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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

MINERS TRAPPED IN PIT

From Stephen Johns at Lofthouse colliery

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They said there was no indication that the water level was dropping and that the colliery road leading to the disaster area was completely submerged.

They did reveal, however, that miners at the colliery had no idea that they were working so close to such a lethal quantity of flood water.

Coal Board. There are detailed charts of these at each area headquarters.

One miner told Workers Press yesterday: 'They work as close as they dare go to the old shafts and then seal them off.'

DROWNINGS 'RARE'

'Recently we had to leave a great seam of coal when we got too close to water. We could hear it bubbling behind the coal.'

A NCB spokesman on duty at Lofthouse yesterday said: 'We knew that there were old shafts in the vicinity but we did not know their whereabouts until a hole appeared in a farmers' field this morning.'

He said: 'No abnormal reports have come in so far. We've heard nothing about running water though Lofthouse, like all collieries, suffers from nuisance water.'

An NCB spokesman in London said pit drownings were 'very rare, very rare indeed'. He could offer no explanation for how the NCB had 'overlooked' the existence of the disused shaft which was filled with tons of water and sludge.

The 10-man team took the first big pump down the colliery and late yesterday water was being removed from the pit bottom. A special aqua rescue team was standing by.

On hand, ambulances—with their grim threat of tragedy.

The atmosphere in Outwood, the small mining community nearby Lofthouse, was tense and silent.

Groups of miners waited outside the colliery for news of the men.

The NCB and the National Union of Mineworkers have asked eye-witnesses not to talk to the Press about the disaster which is the first serious one in the colliery's 90-year history.

The flood waters swept into the colliery at 2.30 a.m. with such tremendous force that coal moving equipment and seven electric panels weighing over 2cwt were ripped from their mountings.

The only chance for the men now is the possibility that they have taken refuge in an air pocket.

But this is a slender hope.



The tense faces of young rescue workers shortly before the unsuccessful first search.

DETAILED CHARTS

The question that must be immediately answered is how did the miners come to be working so near to the old waterlogged shaft?

When the industry was nationalized in 1947 all drawings and maps of old workings were passed onto the National



The human cost of coal

'IN THIS JOB you run the risk of being buried alive, blown up, burnt alive, gassed, suffocated or drowned,' Brian Lavery, a north Yorkshire miner said yesterday.

'The men working this seam would have been receiving the top underground rate—£34.10 a week. That's the top pay.'

Yesterday's disaster comes on the eve of a ballot to decide national strike action to improve wages and conditions. Under the Tory state pay controls they have been limited by law to £2.60 more a week in reply to their £5 to £7 claim.

Already Yorkshire, South Wales, Lancashire and Kent areas have recommended near-unanimously for all-out strike action.

Output and proceeds from the coalmining industry have shot up in recent years while wages have fallen behind the cost of living; at the same

time death, disease and injury continue to claim their victims.

The latest figures for death, disease and injury (for the 1970-1971 year) show that 92 miners were killed and 598 seriously injured. 773 new cases of the killer disease pneumoconiosis were reported.

The Chief Inspector of Mines, in his report for 1970, stated: 'There is little comfort to be drawn from the figures of recent years and it is apparent that widespread mechanisation has slowed down the decline in pneumoconiosis. Dust-suppression measures have not kept pace with production techniques.'

More than 3,150 cases of disease other than pneumoconiosis were reported. These include dermatitis, beat hand, beat knee, beat elbow, inflammation of the wrist and nystagmus (an eye condition).

After last year's strike output rose to over 2.6 million tons a week and output per man-shift reached an all-time high of 46cwt overall.

workers press

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US wage controls stay until 1974

BY JOHN SPENCER

WAGE CONTROLS introduced in the United States in August 1971 will continue for another year following ratification of further presidential powers by the Senate in Washington.

President Nixon's current wage controls, involving a statutory limit of 5.5 per cent on wage increases, rigorously enforced by a Pay Board, can now continue to operate until April 1, 1974.

This has been achieved as a result of the president's successful courtship of the trade union leaders who have deliberately held back the strength of the organized working class.

In return for lucrative positions in the administration and the promise of draconian protectionist legislation against the import of foreign produce into the US, the union leaders have accepted Nixon's policy.

This is despite the colossal increases in prices, particularly of food and housing, over the past period. Food prices are

currently rising at an annual rate of 56 per cent, according to figures produced by Connecticut senator Abraham Ribicoff.

Ribicoff introduced a measure calling for a freeze on prices of all raw farm products and meat, starting March 1. But Nixon has reaffirmed his opposition to any freeze of farm prices or controls over the cost of food in the supermarkets.

The Administration claims that it has taken all necessary steps to deal with the prices situation. According to the stooge presidential committee on food, 'retail food prices should begin to level off after

mid-year and the rate of increase may be near-zero by the end of the year'.

This pious hope will be no consolation to millions of workers watching their wage packets shrink every day as food prices rise. These same people were hit earlier this year by the steep rise in rents as the government lifted all controls over rents.

Now that rents have been raised all round the cynical Nixon administration is talking about the reintroduction of some rent controls as if this were a major blow against the rising cost of living.

Nixon graft

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

CLOSE TIES between the American secret service, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the giant International Tele-

phone and Telegraph Corporation, which formerly partly-owned the telephone service in Chile, have been revealed by a Congressional committee in Washington.

A vice-president of ITT, William Merriam, told a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee how he had worked with the top CIA man for Latin America to prevent the election of Salvador Allende. The CIA also backed an anti-Allende campaign throughout Latin America and in the European press.

There were also discussions about CIA support for the Chilean military to block Allende's election.

The CIA man, William Broe, had assured the corporation that it would take 'a hard line' against the Allende regime. An ITT memorandum sent to an official of the Nixon Administration, Peter Peterson, said 'everything should be done quietly but effectively to see that Allende does not get through the crucial next six months.'

The ITT is now claiming compensation from the government-sponsored Overseas Private Investors' Corporation to the tune of \$97m for the loss of its assets in Chile.

While this case is going on, a House of Representatives committee is examining charges that the ITT received support from

top men in the Nixon administration in an anti-trust suit.

Those named include former Attorney-General John Mitchell and former Commerce Secretaries Peter Peterson and Maurice Stans. Payments were also made to the law firm of former Secretary to the Treasury, John Connally.

The suit arose as a result of a threat to dissolve the merger between ITT and the Hartford Fire Insurance Co under the anti-trust laws. The government finally allowed the merger to continue subject to ITT divesting itself of some of its holdings.

The head of the anti-trust division of the Justice Department, Richard McLaren, was later made a Federal judge.

Among material being considered by the committee is a thank you letter from ITT to Vice-president Spiro Agnew and another to John Connally which expressed belief that he and Peterson had been 'instrumental' in delaying the transmission of the anti-trust case to the Supreme Court.

Both cases establish that there were close and frequent contacts between officials of ITT and top members of the Nixon administration. The former CIA head, John McCone, is now an ITT director.

As the 'Herald Tribune' delicately puts it: 'Some congressional investigators are pursuing the theory that the ITT pledges of up to \$400,000 to finance the Republican National Convention that year were related to favourable administration action on both counts.'

In other words, graft and corruption on a large scale reached right into Nixon's inner circle.

EEC money talks today

TODAY'S meeting of the Common Market finance ministers in Brussels, attended by Tory chancellor Anthony Barber, is likely to see a bitter row over monetary questions.

The French government, in particular, will be demanding that Britain joins the common currency float at the earliest opportunity.

The Gaullists are backing their demand with the threat to oppose Common Market payments towards British regional development unless Britain joins the float.

Things could come to a head on April 18 when the Tory government is due to submit its own proposals for payments from the EEC regional funds.

So far the Tories have given evasive answers to requests to fix a date for joining the common float.

In Bonn on Tuesday, John Davies, Minister for Europe, said Britain intended to join 'at the earliest possible moment' but still wanted backing from the other EEC central banks.

Danes join biggest strike for 37 years

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

MORE than a quarter of a million workers went on strike or were locked out yesterday as Denmark entered its largest industrial conflict since a five-week general strike in 1936.

As the clock struck midnight, night-shift workers in the engineering and transport industries walked off the job. Printers struck work on several major daily papers.

Bus drivers in most cities and in the suburbs of Copenhagen came out on strike, and thousands of commuters had to find alternative means of transport.

Hotel and restaurant employees, electrical and central heating repairmen, carpenters, bricklayers and workers in the furniture, ceramic, textile, book-binding and iron and metal industries also struck work.

All sailors on Danish ships stopped work as soon as their vessels reached Danish ports. Freight and passenger services were also struck, disrupting

operations between Copenhagen and Also and Esbjerg and Harwich.

Unless a settlement is reached between the employers' association and the TUC within a few days, the strikes will spread to include the oil and fuel industry bringing all transport to a stand still and leaving buildings (except for hospitals and nursing homes) without heat.

The employers claim to be losing £7m a day as a result of the dispute, which began when the TUC and the employers' federation failed to reach agreement on a new two-year wage settlement to replace the one which expired on March 1.

NO COMPROMISE

The employers rejected the proposals for a compromise put forward at the last minute by a mediator appointed by the social-democratic government.

The mediator's proposal covered equal pay for women, special wage rises for low-paid workers, cost of living increases, holiday pay and the length of the working week.

The major point at issue be-

tween the unions and the employers is a proposal that the cost of living increase be raised from 30 öre to 40 öre (2p to 2.6p) an hour. The employers claim this would cost them over £44m a year.

The unions say that the increase is only slightly above six per cent when the rising cost of living is taken into account. The employers have adamantly refused to compromise with the TUC, clearly hoping to inflict a defeat on the workers' movement with the aid of the government.

Under premier Anker Joergensen the government has kept carefully out of the limelight, doing nothing that could be interpreted as favouring the workers in the strike.

The social-democrats, who rely on the parliamentary support of right-wing splinter parties, want nothing to upset the delicate coalition.

Behind the employers' determination is the recent entry of Denmark into the Common Market. Like British employers the Danish bosses are attempting to smash the living standards of the working class in line with EEC requirements.

WHAT WE THINK

NO COLLABORATION WITH ULSTER WHITE PAPER

THE TORY White Paper on Northern Ireland aims to continue direct rule indefinitely and to intensify the oppression of the Irish working class.

The British army of occupation is to stay and the Royal Ulster Constabulary is to be increased in numbers and given improved equipment and training.

The Special Powers Act is to be replaced by even stronger 'anti-terrorist' legislation which will include trial without jury.

The detention camps will stay 'as long as necessary', and the Tory Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, William Whitelaw, remains in charge of 'security'.

The proposed 80-strong Northern Ireland Assembly, which will be elected by proportional representation 'as soon as possible', is a fraud. Not only will it have no control over foreign affairs and the armed forces, but the Tory government in Westminster retains its direct powers over the appointment of judges and magistrates, and over public prosecutions and elections.

Westminster has power, also, to introduce 'exceptional law and order measures' whenever it considers there is an emergency in Ulster and it retains its overriding powers to legislate on any matter concerning the Six Counties.

All measures passed by the Assembly would have to be submitted to the British Privy Council by Whitelaw and he alone decides whether such measures are within its powers. It is he also who will appoint formally all members of the executive, the heads of the political departments and the equivalents of ministers.

And no powers at all will be handed to the Assembly until the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland has reached an understanding with its leaders 'which the UK government can, with confidence, recommend to [the British] parliament as a fair and viable basis for the devolution of power.'

Even then, the Tory supremacy will continue to exercise direct ministerial responsibility on several matters, including the police, public order and the prisons.

The White Paper claims that the central problem in Ulster is 'the restoration of law and order', and that this requires 'improvements in the administration of justice'. To this end, 'continued and effective action against terrorists' will be demanded of the Cosgrave government in the Republic of Ireland.

Of course the real terrorists are British imperialism and the Protestant bourgeoisie of the Six Counties.

These are the forces which have murdered, robbed and jailed generations of Irish workers and peasants in the interest of profit and property.

The purpose of the Tory White Paper is to give even stronger military and legal force to this oppression.

The British Labour Party leaders, of course, are fully behind the Tories in this. Labour's spokesman on Irish affairs, Merlyn Rees, MP, was one of the first to give a rapturous reception to the White Paper.

And yesterday's 'Morning Star', organ of the British Communist Party, while admitting that the 'main instruments' of repression were retained in British hands, nevertheless sowed dangerous illusions that the White Paper represented a step forward.

Whitelaw, said the paper's editorial, 'has been compelled by the democratic and progressive movement in Northern Ireland and in Britain to make some concessions, including the introduction of proportional representation for the proposed assembly, and a charter of human rights.'

This is the exact opposite of what has happened. The Stalinists are seeking deliberately to disarm the working class in Ireland while the Tories and the ultra-right forces prepare to launch an even greater onslaught against them.

Meanwhile neither wing of the IRA has yet commented on the proposals. The immediate reaction from them both was that they would require 24 hours to study the document. Then the Provisional Sinn Fein, political wing of the Provisional IRA said in Dublin yesterday that it would not be reacting to the paper 'for a day or two'.

The British labour movement must reject all collaboration with the Tory plans. Those who seek to present them as 'democratic concessions', like the Stalinists, must be exposed. The central demand must be 'Withdraw all British troops from Ireland!'

The Socialist Labour League is the only organization in Britain which has consistently opposed the use of British troops in Northern Ireland and fought to establish the unity of the Irish working class, north and south, Catholic and Protestant, with the British working class against their common enemies, British and Irish capitalism.

The only way for the British working class to help their brothers in Ireland is, not to seek for 'good bits' in the Tories' plans, but to force the Tory government to resign and replace it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies—including an immediate end to the oppressions in Ulster.

A socialist policy for the docks

EIGHT THOUSAND London dockers have said that on April 1 they will withdraw from Clause 12 of the Devlin 'modernization' Green Book because they are dissatisfied with a £2.60, government-controlled pay award. The employers say that if this threat is carried out, they will withdraw the £2.60, which has been accepted by the men. Clause 12, which covers flexibility and mobility of labour, is said by the employers to be vital to the port's running. Below, Alf Waters, a shop steward for the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union at Tilbury, writes in a personal capacity about the situation facing dockers and the policy needed to meet it.

PORT EMPLOYERS in London's enclosed docks are standing firm on their contemptible wage offer of £2.60. They do so because they are encouraged by the determination of the Tory government and the Confederation of British Industry to impose state control of wages. They are also encouraged by the TUC's cowardly betrayal of gas, hospital, rail and civil service employees.

Our union leaders and an 18-man lay delegates' committee have placed dockers in an extremely perilous position by recommending acceptance of this offer, and covering their retreat with the rejection of Clause 12 of the Green Book.



Turner



Steer

They have not only accepted the government's wage-increase norm and the prospect of dockers' wages being frozen for three years, but they have opened the door to corporate dictatorship. At the same time they have prepared the ground for the employers to use the threat of economic blackmail against the dockers.

This has already been done in the Royals, where the meat trade was retained on a six months' trial basis only on condition that gang-shift tonnages went up while wages remained the same.

The employers got what they wanted because union officials, and reformist and Stalinist stewards like Bernie Steer and Vic Turner dropped the nine-point as well as the four-point plan of the national port shop stewards' committee, rejected unity with other sections like lorry drivers and refused to fight the Jones-Aldington plan and the Tory government.

Maurice Foley—on behalf of the 18-man committee—now says that implementation of the one-man, one-shift rule might pro-

voke a lock-out by the employers. The 'Port' magazine goes a step further by suggesting that a return to fixed manning might force the shipping companies to move out of the Royals altogether.

What is the answer of the union leaders, lay delegates and shop stewards to the employers' provocative actions?

They have none. None at all. They would rather surrender—as they have already done on Heath's Phase Two—than fight an employers' lock-out over Clause 12.

But this is only the beginning. Port employers and shippers, in preparation for the trade war heralded by dollar devaluation and floating of currencies, are determined to increase productivity and throughput beyond the record rates achieved in 1972.

How? Firstly by a massive increase in unregistered labour and an increase in the capacity of unregistered ports. Secondly, by involving shop stewards in the apparatus of management through the fraud of 'workers' participation' and 'joint consultation'.

This is the next stage of Devlin in which the big stick of unemployment will be combined with the rotten carrot of 'consultation' and 'control' to eliminate strikes and increase profits.

Despite the phoney promises of Jones-Aldington of an inquiry into unregistered ports, wharves and jetties with a view to closing them down, the fact is that unregistered ports are moving a far greater volume of cargo than when the Jones-Aldington fraud was set up.

At least 15 ports have recruited supplementary, 'casual' labour with union approval since the Jones-Aldington inquiry was established. The employers are invoking the argument of Tory Ministers that they did not pay out £30.6m in severance payments to keep the register expanding!

Employers' plans to expand the supplementary register and to play off unregistered ports and ports outside the Dock Labour Scheme against registered, Scheme ports is now a very real threat.

Despite Jones and Aldington the most powerful sections of employers—the shipowners—have stated in their 1972 review that non-Scheme ports and wharves should operate independently of the National Dock Labour Board. They want 'free competition between ports'—in other words, unemployment and speed-up.

This is the real meaning of the Jones-Aldington plan. That is why hundreds of specially-trained police were used recently against Hull dockers picketing an unregistered wharf.

This is the prospect for dockers in 1973: on the one hand a fantastic increase in productivity and reduction in labour because of containerization and other techniques and, on the other, a steep decline in real wages because of Tory-organized inflation, the abolition of piece-work under Phase Two of the Devlin 'modernization' scheme and the state control of the pay-pocket.

Dockers have been warned. The major responsibility for this situation must rest on the trade union leaders and the Stalinists, International Socialists' and reformist stewards who are trading dockers' jobs and conditions for the most paltry increases in rates and who refuse to mobilize workers in a fight to force the Tories to resign.



Jones confronts angry docker members during last year's strike.

Dockers must reject completely the Stalinist reformist demand that one-day stoppages and protests will defeat Phase Two pay control and defend dockers' basic rights. Such protests will help the Tories to stampede the middle class without undermining the government.

A government which is preparing for civil war against the working class, and secretly arms the police without even a reference to parliament, is not going to be impressed by a one-day national strike.

A one-day national stoppage can be a success only if it is extended into an indefinite General Strike.

The Tory government cannot be reformed. It must be forced to resign.

It is only through the defeat of the Tory government and its replacement by a Labour government with socialist policies that unemployment, unregistered labour and speed-up on the docks will be eliminated.

Only the nationalization of all the ports under workers' control and the integration of the transport industry and its operation within a central plan can satisfy the demands of dockers.

We think this objective is entirely possible in the next period but that this requires:

- The creation of new leadership on the docks based on the revolutionary socialist policies of the All Trades Unions Alliance.
- Opposition to all those like the CP and IS who refuse to mobilize workers in a political struggle against the government and who refuse to call for an indefinite General Strike of the TUC against the government.
- The maximum unity of the dockers and other sections of transport workers, particularly lorry drivers—in a struggle to defend their basic democratic rights.
- Recall of the docks delegates to fight for the retention of the Dock Labour Scheme and its extension into every port.
- Complete opposition to the fraud of 'workers' participation' and the collaboration of shop stewards with management.
- Abolition of the supplementary register. All new labour to be incorporated fully into the protection of the scheme.

Tories destroy food to keep up prices

BY IAN YEATS

AN ex-Labour Minister rocked consumers yesterday with the disclosure that the Tory government is buying up food and destroying it to keep prices artificially high.

Douglas Jay, MP, told a meeting of the Common Market Safeguards Campaign that the government had set up a special buying board for the purpose.

He accused them of 'buying up food in the home market in competition with the British housewife, so as to keep prices up, and then either storing it or deliberately mixing chemical with it so as to make it unfit for human consumption'.

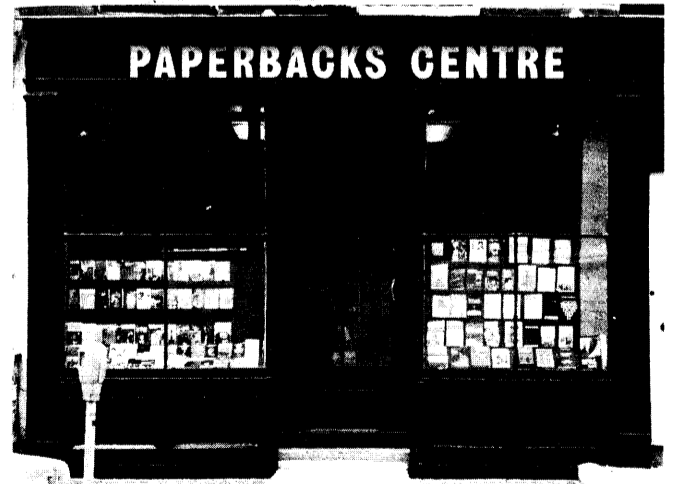
Jay said that the Tories were already applying the system to beef, the product about which recent price hikes caused a public outcry.

He said: "The junior minister at the ministry said in Parliament on March 7 that he had to give "an assurance against market collapse" in beef prices. So he had arranged for beef to be "sold into intervention"—that in Brussels language means mixed with chemicals and destroyed."

Jay also claimed that under the terms of Britain's entry into the EEC the Tories had imposed an import tax on mutton and lamb from outside the Common Market which was to rise to 20 per cent, agreed to abolish the bacon subsidy, agreed to stop subsidising the price of sugar and agreed to an EEC ruling which allows the continued export of beef.

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MARXIST PHRASES HIDE BACKING FOR NATIONALISTS

Ian Yeats replies to a two-part analysis of the 1972 Official Sinn Fein Ard Fheis (conference) by Gerry Foley, a member of the editorial board of 'Intercontinental Press', the theoretical journal of the Pabloite Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Gerry Foley's analysis of the 1972 Official Sinn Fein Ard Fheis (conference) is nothing more or less than a eulogy of nationalism as a solution to Ireland's economic and social problems.

Writing in two issues of the Pabloite Unified Secretariat's 'Intercontinental Press', he argues for a new unity between Officials, Provisionals and civil righters in a revolutionary party using mass action on the streets as its number one tactic.

He deliberately avoids the question of the political and class character of this party. The Sinn Fein leaders do not mean a Leninist party of the working class, but a reformist party with a blend of socialism and nationalism for its ideological basis.

In the second of two articles, which appeared on February 5, Foley attacks the 'absolutist, moralistic condemnation' hurled at each other by both wings of Sinn Fein.

He urges 'A more fruitful approach would be a concrete and rigorously objective analysis of the Provisionals' composition and political dynamic and a corresponding explanation of the differences separating the two groups.

'At the same time precise areas ought to be marked out

where the interests of all who lay claim to the Republican tradition come together and where co-operation is possible and necessary to win the fight against repression.'

Realizing that the civil rights movement by itself has failed, Foley goes on to urge that the Officials should make civil rights central to the new party's programme to be won through mass action.

The Officials are already committed to the building of such a party and despite their 'dogmatic' railing against the policies of the Provisionals it has been made clear that they would welcome rank and filers back to the fold.

'PROGRESS'

The Ard Fheis was distinguished by an almost complete move away from backing the on-the-streets reformist militancy of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement and the Communist Party of Ireland to the concept of building a new revolutionary nationalist party.

It was of this development that Foley wrote (under the headline, 'A Step Forward for the Irish Vanguard'): 'In the area of political analysis, important progress has been registered.'

Foley quotes at length and approvingly from the preamble to a resolution on the north not on the Clar (agenda), but which he claims was circulating among delegates.

A spokesman for Gardner Place confirmed that no such resolution was on the Clar or put to the Ard Fheis.

However Foley quotes the preamble as having said: 'In this country more and more the events of the past few years demonstrate that the struggle for democracy is also the national struggle since it is British power and influence that maintain the undemocratic structures and it is the nationalist population that suffers under this system.'

The nationalist population is now, almost to a man, Catholic, placing the resolution's proposer in the now familiar revisionist posture of throwing the entire Ulster Protestant working class to such wolves as the Rev Ian Paisley and William Craig.

Foley goes on: 'The same document criticized economic radicals who blamed the civil rights movement for dividing Catholic and Protestant workers.'

'It noted that the struggle of the minority for their rights was bound to alienate the Protestant workers, corrupted as they are by the caste mentality deliberately fostered by the British authorities and shaped by the historic system of imperialist rule in Ireland.'

Since last November, both wings of Sinn Fein have publicly recognized the need to win Protestant workers to their cause, but throughout Foley's two long articles there is no suggestion that Protestant workers are anything but stooges of imperialism and definitive enemies of nationalism.

But if Ulster workers are divided it is precisely because revisionists like Foley, and indeed all those organizations affiliated to the Unified Secretariat, have actively applauded and fostered sectarian demands and movements as a substitute for building a Marxist revolutionary consciousness and organization capable of uniting them.

With this responsibility upon him, Foley can still describe his mysterious resolution as 'symptomatic of a lot of new thinking going on in the Republican leadership'.

Foley's quotation continues: 'Correct or not, but the feeling is abroad that a lot of people in the country and many of our members have the idea that we are not in favour of the "National Struggle" or the ending of this "Struggle".'

'This is one reason why the Provos are still a force today and why they will not fade away for a long time yet.

'We must begin to show people and demonstrate clearly to all that our objectives are National Unity and

Independence and the Socialist Republic.'

This is a frank and blatant appeal for unity between the Officials and the Provisionals.

The device used to bring this about is to suggest that the Provisionals can be divided into a left and a right wing, permitting him to argue the prospect of an alliance between the anti-bomb-and-bullet followers of Kevin Street and the Officials' right wing, led by Costello.

~~The Ard Fheis made no formal commitment to continue its previous on-the-streets policy—consistently backed as a tactic by the Unified Secretariat—and Foley was worried by the omission.~~

MILITANCY

The resolution put to the Ard Fheis by right-wing Bray delegate Seamus Costello, which more than any other summed up the Officials' new course, laid down that in future civil rights was to be seen as part of the overall programme and struggle of the revolutionary party.

The problem with this formulation, said Foley, was that 'it did not chart a militant course for the civil rights



Sean Garland making his Bodinstown address in July 1972. Above left: Funeral cortege of an IRA man in Belfast. Above right: Rev Ian Paisley's face adorns a loyalist drum. The revisionists throw the entire Ulster Protestant working class to such wolves as Paisley and William Craig.

movement'.

The militancy of 1969 and 1970, fatally limited as it was by the reformism of the civil rights leaders, was backed consistently by members of the Unified Secretariat, including Foley, who described it as producing 'the most serious crisis faced by any European capitalist regime'. It clearly lingers in his mind as the only real road to victory.

But since direct rule the Officials have been working towards the realization that

there is no future in a policy of 'back to the streets'. Their present turn of parliamentary politics and local elections illustrates this.

They also realize that in the north civil rights demands for the 'nationalist population' are sectarian, undermining all prospect of the triumph of Republicanism.

The one 'step forward' at the December Ard Fheis which went completely over Foley's head was the decisive trend to regard elections as

the new revolutionary weapon—a trend verified by the appearance of Sinn Fein candidates in the Eire nomination lists.

This is how the Officials' leadership already sees the new revolutionary party working and how sections of the Provisionals may come to see it too, in time.

Indeed, on October 14, 1972, No. 1 of 'An Solas', the Officials' Belfast newspaper, appeared with the headline: 'Elections — a revolutionary

approach'.

Foley sets out to cover up this descent into the worst kind of reformism. He concludes: 'The convention was unanimous in endorsing the correctness of the basic policy followed in the past period, that is, concentrating on revolutionary political activity and mass organization as opposed to the old apolitical guerrillaist outlook of the Irish Republican Army.'

This illuminates the current criticisms which the Pabliste Socialist Workers' Party is making of guerrillaism. They make many correct points against it, in the formal sense, but only in order to justify reformism.

Foley argues that the Officials are in danger of abandoning civil rights altogether and that the reason for this is their failure to analyse where the role of the Communist Party helped the movement go wrong.

But as the preamble to Costello's resolution, in which he took the CP to task for their reformism, clearly showed, this analysis had been made.

Not only had it been made, but it was largely responsible for the plea for a coherent nationalist ideology and the integration of civil rights demands into it. That is the meaning of the phrase Foley quotes from a resolution by the national committee:

'The revolutionary vanguard party cannot be an umbrella organization embracing different ideologies.'

A new, 'democratic centralist' structure is to be given the party to make sure that in future the leadership's writ runs in unchallenged uniformity.

Casting around for a whipping boy, Foley slates 'workerist ultra-lefts' for distracting the Officials' attention from the importance of civil rights. He blames them for characterizing the movement as sectarian and as one which failed to 'explicitly challenge capitalist productive relations'.

Yet everything that has happened since direct rule, including the growth of Protestant organizations and the decline of all reformist and terrorist groups, suggests the critics were right.

'SOCIALIST'

Although from now on the Officials' programme will emphasize social issues every bit as strongly as political ones, there is little to indicate its socialist character, unless it be a form of national socialism based on partnership between small employers and workers.

Foley does not bother to analyse this programme, but contents himself with the utterly unsupported assumption that nationalism equals socialism.

He says at the beginning of his second article: 'As they set their sights towards making a socialist revolution, the Republican leaders found themselves faced with more and more complex problems and ties and it has become obvious that a loose political organization with vague political positions is not adequate to this work.'

He cites with approval Sean Garland's July 1972 Bodinstown address in which he called for the building of a revolutionary party.

Garland called for campaigns on issues ranging from pollution to 'more equitable rewards for labour' and, in formally abandoning 'elitism', he set the seal on all future work by the movement in the civil rights association and particularly in the trade unions.

From now on, all sections of the Irish people, in their

organizations, were to be won to the nationalist banner. In essence the entire long speech amounted to no more than an urging of Republicans to realize that they could not win without 'getting the mass of the people behind them'.

The debate on these policies, incapable of offering workers a single solution to the pressing problems posed by the crisis of world capitalism, Foley described as a high point of political discussion.

Foley's backing for nationalism and his commitment to a policy of mass action on the streets forms part of an analysis outstanding only for its remoteness from Marxism.

Political and social upheavals in individual countries are flashpoints in the developing international crisis of capitalism.

Trotsky says in 'The Permanent Revolution': 'The completion of the socialist revolution within nationalist limits is impossible.'

'The socialist revolution begins on the national arena, it unfolds on the international arena and it is completed on the world arena.'

'Socialist construction is conceivable only on the foundations of the class struggle, on a national and international scale'.

Bourgeois nationalism, because it is inescapably tied to capitalism and imperialism, holds no answers to the problems with which the crisis of the private enterprise system confronts workers.

And in the context of the Six Counties, it can only deepen the sectarian divisions within the working class.

Not only is Foley's approach to nationalism utterly non-Marxist, but so, too, is his approach to class. Indeed in his second article, slating those who foster 'dogmatism', Foley condemns 'the tendency of a *de facto* combination to develop between young Republicans influenced by ultra-left currents, opposed in principle to any co-operation with "middle-class nationalists"...

He goes on, quite wrongly, to say the Stalinists adopt the same line and concludes even more outrageously wrongly that such opposition is 'unpleasantly reminiscent of the attitude of the German Communist Party in its ultra-left period when it threatened to liquidate the Social Democratic workers at the very time the fascists were preparing in fact to liquidate both the CP and the Social Democrats.'

It hardly needs saying that the German Social Democrats have nothing in common with the bourgeois-nationalists of Sinn Fein.

With no concept of the international character of the socialist revolution and none of the role of class in the structure of capitalist productive relations, it comes as no surprise to find Foley writing off Protestant workers and backing a hotch-potch of social forces in the nationalist movement.

The only way to bring the Irish working class together AND fight successfully for basic rights and decent living standards lies in the struggle for the programme and organization of the revolutionary Marxist party.

At this time, in different degree, British and Irish workers face basically the same problems and the same repression at the hands of the Tory government. The only road to liberation of Ireland from British imperialism is the road of united struggle to bring down the British Tory government and its puppets in Dublin.

The first step in the fight back is to forge unity between British and Irish workers in the campaign to force the Tories to resign and elect a Labour government which must be forced to carry out socialist policies.



SOUTH AFRICA: LAWS FOR REPRESSION AND TORTURE

BY JACK GALE

Thirteen years ago on March 21, 1960, a peaceful demonstration against the South African government's humiliating Pass Laws was mown down by the bullets of the state forces.

According to the government's official figures, 66 Africans were killed and 162 wounded. But unofficial estimates say 170 were killed and 400 were wounded.

Either way, Sharpeville symbolized 'apartheid'.

South Africa is a state committed to repression. The National Party government came to power in 1948 determined to end what it called 'the Black danger'. By 1950 it had erected the four pillars of apartheid.

These are the Race Classification Act, Group Areas Act, Immorality Act and Suppression of Communism Act.

Under the latter, the Minister of Justice is empowered to impose stringent restrictions on any person who he considers is 'promoting the objects of Communism'. He can issue arbitrary orders which are not subject to review by any court.

Following a non-violent Campaign of Defiance Against 'Unjust Laws' launched by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress in 1952, a new law—the Criminal Law Amendment Act—laid down savage penalties in 1953 for the contravention

of any law, however minor, 'by way of protest'.

The courts were instructed that for a second offence against this Act, imprisonment or whipping must be imposed.

After Sharpeville, the Verwoerd regime embarked on an increasingly massive military and police build-up and even more ruthless repression.

It passed the Unlawful Organizations Act, banned the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress and detained thousands of people under the State of Emergency Regulations. A nationwide 'stay at home' protest was broken by brutal attacks against Africans in the locations.

In the Transkei, armed forces were moved in to suppress an African revolt and Proclamation R400 was promulgated to empower the government to subject any African to arbitrary banishment or indefinite detention without trial.

This process was intensified after B. J. Vorster was appointed Minister of Justice in August, 1961. Peaceful African leaders such as Chief Albert J. Luthuli were jailed and more and more Africans decided that peaceful protest was futile.

From about December, 1961, the military wing of the African National Congress, the 'Umkonto We Sizwe' (Spear of the Nation) began to organize acts of sabotage in many cities.

In 1962 the underground Poqo, associated with the Pan-Africanist Congress, recruited thousands of followers in the African locations and began

to attack police stations, whites and African chiefs.

The South African government then passed the Sabotage Act of 1962, which established a virtually permanent state of emergency.

This Act introduced a new crime—the 'intent' to commit sabotage. It also laid down the death penalty for juveniles, provided for summary trials without juries, and a minimum compulsory sentence of five years' imprisonment.

Following a demonstration of African workers in Paarl, in November 1962, during which several people were killed, Prime Minister Verwoerd declared that he 'put the safety of the state and its citizens above mere technicalities'.

The government would not sit back, he said, simply because it did not have enough evidence to proceed through the courts.

In May, 1963, the government enacted the 90-Day Law. This provided for the detention, incommunicado, of any person under special regulations.

By this time the strength of the political section of the Police Force had been increased six-fold since 1960. Nearly 3,000 Africans were in prison on suspicion of association with Poqo and hundreds more accused of connections with the banned African National Congress or Umkonto We Sizwe.

Mass trials were held under the Sabotage Act and earlier legislation but even so, trial by court in political cases was

the exception. When trials did take place, the accused had to prove their innocence not the prosecution their guilt.

On the rare occasions when accused people were acquitted by the courts, they were usually redetained and retried.

INDEFINITE DETENTION

In 1965 the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and in 1967 the Terrorism Act, extended the powers granted to the police under the 90-Day Law.

Between 1963 and 1966 the Security Branch of the Police was trebled in size. In addition the 1967 Terrorism Act was made retrospective to 1962. This meant people could be sentenced to death for acts which were lawful at the time they were committed.

The 90-Day Law authorizes any commissioned police officer to arrest without warrant 'any person he suspects upon reasonable grounds to have committed or intending to commit, or having any information relating to a political offence'.

The officer can detain the arrested person for interrogation 'in any place he may think fit' and keep him there 'until such person has in the opinion of the Commissioner of the South African Police replied satisfactorily to all questions at the said interrogation'.

A clause in the Act provides that no person shall be detained for more than 90 days 'on any particular occasion

when he is so arrested'—but this is interpreted to mean that prisoners can be re-arrested immediately they are released and begin another 90 days. This procedure continues so that, in practice, the 90-Day Law provides for indefinite detention.

Innumerable people have been redetained under this clause. One, Mr Alfred Nzo, a leader of the African National Congress, was detained for 247 days before being released without charges. Another, Mr Tommy Ntoyakhe Charlieman, a trade union leader in Uitenhage, was detained for 19 months from May 14, 1963, to December 9, 1964.

There is also a 180-Day Law, ostensibly designed to protect witnesses or prevent them absconding, but which in fact is used to jail opponents of the regime.

The 1967 Terrorism Act also provides for indefinite detention without warrant or charge. No court of law can pronounce on any case under this Act nor order the release of anyone detained under it.

No person except the Minister of Justice or an officer in the service of the state has any right of access to, or of information about, any prisoner detained under this law.

Under both the Terrorism Act and Proclamation R400 there is no limitation to the period of detention.

Almost all detainees under the 90-Day Law, the 180-Day Law, the Terrorism Act and Proclamation R400 are sub-



SOUTH AFRICA: LAWS FOR REPRESSION AND TORTURE



Events at Sharpeville. Top left: A saracen passes unmolested through the crowd. Top right: People turn to run as the police open fire. Below left: No one has a weapon, yet the police fire with revolvers and sten-gun. Below right: The victims.

tin was placed on their heads and beaten.

The present Prime Minister of South Africa, B. J. Vorster, was largely responsible for the intensification of these methods when he was Minister of Justice.

During World War II, Vorster had been a General in the 'Ossewa Brandwag', a paramilitary organization which supported Nazi Germany. Vorster was, in fact, interned from September 1942 to January 1944 and then placed under house arrest.

Little wonder that a report to the Commission on Human Rights in 1967 could state:

'The procedures and methods utilized by the Special Branch and police for interrogation of detainees and arrested persons are very similar to, if not identical with, those reported to have been used by the Gestapo under Hitler's Nazi regime.'

Another source of inspiration to the South African police was the French army torture machine in Algeria. Many South African military officers visited Algeria during the war to study interrogation methods.

In recent years their apparatus has been strengthened.

In 1969 a new Bureau for State Security was created under General van den Bergh, with a budget of over 4m rand. The Security Police budget was increased that year by 200,000 rand to 1.2m rand.

The legal system in South Africa is a cruel farce. The white supremacists make the laws, run the prisons, haul their opponents before the courts (or, more frequently, straight into jail) and sit in judgement over them.

Hundreds of examples could be quoted—here are just a few:

In a case brought on behalf of Mr Albert Louis Sachs, a barrister detained under the 90-Day Law, the Cape Supreme Court ruled on November 13, 1963, that detainees were entitled to rights not specifically taken away by parliament. The application concerned mainly the right of the detainee to a reasonable period of exercise and to reading matter and writing materials, which was denied him during detention.

The Appeal Court, however, reversed the judgement on March 24, 1964. While conceding that detainees may not be ill-treated and that the denial of reading material could amount to 'psychological compulsion', the Court said it was obliged to take account of the purpose of the law in combating subversion. It found that 'it was not the intention of parliament that detainees should as a right be permitted to relieve the tedium of their detention with reading matter or writing materials'.

FUNCTION OF THE COURT

In 1964, Mrs Leslie Erica Schermbrucker brought an urgent application before the court that her husband, a detainee under the 90-Day Law, was being subjected to torture and asked that he be produced before the Court. She produced a note, smuggled from prison in which her husband alleged that he had been tortured.

Mr Justice Snyman rejected the application. He declared that the interruption of detention, by giving detainees access to the Courts, would frustrate the purpose of detention and that the Act specifically excluded access by the detainees to the Courts and transferred the power of protecting citizens

—normally the province of the Courts—to the Minister of Justice, Commissioner of Police and his commissioned officers.

In the Rivonia trial, on May 3, 1964, counsel for defence sought to call two expert witnesses, professors from Cape Town and Durban, to try to establish that evidence by detainees kept in solitary confinement under the 90-Day Law was not reliable. A number of detainees had appeared as state witnesses in that trial.

Mr Justice de Wet rejected the application. He ruled:

'I regard this evidence as inadmissible. It is the function of the court to assess the evidence of witnesses and to decide to what extent their evidence may be relied upon.'

In a trial of Mr Paul Trewhela and nine others under the Suppression of Communism Act, the defence counsel applied on September 9, 1964, to hand in affidavits by three of the accused, Mr Paul Trewhela, Mr Norman Levy and Dr Constantinos Gazides, that they had made statements to the police during detention after being forced to stand from 40 to 43 hours in a small square. The judge refused the application.

In the Pietermaritzburg terrorism case in 1969, when a state witness, Mr Dasingee Francis, alleged brutal torture, the Court held that it was not its duty to inquire into allegations of ill-treatment of state witnesses by the Security Police.

During a trial of members of the Unity Movement under the Terrorism Act in Pietermaritzburg, counsel for one of the 13 accused submitted an application on February 6, 1972, to call witnesses to establish that people who were taken into detention for interrogation were subjected to a concerted investigational system which included assault or other forms of pressure. The overall purpose of the system, he said, was to produce a pattern of dependency, debility and dread in order to make the detainee give 'satisfactory' statements. He submitted 16 affidavits and statements, including those from exiles in the United Kingdom and Zambia.

Mr Justice James refused the application, on the grounds that the evidence sought to be led would not afford the court any real assistance in deciding whether certain state witnesses falsely implicated the accused.

Prisoners in South African jails are grouped into five categories, as follows:

Group A: allowed to write and receive three letters per month and to receive visits from two persons twice a month.

Group B: allowed to write and receive one letter per month, and to receive visits from two persons once a month.

Group C: allowed to write and receive one letter every three months and to receive one visit from one person in three months.

Group D: allowed to write and receive only one letter every six months and a visit from one person in six months.

Group D is officially reserved for people with a record of violent crimes, such as rape, robbery, knife assaults etc., but persons convicted of political offences are invariably placed in this category.

One of the worst prisons is Robben Island jail for non-whites—where Nelson Mandela is held.

A letter smuggled out of Robben Island in March, 1969, read:

'The poor medical treatment we receive is a matter which must receive your first attention. From last year four of our men died, mainly from negligence. Practically no treatment was given to them until they were completely helpless. Their ailments became complicated beyond remedy, and then only were they taken to

Somerset Hospital in Cape Town.

'In a matter of weeks, Marks died. Simon Mkele stayed for a few days in hospital. He also died. This one had a medical recommendation to be discharged from prison but this never materialized.

'Headman Sindile Ncaphayi, of Port Elizabeth, is a case that requires special attention. He took ill on August 6 and reported sick. During this time there was an epidemic at Robben Island. About a hundred or more were affected. The doctor did not come until August 26. Only on August 30 was Ncaphayi sent to Somerset hospital. He died on September 1.

'We have a few more of our men who are really seriously ill. If no action is taken they will definitely die. TB and asthmatic patients are forced to work in the quarry, a most brutal arrangement.'

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

Not surprisingly, the South African government does all it can to prevent information about prison conditions and treatment getting out of the country. One important measure in this conspiracy of silence is the Prisons Amendment Act, No 75, passed in 1965.

According to a provision in this Act, a newspaper which published an article on prison conditions is guilty of an offence even if only one statement in the article is in error and had not been verified with the prison authorities.

The most notorious case under this Act was the one against the 'Rand Daily Mail' in 1965. The paper's editor, Laurence Gandar was fined 200 rand (about £110) and reporter Benjamin Pogrund received a six month suspended sentence.

But it is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain this wall of silence. Over the years a number of trials have attracted international attention—among them those of Nelson Mandela in 1960, his wife Winnie Mandela in 1971, the 'Rand Daily Mail' case of 1965, of Albie Sachs in 1963 and Dean French-Beytagh in 1971.

First hand accounts have been published outside South Africa—including the 'Jail Diary' of Albie Sachs, Ruth First's '117 Days' and Caroline de Crespigny's 'Prisoner of Verwoerd'.

The most significant development of recent years, however, is that opposition to the regime is increasingly taking the form of organized working-class action rather than isolated terrorist raids.

The largest of these struggles began in December 1971, when 13,000 workers began a prolonged strike against the 'slave-labour' contract system.

This struggle reached the dimensions of civil war, with violent clashes in which several strikers were shot dead, until the South African authorities virtually sealed off the whole area.

In June and again in October 1972, Johannesburg bus drivers went on strike and 318 were arrested.

Last October 2,000 Durban dockers went on strike against working conditions which included a 12½-hour week, five days a week, for £4.25.

Other disputes have involved 400 unskilled shipyard workers in Durban, 1,500 brick-workers, 50,000 Johannesburg miners, over 7,000 textile workers in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, and 1,000 rubber workers.

In February 3,000 municipal workers in Durban joined a strike wave which almost led to another Sharpeville.

It is these developments which usher in the beginning of the end for the apartheid regime.

ND TORTURE

jected to prolonged periods of solitary confinement.

Their conditions of imprisonment are laid down by the Security Branch and they are denied even the minimum protection of the regulations under which common law criminals are kept.

Solitary confinement is recognized by psychiatrists as an inhuman punishment which can cause permanent damage. Professor Kurt Danziger, Head of the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town, wrote:

'Disturbances in the individual's sense of reality are widespread and take many forms. Individual subjects become unable to distinguish which of their thoughts and images correspond to reality and which do not. Some may even develop delusions and hallucinations.

'We know enough about some of the psychological effects of isolation to be able to point to the exceptional dangers which arise when this technique becomes a regular and legalized part of the administration of justice.'

Another common form of torture in South Africa is the administration of electric shocks. Numerous allegations of this treatment have been made, particularly in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Cape Town.

The procedure is uniform. Prisoners are handcuffed, forced to sit in a squatting position and a stick is pushed between their knees and elbows. A plastic bag is placed over their heads covering their eyes. Clips are then put over

their thumbs, toes, temples or genitals and electric shocks administered.

Electric shock treatment has the 'advantage' for the police that it leaves no marks for the medically untrained eye to see.

In March, 1964, there was a scandal when a police officer accused of murdering an African prisoner at Bultfontein police station testified that violence was used during interrogation at every police station in the land. This followed shortly after the death under questioning of an African prisoner named Ngudle.

After this adverse publicity, electric shock treatment was stopped for a while, but a number of Namibian prisoners alleged it was used on them in 1966-1967. Mr Dasingee Francis claimed in court that he had been subjected to shocks in 1968.

And an inquest into the death of Mr James Lenkoe in 1969 produced clear evidence of electric shock torture.

Since 1964 a new refinement has been developed by the South African police. This is the 'Statue Torture'.

This involves forcing prisoners to stand within a narrow square for up to 60 hours.

A variation of the Statue Torture was reported by Mr Mkhali and others in 1965 and by Mrs Winnie Mandela and others in 1969. They were forced to stand on bricks for long hours.

In the former case, in Cape Town, while the prisoners were standing on bricks, a paraffin



Left: Soldiers of the Bandaranaike government with weapons captured from the JVP. During the uprising many youths were imprisoned, executed by the military.

We stand by these criticisms of the JVP. But we defy Vithana or any other revisionist to show us one line from the many Workers Press articles on Ceylon which did not unconditionally defend the JVP against the United Left Front, which included the Moscow-wing of the Communist Party and the ex-Trotskyists of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) in its Ministries.

We will refer to only one more of the many articles which we carried on Ceylon during the oppressions and afterwards. In the Workers Press 'International Youth News' column on May 6, 1971, we published an article on the 'Isolation of guerrillas'.

Here are some extracts from what we said in that article:

'The coalition government in Ceylon was paralysed when the struggles of the youth broke out on April 5. The forces, which made a considerable number of trained policemen flee from their posts and brought capitalist law and order to a halt in many parts of the country, were mainly unemployed youth.

'Young people in these countries cannot expect any future other than starvation and pauperization. In Ceylon almost half the adult population is unemployed or underemployed. . . Youth are convinced that the only solution to this problem lies in struggle against the capitalist system and its state machinery.

'That is why they have chosen to confront the state apparatus in many parts of the land.'

Our article went on to outline the struggle of the unemployed youth and continued:

'The basic political weakness of the JVP which led the rural insurgence, was that its leadership did not take measures to unite these struggles of unemployed youth with the workers. The result was isolation of guerrilla forces from the working class which helped the ruling class in crushing the uprising.'

These extracts from our reports and policy statements today and yesterday completely refute Vithana's allegations. They show him to be a liar, not once, but a hundred times over.

Our position was a principled Trotskyist one throughout—by contrast with Bala Tampoe who collaborated uncritically with the JVP leaders. For instance, Vithana makes much of the fact that 'the JVP comrades agreed to hold a joint rally with the YSF and the LSSP(R) to protest against the shooting of two plantation workers of Indian origin.

'Our task', says Vithana, 'was to intervene in such a manner as to influence the best elements with the goal of winning them to revolutionary Marxist politics.' How did Tampoe set about that task at the meeting of which Vithana is so proud?

He issued a joint appeal with the JVP leaders asking Mrs Bandaranaike to introduce legislation to protect the workers from the estate owners and the police.

That is how these self-styled Trotskyists set about educating the inexperienced youth of the JVP.

This same Tampoe hailed the JVP leaders as Marxist-Leninist—while at the same time, never let it be forgotten, writing to Mrs Bandaranaike granting that the JVP youth could be guilty of the crimes of which she was accusing them!

Unlike Bala Tampoe and the revisionist LSSP(R), our comrades capitulated neither to the JVP nor to Mrs Bandaranaike. **TOMORROW: Marxism and the colonial revolution.**

TROTSKYISM AND THE JVP: THE RECORD

Part four of a series on revisionism and Ceylon by Jack Gale.

We can rip the cover off Jaya Vithana's baseless lies that Workers Press did nothing to 'break the curtain of silence about Ceylon'.

He also claims—wrongly—that we spent 'most of [our] time slandering and villifying the JVP—the young Guevarist guerrilla group so brutally crushed by Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's government.

In particular, Vithana specifically states in the International Marxist Group's pamphlet 'Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification':

'In April-May 1971 the theoreticians in Clapham High Street put the total blame on the JVP for the April massacre. A year and a half later, without making any self-criticism of this position, the Workers Press admit that the massacre was actually initiated by the Ceylonese government.'

We will now prove in detail that Vithana is just an impudent liar. We will quote our record and we will go back further than April-May 1971.

We invite any supporter of the Unified Secretariat to compare Vithana's statement with the following extracts from Workers Press.

On November 9, 1970, we wrote: 'If the choice before Mrs Bandaranaike in 1964 was coalition or military dictatorship, the choice now confronting the coalition's leaders is what kind of dictatorship—military or police. Behind the façade of the coalition's rhetoric, the most reactionary sections of the ruling class are preparing for a brutal offensive against the working class.'

On December 28, 1970, we wrote: 'The government is acting in the spirit of the ex-United National Party (UNP) regime which launched a witch-hunt against militants in the latter part of its rule. The only difference is that the Bandaranaike government is carrying out this same policy

on a wider and more open scale.'

On January 7, 1971, referring to the strike wave of December 1970-January 1971:

'While the revisionist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Stalinist Communist Party have accepted positions in the coalition cabinet, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's government is using brutal repressive measures to hide the causes of the strike wave.'

On March 9, 1971, we reported: 'Crisis-hit Ceylon's United Left Front coalition yesterday as it prepared action against alleged threats of a left-wing armed uprising. Recent police reports [have] led to the Minister of Justice recommending new laws to deal with "subversive" organizations and greater powers for the police.'

'These proposals mark a sharp turn towards open dictatorship in Ceylon.'

On March 15, 1971, we headlined: 'Coalition is Counter-Revolutionary' and declared: 'The state of emergency declared in Ceylon . . . indicates the treacherous objectives of the counter-revolutionary coalition government.'

On March 18, 1971, we said that the Ceylon government's second set of emergency regulations constituted 'a threat to the entire Ceylonese labour movement'. We reported that Mrs Bandaranaike was attempting to link food shortages with the activities of 'secret bands of youths' who, she claimed, were 'trying to create confusion by terrorizing people with bombs and other lethal weapons'.

We commented: 'Faced by a growing economic crisis and chronic shortages of basic foodstuffs, the United Left Front coalition is hunting for scapegoats.'

On March 24, 1971, under the heading 'Mrs Bandaranaike widens her net', we reported that with the excuse of having 'positive proof' about 'left-wing extremists' the government had introduced severe

penalties, including death, for arson, looting, trespass and the use of explosives and heavy fines and jail for distributing leaflets.

We warned: 'Ceylon is fast heading towards dictatorship'. **On April 5, 1971**, we said that the leaders of the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the LSSP were 'spearheading premier Mrs Bandaranaike's repressions against the left'.

We said: 'Recent emergency measures and repressions are directed against rising militancy in the working class', and we continued: 'We denounce the witch-hunting role played by the leaders of the Communist Party and demand the immediate release of all political prisoners.'

On April 14, 1971, we reported: 'Mrs Bandaranaike's terror campaign is supported by her coalition partners, the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the ex-revisionist Lanka Sama Samaja Party. . .

. . . the United Left Front government has abandoned its modest reform programme and gone over to a bloody offensive against Ceylon's workers and peasants. British and international labour must denounce Mrs Bandaranaike's repressions and demand the release of all political prisoners.'

The following day—we were, in fact, carrying daily reports on Ceylon (so much for Vithana's 'curtain of silence')—we reported: 'Ceylon gunships aimed at guerrillas'.

In that report we placed the blame squarely where it belonged: 'The blood of these young fighters is not only on the hands of Prime Minister Mrs Bandaranaike and her imperialist backers, but the pro-Moscow Stalinists and the traitors to Trotskyism who serve in her United Left Front coalition.'

'Their policies of class-collaboration have created the conditions which lead frustrated young militants into adventurist actions.'

So much for Vithana's slan-

der that we 'put the total blame on the JVP'!

On April 20, 1971, Workers Press declared:

'We denounce as traitors to the working class and socialism the Stalinists of the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the ex-revisionists of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party who serve the counter-revolutionary regime while Mrs Bandaranaike's troops shot down, without trial, young workers and students fighting for a socialist Ceylon.'

On April 21, 1971, in a special statement on Ceylon, issued by the Political Committee of the Socialist Labour League and published in Workers Press we stated: 'Mrs Bandaranaike's coalition regime is brutally suppressing the uprising of unemployed rural youth and workers in Ceylon.'

We denounced 'the offensive of imperialism and Stalinism against the defenceless youth and peasantry' and the 'treacherous and unstinting support' given to imperialism by the LSSP.

On April 21, 1971, we began a special series on the Ceylon emergency which we introduced with the words: 'Death without trial and bloody repressions of the workers' and peasants' movement revealed the true face of the Ceylon coalition'.

So much for Jaya Vithana's claim in the International Marxist Group's pamphlet 'Ceylon and the Healy School of Falsification' that we 'slandered and vilified' the JVP!

In this series of articles we raised serious political criticisms of the JVP, in particular of its underestimation of the working class, which it claimed was 'crippled'. We sharply opposed the JVP's hostility to the immigrant Indian plantation workers.

We declared then, and we stand by this today, that 'however much the sacrifices of the youth may be, they cannot by themselves overthrow the capitalist system if they are not disciplined and led by the revolutionary Marxist party'.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

CLUBBER

The relatively new political columnist of the 'Daily Mail' is Mr Andrew Alexander. His first column appeared during the Labour Party conference last year. It poked fun at the accents of Labour Party delegates.

Alexander came from the Tory-owned 'Daily Telegraph' to take up his new job.

He is now making a big name for himself in the right-wing Monday Club. In December he was guest speaker at the Hammersmith Town Hall at a meeting of the South West London Monday Club and then joined in the wine-and-cheese party afterwards.

He was billed as 'Andrew Alexander—a favourite political journalist with many Monday Clubbers'.

FIREMEN

'Firefighter', the monthly journal of the Fire Brigades Union, appeared in a new format this month.

From a rather scrappily-designed large tabloid size, the journal has adopted a cleaner, magazine-type presentation with more imaginative use of both type and pictures.

Unfortunately the reformist message of the union leadership remains exactly the same as it was before.

In a strikingly set out page three article on the March 5 special TUC, the journal reports the vote of the union's delegation for the 'pay protest' motion decided there.

Seven crisp paragraphs are craftily deployed, in large type, with a lively-looking vote picture, to make it look as if something really happened at the Central Hall, Westminster, that day. Paragraph seven, though, tends to give the game away, being a quote from Terry Parry, the FBU's 'Tribune'-ite general secretary.

Says Parry: 'I have no doubt that firemen, as victims twice already of government pay policy, will be very ready to work to rule on the day of protest'.

All the typographical tricks in the world aren't going to convince firemen that a fire-station go-slow will smash the pay laws.

POWS

From the country which brought you 'The Manchurian Candidate' and other Cold War epics about the horrors of so-called communist brainwashing — capitalist brainwashing.

Prisoners of war returning from North Vietnam are being briefed on their way home with 'spontaneous', 'off-the-cuff' remarks to make to TV reporters and cameramen when they get there.

A team of almost 80 information officers has been hired by the Pentagon to travel back with the POWs. Any decent advertising agency would sack them on the spot for the kind of copy they appear to be turning out.

According to 'Guardian' reporter Simon Winchester, the sort of natural, relaxed comments these highly-paid communications experts are coming up with is: 'God bless America. God bless the President. Finest country in the world. Many thanks for bringing me back home. Peace with honour, etc., etc.'

Coming on top of the reports of 24-hour closed-circuit television programmes 'bringing the boys up to date' on what's been happening since they were captured, it all adds up to something just as sinister as the most far-fetched of Hollywood's anti-communist fantasies.

The best way to really take the pants off the whole business would be for all the returning GIs to goose-step off the planes, saluting frenziedly and chanting exactly what the Pentagon men tell them, over and over and over . . .

GRAFT

More graft than corruption. This should have been, but wasn't, the headline on the following United Press International report (March 16): 'Meyer Lansky, 71, a reputed underworld figure, underwent open heart surgery today to enable doctors to replace blocked arteries in his heart with grafts from other parts of his body. He was listed as in a "satisfactory" condition.' Sorry, Meyer, we couldn't resist it.



INTERESTS IN APARTHEID

The Anti-Apartheid Movement this week accused British firms not only of using black and coloured workers in South Africa as 'slave labour' but of shutting home-based factories to do it.

No less than 17 of the 26 companies they named at a House of Commons Press conference last Monday created redundancies in Britain in the last 12 months.

Firms which sacked workers include British-Leyland, Rio Tinto Zinc, Delta Metal, Plessey, Joseph Lucas, Reckitt and Colman, the British Steel Corporation, Pilkington Bros, Metal Box Company, Guest, Keen and Nettlefold, Reed Corporation, British Insulated Callenders Cables, Bowater Paper Corporation, General Electric Company, ICI, Tube Investments and International Computers Ltd.

Of these, all but British-Leyland have plans to expand their operations in South Africa. RTZ has announced new plans to mine uranium at Rossing, Namibia. Delta Metal has just paid £125,000 for the Johannesburg factory of Dorman Electrical Sales.

Plessey is in the final stages of negotiations for a plant at Retreat to produce automatic and manual telephone exchanges. Lucas bought the distribution and service business of Stanfield Ratcliffe and opened a new car components plant at Florida, near Johannesburg.

Pilkington's will spend £10m on a new float glass plant at Springs, Transvaal. Reed expects to invest £5m in South Africa this year and BICC a similar sum for a new cable factory. ICI and Tube Investments have both built new plants.

Others with expansion plans are Associated British Foods, Barclays Bank, Charter Consolidated Ltd, Consolidated Goldfields Ltd, Hawker Siddeley, Hill Samuel Group Ltd, Lonrho Ltd, Slater Walker Securities Ltd, Turner and Newall Ltd and Distillers Company Ltd.

The low wages paid to African workers is one of the prime attractions of South Africa for British firms. British-Leyland pays African workers £30.29 a month. RTZ pays £39 a month, compared to £218 for whites. Reckitt and

Colman pay £10 a week compared with £40 for whites.

Barclays pay £47 a month compared with £210 a month for whites. GKN pay unskilled workers £5.50 a week compared with £23.30 for lowest-paid white employees. GEC's top rate for Africans is £9.67 a week, ICI up to £8.30.

Of the 26 companies only British-Leyland and the BSC failed to make fat profits as a result of their South African activities.

Two of the allegedly worst employers, RTZ and Consolidated Goldfields, made the highest profits. British-Leyland tops Anti-Apartheid's 'slave labour' list employers and, nearly 5 million shares are owned by churches.

Churches and colleges between them own about 50,000 of the shares issued by Rowntree Mackintosh—another company alleged to pay below subsistence wages. And British churches have shareholdings of up to 400,000 units in Metal Box, Tate and Lyle, Chloride Electrical Storage Co and Associated British Foods—all accused of exploiting African labour.

Well-known public figures holding directorships in firms said to be paying starvation wages include Tory Environment Secretary Peter Walker (until he took office), finance and property speculator Jim Slater, Sir Val Duncan, Lord Pilkington, Sir Raymond Brookes and Princess Alexandra's husband, Angus Ogilvie.

Altogether about 700 British firms, including most household names, trade in South Africa. In 1971, the last year for which figures are available, there was an all-time record net inflow of capital into South Africa.

British firms own 25 per cent of South Africa's top 100 companies and account for 60 per cent of all foreign investment. Anti-Apartheid's detailed exposure of British capitalists' hefty share of the spoils from super-exploitation in the apartheid republic confirms the predatory character of British imperialism.

It demonstrates the impossibility of fighting apartheid by means of protest without a ruthless combat against the imperialist masters who stand behind the Pretoria regime.

It also shows how ludicrous it is to appeal to Christian morality against the South African slavedrivers—because the churches themselves are waxing fat on the proceeds!



Peter Walker



Jim Slater



Lord Pilkington



Sir Raymond Brookes

POLITICAL PROFILES

By LEON TROTSKY
Paperback. £1.00 Illustrated

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 3 of Leon Trotsky's 'Works' published in the Soviet Union in 1927. 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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BBC 1

9.42 Schools. 12.25 Disc a dawn. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Trumpton. 1.45 High street. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 2.50 Cinema now. 3.15 Parents and children. 3.40 Bean's boots. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Blue Peter. 5.15 John Craven's newsround. 5.20 Brady kids. 5.45 News. Weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 TOP OF THE POPS.

7.15 Z CARS. Hard Man.

8.00 SOME MOTHERS DO 'AVE 'EM.

8.30 THE BURKE SPECIAL. James Burke.

9.00 NEWS. Weather.

9.25 MENACE. Judas Goat. With William Gaunt.

10.40 MIDWEEK.

11.25 LATE NIGHT NEWS.

11.30 TAKE ANOTHER LOOK. The Beginning of Life.

11.50 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open University.

6.40 TAKE ANOTHER LOOK.

7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.

7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.

7.35 THEIR WORLD. Tracking.

8.00 EUROPA. Woman's role looked at by West German television.

8.30 BEL-AMI. Clotilde.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.30 VAT 73 (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Hickory house. 12.25 Witches brew. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Jokers wild. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General Hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon. 2.45 Racing from Doncaster. 4.15 Cartoon. 4.25 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.20 The Barkleys. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 FILM: 'ESCAPE FROM SAN QUENTIN'. Johnny Desmond, Merry Anders, Richard Devon. Two criminals break out of prison.

8.30 THIS WEEK.

9.00 LONGSTREET. Anatomy of a Mayday.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 A EUROPEAN JOURNEY. From the Baltic to the Adriatic.

11.00 CHILDREN TO CHILDREN. From Bulgaria — The Most Beautiful Tale.

11.30 SCOTLAND YARD MYSTERIES. Bullet from the Past.

12.00 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.

12.15 PRIORITIES. Howard Root talks to Mary Stott, journalist.

9.15 TIMES REMEMBERED. Margo-jatka.

9.25 HORIZON. What Time is Your Body? Body time.

10.15 OSCAR PETERSON TRIO. In concert.

10.45 AN ARROW FOR LITTLE AUDREY. By Brian Finch.

11.15 NEWS EXTRA. Weather.

11.45 REAL TIME.

REGIONAL TV

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women only. 2.45 London. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.40 Film: 'The Pistolero of Red River'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Anna and the king. 9.30 All our Saturdays. 10.00 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Guideline. 11.15 Film: 'Miami Expose'. 12.35 Weather.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Women only. 2.45 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Sky's the limit. 7.05 Film: 'He Ran All the Way'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Hawaii five-o. 10.00 London. 10.30 Hook, line and sinker. 11.00 Spyforce. 12.00 Weather.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Bioscope by-gones. 2.45 London. 4.25 News. 4.30 Sand of the giants. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.35 Wind in the willows. 5.50 London. 6.00 London. 7.00 Film: 'Second Chance'. 8.30 London. 10.30 By-gones. 11.05 European Journey. 11.35 Baron. 12.30 Living word.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. Programme guide. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women today. 3.45 London. 5.20 Julia. 5.50 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Raw Edge'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Persuaders. 10.00 London. 11.00 Gardening today. 11.20 UFO. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.31 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 2.55 London. 3.55 Harriet's back in town. 4.23 News. 4.25 H.R. Pufnstuf. 4.55 Phoenix five. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Four Men and a Prayer'. 8.30 London. 9.00 FBI. 10.00 London. 11.00 What's it all about? 11.20 Avengers.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 2.30 Sound of... 2.45 London. 4.10 Make a wish. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 Dave Cash. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Bengal Brigade'. 8.30 London. 11.00 Sport. 11.35 Theatre of stars. 12.30 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 12.00 Felix the cat. 12.05 London. 4.10 Manfred.

TODAY'S TV

4.25 London. 5.15 Partridge family. 5.50 London. 6.00 Newsday. Put it in writing. 6.30 Sky's the limit. 7.00 Film: 'Return to Paradise'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Hawk. 10.00 London. 11.00 What the papers say.

TYNE TEES: 9.20 Believing to live. 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Women today. 2.45 London. 4.20 Rovers. 4.50 Stringray. 5.20 F troop. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Mr Belvedere Rings the Bell'. 8.30 London. 10.30 Sportstime. 11.00 Police call. 11.05 European journey. 11.35 News. 11.50 Monty Nash. 12.20 Greatest fights of the century. 12.35 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Date-line. 2.45 London. 4.10 Land of the giants. 5.05 Pebbles and bamm bamm. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Scotland today. 6.30 Beverly hillbillies. 7.00 Cimarron strip. 8.30 London. 9.00 Pathfinders. 10.00 London. 11.00 Gardening today. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Edgar Wallace.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.40 News. 2.45 London. 3.40 Cartoon. 3.55 Harriet's back in town. 4.25 Skippy. 4.50 Merrie melodies. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Try for ten. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Hide and Seek'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Persuaders. 10.00 London. 11.05 Alastair Borthwick. 11.30 Frighteners. 12.00 Meditation.

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women today. 2.45 London. 4.20 Jersey lottery. 4.25 Rainbow country. 4.55 Jackson five. 5.20 Doctor in charge. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Maverick. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Carry On Cruising'. 8.30 London. 9.00 Hawaii five-o. 10.00 London. 10.30 Towards the year 2000. 11.02 Scales of justice. 11.35 European journey. 12.00 News and weather in French.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 10.30 Report. 10.59 News. 12.00 Faith for life.

SLL LECTURE SERIES

The Socialist Revolution in Britain

Middleton (nr Manchester)

Langley Community Centre
Middleton
4 p.m.

Sundays: March 25
April 1 and 8

Lectures given by
Cliff Slaughter
(SLL Central Committee)

The Socialist Revolution in Britain:

1. Political tasks facing the British working class. Marxism and the revolutionary role of the working class. Lessons of the history of the working class in Britain.

2. The roots of capitalist crisis: Marxism and the contradictions of capitalism. Britain and the world crisis.

3. The state and revolution. Reformism and revolution in Britain. The fight for democratic rights today means preparing for working-class power.

Basic reading:
Perspectives for transforming the SLL into a revolutionary party.
Marxist Analysis of the Crisis. Problems of the British Revolution (Trotsky).
Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International, Communist Manifesto.

Stalinist Panorama

BY JOE HARPER

THE Communist Party appears pleased with the coverage it received in Monday's night's 'Panorama'. The Stalinists were presented as kindly, well-meaning reformers.

They were able to state their case:— Britain will become socialist through a painless 'revolution' brought about by slowly pushing the labour movement to the left.

The Stalinists' perspective is a straight-line growth of their 'influence' on the labour movement through the trade unions until there is a left-Labour/CP majority in parliament to legislate 'socialism'. They would like to be able to join the Labour Party to achieve this.



Reid

This 'perspective' is no different from what the Fabian Society has been trying to do for 70 years, or the 'Tribuneites' in more recent years, only without the direct CP participation.

This policy is a complete illusion, and a deception on the working class.

The rapid escalation of the class struggle and the methodical preparations by the Tories for a showdown with the trade unions point towards an all-out confrontation in a General Strike. The Stalinists kept quiet about this.

The extreme seriousness of the dislocation of the capitalist system points to a political and economic crisis of revolutionary di-

mensions. From the Stalinists not a word.

Is it not interesting that the most important arm of the capitalist state's ideological weaponry, the BBC, should put on this advertising piece for the Communist Party during such a period of political development in Britain?

The establishment, who have just banned the Poulson programme and countless items on Ireland, do not do these things by accident.

The Stalinists are being groomed for the important role they have to play in the forthcoming revolutionary struggles, to disorient the working class with left phrases while they lead the fight up blind reformist alleys.

This was the Communist Party's role in France in 1968 where they headed off a mass political strike movement of immense proportions into a harmless wages struggle in order to avoid revolutionary crisis. The question of state power was posed and the reformist Stalinists deliberately ran away from it.

In order to establish the credentials of the leading Stalinists like Jimmy Reid and Bernie Steer, the BBC and the Communist Party resorted to a mixture of lies and fantasy.

The disastrous sell-out at UCS, where thousands of men were made redundant and private capitalists put back in the saddle by the Stalinists after the working class had shown every willingness to expropriate the whole business and launch a political struggle to spread the fight, was recorded as a triumph.

The release of the jailed dockers was mentioned, but not the disasters of the Devlin and Jones-Aldington plans which the Stalinists helped smuggle in and which have decimated jobs in dockland.

The miners strike was described by Scottish Stalinist William McLean as having changed government policy. The strike was an enormously important step forward but it was pre-

cisely because it did not change government policy through not going on to challenge the government for power that the hospital workers and the whole working class are fighting Phase Two today.

And precisely because the deteriorating economic situation now makes it impossible for the Tories to buy off strikers with wage concessions and turns every strike into a political confrontation, so the Stalinists withdraw from even putting up a wages struggle.

Hence the sell-outs at Ford's, on the docks, and the attempt to delay things at last week's miners executive meeting.

That is where the deception of workers is so treacherous. Some Communist Party miners from Seafeld colliery, Scotland, spoke proudly of the ideological work being the most important because it provided lasting solutions to the problems of the capitalist system and would avoid the need for the miners' annual wages battle.

The reality of Stalinism is that its purpose is, and always has been, to seek peaceful coexistence between the parasitic Soviet bureaucracy and imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism.

This long history of international compromise and outright counter-revolutionary activity promoted by the Kremlin in Czechoslovakia 1968, Hungary 1956, at Potsdam and Yalta in World War II, in the pact with Hitler, and in the murderous terror against Trotsky and the Left Opposition, was completely ignored by the programme.

One tame intellectual said he would protest at persecution of a writer in the Soviet Union. What hypocrisy.

Stalinism is a cancer in the workers' movement born of the defeats of the 1920s and 1930s.

Stalinism will have to be exposed and defeated in every country and replaced by a Marxist revolutionary party.

TV REVIEW



Ramelson

Bread prices 'must rise'

BY IAN YEATS

THE TORY government has given the go-ahead for the prices of buns, rolls and bakers' special products—like croissants—to be raised by 10 per cent in the next few days.

But bakers point out that they have had to bear increases of 14 per cent in their wages bill and 40 per cent in the price of imported wheat.

Joseph Rank, chairman of Rank Hovis McDougall, warned that because of the government's refusal to allow

the price of bread to rise the new increases would only 'marginally alleviate' bakers' rocketing costs.

He said yesterday: 'Bread prices must be allowed to increase as soon as possible.'

Meanwhile in addition to buns, rolls and special products the price of household flour

will go up by 10 per cent.

The Tories have promised that as soon as the Prices Commission comes into operation under Phase Two of the pay laws on May 1 the bakers can apply for another, more general increase

Products costing up to 5p will go up by ½p and those costing up to 10p by 1p.

Teachers defend jobs

MORE THAN 50 teachers from Maidstone College of Art yesterday joined a half-day strike to protest against County Education Committee plans to halve

the college's teaching strength.

The teachers say the cuts may mean a lower teaching standard at the college and courses having to be cancelled.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

'Forward to the Revolutionary Party.'

BERMONDSEY: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. 'The Havelock Arms', Balacava Street (off Southwark Park Road).

HOLLOWAY: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road.

HACKNEY: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, opp. Town Hall, Mare Street.

SLOUGH: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road, Slough.

STEVENAGE: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. 'Red Lion', Stevenage Old Town.

WILLESDEN: Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Labour and Trades Hall, High Road, NW10.

MIDDLETON: Thursday March 22, 7.30 p.m. 'Assheton Arms'.

LEWISHAM: Monday March 26, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Road. 'Build Councils of Action'.

WANDSWORTH: Monday March 26, 8 p.m. Kings Arms, High Road, SW18. 'The Fight against Stalinism'.

WATFORD: Monday March 26, 8 p.m. Trade Union Hall, Woodlands Road, near Watford Junction.

ABERDEEN: Monday March 26, 8 p.m. West Front Room, Music Hall, Union Street.

DUNDEE: Tuesday March 27, 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Constitution Road.



Pickets outside Bolingbroke Hospital, Battersea, south London yesterday where 60 ancillary workers started a three-day strike in defence of their pay claim.

Midlands hospital strikers fight splitting tactic

WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

HOSPITAL workers in Birmingham are becoming increasingly militant in the prosecution of their strike against the government's pay laws.

At East Birmingham Hospital, the 600 ancillary workers have remained out on strike since March 1 and have now withdrawn all emergency workers.

At the Birmingham General Hospital 200 ancillary workers came out on strike on March 8 in sympathy with strikers at the Queen Elizabeth, and after one week's strike voted to continue the strike for another week. It is believed they will continue this action into the third week.

Arthur Harper, Transport and General Workers' Union senior shop steward at East Birmingham said: 'We do not agree at all with selective strikes.

'One-day or three-day protest strikes are no good. We think hospital workers have stood for low wages for far too long.

'Heath said that his government was out to help the lowest paid under the pay laws, yet we have been the hardest hit.

'Every union should be fighting these pay laws together.

'The days of slavery are gone forever. No one is going to dictate our wages.

SCEPTICAL

'Heath really showed what he thought of lower-paid workers when he announced the salaries of the Pay Board administrators; they are to get £300 per week and most of them are already in jobs paying £4,000 to £5,000 per year.'

Other pickets were all of the opinion that there should be a General Strike to force the government out.

They were extremely sceptical of the role of the TUC. One picket said: 'What we think of Vic Feather could not be printed.'

An attempt last week to split the strike up by getting Confederation of Health Service Employees' members to return to work was decisively rebuffed.

Peter Starkey, who had been the COHSE branch secretary, said: 'The regional secretary of COHSE came to us and tried to separate us off from the Transport and General Workers' Union in a vote to get us to go back to work.

'He ordered all T&GWU members out of the room, threatening that if they did not leave he

would not pay out strike pay to the COHSE members.

'When the T&GWU members left the room [and up to that time we had always had joint meetings and joint decisions], the regional secretary then said "Either you take a vote that you return to work Thursday or you will get no strike pay".'

'We all refused to take such a vote. All the members felt that this was nothing less than economic blackmail. We piled the pressure on Baxter and in the end he paid the strike pay and then decided that our strike was as from last Wednesday, March 14, unofficial!

'At this the stewards resigned from COHSE and I resigned as secretary. We joined the T&GWU and then the majority of our members also transferred over.'

The regional secretary announced on Tuesday that as a result of the Ministry's permission for the Birmingham hospitals to recruit volunteers, another hospital will be called out on strike next week.

At the General Hospital pickets were in a determined frame of mind.

One young cleaner, Mrs Croak, said: 'We have now been out since March 8. If we give up now we would only be laughed at.

'When this Pay Bill becomes law we will not be able to strike unless we do it illegally. But I say all unions should be striking with us together to defeat the government.

'There's not one of us that can afford to live—with prices as they are today—on our low wages.'

Royal boost for the corporatists

THE QUEEN Mother will open the Industrial Society's new conference and office centre on April 5.

The building, in plush Carlton House Terrace, is being leased to the corporatist-style society by the Crown Commissioners.

It is to be called Peter Runge House, after the late Sir Peter Runge, the deputy chairman of the sugar monopoly, Tate and Lyle.

The cost of renovating the building is believed to have been about £180,000. Donations for this lavish project came from the TUC, the Transport and General Workers' Union and the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

The society has held seminars which give advice to management on how to operate the Industrial Relations Act and the Phase Two state pay laws.

Pay strike ballot in films, theatre, TV

ENTERTAINMENT workers in films, theatre and television will be balloted on March 31 on whether to strike for higher pay.

Bob Keenan, general secretary of the National Association of Theatrical, Television and Kine Employees said yesterday that if his members voted to strike 'it could lead to an entertainment blackout in the

United Kingdom'.

He added, 'Many entertainment workers are among the lowest paid in the land if one considers their unsocial hours of work.

'I see no reason why my union should be tied to bad agreements when employers, who have agreed to better deals, are prevented by the government from instituting better pay and conditions'.

ANCILLARY workers at Hospitals in Barnet, north London, Coventry and Hull have joined the selective strike action.

The Friern Hospital in Barnet has been without domestic staff since Monday and they are strengthening the picket line against volunteer workers who belong to local charities.

Pickets at the Gulson Road Hospital, Coventry, told Wor-

kers Press that all local hospitals should be out. Some said that victory could only be achieved by a General Strike against the government.

Fifty-six-year-old Mrs Emma Grace, a laundry worker at Hull Royal Infirmary, said Heath did not know what it was like trying to manage a home on an ancillary worker's pay. 'After stoppages I take home £13.50,' she said.

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- Force the Tories to resign.
- Elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies and to restore democratic rights.
- Victory to gasmen, civil servants, hospital workers, teachers, railwaymen and car workers.

SATURDAY MARCH 24

Assemble: 10.30 a.m. Corner of Cray Avenue and Orpington High Street.

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The Road to Workers' Power
Build the revolutionary party

LIVERPOOL
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Union chiefs undermine strike

BY ROYSTON BULL

THE MASSIVE propaganda campaign against the hospital workers continues. Tory-controlled Press and television are still trying to stage stunts to whip up middle class anger against the strikes. But the only real danger in all this comes from the spineless leadership of the hospital workers' unions and the TUC.

The hospital workers have already shown by their determined struggle that they can take any amount of provocative rubbish dished out by the Press and television. Their response in situations where managements have been goaded to make victimization attacks has been to step up the industrial action.

But their most vulnerable spot is their own leadership. The 'bad publicity' terrifies the career bureaucrats at the head of the TUC and the individual unions.

These gentlemen are out-and-out pillars of respectability and loyal supporters of protest politics to put 'pressure' on parliament and the employers. They are bitterly hostile to strikes being organized to have a real effect.

The hospital workers' leaders and the TUC are now conducting a great charade to hoodwink the militant trade unionists on the picket lines. They are pretending to be doing something about organizing 'co-ordinated action' by other unions in support of the hospital workers as agreed by the special congress of the TUC.

In reality, they are doing nothing. And they intend to do nothing.

The TUC have responded to biting criticism of their do-nothing posture with a circular to 50 trades councils asking them to mount demonstrations of support, thus not only passing the buck but making sure it gets lost in the process.

The hospital union leaders have connived at this by 'welcoming' the move.

Because the attacks on Victor Feather continued to mount, he then came out with another masterly piece of do-nothing activity. He asked Sir Keith Joseph to reconsider making the hospital workers a special case.

The raspberry Feather got could be heard in every hospital ward in Britain. And what's more everyone could hear it coming. Feather knew he would be turned down. He only put in the plea as a show of doing something.

But if these reformist leaders are not stopped in their tracks, they will completely demoralize and disrupt the militancy being shown in the hospitals. Condemnation of their leadership is not enough. Workers must begin to replace it with principled fighters for socialism, pledged to carry out their members' wishes.

The current leadership is deliberately playing into the hands of the Tory government and the Press by the half-hearted selective strikes, 24-hour stoppages, temporary sit-ins and so on. Without totally determined all-out industrial action by the hospital workers backed by a bold approach to all workers around them to come out in sympathy, the government pay laws cannot be broken.

Workers Press witnessed the capitalist newspapers at work this week at St James's, Balham, doing their best to pile on the agony by getting nurses to illustrate the difficulties being caused, etc., etc.

Instead of answering these provocations in the only way possible, by bringing the hospitals to a complete standstill and launching an all-out political strike in company with other trade unionists

against the government, the NUPE leaders do the opposite.

They raise further false hopes about local managements defying the government and concluding generous local wage settlements.

There is not the remotest chance of the Tories allowing this. They have brought in laws to impose strict state wage controls and dare not allow a single exception. The NUPE leaders are receiving their members with this rubbish—and deliberately putting off the real fight yet again.

The hospital workers have near-universal sympathy.

If the unions show their absolute determination to smash this government and its monstrous pay laws, the working class would follow them all the way.

Today's Finance and General Purposes Committee meeting will give the TUC another opportunity to make a show of action while in reality doing nothing.

The present trade union leaderships are incapable of delivering the goods. Their whole compromise mentality makes them nothing but Tory agents in a no-quarter confrontation with the ruling class such as is now developing in Britain. The mass movement must demand their immediate removal from office.

No lead at teachers' march

BY IAN YEATS

ABOUT 15,000 teachers marched through London yesterday in a monster demonstration against the Tory decision not to increase the special London allowance by more than £15 per year.

Savage sentence

PAUL STOREY, the 16-year-old Birmingham boy sentenced to 20 years' detention for attempted murder, was yesterday sentenced to a further 20 years for robbery!

The swingeing sentence—to run concurrently with the first 20 years—was handed out by Mr Justice Croom-Johnson at Birmingham Crown Court for stealing five cigarettes, a bunch of keys and 30p.

Two other 15-year-old boys charged with Storey for the robbery—Mustafa Fuat and James Duignan—were given the same treatment. The judge ordered 10 years' detention for each to run concurrently with the 10 years each were ordered to serve on Monday for causing grievous harm to their victim.

After spending two days in Winson Green Prison, the three boys were brought back to court yesterday to hear the judge say that it had 'occurred to him' after Monday's adjournment that he had failed to deal separately with the robbery count.

● Fuat's father, lorry driver Mehmet Fuat (45), said afterwards: 'This sentence is absolutely savage and the whole family is deeply upset. We are appealing immediately. There is nothing else we can do.'

The march, which at one stage stretched from Speakers' Corner to Centre Point, was so long it had to be split in two by police to keep traffic moving.

Scores of pupils from 3,000 schools in London shut down by the one-day strike turned out to help teachers distribute leaflets.

Max Morris, National Union of Teachers president-elect and Communist Party member, told me emphatically before the march that there will be no mass meeting afterwards to mark the end of the union's four-week campaign.

'It is just a demonstration,' he told me angrily. 'Nothing else.'

Meanwhile the NUT executive has been circulating its local associations informing them that it has decided not to support the TUC's call for 'a national day of protest and stoppage' against the Tory state pay laws.

A spokesman at the NUT's London office yesterday refused to give any reasons for this decision.

The executive apparently believes it will succeed in a plea to Maurice Macmillan, Tory Employment Secretary, over their London pay allowance claim.

But Macmillan has made clear there will be no special cases under Phase Two.

Yet before yesterday's demonstration moved off from Hyde Park NUT officials warned against carrying placards asking for anything more than a rise in the London allowance.

No political slogans were carried or shouted. The vast majority of teachers were bewildered by the NUT executive decision to end the campaign yesterday with nothing apparently gained.

In the absence of leadership from the executive many said they could see no way of continuing the campaign.

London's 36,000 teachers are demanding a £300 special allow-



London teachers were in militant mood yesterday—but their leaders want to plead with the Tories.

ance—an increase of £182 a year—but Tory Education Secretary Mrs Margaret Thatcher has offered them a derisory £15. The demonstrators marched through the West End's crowded streets blowing school whistles and chanting 'We want Thatcher out'.

NUT spokesmen warned the public over loud hailers that unless the allowance was increased the education system in the capital would collapse from lack of teachers.

FOR THE third day running 5,000 car workers at British Leyland's Cowley, Oxford, plant walked out yesterday in protest against the management's introduction of a team of industrial engineers to speed up the work.

Production has been at a complete standstill since Monday afternoon and the dispute is now developing into a major trial of

Deputations went to the heavily-guarded Department of Education and Science at Waterloo to ask for the allowance to be raised. Later teachers went to parliament for a mass lobby of MPs.

From Lambeth Bridge onwards about 800 police lined the demonstrators' route spaced at three-foot intervals and going into double lines outside parliament. Mounted police were standing by. This is the biggest concentration of police seen in central London for many years.

Mass meetings have unanimously endorsed the shop stewards' refusal to allow the rate fixers in to oversee the work.

The union say the strike will continue until Leyland drop all idea of squeezing extra productivity out of the Measured-Day Work scheme in operation there.

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