Trade and Industry, gave £15,000 to the Party, £5,015 to Aims of Industry and £1,500 to the Economic League.

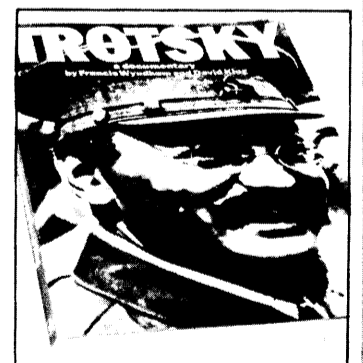
## ANNOUNCING...



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# MARSH PROMOTES COMPANY TRAINS

Hiving-off is a phrase which has largely if not completely disappeared from the Press recently.

Nevertheless there has been little corresponding let up in the Tories' actual attempts to persuade private enterprise to take on chunks of nationalized industries.

## Private enterprise

In steel the plan has not met with much success and the engineering division at Redpath Dorman Long is still waiting for private capital to flow in.

There isn't much sign that the railways have had much luck either, but they are pushing very hard with a little-known scheme to pass as much of the network's freight traffic across to private enterprise as possible.

Everyone remembers seeing the odd train made up of Shell or BP tankers, but from now on rail chief Richard Marsh wants to see more and more trade names on the railways.

The plan is to interest business to the idea of block trains or company trains. Under this scheme private firms buy whole trains and maintain them. If there are no cargoes, British Rail loses nothing. And if they go wrong, the Board's workshops are available for repairs.

## Growing business

'The only thing we supply is a locomotive and a crew', a Board spokesman told me.

'As far as profit is concerned, the scheme has everything to recommend it'.

British Rail and the train drivers' union ASLEF hope the new scheme will attract a growing volume of business and neither are at this stage talking about possible redundancies.

But the block trains operate in the same way as freight-liners and there is no doubt that a dramatic growth in this sector would be at the expense of the old system of individual trucks marshalled one at a time into trains.

Block trains of huge containers will undoubtedly eventually mean fewer trains even though more freight might be being handled.

Below: Richard Marsh of British Rail.



# COAL: TORY HIVE-OFF PLANS

Workers in the coal industry are becoming increasingly restless about secret Tory plans to hive off all the National Coal Board's profitable activities. They are particularly concerned about the lack of vigilance of their union's executive.

A discussion meeting held last week between mine-workers delegates and officials from the National Union of Mineworkers and the NCB not only failed to quell anxiety, but added to it. 'I didn't like the way Joe Gormley was talking,' said one delegate.

The meeting was marked by some very plain speaking and some forthright questioning. The matter will be taken up again at the NUM annual conference. But will this be soon enough?

Two holding companies which are taking over all non-mining activities from the NCB begin operations from April 1. Between them, they will take away £80m in assets from the coal industry and about £10m in profits.

The Coal Board will initially wholly own these two companies, but under the Coal Industry Act of 1970, it has the right to dispose of these holdings, whenever it wants, to private industry.

The Board says that the purpose of the hiving off is not to dispose of the assets, but to find a way round another clause of the Act which restricts its right to lend money to its own subsidiaries, a clause inserted so that no taxpayers' money provided to help the miners should be diverted to non-coal activities.

But the proposal to raise all future capital requirements for these subsidiaries from the private money market revives all the dangers of back-door denationalization which appeared when the Tories first came into office.

Whatever ingenious plans the NCB devises for retaining nominal ownership of these holding companies, the supply of finance will eventually be

the decisive factor in deciding who really calls the tune. Capitalism would soon openly dominate the ancillary industries.

In fact, the proposed capital structure of the holding companies shows clearly which way NCB chairman Derek Ezra intends things to go. Half will be in loan stock owned by the Board but the rest will be in ordinary shares which it is eventually hoped to place on the open market.

'The Sunday Times' reported recently that the long-term plan would be gradually to replace the NCB-owned fixed interest capital wholly with equity capital quoted on the Stock Exchange.

But even before such a final outcome is reached, the difficulties for the subsidiary industries will begin.

Though the companies are to remain under NCB control, for the first time they will have to raise funds on the private capital market at interest rates which could be considerably more expensive than government loans.

In addition to this, the very separation of the activities and the intention of making them 'self-financed' opens the door for any future government to abandon responsibility for these industries if wider economic difficulties, such as a major slump, cause them to make losses.

Only continued full-scale public ownership can maintain the modicum of special leverage which workers in nationalized industries can occasionally assert against arbitrary closures and the like.

The hive-off plans cover all the NCB's activities other than coal, including the valuable North Sea gas discoveries. Most of the subsidiaries are good profit-makers.

The larger of the two holding companies, the Coal Products Holding Company, will take over natural gas, chemical activities, as well as the extensive coal products business. It will have assets of over £50m.

These subsidiary activities include coke ovens, solid fuels like Furnacite, Midland Yorkshire Tar Distillers,

Staveley Chemicals and other chemical interests, as well as partly-owned facilities in plastics, sulphuric acid, and caprolactam, the raw material for nylon.

The smaller company, called NCB Ancillary Holdings, will take over engineering, brick-works, fuel distribution and appliances, as well as the NCB's land and property interests. The total assets will be about £25m.

The Coal Board's official view of all this tries to quieten fears. 'The formation of the holding companies will make no difference to the management or to the way the industry is run. The holding companies will be wholly owned by the NCB.'

Lawrence Daly, NUM secretary, agrees that his members are not happy with the proposals and says that the NUM executive does not much like them either.

He admits that the holding companies will have to pay higher interest rates than used to be paid for Treasury loans, and that there could still be backstairs attempts at selling the subsidiaries off to private enterprise.

But he sticks to the NUM executive line that the holding companies are a better arrangement than allowing the government to intervene directly and hive off the ancillary interests at any time, as they have threatened to do.

Joe Gormley and the rest of the executive tried to calm the men's anxiety by assuring them he did not believe that any part of the industry would be sold off to private firms.

And he tried to give double assurance by promising that if any subsidiaries were hived off, the next Labour government would renationalize them without compensation.

The north-east delegates to the conference were not so easily convinced. Dissatisfied with bland assurances, they plan to demand further explanations from an area conference and even, if necessary, a special conference of the entire union.

'This has been done behind our backs and we are not satis-

Above left: Lawrence Daly. Right: Derek Ezra.

fied with the explanations,' Tom Smith, a miner from Monkton Lodge, said after the meeting at the TUC headquarters in London.

John Dodds, NUM coke-men's area executive member, said:

'The cokemen's area asked for this meeting and we are still not satisfied with the answers, either from the Board or the NUM.'

'The Board says it is not hiving off. We say it is.'

'The hiving off can come in various ways — apart from directly selling subsidiaries to private industry.'

'If private investment comes in, it means all the cream in the ancillary industries will be skimmed off to pay for the dividends or the interest.'

'This demand for more profitability is going to mean a demand for greater productivity and efficiency whether it is feasible or not.'

'Sometimes, the profitability comes in the form of a service to the community by producing good quality smokeless fuels at plants which may, in fact, only break even financially.'

'But whatever service is being provided, private capital will take a very close and doubtful look at plants which only break even. They won't invest their capital.'

'We feel that our jobs are in danger. And after this meeting we still feel that our job security is an open question.'

'We have had lots of guarantees from the NUM leaders and the NCB that we are protected. But it is not them who are calling the tune.'

'The Government is running the show and could change the policy any day.'

'The dangers are clear. The chemical side of the industry needs lots of new capital. This will now have to come from the money merchants.'

'The more money comes in from outside, the greater the opportunity for private interests to have a say in the industry. It will be a foothold for them in nationalization.'

## FOREMAN GETS A BIG SHOWING IN SOUTH AFRICA

There was a time when Carl Foreman was considered a 'left radical'. A well-known screenwriter and director, his Hollywood career appeared to come to a sudden and premature end when he was named as a communist 'fellow-traveller' during the witch-hunting hearings of Senator Joe McCarthy's Un-American Activities Committee.

With the easing of the Cold War, however, Foreman has come back into favour—and has lost no time in ingratiating himself back into the most reactionary circles.

His latest effort was the direction of the film 'The Young Winston', a nauseating whitewash job on the early life of that arch-imperialist, Winston Churchill.

'The Young Winston' is about to get its first showing in South Africa and the first nights in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban are expected to be big prestige affairs. Special news conferences have been arranged in each city to boost the film.



Carl Foreman.

Many actors and entertainers refuse to go to South Africa because of its reactionary racist apartheid policy. Unions such as the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians ban members from filming there.

These considerations, however, have not affected our erstwhile 'radical'. Guest of honour at all three opening nights and the Press conferences will be... Carl Foreman.

The audience in each case will be entirely white.

With the active assistance of President Nixon and the United States government, the Iranian armed forces are being built up into the most powerful in the Middle East.

Nixon's satellite, the Shah, who, incidentally, has territorial claims on all his neighbours, including the Soviet Union, is being built up into the Napoleon of the area by lavish US military aid.

In what was believed to be the biggest arms deal ever arranged by the United States defence department, it was announced in Washington in February that Iran will buy more than £800m-worth of American supersonic aircraft.

Already concluded are sales to Iran of American F-5E supersonic fighters, Hawk helicopters and jet aerial refuellers. And in addition Iran will purchase F-4 fighter bombers and C-130 cargo planes.

The Shah has left no doubt of his aim; he has stated that the oil-rich land he rules will become the most powerful military force in the Middle East and take an increasingly active role in international affairs.

Iran's current budget of £3,000m included £570m—highest in the country's history—solely for defence expenditures.

It was last November that premier Amir Abbas Hoveida obtained parliamentary approval to borrow and spend abroad a total of £216m for arms purchases. Most of this sum is being spent on air force and naval weaponry.

Recently, the Shah announced Iran's naval forces in the Gulf would be increased 'several times over' within the next two years as part of his country's far-reaching defence strategy that would stretch as far as the Indian Ocean.

Addressing Iranian naval officers on the 40th anniversary of the navy's foundation, he declared the defensive frontiers of Iran—bordered on the north by the Soviet Union, on the west by Iraq and on the east by Pakistan and Afghanistan—extended beyond the Gulf and Indian Ocean.

'Events in the world have taught us that the sea contiguous to the Gulf of Oman, and I mean the Indian Ocean, recognizes no frontiers,' the Shah said.

'We are not merely thinking of the strait of Hormoz (the narrow entry to the Gulf)... we are thinking of Iran's security perimeter and I am not speaking in terms of a few kilometres.'

# NIXON BUILDS UP SHAH'S ARMY



During the past few years Iran has spent £245m of foreign loans and credits to buy American and British arms.

And Iran became the first western-allied country to enter into an arms deal with the Soviet Union by buying £45m worth of Russian equipment.

The Soviet deal was a barter arrangement. The Russians supplied Iran with armoured troop carriers, military trucks, other vehicles and anti-aircraft guns in return for Iranian natural gas from the southern oilfields which is being piped through a trans-Iranian pipeline the Russians helped to construct.

From Britain, Iran is taking delivery of 800 Chieftain 50-ton tanks—Britain's latest and most powerful armoured weapon—equipped with the latest night-firing devices.

Iran's air force entered the supersonic age in 1965 when it took delivery of its first squadron of American-made F-5 jet fighters, which were supplemented by Hawk anti-aircraft missiles and later by several squadrons of long-

range, all-weather fighter-bombers, the F-4 Phantoms.

Among the 500 helicopters Iran is acquiring from the United States are Cobra gunships and advanced transport planes.

And Iran is now seeking laser-beam range-finders for its British-made Chieftain tanks and the all-weather British Rapier missile system. The Iranian air force is considering buying the advanced F-15 supersonic fighter now under development in the United States.

Addressing a military academy graduation class recently, the Shah promised that Iran would shop around for weapons that are 'the best we can find anywhere, short of atomic weapons'.

He warned any would-be foreign aggressor that Iran would not hesitate to use 'scorched-earth' tactics and that the Iranian armed forces would fight on to the end even against a nuclear-armed enemy.

'Even if our strength does not match that of the enemy, we prefer that our country cease to exist—that is to be

destroyed rather than surrender.'

Iran's concentration on its arms build-up comes with its assumption of Britain's former role of maintaining imperialist rule in the Gulf region and ensuring the uninterrupted shipment of oil to world markets.

More than half of the western world's oil imports flow through the Gulf and Iran's navy has been—and is being increasingly—built up and honed to a finely-edged state of readiness with destroyers, frigates, corvettes, hovercraft, landing craft and assault vessels on continuous patrol duties along the vital waterway.

A new hovercraft and helicopter naval base has been established on Kharg Island, site of the world's largest crude-oil loading terminal.

Two more fast destroyers are under construction for Iran in British shipyards and further orders have been placed for new model British Seacat missiles and Tiger-Cat ground-to-air missiles to protect ground and navy bases.

## ORDEALS OF THE CON SON PRISONERS

Prisoners released from South Vietnamese jails have told how they were held for as long as five years in the notorious 'tiger cages' built so low that the crowded prisoners could not stand up straight.

So far the Saigon government has only released 124 of the thousands of political prisoners held on the dreaded island prison of Con Son. Many of them were paralysed from the waist down as a result of their ordeal. Their crime was 'pro-communist activities', for which they were tortured and imprisoned, but never tried.

The prisoners have described how they were subjected to bestial tortures by the police and troops of the Saigon regime. The methods employed to extract 'con-

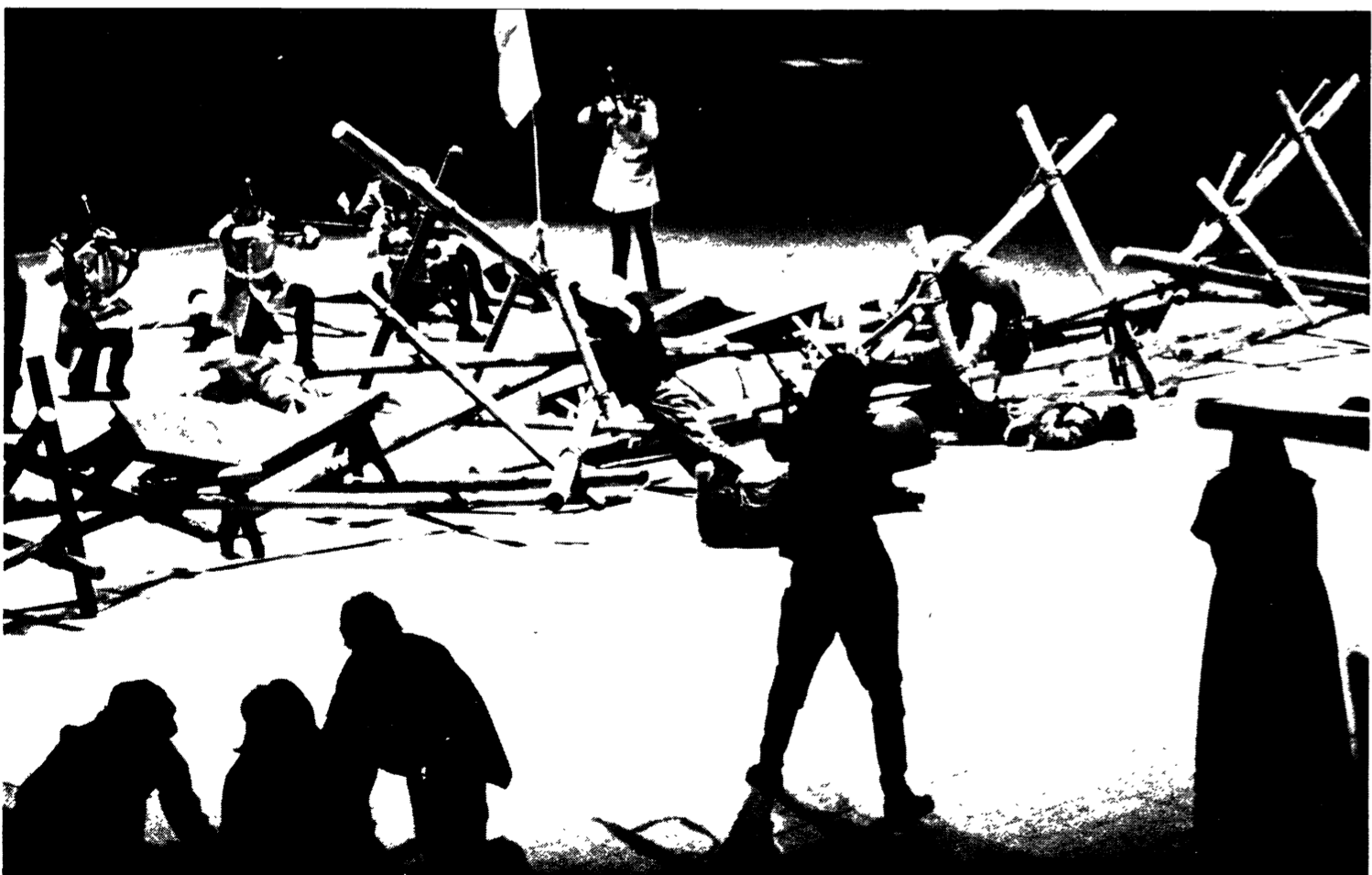
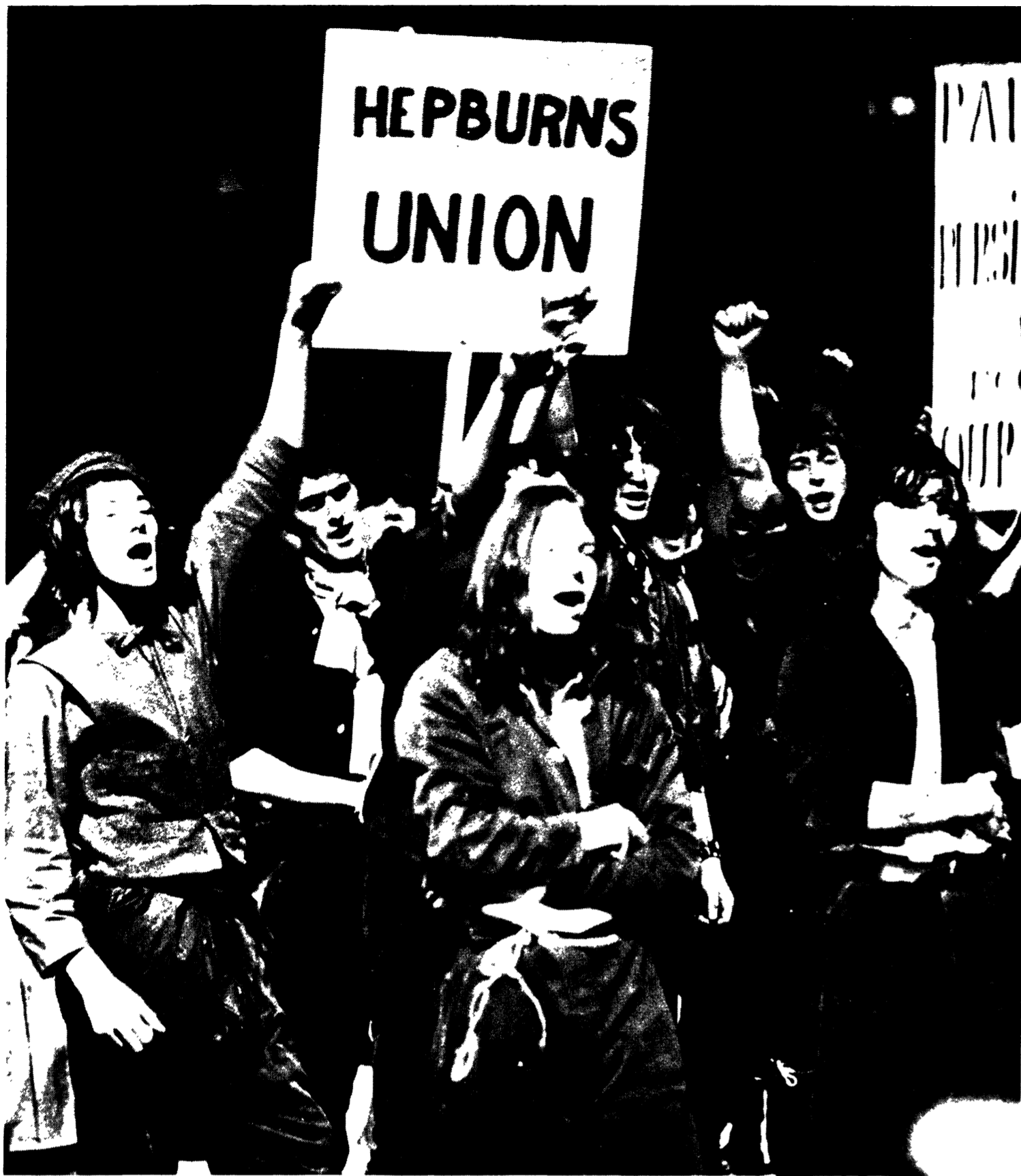
fessions' and information included the application of electrodes to tender parts of the body, hanging by the feet, finger-breaking and immersion in soapy water.

When the army used these methods, American civilian 'advisors' were always present. Children had to watch their mothers being subjected to these tortures.

The tiger cages were sunk below ground level with a grille at the top over which the guards could walk. Low and narrow, each cell held up to eight prisoners, some lying on top of the others. Many prisoners went mad and others died under this ordeal. Sadistic guards threw lime into the cells or stuck bamboo spears into the mass of helpless prisoners.

The released prisoners are determined to continue the struggle to overthrow the Thieu regime in South Vietnam.





# FORWARD TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY



The Empire Pool at Wembley was packed yesterday when the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists staged their pageant of working class history 'The Road to Workers' Power'. It was the largest rally ever staged in Britain by the Trotskyist movement and was attended by thousands of trade unionists, housewives, youth and students from all over Britain.



Left: Barricades on the streets of Paris during the May-June sit-in strikes of 1936. Inset: Chautemps, who became Prime Minister after Blum's resignation.

For the Communist Party the main thing was whether these governments would pursue a foreign policy favourable to the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy. Until the October local elections it wanted to put on a mild and reasonable face in order not to frighten middle-class voters away from Popular Front candidates.

In fact, for the Stalinists, loyalty to the alliance with the Radicals, upon which the Popular Front rested, was a basic principle. The Chautemps government of June 1937 still contained socialists, but a new government was formed under his leadership in January 1938 from which the socialists were excluded.

In April 1938, after a second, short-lived Blum government, Daladier came to power on an openly right-wing programme, including the destruction of the gains of June 1936 made by the working class.

This government ruled through decree laws and in November 1938 took on and smashed the working class in the last major struggle before the outbreak of World War II. It was to this government that Thorez offered his support in January 1939! It was this government which later illegalized the Communist Party and arrested many of its leaders.

## MISTRUSTED

In fact the very period in which the Stalinists became dominant in the French working-class movement was one of defeats. These defeats, in 1937 and 1938, resulted, in fact, in the Party becoming increasingly isolated and mistrusted by workers outside its immediate influence. This resulted from its own betrayals and from revulsion against Stalin's Moscow Trials and purges.

The period from the fall of Blum to the outbreak of World War II requires treatment in a further article to bring out the full consequences of the disastrous policies of Popular Frontism for the French working class.

Its lessons are basic to the understanding of the policy of the Communist Party today—its entry into a left coalition in the second General Election poll yesterday based on the common programme worked out in agreement with the Socialist Party and a rump of the Radical Party.

Like the Popular Front of 1936-1938, this policy is intended to hold back the working class and tie it to a policy of support for bourgeois institutions, including the Gaullist Constitution of 1958, and the protection of private property.

Like its predecessors, it is a reformist policy of betrayal and counter-revolution which opens the way for reaction.

The French Stalinists like to recall, in a highly-coloured and distorted form, the history of the Popular Front, particularly its electoral triumph and the enthusiasm generated by the reforms wrung from the employing class by the strikes.

They are less ready to follow up what happened after 1936 because this cannot be done in detail without revealing how, by saving the capitalist class in June of that year, they prepared the way for defeat after defeat.

Popular Front policies prepared the way for the victory of Franco in Spain and for World War II which, in France, resulted in the coming to power of the senile Bonapartism of Marshal Petain as a collaborator of the Nazis.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

# THE FRENCH POPULAR FRONT

## 1937: Defeats open the door to the Radicals

BY TOM KEMP

Leon Blum's social and economic measures, the hardening of the policy of the employers and the continued flight of capital and run on the franc exposed all the contradictions of reformism in 1936—only months after his Popular Front government came to power.

The cost of the reforms cut into profits already forced down by the depression. Blum hoped that he could count upon the co-operation of the capitalists. Instead they prepared to take on the working class and did everything they could to weaken his government.

He failed to take any measures to stop the flight of capital and in the latter part of 1936 prices rose rapidly. The bourgeoisie was determined to take back all the concessions which it had been obliged to make under pressure from the May-June sit-in strikes.

Blum himself took up a more openly hostile attitude towards the working class. In the Chamber of Deputies in September he attacked the renewed factory occupations. Police armed with tear gas were sent in against strikers in the 1936-1937 period.

At the 'massacre' of Clichy, police were sent in to break up an anti-fascist demonstration

with the result that five people were killed and 150 injured. This took place when the semi-fascist French Social Party (successor of Colonel De La Rocque's 'Croix de Feu' which had been made illegal) held a meeting in the heart of the working-class district of Clichy on March 15, 1937.

The workers took the meeting as a provocation and Socialist and Communist organizations in the area called for a demonstration round the hall where the meeting was to take place. About 4,000 people assembled. It was after emissaries from the Blum government had persuaded the leaders to give the order to disperse that police attacked the crowd.

## OUTCRY

Thousands more workers then came onto the streets and a pitched battle took place. The shooting down of unarmed people caused a great outcry. The demonstration was significant in showing the willingness of the working class to take on the Blum government which had sent in the police to protect the fascists.

Blum admitted that the police had been acting under orders and condemned the counter-demonstration to the fascists as a mistake. The Communist Party, which had accepted the call to dissolve the demonstration, while calling

for action against the police, did not break its Popular Front ties with the Blum government.

In fact, a few days later, when the government was under pressure from the right, that accomplished Stalinist parliamentarian, Jacques Duclos, took the initiative in proposing a vote of confidence in Blum; it was passed with full Communist Party support.

In February 1937, Blum declared a 'pause'—that is, there were to be no more social reforms or wage increases while serious measures were taken to try to boost ailing French capitalism. At the same time he assured the capitalists that there would be no exchange control and re-established the free gold market. Blum's abject capitulation before the bankers did not save him.

A conspiracy of bankers and top civil servants led to huge quantities of government bonds being thrown onto the market, creating a budgetary crisis. The government sought emergency powers to deal with the crisis; these were accorded by the Chamber of Deputies but rejected in the Senate. As a result, Blum resigned and Chautemps took his place. The initiative had passed to the Radicals.

Blum's abject capitulation to the financiers and civil servants was typical of his reformist position. He had hoped, and failed, to win the capitalists to support his policy.



# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## TEACHERS' PR

In the action by London teachers for a better allowance the union leadership is leading the strikers precisely nowhere, because they refuse to take up a fight against the Tory government.

Now we learn that the National Union of Teachers' executive has decided to retain the plush advertising agency **KMP Partnership**. For a vast fee these PR boys are hoping to give the teachers' fight 'a good image' by buying space in newspapers.

KMP is doing very well profit-wise these days. It has just received a £400,000 contract to help recruit officers into the Royal Navy.

## A SUCCESS



Reginald Maudling: no success

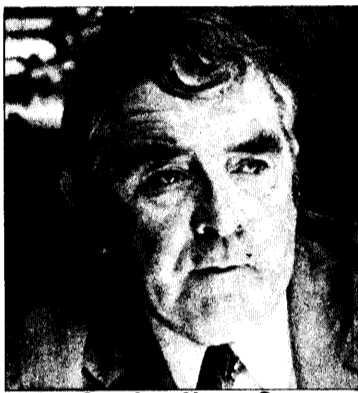
Appearing on the BBC 'Mid-week' programme to discuss the Budget was Reginald Maudling, the former Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer and ex-Home Secretary.

Maudling waffled on for half an hour about his masterly plan to 'save' the country's finance. Nobody pointed out, however, that Maudling's own business exploits have been less than successful.

He was chairman and director of several companies run by John Poulson, the Yorkshire architect. Poulson went bankrupt.

He was also first president of the Liberian-based Real Estate Fund of America. This outfit also later went bust, leaving a stream of creditors all round the world.

## FAREWELL



Joe Gormley. Above: Cooper

After the Special Congress of the TUC last week the worthy leaders of the trade union movement marched off to the luxurious Grosvenor House Hotel in Mayfair.

They were saying farewell to that notorious right-winger Lord Cooper, former general secretary of the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

The 400 bureaucrats temporarily suspended their 'fight' against the state pay laws and tucked in to a magnificent meal. It began with trout mousse and was followed by baron of beef. This was washed down by goblets of Niersteiner Domthall 1970 and Mouton Cadet 1967.

The array of guests, including Vic Feather, Joe Gormley (earlier in the day he was calling for a General Strike), Jack Jones, Tom Jackson, Harold Wilson and James Callaghan, then relaxed to watch a cabaret presented by Brenda Ross's Vitality Girls.

When they left late into the evening there is reported not to have been much vitality among the guests!

A massive 'purge' of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union taking the form of an exchange of Party cards began on March 1.

The operation, involving 14.5 million card-holding members, will not be completed until sometime next year. Its object is to carry through a comb-out of the Party ranks and remove all those showing any critical tendencies.

Thousands of members are expected to be weeded out for breaches of Party discipline, for loose moral behaviour or simply for taking insufficient interest in Party life. The growing economic difficulties which the Soviet Union is experiencing throw increasing responsibility on Party members.

Far from showing dedication and enthusiasm, many members, in the atmosphere of corruption generated by the rule of the bureaucracy, are only interested in advancing their own interests. While the bureaucracy as a whole jealously upholds its privileges, it intends to do so in an orderly way.

Too blatant examples of graft and corruption, of moral laxity and drunkenness or simple indifference to the tasks in hand gives the bureaucracy as a whole a bad name. Speaking on its behalf, Party secretary Leonid Brezhnev said: 'We must not allow a conciliatory attitude to those who misbehave. The Party cleanses its ranks of those who violate the rules.'

In some parts of the Soviet Union, such as Azerbaijan and Georgia, recent revelations have shown that rules have been violated by the most highly-placed officials of the Party and state. The poor grain and potato harvests and the slowing down of economic growth are not a matter of accident. There is obvious mismanagement, gross neglect and incompetence against which the bureaucracy has to act.

The older Soviet citizens remember the bloody purges of Stalin's day when a whisper from a GPU informer was sufficient to send the most loyal Party member to a labour camp or to his death. The younger generation has heard the stories of those terrible times or have had the few surviving members pointed out to them.

Stress is laid on the fact that this time the purge will be bloodless. Delinquents are likely to face no worse punish-

# BREZHNEV PURGES THE PARTY RANKS



Communist Party chief, Leonid Brezhnev: 'The Party cleanses its ranks of those who violate the rules.'

ment than expulsion from the Party and demotion in their jobs.

At the same time more emphasis will be placed upon loyalty to the present Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership. The last card exchange, in 1954, was intended mainly to weed out the hard-line supporters of Stalin in the period immediately after his death.

It is significant that the bureaucracy now feels it necessary to launch a public campaign against the more corrupt elements in its own ranks, particularly those in the

lower echelons whose misdeeds cannot be concealed from the working class.

The examples of the Czech Communist Party in 1968 showed the danger of so-called 'liberal' trends within the Party itself. After the Warsaw Pact invasion of August 1968, over 250,000 members were purged.

No doubt the present card exchange will not be so drastic; it is clearly a precautionary measure as the bureaucracy senses the tremors of the forthcoming political revolution in eastern Europe.



## A FRIEND OF STALIN

The period in the 1930s when Stalin tried to win the friendship of the fascist dictator of Italy, Benito Mussolini, are recalled in the autobiography of the famous Soviet aircraft designer, Alexander Yakovlev. A number of friendly exchanges took place between Soviet flyers and the air force of fascist Italy.

Back in 1933 a flight of Italian Savoia-Marchetti seaplanes visited the Soviet Union led by one of Mussolini's

favourites, General Italo Balbo. In return, Stalin despatched three of the latest Soviet bombers to tour Italy.

Yakovlev was one of the aircrew and this is how he described the scene when the planes arrived at Ciampino Airfield, Rome:

'... a brilliant throng had gathered to welcome us, among them representatives of the high command of the Italian air force, generals and officers in dress uniform, members of the diplomatic corps, and members of the Soviet embassy staff, headed by Ambassador V. P. Putyomkin. A guard of honour stood at attention and the band played the "International".'

Although Yakovlev assessed the strength and weaknesses of Italian aviation with an expert eye, he expressed no surprise that he should have been sent to hob-nob with Mussolini's air force chiefs. In 1935 he went to Italy again at his own request when the Soviet Union exhibited at an international air show in Milan. The sight-seeing had pleased him on the previous trip.

Apparently he did not spare a thought for the Italian communist leader Antonio Gramsci, slowly dying in one of Mussolini's jails, nor for the

thousands of workers imprisoned and terrorized by the fascist regime. Nor, of course, did Yakovlev's boss, Josef Stalin, who was out to cultivate Mussolini's friendship.

By the time of this visit, Mussolini's flyers were exultantly dropping high-explosive bombs and poison gas on the Abyssinians. Yakovlev mentions, without comment, that the aircraft plants were buzzing with activity, but he noted that they were turning out models designed four or five years before.

When he tackled Caproni, one of the bosses of the Italian aircraft industry, about this, he was told cynically: 'The war with Abyssinia does not call for later models. So why should we incur additional costs?'

Again Yakovlev makes no comment on this, nor does he mention the fact that many Italian planes were fuelled with aviation spirit provided by the Soviet Union.

A year or two later, during the Moscow Trials, Stalin tried to prove that Trotskyists and the old Bolsheviks had been plotting with the fascist powers. Yakovlev, in his naive way, reveals that the real plotter was Stalin himself who did everything to win Mussolini's goodwill.

## POLITICAL PROFILES

By LEON TROTSKY  
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Sharp pen-portraits of leading figures of the Second International in Russia and Europe, for the first time published in an English edition. The translations were first commissioned by the Young Socialists' paper 'Keep Left' Their enormous success has led to the completion of the translation of the whole book, which is the first part of Volume 8 of Leon Trotsky's 'Works' published in the Soviet Union in 1926. It provides the most vivid picture available of the historic figures of the Second International, their strengths and weaknesses, written by an observer who was also a participant in the daily struggle of the European and Russian working class.



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# ROCKWARE CLOSURE: THERE'LL BE NO 'CHANGE OF MIND'

Engineers in West London want their union leaders to organize for a complete stoppage in the £12.3m Rockware glass group, to prevent closure of its Greenford, Middlesex, works.

The Acton No 4 branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has written to the union's district committee and national executive urging them to make contact with other unions about a stoppage.

Serious concern is expressed in a resolution—carried unanimously at a recent branch meeting—about the spate of closures which have already occurred in the South-all area.

Hard by the Rockware works is site of the old Westland Helicopter factory, taken over and closed a year ago by Slater Walker Securities, which is now preparing to redevelop the site.

Slater also has the largest single holding in Barclay Securities, which is currently planning to rationalize Shepperton film studios in Middlesex and redevelop about 40 acres of a 60-acre lot.

Recently, Slater has been buying Rockware shares.

Rockware, whose 35-acre site at Greenford has a book value of £3.5m, stands to make a huge capital gain on the property market by closing the factory.

At current market prices the site is worth £10m.

The company wants to shut up shop in 12 months' time, making 900 men redundant.

But the workers have said they will take any action necessary to keep the factory open, including a sit-in strike. They have contacted the four other factories in the group to inform them of their plans.

Already the workers have staged a 24-hour token strike against closure, but their leaders say that for the moment their main emphasis is on changing the company's mind.

Rockware has never been persuaded yet to change its mind about a closure.

Three years ago, under a Labour government, the group shut down its Garston, Liverpool, bottle works, despite rising productivity and union officials' eager collaboration with speed-up deals.

Some 950 jobs were lost at Garston despite the complaints of these same officials about 'lack of consultation'. With a Tory government in power, the Greenford workers clearly have an even sharper fight on their hands.

The group, whose chairman, Peter Parker, draws £16,752 a year as compared with the average £1,575 wage of his 7,753 employees, make regular donations to organizations which back the Tory Party.

In both 1970 and 1971 it gave 1,000 to British United Industrialists and £300 to the witch-hunting Economic League.



Lord Hailsham, decided to purchase Bilsborrow Hall for the Judges' lodgings at a mere £100,000.

# HOW DO THE TORIES SPEND OUR MONEY?

**BY CHARLES PARKINS**  
With the Tory government freezing wages, in the name of 'halting inflation', it is only natural that people should keep a keen eye on just how the government itself spends money.

So when it was learnt that £100,000 was being spent to provide lodgings for two near Preston, trade unionists and local councillors in Lancashire started to ask questions.

Questions were also asked in the House of Commons. And to confirm the suspicion that something was wrong, it has been disclosed that the government is paying more than twice the value that was originally put on the property concerned—for a building that many see as totally unnecessary.

Lord Hailsham, the one-time candidate for Tory leadership, who is Lord Chancellor, decided that Bilsborrow Hall, between Preston and Garstang, should be purchased as Judges' Lodgings, to be made available for when High Court hearings at the Lancashire Crown Court are transferred to Preston.

## QUESTIONED

Until now, the hearings have been held at Lancaster. The Judges' Lodgings have been in a fine old house standing beneath the walls of Lancaster Castle. It was argued in favour of the move that, to be near the new court, new lodgings were needed.

This has been questioned by a number of people. Lancaster's Town Clerk, among them, has pointed out that the judges could continue to stay at Lancaster and be driven to the court on the motorway in practically the same time as it will take to drive from Bilsborrow Hall.

The police, who are responsible for the transport arrangements, say it would present no difficulties to do this. And, just in case any of our readers are worried about M'Lud's comfort, it is reported that they have always found the Lancaster accommodation quite satisfactory.

Lancaster Trades Council last month passed a resolution from, UCATT, the builders' union, attacking the Bilsborrow Hall plan as a waste of public money. Building workers' delegate Dave Barnes said that the money being spent on the new Judges' Lodgings could have gone on schools and

nurseries in the area.

Certainly £100,000 is considerable. In reply to questions from Miss Mary Holt, Tory MP for Preston North, the under-Secretary for the Environment, Mr Reginald Eyre, disclosed:

'The figure, being the open market value assessed as for compulsory purchase at November 1972, was £40,000.'

Two other cases occurred last year where the Exchequer agreed to pay out more than the value placed on property—one contract was for 5,600 sq yds at Crosby Road, Northallerton, the other concerned land at Crawley Hill, Camberley.

One added attraction, perhaps, for the judges to have digs at Bilsborrow, is that the Hall has been honoured by another exalted guest—the then Tory Prime Minister Harold Macmillan stayed there in 1959.

At that time the owner was one John Barton-Townley. His family name adorns a car showroom in Lancaster, where the family once owned the Bailrigg Manor hall and estate, sold to Lancaster city council in 1961, to provide the university site.

Sir John—he was knighted in 1960—is vice-chairman of the Northern Commercial Vehicles Group, and chairman of Alfresco Garages, a Bradford firm.

Since 1951, he has been chairman of Preston Conservative Association Finance Committee and, since 1958, chairman of the Preston North constituency Conservative Association.

A few years ago, however, Bilsborrow Hall changed hands. The new owner was John E. Hensher, director of Leylux, a Chorley upholstered furniture firm established in 1966, which is a subsidiary of Hensher (Furniture Traders) Ltd., a combine with a number of companies in London and elsewhere, including one in Barbados.

## £153,834

The £100,000 paid to Hensher for Bilsborrow Hall represents quite a handsome profit on the property.

It is not the end of public expenditure on this project, either. To make Bilsborrow Hall suitable accommodation for two judges, a further £50,000 will be spent on it.

Added to this, £3,834 is to be spent on furniture and furnishings.

The total of public money to be spent on lodgings for two judges, therefore, is £153,834.

That is, providing it is only for two. To accommodate a third judge, the government envisages that it will be necessary to build an extension, at £60,000.

This is the government that has taken milk away from school children, instructed Social Security officials to tighten up on the unemployed, and is refusing pay increases to hospital workers, civil servants and gasmen.

But quite clearly, it is unfair to call the Tories tight-fisted. At Bilsborrow Hall they have been quite free with the taxpayers' money.



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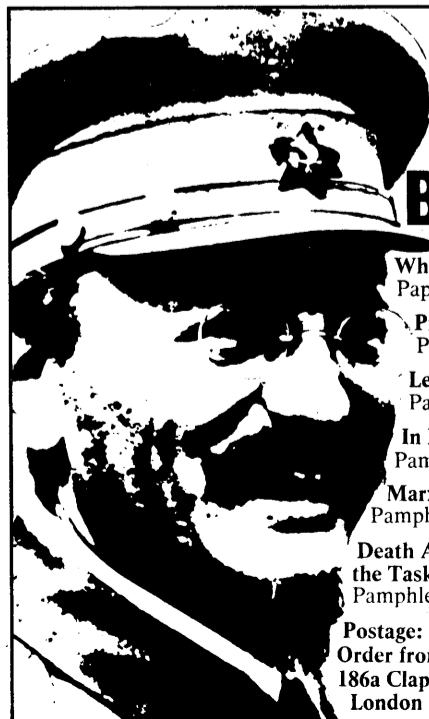
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Chiefs denounce anti-union witch-hunt

JOHN PEYTON, Minister of Transport, is the latest government minister to attempt to whip up middle-class anger against the strikers who are resisting the state control of wages.

Peyton used the rail stoppages this week to try to turn people's frustration into a political campaign against 'those who have been ready to wield the big stick'.

The Tories are bound to wage a propaganda offensive against strikers anyway, but Workers Press has asked trade union leaders whether one-day strikes and other partial stoppages do not play into Peyton's hands by being an irritant rather than a decisive challenge to the government's policies which the middle class could rally to.

BILL KENDALL (civil servants): 'I think a lack of decisive action by the trade union movement does play into the hands of people like Peyton.'

'I would have much preferred the special Congress to adopt our suggestion of all-out selective strikes in key areas rather than the one-day national stoppage proposed by the T&GWU.'

'Peyton's remarks are nothing new. There has been a steady build-up to this propaganda campaign. The media have been carrying out the Tory government's work very nobly and it will have an impact, especially where there are one-day strikes which are not directly connected with specific economic demands.'

'I wouldn't rule out one-day strikes altogether, but I still prefer all-out selective stoppages and we shall proceed that way.'

'But the TUC should certainly act decisively on the Congress decision for a 24-hour General Strike. If they do not follow this up quickly, it will be a failure.'

RAY BUCKTON (train drivers): 'It was unstatesmanlike for Peyton to make a statement like this. It will incite the public to make attacks on men who are struggling for their just rights. It could lead to dangerous incidents.'

'If the public want to take action, they should talk to those responsible for the inconvenience - British Rail.'

'But if the public are incited to make physical attacks on the men taking the industrial action, this would definitely alter the



ASLEF'S RAY BUCKTON

railwaymen's opinions about what sort of action was appropriate. Such attacks would make the men step up the strike action.'

BERNARD DIX (hospital workers): 'If there was nothing but one-day strikes, these could be used by the government as a provocation. The government might welcome them because they irritate the middle class.'

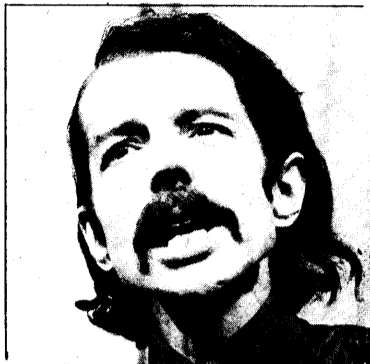
'But in our own industry, the one-day stoppages have only been used to supplement the "hard front" of all-out strikes elsewhere.'

'It is the long-term stoppages which are closing the hospitals. One-day strikes as isolated incidents are merely a demonstration protest. Our one on December 13 was to test the determination of our members.'

'As for the government attacks on the strikers, we didn't expect anything else. But we have noticed that the media and the Ministers have not attacked

Emergencies law research

RESEARCH into laws controlling emergencies is to be launched by the British Institute of Human Rights. The Institute, which held its inaugural meeting last November, is raising funds for the project. One of its main participants is Lord Gardiner, a right-wing Labourite and ex-Lord Chancellor. Gardiner served on the commission which white-washed army and police torture in Northern Ireland.



NUPE's Bernard Dix

us directly. They have always hidden in a cowardly way behind the words of some consultant surgeon or other.'

Teachers union spokesman: 'If anyone tries to say that the teachers' off-on strikes are driving the public mad, we will

answer that the government has the remedy at hand: to allow the employers to pay us the £200 London allowance they want to.'

'We are only taking action in London where the government has been particularly mean and dishonest. So far, we have kept the public's support.'

'We think that if the government tried to whip up public hostility to our strikes, it would be counter-productive. So far, the newspapers have had the sense not to attack us. Ted Short has attacked us, but not Margaret Thatcher.'

'And our members have made no complaints about the gasworkers' strikes which are now having quite a considerable effect on schools with some already closed for three weeks.'

'We recognize that because they are public sector workers, the gasmen have the same problems as we do.'

KEEP LEFT OFFICIAL WEEKLY PAPER OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

From Wembley Pageant all out for Blackpool

Young Socialists 13th Annual Conference Blackpool April 14/15 1973



YOUNG SOCIALISTS have made big plans for the most decisive annual conference on Saturday and Sunday April 14 and 15. YS members and supporters from all parts of the country will meet in Blackpool to discuss plans to build a mass revolutionary youth movement. High on the agenda at this important conference will be the discussion on plans to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party. Young people who have campaigned for the

Pageant of History at Empire Pool, Wembley, will play a prominent part in the preparation for this conference. Over 250 resolutions concerning all the main political issues have already been submitted by YS branches. They will form the basis of the discussion at Blackpool. Visitors are welcome. The conference is being organized to bring the maximum number of young people together to discuss a programme of forcing the Tory government to resign and electing a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. Coaches and trains will leave for Blackpool from all parts of the country. Delegates and visitors will be expected to arrive on Saturday morning. The conference will start at 2.00 pm. at the Winter Gardens and will be followed in the evening by a dance to the "Ducks de Luxe" group. Accommodation for Saturday night will be arranged in Blackpool's hotels and the conference will start again on Sunday morning. This session will feature a discussion on international struggles of youth. Foreign delegations are expected to attend. All delegates and visitors will return on Sunday night. The total cost of tickets for the conference is approximately £4.75 each including bed, breakfast and fares. We appeal to all young people to come forward now and sign up for this major conference. Fill in the form on page 11 and post it today!

Defend basic democratic rights \* Make the Tory government resign \* Forward to the revolutionary party



YOUNG SOCIALISTS SPELL OUT THE NEXT STEP

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Fight rising rents and prices. Defend basic democratic rights. Force the Tories to resign. ACTON: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road, W.3. WANDSWORTH: Monday March 12, 8 p.m. 'King's Arms', High Street, S.W.18. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'. HARROW: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Harrow and Wealdstone. 'The fight against Stalinism'. Tooting: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. Selkirk Hotel, Selkirk Road, Tooting Broadway. 'Forward to the Revolutionary Party'. CLAPHAM: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, S.W.4. CAMDEN: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross. PADDINGTON: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. 'Prince of Wales', corner of Harrow Road and Great Western Road. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'. HOLLOWAY: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road. WALTHAMSTOW: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m. Royston Arms, Chingford Road, E.4. CROYDON: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. BASILDON: Sunday March 18, 5.30 p.m. Barnstaple Community Centre.

BBC 1 9.38 Schools. 12.25 Dwy ystafell. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Woodentops. 1.45 Pets and vets. 2.05 Schools. 4.00 Pixie and Dixie. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Blue Peter. 5.15 Yao. 5.40 Sir Prancelot. 5.45 News. Weather. 6.00 NATIONWIDE. 6.45 TOP OF THE FORM. 7.10 STAR TREK. Mirror Mirror. 8.00 PANORAMA. The Cost of Eating. 9.00 NEWS. Weather. 9.25 PLAY FOR TODAY. 'Hard Labour'. Devised and directed by Mike Leigh. 10.35 COME DANCING. 11.10 LATE NIGHT NEWS. 11.15 OPERA IN REHEARSAL. Act 2 of Mozart's 'Marriage of Figaro'. 11.40 Weather.

ITV 9.30 Schools. 10.33 World War I (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Hickory house. 12.25 Alice through the looking glass. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Mr and Mrs. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'Young and Eager'. Diane McBain, Arthur Kennedy. 4.25 Pardon my genie. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 Lollipop loves Mr Mole. 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY. 6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS! CORONATION STREET. 7.30 WORLD IN ACTION. 8.00 BLESS THIS HOUSE. Watch the Birdie. 9.00 THE RIVALS OF SHERLOCK HOLMES. The Superfluous Financier. 10.00 NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 THE WILD, WILD WEST. The Night of the Plague. 11.30 DRIVE-IN. 12.00 WORLD WAR I. 12.25 WE SHALL OVERCOME. Ram John Holder sings.

BBC 2 11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open University. 7.05 PARENTS AND CHILDREN. Parents Talk Back. 7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather. 7.35 LOOK, STRANGER. Man of Letters. 8.00 ALIAS SMITH AND JONES. The Bounty Hunter. 8.55 CALL MY BLUFF. 9.25 SHOW OF THE WEEK. Dave Allen. 10.10 SPECIALISTS IN MURDER. Accessory After the Fact. The Setty Murder. 11.00 OPINION. 11.15 NEWS EXTRA. Weather.

REGIONAL TV CHANNEL: 9.30-11.52 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.00 Schools. 2.25 Film: 'Twice Round the Daffodils'. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Maverick. 6.45 London. 10.33 Boots Randolph. 11.30 Country girl. 11.50 News, weather. WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 4.20 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 6.35 Date with Danton. 10.30 News. 11.55 Faith for life. SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.00 Schools. 2.10 Cartoon. 3.00 Film: 'Cargo to Capetown'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.40 London. 10.30 Deals in wheels. 11.00 News. 11.05 Theatre. 12.00 Farm progress. 12.25 Weather. Guideline. HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 Film: 'The Immortal'. 4.25 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Haunting'. 12.30 Weather. HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 6.01-6.22 Y dydd. 8.00 Yr wythnos.

HTV West as above except: 6.22-6.45 This is the West this week. ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 Marcus Welby MD. 3.55 Romper room. 4.22 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Russel Hart. 11.30 London. 12.00 Big question. ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.00 Guide. 12.05 London. 3.00 Film: 'In the Doghouse'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 Stories. Weather. ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.33 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 Film: 'Ha'penny'. 4.22 News. 4.25 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.40 Film: 'A Summer Place'. YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 3.00 Film: 'The Mouse That Roared'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.50 Yoga. 12.15 Ugliest girl in town. 12.40 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 12.00 Songs. 12.05 London. 2.30 Film: 'Beyond Mombasa'. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Eight weeks in the life of a car park. 11.25 Theatre macabre. TYNE TEES: 9.25 Only a dream. 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Galloping gourmet. 3.00 Film: 'Trouble Brewing'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Face the Press 11.00 Name of the game. 12.25 News. 12.40 Lectern. SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 Film: 'Ten Wanted Men'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Cartoons. 6.45 London 10.30 Late call. 10.35 Dragon and the lion. 11.20 Quentin Durgens. GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 3.05 News. 3.08 Film: 'Charley's Big Hearted Aunt'. 4.25 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Royal clansmen. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Name of the game. 12.35 Meditation.

# Markets closure hastens trade collapse

BY JOHN SPENCER

**COMMON MARKET Ministers and central bankers held another round of consultations in Brussels yesterday following Friday's failure to find a basis for agreement on crisis measures to meet the collapse of the monetary system.**

The foreign exchange markets are to remain closed all week with severe effects on trade and international commerce.

Closure of the exchanges means traders will have great difficulty buying the foreign currency they need to meet obligations to overseas creditors.

It also gives rise to great uncertainty because no one can predict from day to day what will be the exchange rate between any two currencies.

Central banks are no longer intervening to support the exchange rates of their own currencies and the rates are fluctuating wildly.

The United States delegation at the Paris meeting on Friday made it clear they would do nothing to assist the Europeans by taking back the vast amounts of surplus paper dollars in Europe.

George Schultz, the US Treasury Secretary, said that before considering any action he needed to know what system he was supposed to be defending and where he was supposed to get the money to intervene in currency markets.

The EEC countries are now fighting among themselves to determine which country will bear the brunt of the crisis. The French and German representatives will be determined to force the Tory government to refix sterling at the highest possible parity.

Despite the impressive list of conditions produced by Chancellor Anthony Barber, who virtually asked his 'partners' to

write out a blank cheque for British imperialism, the Tory government has no option but to accept the Franco-German demands.

This is certain to lead to an immediate escalation of the cost of living in Britain, making further big inroads into the living standards of the workers and their families.

The American government is getting ready to impose penal sanctions on countries which accumulate too many dollars in their reserves, thus adding to the American payments deficit.

In effect these countries are creditors of the United States, having accepted its paper in return for their goods and services. But they are to get precious little thanks.

According to a top-level congressional document rushed out to Washington reporters on the eve of the Friday meeting, the new Trade Bill will give Nixon powers to impose import surcharges against 'any countries that refuse to make or frustrate exchange rate adjustments necessary to eliminate the United States external deficit'.

# Embassy raiders may face death

BY IAN YEATS

**SUDAN president Jafaar Numeiry seems to be moving closer to executing the eight Black Septembrists who surrendered last week after the shooting of two American diplomats.**

Crowds of workers marched on his palace at the weekend shouting 'execution for the commandos' and 'traitor Yasser Arafat'.

The carefully - orchestrated demonstration has almost certainly provided Numeiry with the excuse he was looking for to take tough action against the Palestinians.

The campaign has been building up for some days beginning

with the blaming of Al Fatah's Khartoum leader Abu Fawaz.

Numeiry thus becomes the first major Arab leader to link Black September with Al Fatah.

But in allowing himself to be used openly as a tool of American imperialism in the Middle East Numeiry is likely to run into trouble from his former Arab allies.

With the sole exception of Jordan all the Arab states give varying degrees of support to the Palestinian cause.

Numeiry is already trying to throw the blame for what happened last week onto his neighbours but if he goes ahead with the execution of the eight 'terrorists' he will have to weigh very carefully the value of continued good relations with other Arab states.

# Anti-picket squad used against Hull dockers

**THIS IS the ugly scene which developed outside Barchard's timber wharf, Hull, last Friday when the local police 'heavy mob' went into action.**

About 1,000 local dockers took the day off to picket Barchard's where unregistered labour was being used to unload timber cargo.

During the morning regular local police marched away and were replaced by an inter-county group of police who have been specially trained for anti-picket duties.

The squad was set up in the wake of last year's confrontation between police and dockers at the Neap House Wharf.

The two battalions of dockers and police faced each other for most of the morning in a tense situation. Dockers discovered that drainpipes had been covered in grease to prevent any attempt to climb into the wharf over the roof.



A serious confrontation was avoided when management backed down and told shop stewards' leader, Walter Cunningham, that no further unloading would take place.

The use of the 500-strong

anti-picket squad must be a warning to dockers, miners and other sections of workers fighting the Tory government and its pay laws.

Secretly and without the consent of parliament, the police have formed their riot

squads. They have also been armed.

These developments reflect the worsening crisis of British capitalism. They mean that the Tories are preparing for class war on the most violent scale.

## 2,000 march for family allowance rise

ONE aspect of Saturday's Women's Liberation march through London largely ignored by the Tory press was the reason for it. Instead they chose to concentrate on a punch-up between 200 women and police at Trafalgar Square Post Office.

But all the usual Women's Lib slogans aside, the 2,000-strong demonstration did have its serious aspect.

The march was called to protest against the Tory government's plan to replace family allowances with a tax-credit system. A spokesman said, 'Family Allowance is a statutory right based on the Family Allowance Act of 1945. But a tax-credit allowance can be changed with every budget and taken away by degrees until there is nothing left'.

The demonstrators were demanding an increased statutory family allowance to be given to every mother for every child and tax-free maternity allowances.

BY ROYSTON BULL

**ROY JENKINS, with varying degrees of support from Shadow Cabinet members Reg Prentice, Shirley Williams, Jim Callaghan, and others, is preparing to split the Parliamentary Labour Party from its remaining links with the trade union movement.**

Jenkins, with 100-per-cent support from the media and the ruling class, is out to immobilize the labour movement in the revolutionary struggle that lies ahead by forming a coalition with the Tories, either by taking the official Labour Party with him or by splitting the movement and forming a separate Centre Party.

The economic and political crisis is steadily bringing to a head all the contradictions within the Labour Party.

The confrontation the Tory government is preparing with the labour movement has already forced the TUC to call a special congress.

The crisis in the leadership of the Labour Party is just as acute, and a special Party conference is necessary to enable the movement to reorientate to the rapidly changing political and economic developments.

The essential tasks for such a government must be:

- TO UNITE the whole labour movement behind the struggles of workers fighting the pay laws, rent increases, rising prices and the general onslaught on basic rights, launched by the Tories so that they can coerce the working class to bear the burden of uncontrollable inflation.

- TO ADOPT a policy to meet the rapidly developing economic crisis.

- TO CLEAR OUT of the movement all the traitors like Jenkins and Prentice, who have not the slightest intention of standing with the working class

in the struggle ahead; who have in fact already decided to back capitalism in any revolutionary confrontation.

The Labour Party has already, under Wilson's leadership, stabbed in the back workers in struggle against pay laws by condemning their strikes.

Jenkins, in his weekend speech, fired the first shots in the campaign to completely break up the labour movement.

He blamed militant workers for the decay and crisis for which capitalism itself is responsible because of its inherent insoluble contradictions.

'Are we seeking salvation through catastrophe? Do we seek improvement or smash?'

'The number of people who are prepared to put the country through the needless misery of complete national failure are a tiny minority.'

Even the most right-wing Tory is not so brazen as to deny that world inflation and the break-up of the currency system exists

independently of what militant trade unionists do in Britain. Not so Jenkins.

He goes further. 'If chaos did come and threaten our democratic institutions, I have little doubt that it would be the far right rather than the left who would be the beneficiaries.'

In other words, if the crisis results in a crash greater than 1929 and fascism is again wheeled in by the capitalists to get them through the chaos, Jenkins is ready to tell the workers it is their own fault.

If these tendencies are not kicked out of the movement, along with MPs like Faulds and Crawshaw who sponsored the near-Tory Taverne, Jenkins' collaborator who lost Labour the seat at Lincoln, then betrayals worse than that of MacDonald in the 1930s are in store.

Union leaders like Jack Jones must be forced by their members to step onto the political arena and demand either that the Labour Party support the working class or that the leadership be changed immediately.