

TEACHERS IN CONFERENCE

STALINISTS ACCEPT TORY PAY BOARD

**£100,000
PARTY
BUILDING
FUND**

WE SEEM to have levelled out at the £9,000 mark. Saturday's post brought in £6 from Coventry branch of the Socialist Labour League, which brought us to £9,153.78.

This is not the time for complacency. Can we have the next big push please.

Post all donations to:
Party Building Fund
186a Clapham High St
London SW4 7UG.

FROM IAN YEATS
IN SCARBOROUGH

THE 235,000-STRONG National Union of Teachers became the latest major union to accept a wage deal within the limits of the Tory state pay laws at its annual conference here at the weekend.

Not only did the Communist Party faction vote for acceptance, but the union's new Stalinist president, Max Morris, helped draw up the executive recommendation on pay.

He is also the man who will tell the employers at the Burnham committee that his members have agreed to a Tory-dictated offer of a £127 a year flat rate pay rise.

ATTACK

Morris went on to launch a vicious attack on the youngest and most militant section of the NUT who have been demanding a fight against the government pay norm.

So in the first major test of Communist Party leadership in the battle against the most vicious Tory government since the war the Stalinists opted for collaboration in Tory plans for the corporate state.

On Saturday the executive fought to have struck-out from a pay resolution a vital paragraph calling for a new 'vigorous public campaign' for a 'substantial flat rate increase'.

Instead they proposed their union's pay 'case' should be drawn up by experts at Ruskin College trade union research unit—presumably to be followed by submission to the Tory Pay Board.



Islanders plan anti-oil armada see p.6, 7 & 12

But only about a dozen of 2,000 delegates at Scarborough Spa voted for the Ruskin amendment, inflicting an overwhelming defeat on the leadership.

Leading the attack, Leeds delegate Mr W. Scott hit out:

'In essence the executive amendment tells conference it is not capable of deciding its own wages structure. It can only be that it wants to side-track conference on the next pay claim.'

The Tory laws cast a heavy shadow over the conference and in the absence of any real leadership delegates were paralysed by the government's abolition of the traditional methods of free collective bargaining under Phase Two.

In the two days of debates, teachers complained bitterly about step rises in the cost of living.

It was claimed that although the vast majority are dissatisfied with their pay, they now see no

way of achieving rises above the government norm.

Ever since being forced to flee the platform at Westminster Central Halls, London — all but about 30 of the 2,000-strong audience voted down a milk-and-water resolution ending the campaign on the London teachers' pay allowance—the Stalinists and right-wing-dominated leadership have been gunning for the militants.

In his presidential address Max Morris launched a vicious attack on, 'the lunatic fringe of the left,' with a call to the union's 'silent majority'.

'EDUCATE'

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'The vigour and energy that young teachers command should

'Peaceful road' in action

THE STALINIST policy at the National Union of Teachers' conference will set the pattern for Communist Party supporters at every union conference this summer.

Their action in voting for the NUT's Phase Two wage settlement arises directly from the decision by the Party executive at King Street to give full support to the Tory pay laws and the corporate state in return for some amendments to the Industrial Relations Act.

Workers Press is the only newspaper in the labour movement which has consistently warned against the treachery of the Stalinists, who have now become the staunchest suppor-

ters of the TUC's right-wing policies.

The lesson for the working class is made clear once again. The building of a revolutionary leadership demands a complete and fundamental break from all aspects of Stalinist policy.

The record of Trotskyism's struggle against Stalinism dates back to the early part of the 1920s. It is now the most urgent task for all workers to study and understand the history of this vital struggle.

Stalinism today is the most counter-revolutionary force in the world. The policy of the 'peaceful road to socialism' leads directly to class collaboration with the Tories.

WORKERS PRESS

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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TURN TO PAGE 2

ANYONE looking for a systematic defence of syndicalist confusion and a conscious apology for Stalinism will not find a better example than Mr Tony Cliff's latest contribution in 'Socialist Worker' (April 21, 1973).

The article is called—characteristically—'Now rank and file must pick up the gauntlet'. Mr Cliff is considerably worried by the failure of his prognostications of victories, breakthroughs and other advances on the wages front which he made in 1972 and early 1973. Euphoria and mindless worship of spontaneity which filled the columns of 'Socialist Worker' and the articles of Cliff has now turned into dour despondency and disorientation.

'Have the rank and file failed? Do workers lack militancy? Are they submissive? What is the explanation of the retreat?' asks a rueful Cliff.

That Cliff should even have to pose the question about the failure of the workers is itself a confession of utter bankruptcy by the IS, particularly when only a month before, the 'Socialist Worker' lead stated:

'The fight goes on. This week's strikes and demonstrations have shown the potential of mass action. United and resolute, the working-class movement can smash the freeze and topple the government behind it.' (March 3, 1973.)

Cliff's answers to these questions are a crude evasion of the serious political threat posed by government-TUC-Stalinist collaboration and, moreover, is an attempt to continue the tailending of the working class which typified IS policy in the past.

This is clearly revealed in Cliff's analysis of the Saltley Coke Depot episode in the miners' strike.

'The lesson for employers, government and union leaders was a simple one—never again.'

This is a conscious attempt to disarm the working class with the revisionist argument that the Tories were somehow decisively defeated and that from now on into the indefinite future, the government can only continue to collaborate with the TUC.

A SYNDICALIST APOLOGY FOR STALINISM

What we think

The reason for this—according to Cliff—is the 'fantastic strength' of the working class and presumably—the inability of the bureaucracy to betray the working class. Although Mr Cliff does not state this conclusion explicitly, it is clearly implied in his own words about the bureaucracy:

'The trade union bureaucracy including the so-called "left", will continue to fail to give a lead.'

This is politeness carried to the point of magnanimity! Do the leaders betray? No, replies Cliff, they only refuse to give a lead!

This cover-up for union leaders and the obscuring of the crisis which forces the Tories to collaborate with union leaders today to prepare, tomorrow, savage attacks against union ranks and the union leaders themselves, is an integral part of Cliff's attack against Marxism.

That is why he distorts—and sneers at—the SLL's warnings of the danger of corporatism in Britain. 'Hence—all the talk you hear now among some left wingers

about the Tories having created "fascism" or the "corporate state" is rubbish.'

The SLL has never stated that the corporate state exists in Britain—and certainly not 'fascism'. To do that the Tories have to destroy the unions in physical combat, but they are laying the legal basis for the corporate state with the arming of the police, the state control of wages and the collaboration with the TUC. They hope to use the TUC and the Stalinists to soften up the working class, confuse it and split it and then make a surprise attack.

When Cliff sneers at the SLL he sneers predictably at the prognosis of Trotsky, who was acutely aware of the dangers stemming from reformist leadership and who never made a virtue of 'militancy'.

... once the question of power becomes severe, the Conservatives will endeavour to split up the workers, depending on Thomas at the top, and on those trade unionists who refuse to pay political

levies at the bottom [the equivalent of IS in the 1920s]. It is not at all beyond the realms of possibility that there will be an attempt on the part of the Conservative government to evoke separate conflicts, in order to crush them with force, to frighten the liberal philistine leaders of the Labour Party, and to set the movement back.'

Trotsky, however, was not discouraged by such a prospect because he envisaged that the revolutionary communist movement—unlike Cliff's syndicalists—would assimilate the political lessons of a set-back.

'On the contrary, a defeat of that kind would prepare for the renewal of the class struggle on the next stage, in more determined revolutionary forms, and consequently under new leadership.' ('Where is Britain Going?' pp. 77-78.)

Cliff's article is the opposite of everything Trotsky stood for.

He consciously conceals the counter-revolutionary role of reformist and Stalinist leaderships by blaming the set back on the 'form of organization' and a 'lack of communications' between 'militants'.

He rejects the entire struggle of Lenin and Trotsky and prepares the way for betrayal and defeat by reversing the relation between political struggle for state power and the economic struggle with this deathless conclusion:

'Hence, only the development of the struggle itself, the daring to fight the government, will be followed and accompanied by the daring to think politically.'

This is not an argument for revolutionary socialism, but for the liquidation of scientific socialism and revolutionary organization into the spontaneous experience of workers.

Only those who warn of the dangers of corporatism and fight for Marxist consciousness in the working class and against trade union consciousness can turn the present set-back into an enduring victory against Toryism.

Cliff's centrist diatribe emphasizes the great urgency for the transformation of the SLL into a revolutionary party through such a struggle.

APRIL FUND

£634.41

7 DAYS LEFT

THIS IS our last seven days—and the most vital ones. It must be all stops out from now on to make sure we raise our April Fund.

We know it is a tough struggle, particularly as this month we are raising our special Party Development Fund as well. But we are sure you will agree that this political situation demands we make this extra effort.

One thing is certain today. In order to try and tackle this inflationary crisis, the ruling class will fight back more and more against the working class.

Only Workers Press is prepared. Our paper alone struggles to build the necessary revolutionary leadership to fight back against all these attacks.

We are confident that you, dear readers, are fully behind us. We appeal to you, therefore, to do all you can to raise our Fund this month. Time is running out so let's not waste a moment. Rush every donation immediately to:

Workers Press April Appeal Fund
186a Clapham High Street
London SW4 7UG

White House big fish get bigger

PRESIDENT NIXON, facing the biggest political scandal to hit the United States since the 1920s, worked alone in his study at the Florida White House yesterday.

Many of his closest political associates have been named in the Watergate bugging affair as having approved of or taken part in the plot to bug the Democratic election headquarters.

Departing from his usual practice, the President left both his top domestic adviser, John Erlichmann and his chief of staff, H. R. (Bob) Haldeman, in Washington when he flew south for the weekend.

Both men have retained a top Washington lawyer, former assistant attorney-general John Wilson, to act for them in the judicial inquiry now under way over the Watergate affair.

Haldeman is under investigation by a Federal Grand Jury to determine whether his office had a role in the initial bugging attempt and in the later attempts to cover up the scandal.

He has denied any link with

a secret fund used to buy the silence of the seven convicted Watergate defendants who are now facing lengthy jail terms. According to press reports, payouts from this \$350,000 fund were supervised by John Dean, the White House lawyer.

John Mitchell, who recently resigned from the post of attorney-general, is reported to have told the Grand Jury that he had approved payments of campaign funds to the Watergate defendants.

He claimed the payments were for legal fees and had nothing to do with buying their silence.

The main figures in the case received \$3,000 a month and lesser defendants \$1,000, according to the 'New York Times'.



Mitchell... 'Legal fees'

CND vigils at sub site

THE CAMPAIGN for Nuclear Disarmament's weekend of protest got off to a poor start when only four CND members turned up at the Rosyth dockyard—refuelling base of the Polaris submarines.

They erected a seven-foot high CND sign and waited to address members of the public—but no-one turned up.

About 1,000 ban-the-bomb marchers eventually left Glasgow's city centre to march to the Faslane submarine base 29 miles away.

Overnight vigils were held on Saturday and last night at sites at Edzell, Rosyth, Machrihanish, Glen Douglas, Coullport and Holy Loch. 'Peace trees' were planted at each location.

CND general secretary Dick Nettleton said he had expected 2,500 marchers, but he was 'not disappointed'.

Communist Party member James Reid told a pre-march rally: 'We do not want nuclear bases in Scotland. It makes us sitting ducks in the event of a nuclear war.'

The rally decided to send a telegram to Tory premier Heath asking the British government to back Australia in its protest over the proposed French nuclear tests in the Pacific.

CWS bank rescue reflects rates crisis

A CLASSIC banking crisis with widespread implications for the money markets forced emergency intervention last week by the Bank of England to save the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society Bank.

The Bank of England has mounted a rescue operation involving a shotgun marriage between the Scottish and English Co-operative Wholesale Societies, backed by a consortium of leading clearing banks.

The Scottish Co-op Bank has some £50m in customers' current and deposit accounts and there were fears at one point that the crisis would lead to a run on the bank.

The bank came to the brink of failure through its operations on the market in sterling certificates of deposit. These are long-term securities bearing a fixed rate of interest and repayable on specific dates.

The bank borrowed money in the short-term capital market to finance its purchases of sterling certificates, but the steep rise in interest rates over the past few months involved it in heavy losses.

The fact that the bank was able to get itself into such deep water indicates that the controls which supposedly surround British banking operations are, in reality, less than watertight.

The banks' participation in the sterling certificate of deposit market results from a relaxation of the Bank of England's rules less than two years ago, which allowed the banks to build up their holdings of this form of paper.

Bankers have long claimed that thanks to the watch kept by the Bank of England over the other financial institutions, bank failures in Britain are a thing of the past.

Bank of England intervention this time, however, is a case of shutting the stable door after the horse has gone.

RIGHT-WING elements in the engineering union in Surrey are trying to get a High Court writ to stop the AUEW's participation in the May Day strike against the Tory pay laws.

STALINISTS ACCEPT TORY PAY BOARD

FROM PAGE 1

be a positive benefit to a teachers' union.

'But we have to educate our new members. Good union members are not born but made. The very nature of a union, its aims and objects, the way it operates under rules democratically decided and under a leadership democratically elected, has to be taught and learned like everything else.

'A union is not a college debating society. Its meetings are not teach-ins, talk-ins or shout-ins. Its methods of discussion and decision-making are laid down in its recognized procedures, conventions and rules.

'Nothing debases the currency or blunts the sharp edges of militant action more than its misuse as an empty slogan and a panacea for every unsolved problem.

'Alas some of our members

still cannot distinguish between genuine militancy and the operation of a wind machine.

'Strikes decided upon by tiny majority votes, calls for extended indefinite strikes, unrelated to the possible achievements of particular objectives, are foreign to genuine trade unionism.

'Our common bond is our occupation. The union's prime job is to weld its members together into the strongest possible force to fight for higher pay, better conditions of service and educational advance.'

He appealed: 'Faced with the dangers piling up against us, confronted by policies from on high and philosophies from all sides that would undermine what we have struggled for over the years, is it not time for educational workers throughout the service to close their ranks?'

Morris then went on to support the recommendation to accept the Tories' Phase Two norm.



Max Morris... Attack on young militants then support for Phase Two.

TUC DOES A PUBLIC RELATIONS JOB FOR HEATH

ROYSTON BULL EXAMINES THE LATEST TUC DOCUMENT ON THE PAY LAWS.

The TUC's latest publication, issued immediately after the shameful abandonment of the hospital workers to the Tory pay laws, announces proudly:

'Strikes still possible under counter-inflation legislation, TUC tells unions.'

The purpose of this fatuous commentary could not be clearer. The TUC is trying to cover up its capitulation to the Tory government by some 'left' phraseology.

The poverty of the attempted cover for this nakedness only serves to reveal all the more the wretchedness of its surrender.

'There are no powers under the legislation entailing immediate automatic prosecutions,' the paper says breathlessly.

No, the reality is that the Pay Board or the government has to make an order forbidding an increase before pressure to get it implemented becomes a criminal offence. A magnificent safeguard! And even that 'concession' is not valid for the vast majority of pay deals, i.e. those covering 1,000 workers or more.

Strikes or other industrial action to implement an agreement for more than 1,000 workers are automatically illegal until the deal has been approved by the Pay Board, even if it is within the Phase Two norm of £1 plus 4 per cent.

The full significance of this corporatist abolition of basic democratic rights has still not sunk in with the trade union movement at large. It clearly never will at the TUC. The document chirrup on:

'In the absence of an order or notice, there are no legal limits on negotiations, and unions can lawfully take industrial action to secure whatever settlements they can reach.'

Blatant defeatist terms

Not a single sentence throughout this whole 2,000-word TUC document calls on unions to strike in defiance of the pay laws, or even reminds unions that it is TUC policy to reject the pay laws and therefore to support strikes against them.



Victor Feather—a frequent visitor at No 10 Downing Street.

On the contrary, the document is couched in the most blatantly defeatist terms. 'Under the legislation, unions must not exercise any pressure on an employer to contravene either a notification or a restriction order by taking the following action: (a) calling, organizing, procuring, or financing a strike, or threatening to do so; or (b) organizing, procuring, or financing any irregular industrial action short of a strike, or threatening to do so.'



Hospital workers—The TUC leaders, including the so-called 'leis' abandoned their pay fight.

And yet despite the total absence of any call to defiant action, and bearing in mind the record of the TUC in completely abandoning the gas-workers, civil servants, teachers and hospital workers without the trace of a fight on their behalf, the document gaily tells workers that where there are less than 1,000 of them, they are free to strike until an order is passed forbidding it.

This attitude is not some chance error. For it is capped by an even better one in the very next paragraph!

'The government's notification order of April 1 preventing the implementation of proposed increases [for 1,000 workers or more until approved by the Pay Board] will normally apply only after a settlement is reached and should not therefore make union action to secure such a settlement illegal.'

This is a bold invitation to trade unions to go on strike without any fear of legal penalty in order to secure a settlement which will then automatically be vetoed by the Pay Board.

Any subsequent strike action actually to get the settlement implemented, of course, would be illegal and invite criminal proceedings against the instigators.

This kind of 'advice' is nothing but an insult to trade unionists.

The essence of this attitude is the abject prostration before the mystique of bourgeois law. The timidity of these reformist bureaucrats tinkles in every sentence:

'An order or notice will normally follow the consideration by the Board of a settlement and it cannot be supposed that the Pay Board will seek to interpret its powers to include the power to make an order restricting pay which is still in the course of negotiation,' the document whimpers with an almost audible sigh of relief at having found another 'concession', instead if a further anticipated whip-lash.

The document even tries to make a virtue out of the fact that striking of itself is not made illegal by the legislation, only the organization and instigation of strikes.

The servility almost reaches the point of justifying the pay laws. 'This legislation does not prevent unions taking industrial action purely as a

protest about the government's policy, or to secure recognition and negotiating rights, or to prevent, or protest against redundancies or victimization, etc.'

But then it thoughtfully adds, in parentheses: 'These stoppages would be governed

by other statutes and case law.' Just in case the thought of being free to go on strike was too unnerving for workers to take!

The document then goes on to predict quite erroneously: 'This legislation should not prevent unions taking action

to secure an agreement in the form of a commitment to pay whenever this is legally possible or after Phase Two.'

Criminal misguidance

This is just not true. It is slipped in to cover the TUC's servility by pretending that the dark clouds will soon pass. The document even hands out the hope that such above-the-norm agreements might even be able to be paid retrospectively, depending upon the Phase Three criteria. This is totally false.

Then, without any justification whatsoever, the statement predicts: 'It is, for example, assumed unlikely that the Board would think it fit to issue orders against settlements guaranteeing future wage increases if the rise in the cost of living exceeds a certain level.'

This is a most criminal misguidance of the trade union movement. It is exactly the Tories' intention to drive wages down below the level of inflation.

The government, in fact, is already doing it, as the Piachaud analysis, widely publicized in the Press recently, clearly showed.

The TUC bureaucrats were crawling too low on their bellies to notice.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

MAY DAY

DEMONSTRATE TUES. MAY 1ST



DEFEND BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS
BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

LONDON: Assemble, 6 p.m. Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. Meeting, 8 p.m. St Pancras Assembly Rooms. Premiere showing of Pageant film.
MIDLANDS: Meeting, 7.30 p.m. Assembly Hall, Digbeth, Birmingham.
NORTH-WEST: Assemble, 10 a.m. Islington, Liverpool. Meeting, 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Liverpool. Premiere showing of Pageant film.
NORTH-EAST: Meeting, 7.30 p.m. Civic Centre, Jarrow. Premiere showing of Pageant film.

SCOTLAND: Assemble, 10 a.m. Blythswood Square, Glasgow. Meeting, 7.30 p.m. Woodside Halls, St George's Cross, Glasgow. Premiere showing of Pageant film.
WALES: Meeting, 7.30 p.m. Caedraw School, Merthyr Tydfil. Premiere showing of Pageant film.
YORKSHIRE: Meeting, 7.30 p.m. Guildford Hotel, Headrow, Leeds.

ANOTHER 'TOP FIRM' WITH INTERESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Reckitt and Colman have been boosting their mustards range with a sentimental, but undoubtedly very expensive new television advertisement.

The Reckitt's group—one of Britain's top 75 companies—can afford such expenditure.

It earns hundreds of thousands of pounds of its £105m turnover from cheap South African labour.

The group produces everything from wine to cleaning fluid.

A year after the Tory election victory, into the making of which Reckitt and Colman poured considerable amounts of money, its 25,000 workers in Britain found themselves plunged into a major rationalization.

The aim, said chairman Arthur Mason, was to bring all activities under five main divisions—food, household products, toiletries, industrial products and pharmaceuticals.

First victims of this drive were jobs in wine production at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire. Then closure of a canning and preserves plant at Peterborough was announced, threatening 250 jobs.

The group's political donations are generous.

To British United Industrialists—a fund-raising organization for the Tory Party—it gave £20,000 last time round. Aims of Industry and the witch-hunting Economic League both got £500.

Yet these are mere fleabites in comparison with Reckitt and Colman's massive profits.

In 1971-1972 these were almost £22m before interest and tax. This represented a profit rate of 20.7 per cent in relation to capital employed, as compared with 19.1 per cent the previous year.

'We have nothing, absolutely nothing to be ashamed of in our operations in South Africa', the group told campaigners who wanted to sever links between it and Hull University, which it helped found.

In 1970 Reckitt and Colman's South African assets, at £5.85m, were about 5 per cent of its total. At £9.84m, its sales in South Africa were about 5.7 per cent of its sales worldwide.



Arthur Mason, chairman of Reckitt and Colman. Above: South African woman and child at a resettlement camp near Ladysmith.

The group's trading profit in the apartheid state—£1.51m—was 7.8 per cent of its world total.

Taking these figures together, the Hull campaigners worked out that worldwide the group's trading profit was 11.1 per cent of its sales, but in South Africa its profit was 15.4 per cent of sales.

So at least £430,000 extra profit was being made there as a result of cheap labour, they reckoned.

In fact this is probably a gross underestimate, since about a third of the group's South African employees are white and therefore paid over £40 a week where black workers get less than £10.

The South African Institute of Race Relations estimates that the minimum income on which a family of five could

be at all secure in an African township such as Soweto, where some Reckitt's employees live, is £61 a month.

So presumably wives are being expected to go out to work, perhaps as nannies to white children, while leaving their own families untended.

In this way an extra £10 a week might be brought in, which would still leave Reckitt's workers among the 68 per cent of black workers who surveys conclude are living in poverty in South African townships.

For these families there is no coy joking about the difference between fresh mustard and Colman's—rarely enough any meat to put mustard on

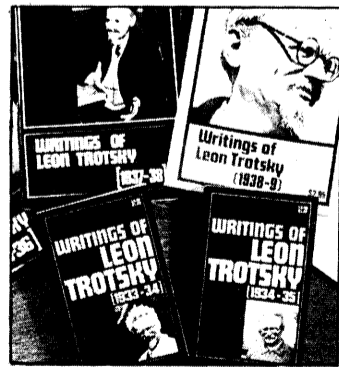
even if they had any.

Yet it is all too easy, amid the welter of liberal protest that the conduct of British companies in South Africa has recently evoked, to lose sight of the one fact that can help to change this situation.

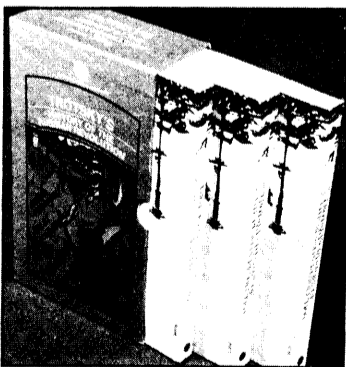
And that is that firms such as Reckitt's rely heavily on cheap labour to buttress their threatened profit rates, and must be expropriated lock, stock and barrel before the conditions of the South African workers can be ameliorated.

This struggle is intimately bound up with the fight against unemployment and the campaign for the mobilization of the working class to force the Tories to resign.

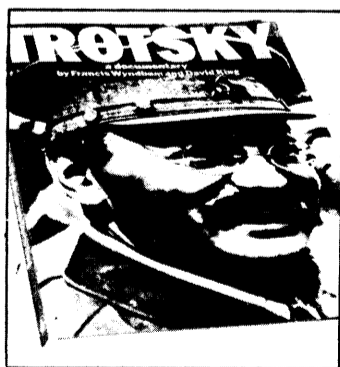
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SPECULATORS HOARD THE LAND

More evidence of the vast tracts of land available for house-building but denied to local authorities by speculators has come from the north west.

A recent survey has found that there is enough land to build 149,000 new houses in Lancashire and Cheshire for the working-class families of the Manchester metropolitan area. But it is kept lying idle by private owners.

Both county planning authorities have said that the government's so-called plan to stop the hoarding of land will be very hard to implement, mainly because it is often impossible to find out why land is being kept from the market.

Cheshire's deputy planning officer, Ronald Turton, gives three cases.

PLANNING permission was granted two and a half years ago on 200 houses on a 25-acre site at the village of Doddington, five miles from Chester.

But nothing has happened,

though the land has changed hands twice, presumably at ever inflated prices.

If it ever does come up for development, the cost of building houses would be so high as to price the average working-class family out of the bidding.

THE SECOND case concerns the only large undeveloped site for housing on the edge of Chester at Great Broughton. Nine months ago planning permission was given on 200 acres for a 1,400 housing project. Turton says that building could have started right away, but nothing has been done.

IN A third case the price of 30 acres of building land changed hands twice, first for £20,000 and then for £30,000. Now the owners face penalty clauses if they don't start building.

Despite this evidence, Cheshire and Lancashire County Councils say there is 'no evidence' of speculative holding. They are both Tory controlled and do not plan to move to free land until autumn.

BLACK POWER



FROM THE GUN TO THE BALLOT BOX

The date is 1967. The place Oakland, California. The speaker Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale.

'These pig cops want to oppress us, tear our flesh with their service revolvers, the only way to deal with the power structure is through violence and force.'

It was the time fellow Panther leader Huey Newton had been charged with the murder of an Oakland policeman.

Seale said: 'That was no murder. That was the execution of a pig cop. You got to have your heat, your piece, your rod, especially you got to have a shotgun in your pad. That power is very important.'

The BPP was founded there in Oakland in 1966 by Seale, Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver to defend the ghetto community against police attacks.

Last week at Oakland Seale had this to say: 'We have a good police department but the officers need to be trained.'

He added, to cheering crowds: 'There ain't going to be any riots in this city—we're going to the polls.'

Bobby Seale was running in an eight-man race for the office of mayor of Oakland.

In 1969 he was gagged and handcuffed to a chair in a Chicago court after protesting he was being denied his constitutional rights.

Accused with six others of conspiring to incite a riot at the 1968 Democratic Party convention in Chicago he was given four years' jail for contempt before the real trial had even begun.

In San Francisco prison he was brutally beaten by sheriff's deputies and locked in solitary confinement without even a bed to sleep on.

In 1970 he was tried at New-haven, Connecticut, guarded by 4,000 troops, for the killing of fellow Panther Alex Rackley.

A year later he was offering to mediate between prisoners at riot torn Attica jail and the authorities.

Although there is little evidence that his political objectives have changed his

methods certainly have.

The gun has been hung up in favour of the ballot box.

A good part of the reason must be that in the past five years the Nixon administration has waged a ruthless war against the Panthers killing about a score and staging huge show trials to intimidate supporters.

Seale said at Oakland last week: 'I've dedicated my life to the concept that the people have the right to a better and more decent life, the beginning of which can come with the idea that people have the right to a job, with or without a skill.'

A considerable change from the fire and brimstone days of black power from the barrel of a gun.

The real nature of this political change is still obscure.

All the signs are that the Panthers are cuddling closer and closer to the reformist tactics of the American Communist Party.

Newton, who now lives in an expensive 25th floor apartment overlooking Oakland's



Black Panthers, Huey Newton (left) and Bobby Seale. Above: Stokely Carmichael speaking at a Black Power meeting in 1968

Lake Merritt had this to say:

'We're doing our basic homework and that's to organize the community and be of some influence in the community.'

'We have to be students of society, to be in tune with what's in operation at the time because if you're out of step then history will condemn you.'

Newton returns to university soon to study for a doctorate in politics. All charges against him have been dropped.

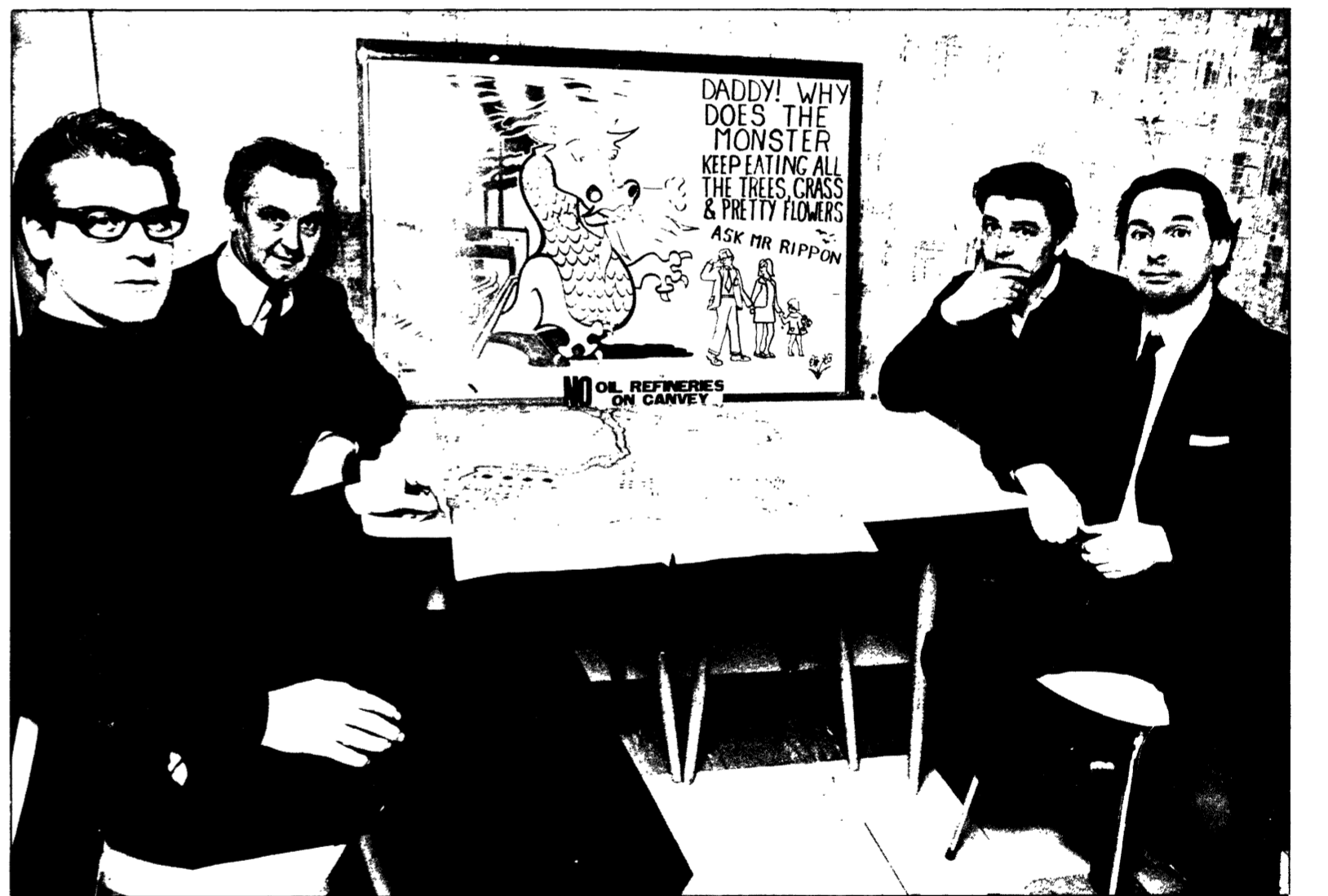
Last week some observers thought he was only waiting to see how Seale fared in Tuesday's election before making his own move into 'legitimate' politics.

Seale, who campaigned in an

expensive conservative business suit says he is now a master carpenter, amateur jazz musician and ordained minister in the Universal-Life Church, a mail-order religious movement.

Even John Reading, the quiet-spoken American businessman who made a fortune out of food processing and who was seeking a third term as mayor praised the 'respectable' and 'dignified' character of Seale's campaign.

About 34 per cent of Oakland's 360,000 population are black but Seale electioneered on issues affecting all workers such as unemployment and secrecy at local council meetings.



RIPPON TRAMPLES ISLANDERS RIGHTS

BY IAN YEATS

You can still drive to Canvey Island and see cows munching quietly in the flat and apparently unending meadows.

Birds twitter in the hedgerows and the wind rustles the spring leaves of trees in the gardens of slumbering, detached, middle-class homes.

But every few minutes this idyllic calm is shattered by the crash and roar of giant red Texaco oil tankers belching their way in clouds of choking diesel smog to the mainland.

Where post-war residents once looked out over the lone-

ly flat seascape of this tiny Thames island, unsightly squat-bellied storage tanks obliterate the view.

Not far away the historic tranquility of the night sky is ended in the ever-blazing beacon of the methane gas centre.

Now, despite the protests of individuals and local authorities, Environment Minister Geoffrey Rippon has ruled that two oil refineries may be built on Canvey.

This will mean that exactly half the island's 4,000 acres will be given over to gas and oil, while in the other half 28,000 people will live under a pall of smoke and smells.

The town campaigned once before, back in 1964, to stop Agip, a subsidiary of the Italian state oil company ENI, from setting up a refinery.

Their protests were so successful that Agip were unable to start building before planning limits expired and they were forced to back out.

Now, in his latest decision, Rippon has given the go-ahead for a £45m, 4 million-ton refinery to ENI's subsidiary United Refineries Ltd.

On an immediately adjacent site Occidental Refineries are soon to begin work on a second complex.

Apart from the pollution and the fire risk, local people

estimate that if the plans go forward oil tankers will be roaring on and off the island at the rate of one every one-and-a-half minutes.

But all of this, according to Monday Club member Rippon, is in the 'national interest'.

But is it in the local interest? The inhabitants of Canvey Island say very firmly 'No'.

Moreover they claim that Rippon has effectively disenfranchised them by trampling down the democratic expression of their opinion.

The island council said 'No' to the refineries; other Essex councils said 'No'. Over 12,000 people almost the entire adult population of Canvey—said 'No' in a monster petition.

Environment Ministry inspector K. M. Sargeant told Rippon the island was unsuitable for more refineries without destroying the amenities.

Overriding these views Rippon has run out the red carpet to the oil giants.

A large number of the pro-

testers are workers from nearby Ford's and Tilbury docks. In fact Canvey used to be popularly known as Ford Island.

Up to the last war it remained a thinly-populated country haven for retired members of the middle-class, many of whom followed the advice of the Dutch engineers who reclaimed Canvey from the sea and built themselves light wooden bungalows on piers.

They were surrounded by farms, the air was pure and the sailing was good.

After the war Canvey became even more popular with the middle class as a weekend retreat, and in the boom years of the 1950s and early 1960s workers moved there from central London.

Oil Refineries Resistance Committee public relations officer George Whatley is typical. He came from Tooting. 'I came here to get out of the dirt', he told me.

Today his home looks out

over green fields to the Thames. Soon the view will be transformed by a steel and concrete forest of tanks and masts belching out deadly fumes night and day.

Committee treasurer's wife Mrs Val Smith told me: 'My son's got asthma and I came here for the air.'

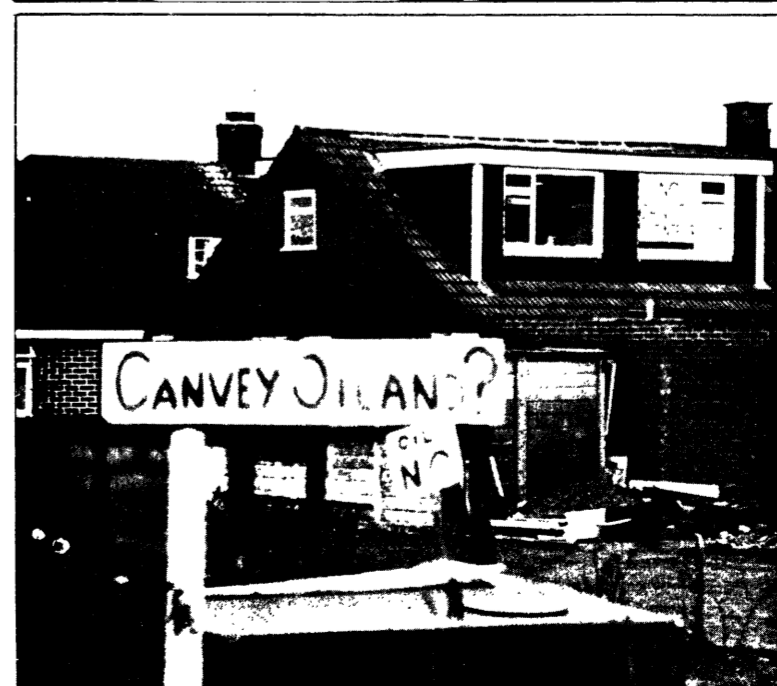
'But there's sulphur in oil—and that's a chest aggravant. A lot of people here will suffer if these refineries are built.'

George and Linda Watson moved to Canvey from London five years ago because they liked the look of the fields and the horses.

But said Linda: 'The builders have moved in now. Where they want to build those refineries is about the only land left.'

Added Mr Watson: 'We feel so helpless. We're at the mercy of the oil magnates. What can we do?'

Hundreds of highly-paid workers moved out of London with their families seeking a slice of the good life, only to



Placards everywhere voice Islanders' protest to the oil men. Above left: Texaco oil tankers thunder along the island's tiny streets. Above right: George Whatley (left) with other members of the 'Oil Refineries Resistance Committee'. Top right: The fields and the storage depot.

find that for the working class there can be no Shangri-la... especially if it happens to lie in the path of profit.

As Mrs Smith said: 'They want to turn Canvey Island into an oil refinery.'

This is undoubtedly true. Capitalist big business plans to develop the lower reaches of the Thames at the expense of old London.

Canvey Island and the surrounding area is earmarked as a modern fuel centre and there are already oil refineries, wharves and storage depots at Coryton, the Isle of Grain, Shell Haven, Cliff and Thurrock.

The centre is close to new dock developments at Tilbury and the rail, sea, air terminal at Maplin. Europe is not far away and major industries like Ford's are nearby on Thameside.

In the lower reaches of the Thames industry can build new from scratch and escape the constraints and congestion of the old city.

To Canvey Islanders the only meaning of fuel centre is fire.

Said Mrs Whatley: 'We all warned them about Aberfan. Now all those poor kids are dead. They have no right to do this to us.'

Apart from oil and gas there is also danger from ammunition loaded into ships off Chapman Point.

Fires and explosions could mean the deaths of scores of people — especially since although there are two roads on and off the island these meet at a single narrow bottleneck roundabout.

Two demonstrations blocking these roads have been staged against the refineries, and in the process two men have been arrested. Now the island council plans to fight their case in the High Court.

Said Mr Whatley: 'Our democratic rights are at stake on Canvey. Rippon is saying that this country needs oil more than 28,000 people need safety.'

John McLean, the Scottish workers' leader remained unaffected by the war hysteria that swept the left in 1914. He agitated against the imperialist slaughter and hailed the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. But he overlooked the necessity to build a revolutionary party in Britain. In part three of this four-part tribute to McLean we examine his strength and weakness.

MCLEAN IN BATTLE: THE ANTI-WAR FIGHT AND THE GLASGOW RENTS STRIKE

It was to John McLean — recently sacked from his teacher's job by Govan School Board — that the rent strikers of Glasgow turned on November 17, 1915, to head their demonstration which climaxed their campaign for rent restrictions.

And it was McLean who took up the fight for politics in the syndicalist Clyde Workers' Committee of shop stewards from the main munitions firms, which led the campaign against the dilution of the skilled labour force on the Clyde from the autumn of 1915 to March 1916.

McLean's courageous stand for principles — he was first briefly imprisoned in November 1915, and in April 1916 he got three years' penal servitude — won enormous respect in the working class.

But the weaknesses of his propagandist approach to the working class — rooted in the undialectical method which dominated the parties and sects of the Second International — and his isolation from the international struggle for Marxist theory and practice, began to become critical.

NEW VITAL FORCES

The rents struggle threw forward vital new forces into the fight against capitalism, which, in their turn to McLean and in their attempt to mount a demonstration at the West Nile Street recruiting office in Glasgow, expressed a development of political consciousness far beyond that which the most experienced layers of workers involved in the munitions fight were able to make at this stage.

Although McLean saw the rents struggle as potentially the beginning of a campaign of political strikes, he was not able to intervene to win the most conscious of the rents strikers to a revolutionary programme.

He remained an admired figurehead, and the reformists subsequently took the credit for the rents victory. To the government it was no more than an undesired but necessary tactical retreat which enabled them to get on with the job of enforcing dilution in the munitions factories.

Within the Clyde Workers' Committee, McLean correctly

criticized the evasion of the central political question of the war, which led to a confused position on workers' control and dilution. But he did not turn successfully to new forces in the struggle to bring them into conflict with the CWC leaders, whose militancy was transformed into a brake on further development by the political situation created by the war.

The defence of basic rights of even a limited section of the working class was in reality a revolutionary question affecting the whole working class. A leadership which could grasp this idea and carry it into practice was required.

McLean, above all, lacked a clear conception of building such a leadership, a new type of party intransigently opposed both to the opportunism of social democracy and the syndicalism of the CWC.

Unlike Lenin he did not grasp the need for an absolutely decisive theoretical and organizational break from the 'decayed official socialism' of the Second International and for the building of a Bolshevik party.

In this, the 50th anniversary year of McLean's death, there will be many who will rush to pour scorn on this criticism, and to justify their own hostility to Bolshevism by attempting uncritically to canonize John McLean. Supporters of the revisionist International Marxist Group and International Socialists have already set the ball rolling (see Workers Press, January 9 and 10, 1970; October 26, 1972).

A revolutionary assessment of McLean's significance must attempt an analysis of his weaknesses as well as his strengths. Only in this way can the lessons of his life be negated into the living struggle for revolutionary leadership today.

The middle-class centrists and revisionists of IMG and IS who are entirely hostile to this task prefer to ignore McLean's mistakes or even to turn them into their opposite. McLean's reputation is then used to deny or cast doubt on the central significance for the British working class of the October Revolution and of the first four congresses of the Third International.

McLean is said to represent an independent British or Scottish Marxist tendency and the fact that he never joined the Third International is portrayed as having something to do with the struggle against Stalinism, which is dated not from the degeneration of the Bolshevik party and the birth of the theory of 'socialism in



John McLean. Above: The Glasgow rents strike of 1915.

one country' in 1924, but from the struggle for internationalist discipline inaugurated by Lenin and Trotsky in the founding documents of the Comintern in 1919.

The use of McLean's name to help propagate this petty-bourgeois distortion of the truth about the early years of the Comintern and evasion of the real origins of Stalinism and of Trotsky's struggle against it, is a disgusting slander.

The greatest mistake of McLean's political life was his failure to turn decisively to the Third International. During 1919 he launched himself once again into the most determined activity, travelling the length and breadth of the country and writing for several workers' papers constantly.

This was the year of revolutionary upsurge in the British working class, with the Clydeside General Strike, the miners' and railmen's wage battles, the 'Hands Off Russia' campaign, etc.

But, as elsewhere in Europe, the question of the construction of revolutionary leadership was postponed. In Britain, then the strongest link in the Euro-

pean capitalist chain, the revolutionary elements in the workers' movement were especially weak.

It was not until conferences in July/August 1920 and January 1921 that the Communist Party of Great Britain was formed. It would probably not have been formed at all if it had not been for the active assistance and insistence of the Comintern.

FAILED TO BUILD PARTY

But McLean, the leading British internationalist of 1914, the most determined supporter of October, Bolshevik consul in early 1918, and honorary president (along with Liebknecht) of the first all-Russian congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, increasingly isolated himself from this central question.

At the end of July 1920, he was present neither at the second congress of the Comintern in Moscow, nor at the founding congress of the CPGB.

He does not seem to have had any thought-out theoretical differences with the early CPGB, but, dogged by ill-health since his prison sentence and hunger strike of 1918, he allowed himself to be increasingly influenced by personal differences with other leading figures in the British Socialist Party — the main component of the original CPGB.

Lenin told William Gallacher in 1920 that he was very anxious McLean should come to Moscow for discussions. McLean did try to get a visa to attend the second congress of the Comintern or to go to Russia later in 1920, but he proceeded by way of a futile campaign to make this a principled demand on the British government, instead of travelling by any available means as other British delegates did.

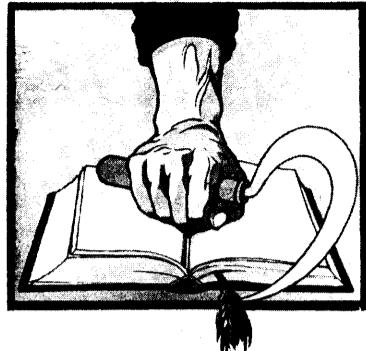
McLean's increasing subjectivism at this period cannot simply be ascribed to his shattered health, as Communist Party writers such as Gallacher and Tom Bell claimed. They were writing at a period when they were so steeped in the backwardness of Stalinism that they were incapable of attempting any serious theoretical assessment of McLean's mistakes.

Despite his unequivocal support for October, McLean remained rooted in the old individualist, propagandist method of the pre-war sects. He failed to grasp the theoretical developments made possible and necessary for the leadership of the working-class internationally by the Bolshevik revolution.

Above all he failed to grasp the absolute necessity for a Bolshevik-type party in Britain, constructed as part of the Third International on the basis of the historical development of Marxist theory and of the principles of democratic centralism and revolutionary internationalism.

Tomorrow: McLean after the war, the unemployed struggles.

BOOK REVIEW



'Reformism on the Clyde: the Story of UCS' by Stephen Johns. 128 pages. 30p. Available from 186a Clapham High St., London SW4 7UG.

The Socialist Labour League booklet, 'Reformism on the Clyde: the Story of UCS' by Stephen Johns places the famed work-in at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders in 1971-1972 in its correct historical perspective.

The capitalist system is in a deep world-wide crisis. As a direct result of this crisis, the boom in world shipbuilding orders collapsed in the early 1970s. Shipbuilding employers had no choice but rapidly to rationalize their yards, sack workers on a vast scale, and become super cost-competitive, or else face going out of business.

UCS, which was itself a merger of four failing Clyde shipyards, did not make it.

Stephen Johns relates how, on the weekend of June 11, 1971, UCS chairman Anthony Hepper travelled to Knutsford, Cheshire, to ask Tory Secretary of State for Trade and Industry John Davies for £6m of public money to prevent bankruptcy.

The 'lame-duck' philosopher refused. The following Monday, a notice went up at UCS.

'The directors profoundly regret to announce that in view of the present financial position of the company, they have been obliged to instruct an application to be made to the courts for the appointment of a provisional liquidator.'

Two years earlier, before the Tories got into office, Nicholas Ridley proposed in a secret document to the Tory Central Office:

'We could put a government "butcher" to cut up UCS, and sell (cheaply) to lower Clyde, the assets of UCS.'

Ridley was number two to Davies at the DTI when the Tories decided to put the axe to the UCS 'lame duck'.

Stephen Johns comments: 'The battle of the Clyde had begun. Over 8,000 shipyard workers faced a Tory government determined to save British capitalism.'

This was the point. This was what the real battle of UCS was about. And this is why the work-in was a defeat, not a victory as the Communist Party maintains.

Nothing has happened to take away the crisis of the capitalist system. The collapse of the shipbuilding market cannot be reversed at this stage of the capitalist crisis.

The temporary propping up of the economy by turning on the taps of money supply to which the Tories have resorted can only make the inflationary crisis even worse. It is just storing trouble up for later on.

That trouble, when it comes, will be in the form of a collapse of more commodity markets, a credit crisis, a severe reduction in world trade, leading to another round of bankruptcies, including some more in shipbuilding.

The Stalinists claim to have saved jobs. But the real point is that the Tories are saving the capitalist system by cutting jobs, as they have done at UCS, reducing wages, and

ESSENTIAL READING ON UCS



UCS shop stewards Sammy Barr, James Reid, James Airlie on Heath's doorstep to sell wages, working conditions and 2,000 jobs in accordance with the Tories' wishes as set down in their original 'Ridley' plan.

worsening conditions, as they will do again and again as the crisis gets worse—if they are allowed to get away with it.

The Communist Party leaders may think they have won a battle. The real point, however, is that they are losing the war.

Crises similar to the one at UCS will be the vehicle in the months to come for bitter class battles about the very direction society is taking.

These fundamental political questions were all raised by the proposed closure of UCS.

There was a massive outburst of working-class anger at the rottenness of the capitalist system. With leadership, this feeling could have been developed into the start of a mass movement determined to win the political and economic expropriation of the ruling class, starting with bringing down the Tory government and nationalizing the whole shipbuilding industry under workers' control and without compensation.

The Communist Party deliberately led the mass movement on the Clyde away from any such conclusion and consciously directed it instead along the most harmless reformist paths of keeping the yards going with working-class money until a new capitalist master came along to take over again.

They actually built ships using working-class donations for wages and without the full control of the capitalist bosses, and then handed the ships over to the capitalist enemies, the very ones who wanted to close the yards.

Thus they turned the political situation on its head. They achieved a measure of 'workers' control', not to expropriate the capitalists, but precisely to secure more per-

manent controls over the workers by the capitalists.

The terms under which the new Clyde companies opened were far worse than those the men had at UCS before the Stalinists 'took control'.

As Stephen Johns writes:

'The Stalinists claim that they have saved jobs. But the reverse is the case. Jobs have been lost, the working class weakened, and the employers have been allowed to develop their strategy.'

'One might ask, when the next crisis hits the yards on the Upper Clyde, as it undoubtedly will soon, how many more jobs are to go, how much more productivity is to be extracted and how many more basic rights sold?'

'There is, however, a more serious consideration. In conditions of extreme capitalist crisis, the whole question of state power is raised before the working class.'

'Workers cannot defend basic rights by the traditional compromise methods of trade union struggle that characterize boom periods. In times of crisis, the monopolies do not seek to "buy off" struggles with concessions, but to advance their plans to drive down wages and destroy basic rights.'

'This does not mean that workers should not struggle on issues like wages and jobs. This fight is basic and vital. But demands on wages and employment now become transitional demands which raise the question of nationalization of industries under workers' control without compensation.'

'In no other way, for example, can Clydeside shipyard workers defend their conditions and basic rights. Such battles involve big political questions. In Britain, the main issue is the Tory govern-

ment. To defend their jobs, wages and conditions, workers must remove this government by mass industrial and political action.'

Summing up the Communist Party's role, Stephen Johns writes:

'Their greatest treachery was to the whole mass movement of workers that developed rapidly around the UCS struggle.'

'It is difficult to convey in words the feeling of the Clydeside working class at the time of the UCS liquidation. The call for solidarity from the yards brought forth a massive response. Two General Strikes occurred in the West of Scotland and Glasgow saw the largest street demonstrations since the struggles which rocked the government during World War I.'

'This spontaneous movement was not just based on a feeling of sympathy for the shipyard men. Rather, workers had found a focus for the outrage and hatred they felt for the Tory government. The dramatic stand taken in the yards galvanized hundreds of thousands into united action. Everyone talked about one thing: the intolerable nature of the government and their desire to get rid of it.'

'What was quite new was that workers had begun to realize that they had the power to make this ultimate political challenge. They were beginning to act as a class. That deep and brooding hostility to Tories and employers characteristic of Clydeside had broken to the surface once more.'

'It had been fuelled by months of rising unemployment, petty Tory attacks like taking milk from schoolchildren, and the general bombastic arrogance of Heath and his Cabinet.'

'UCS had been the spark. The feeling spread to all corners of the country. UCS became a symbol for all workers who wanted to get the Tory government off their backs.'

'It is a complete lie to suggest a political fight aimed at forcing the government to resign would not have received an enormous response.'

'The common slogan on all the demonstrations was "Heath out". Time and again, workers cheered loudest when speakers threatened the government with destruction.'

'But it was the particular deliberate aim of the Communist Party, together with the reformists like Anthony Wedgwood Benn, to stop this political development.'

Stephen Johns gives an absorbing first-hand account of the weeks and months of the development of the political crisis that surrounded the work-in. The 128-page booklet explains the economic background to the UCS collapse and gives a blow-by-blow account of how the Stalinists subverted the mass movement and handed the yards back to the capitalists.

Included in the material is a political profile of James Reid and his subsequent development as a television celebrity; a comment from Trotsky on the question of taking honorary rectorships at bourgeois universities; and a section on the role of the International Socialists' revisionist tendency during the crisis.

The booklet is essential reading for all workers engaged in the struggle to build the mass movement to bring down the Tory government.

BOOKS BY TROTSKY

Where is Britain Going? Paperback 37½p

Problems of the British Revolution Paperback 35p

Lessons of October Paperback 60p

In Defence of the October Revolution Pamphlet 15p

Marxism and the Trade Unions Pamphlet 25p

Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International Pamphlet 10p

Postage: 10p per book, 5p per pamphlet.

Order from: NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS
186a Clapham High Street,
London SW4 7UG

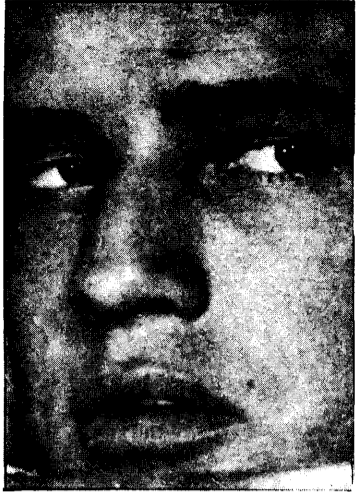
TODAY'S TV

BBC 1

9.50 Joe. 10.05 Magic roundabout. 10.10 Banana splits. 10.40 Steam horse. 11.05 Film: 'Missouri Traveler'. Lee Marvin. 12.45 Holiday grandstand. 12.50 The superstars. 1.35, 2.05, 2.40, 3.10 Racing from Kempton. 1.50, 3.25 International show jumping. 2.20, 2.55, 3.25 Swimming. 4.50 Final score. 5.05 Yao. 5.35 Huckleberry hound. 5.45 News. Weather. 5.55 Your region tonight.

6.00 DISNEY TIME.
6.45 BILLY SMART'S CIRCUS.
FILM: '633 Squadron'. Cliff Robertson, George Chakiris.

9.15 NEWS. Weather.
9.30 THE SEARCH FOR THE NILE. The Great Debate.
10.20 THE GRAND FINAL OF COME DANCING.
11.05 DAVID LEAN. A Self Portrait.



Marlon Brando appears in 'Mutiny on the Bounty', ITV, 8 p.m.

BBC 2

11.05-11.30 Play school. 4.20 Magic roundabout. 4.25 Play school. 4.50 Help. 5.10 Alias Smith and Jones.

6.00 AROUND THE WORLD IN EIGHTY MINUTES.
7.20 TWO GUITARS. Julian Bream and John Williams.
7.35 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.
7.45 INSIDE MEDICINE. Taking the Waters.
8.10 LIVINGSTONE LOST AND FOUND. New light on the explorer.
9.00 CALL MY BLUFF.
9.30 FILM: 'The Snows of Kilimanjaro'. Gregory Peck, Susan Hayward, Ava Gardner.
11.20 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 10.05 Danger man. 11.00 Dr Simon Locke. 11.30 London. 12.00 Gus Honeybun. 12.05 London. 12.47 News. 5.40 News. 12.25 Epilogue.

SOUTHERN: 10.00 Paulus. 10.15 Thunderbirds. 11.05 Odd couple. 11.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 4.50 Tarzan. 5.45 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 11.30 News. 11.35 Farming. 12.00 Weather. Guide-line.

HARLECH: 10.10 Merrie melodies. 10.35 Gilbert and Sullivan. 11.30 London. 12.00 Chuckleheads. 12.05 London. 4.50 Film: 'A Pair of Briefs'. 5.45 London. 6.00 News. 6.02 Film continued. 6.45 London. 12.30 Weather.

ANGLIA: 9.25 Edgar Wallace. 10.20 Gilbert and Sullivan. 11.05 Joe 90. 11.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London.

ITV

9.30 North with the spring. 10.20 Cimarron. strip. 11.30 Man of the South. 12.00 Cartoon. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Skribble. 12.40 News. 12.45 Professional wrestling. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 ITV seven. 2.15, 2.45, 3.15, 3.45 Racing from Nottingham. 2.30, 3.00, 3.30 Racing from Newcastle. 3.55 Clapperboard. 4.20 Pardon my genie. 4.50 Film: 'Tarzan and the Jungle Boy'. 5.45 News and sports results.

6.00 FILM continued.
6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS!
7.30 CORONATION STREET.
8.00 FILM: 'Mutiny on the Bounty'. Marlon Brando, Trevor Howard, Richard Harris.
11.30 THOSE SWINGING YEARS. 1940s sounds.
12.30 Epilogue.

ATV MIDLANDS: 10.00 Pinpoint. 10.15 Mr. Piper. 10.40 Film: 'The Lions are Free'. 11.30 London. 4.50 Film: 'Hide and Seek'. 5.45 London. 6.00 Film continued. 6.40 London. 11.30 Epilogue. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.10 Romper room. 11.30 London. 4.50 Film: 'The Lions are Free'. 5.45 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Dick Van Dyke. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 12.30 Monday night.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 Ed Allen. 9.50 Survival. 10.05 Woobinda. 10.40 Tarzan. 11.30 London. 4.50 Film: 'Billie'. 5.45 London. 6.00 Film continued. 6.45 London. 12.30 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 Enchanted house. 9.45 Seven seas. 10.30 Tarzan. 11.20 Chess. 11.30 London. 4.50 Film: 'Namu the Killer Whale'. 5.45 London. 6.00 Film continued. 6.40 London. 11.30 Theatre ma-abre.

SCOTTISH: 10.00 Helicopter Holyland. 10.45 UFO. 11.30 London. 4.50 Bonanza. 5.45 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Cartoon. 6.40 London. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 London.

GRAMPIAN: 11.30 London. 11.30 University challenge. 12.00 Meditation.

REGIONAL

CHANNEL: 12.50 London. 4.50 Film: 'Hide and Seek'. 5.40 News. 6.00 Film continued. 6.45 London. 12.25 Weather.

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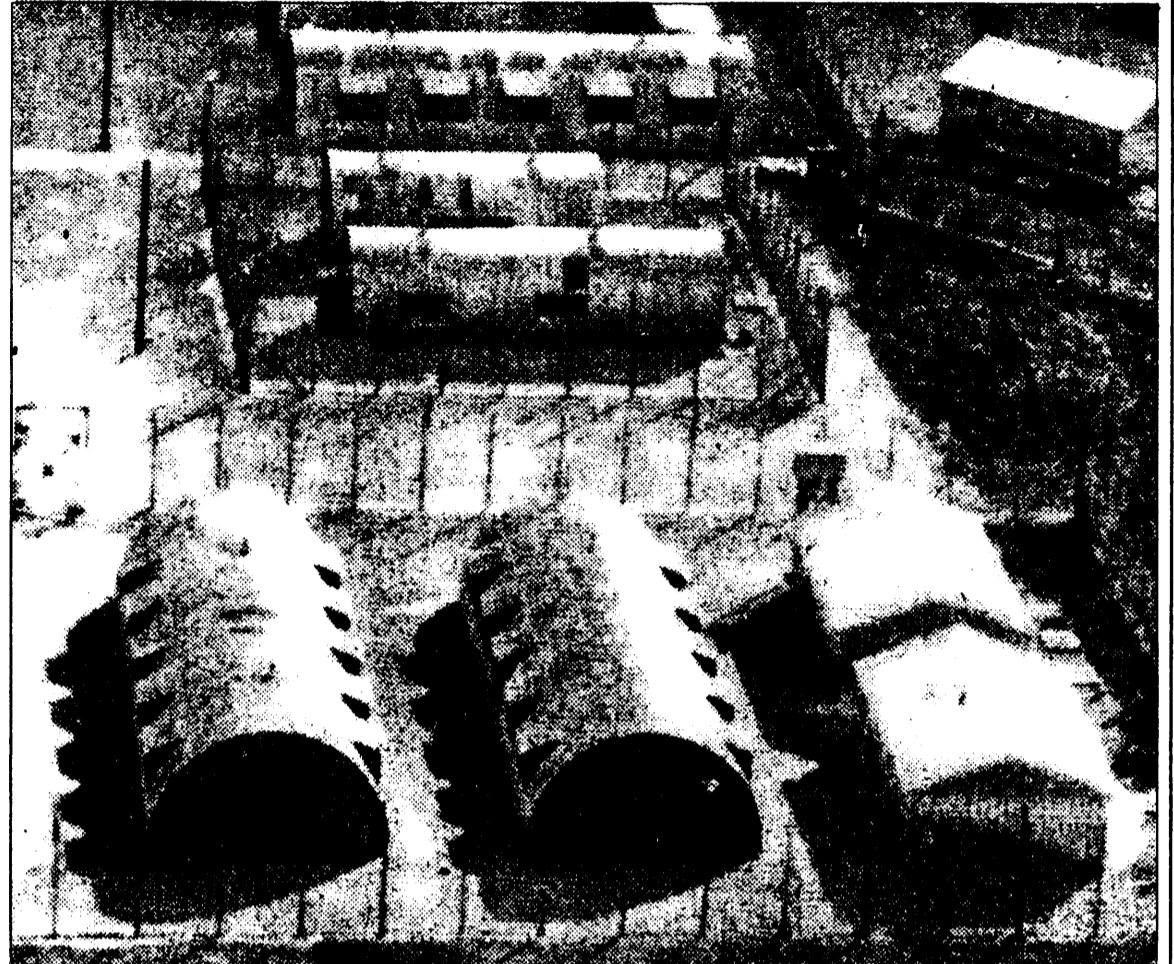
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LETTERS FROM LONG KESH



The Long Kesh concentration camp—rows of Nissen huts, compounds and barbed wire.

Letters smuggled out of Long Kesh concentration camp have been published in summary form by the Prisoners Aid Committee (PAC) in their latest Bulletin.

Prisoners are held in badly constructed Nissen huts; rain and wind have easy access. There is no ventilation, no drinking water or washbasin. There is no privacy.

There are 45 men to huts which the Red Cross recommended should hold no more than 25. The food is so bad that it is seldom finished. There are no recreational and no educational facilities.

Visitors are harassed and food parcels spoiled. Prisoners are refused Republican and Civil Rights publications. Copies of the White Paper have been confiscated from visitors. The governor, Truesdale, has refused any representation from the men.

The PAC has also received a letter from Hut 16, Cage 2, which complains of a worsening of conditions recently, and especially of the effect of the constant glare from the perimeter lights and wire barriers.

A number of men have had to start wearing glasses.

Raids are carried out by the army in full riot gear with dogs early in the morning at regular intervals as well as regular raids by the screws.

Loyalist prisoners in Long Kesh have condemned conditions there. They describe the food as 'swill' and said any protest in the camp was suppressed by the British army stationed there for that purpose.

The Bulletin also looks at the justice meted out to British soldiers in Northern Ireland involved in 'incidents'.

Four soldiers received sentences of four months each, suspended for two years and small fines for a savage attack on Patrick Joseph Kelly, a worker at Ballylumford Power Station.

Kelly was attacked on his way into work, he was punched and kicked and hit on the head with a rifle. The

station shop stewards met to discuss the attack when the soldiers burst into the room, dragged out Mr Kelly, took him to a guard room where he was thrown around the room by a judo expert; his elbow was dislocated, his nose was bleeding profusely, his eye was badly bruised together with other parts of his body; he was detained in hospital for five days.

Seven soldiers found guilty of stealing hundreds of pounds worth of 'loot' were sentenced to three months in jail at Belfast magistrates court on March 23. The sentences were suspended for one year.

Three paratroopers received light fines for a series of burglaries in the North Street area of Belfast at the city's magistrates court.

Private Derek Johnson said in court 'Everyone knows that our blokes have been doing jobs'. When asked if this meant that members of the regiment were stealing he said 'Yes. Everyone knows what has been going on.'

The British army in Ireland is not only licensed to kill but encouraged to loot.

Post Office worker Joseph McMahon killed by a Saracen while cycling along Albert Street on October 3 last. A soldier witness at the inquest said he thought Mr McMahon was on the wrong side. The driver of the Saracen said he did not see the cyclist and he did not know he had gone over Mr McMahon. There is to be no prosecution.

On the question of women held without trial by the security forces in Northern Ireland, the Bulletin says:

The hundreds of men interned in the Six Counties have received some little notice in the bourgeois Press. There has been no notice of the four Belfast girls now held by the British government in Ireland.

While parliament discusses discrimination against women, Whitelaw has been treating men and women the same since he came to Ireland.

Teresa Holland (17) is one of a family of eight. Her mother is a pensioner and a widower. Her home has been raided by the British army

over 50 times. The 'security' forces have questioned all the family except the youngest 12 years old. Margaret Shannon (18) was taken from her home by the Special Branch. Her brother is serving a 12-year sentence.

The women's prison in the Six Counties is Armagh jail. A letter recently smuggled out tells how male warders armed with batons and shields put down a demonstration of the prisoners.

One prisoner suffering from a serious mental condition received 54 stitches; male warders threw the girl bodily into her cell and turned cold water hose on her. Prisoners were left for six hours in soaking clothes and were further locked up for 36 hours.

Mrs Mary Smith (70), widower, who refused food and drink for a week when arrested on assault, kidnapping and unlawfully detaining an able bodied man in his late 20s, Mr Terence McGoldrick, has been returned for trial to a Special Court in Portadown. The charge against Mrs Patricia Ruffner of Washington DC, Mrs Smith's daughter, was dropped. The American vice-consul had been briefed on her case.

And on 'accidents' the Bulletin says:

James Flynn was killed by a British army bullet which ricocheted at a 45-degree angle from the Pirbright firing range at Camberley to embed itself in the body of an Irishman working on the officers' quarters at Deepcut, Frimley, Surrey.

The firing range was one and a half miles from the place where work was being carried out by J&N Scaffolding. Other workers, not soothed by the inquest verdict, are refusing to work there. One of the directors of the firm said: 'They are just refusing to work on the Deepcut site because the army is still firing around them.'

Workers in the Six Counties have already learnt the price to be paid for working while the British army is firing all around them. 'Accidents' will happen. James Flynn died on Wednesday, March 14.

Fighting policy in T&G's

A BIG leftward movement among workers is reflected in motions going forward for this year's union conference from branches of the 1.6 million-strong Transport and General Workers' Union.

Since the last conference two years ago, workers have had bitter experiences with the onslaught of the Tory government and the inability of their own Labour Party, TUC and T&GWU leaders to face up to this challenge.

The biennial delegate conference at Brighton in July will be asked to call on the TUC to mobilize the whole trade union movement in a General Strike to remove the Tory government and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

A motion from 6/760 branch in the north-west to this effect will be backed by branches in other regions calling for the use of industrial strength in campaigns to force the Tories out.

Coupled with this is a growing disillusionment with the present leadership of the Labour Party and calls for opportunists and political careerists to 'be ruthlessly excluded from holding office'.

Another motion from 2/214 branch warns that under the Tories, the 'militancy of the rank and file has not been matched by the TUC or the leadership of the Labour Party. These people have made little or no attempt to formulate a class programme capable of taking the movement forward. Any attempt to repeat the pro-

gramme of the 1964-1970 Labour government, i.e. trying to run capitalism better than the capitalists, will inevitably fail'.

The T&GWU's own leadership comes under fire. Branch 9/85 in Yorkshire 'condemns the payment of fines under the Industrial Relations Act by the General Executive Council and instructs the GEC to maintain a policy of non-payment of all fines in future'.

Dozens of motions call for the re-affirmation of complete non-co-operation with the Act.

Motions from the Midlands and Scotland call for a General Strike to beat the government's pay laws and anti-working class policies and dozens of branches call for industrial action to this end.

The policies of work-ins and factory occupations to prevent closures receive wide support, specifically on the question of steel closure where strikes are also called for.

There is implied criticism of Jack Jones in a string of motions instructing the executive to ban all productivity deals and impose total non-co-operation with management where job reductions are involved and all the time state pay controls remain in force.

Another rebuke for Jones comes in a London region

By our industrial staff

agenda

motion which says that worker-directors and participation are a blind-alley and a diversion from the main struggle to expropriate capitalism.

'Conference feels that the worker-director experiment and the so-called "Bevin Plan" for getting on better should be rejected, and that in future our leadership should consult the membership before committing them to any such association with big business interests.'

On the docks, there are calls for all unregistered ports to be brought within the National Dock Labour Scheme and for unregistered wharves and depots to be blacked.

On wider issues, there are calls for land and North Sea oil nationalization, the ending of private medical treatment, withdrawal from the Common Market, and wider international trade union links to fight the monopolies. Other branches call for the withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland.

Two branches, so disgusted with the betrayals of the labour and trade union leaders, call for the dangerous move of disaffiliation from the TUC and the Labour Party.



JACK JONES . . . Several resolutions criticizing his leadership.

Call Scanlon to order: stewards demand

SHOP STEWARDS at Gestetner's north London factory are demanding the engineering union call its president, Hugh Scanlon, to order over his recent statement on the Industrial Relations Act and the Common Market.

A resolution from the shop stewards' committee calls on the AUEW executive council to 'repudiate the statements by brother Scanlon made to the Parliamentary Press Gallery'.

They say that Scanlon was reported as saying he 'hoped' the unions would agree with Common Market entry, that the TUC had agreed to a fixed level of wages to beat inflation and that he had suggested two amendments to the Industrial Relations Act.

The branch says this is contrary to union policy and urge the executive to bring Scanlon to order. A similar resolution has been passed by Tottenham AUEW No. 7 branch.

CORRECTION

A paragraph in Saturday's article 'Pay Board and Witch-hunt Threat to Teachers' should have read 'Collaboration with the Tories' Pay Board was prepared at last year's conference', instead of 'was proposed at last year's conference'.

Stalinists oppose Council of Action

A RESOLUTION calling for a Council of Action has been ruled out of order at Edinburgh Trades Council on the grounds that the TUC rules only permit political affiliation to the Labour and Co-operative Parties.

Six of the 13 members of the Trades Council executive are Communist Party members who went along with this decision, despite saying privately that they would support a Council of Action if one was set up.

The call came from ASTMS Edinburgh General branch whose secretary, Mr A. A. Wilson, intends to move at the next meeting that a circular be issued exposing the Trades Council executive. 'We intend to continue the fight to build a Council of Action in Edinburgh,' he says.

Trade deficit means bigger Tory attack

THE £197m trade deficit for March (see Thursday's Workers Press) shows a rapid deterioration in Britain's trading position.

The January deficit was £78m and the February deficit was £77m.

The average balance-of-payments deficit for the first quarter of 1973 is £117m—compared with £40m in 1972 and £20m in 1971.

The deficit is caused by three major factors: the effective devaluation of the pound since it was floated by the Tories last June; the increase of world prices of commodities like wheat, wool and copper; and the failure of British capitalism to maintain an increase of exports.

THE BANK of England's base rate bounced back ¼ per cent on Thursday — after going down to 8 per cent the previous week — following the disastrous foreign trade figures.

Labour MPs made feeble attempts to raise the question of the foreign trade crisis and the fall in the purchasing power of the pound before parliament recessed.

The government admitted that the internal purchasing power

of the pound was now 81p in February compared with 100p in June 1970 at the time of the General Election.

Shadow Chancellor Denis Healey said that the latest trade figures made nonsense of the Chancellor's 'bouncy complacency'. He forecast: 'The government is going to have a major inflation on its hands by the autumn.' He blamed the trade deficit onto the devaluation of the pound.

In the first quarter of 1973, the value of imports averaged £1,002m a month—an increase of 1.6 per cent over the second half of 1972.

At the same time exports, which stood at £881m in January and rose to £900m in February, fell to £874m in March.

And between the second half of last year and the first quarter of this, imports of basic materials—petroleum, wool, cotton, iron ore, timber, rubber, paper, etc.—have increased on average by 27 per cent.

Basic material imports in March cost £162m, compared with £142m in February and £133m in January.

The total value of all imports in March was £1,199m.

Of this, £583m came from western Europe, £216m from the sterling area outside Europe, £190m from the United States, £58m from the Soviet Union, £34m from Latin America and £118m from the rest of the world.

These figures show a grave increase in the capitalist crisis. The only solution for the Tories —since a devaluation or further downfloat of the pound would mean even higher import costs—is to force the working class to work harder and produce more for less wages.

This is what lies behind the Tory government's drive towards the corporatist state. All the efforts of the reformists and the Stalinists to gain concessions from the government are bound to founder on this rock of economic crisis.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

SLOUGH: Wednesday April 25, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'TUC must call a General Strike to make the Tories resign'.

TONBRIDGE: Wednesday April 25, 8 p.m. 'The Foresters', Quarry Hill Road. 'Make Scanlon retract. No collaboration with the Pay Board.'

HACKNEY: Wednesday April 25, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, Mare Street. 'Economic Crisis and the Rising Cost of Living'.

CROYDON: Thursday April 26, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

DERBY: Thursday April 26, 7.30 p.m. Branch Room, National Society of Metal Mechanics, 15 Charnwood Street.

WILLESDEN: Thursday April 26, 8 p.m. Brent Labour and Trades Hall, Willesden High Road, N.W.10. 'Build Councils of Action'.

HOLLOWAY: Thursday April 26, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road. 'The economic crisis and the rising cost of living'.

MIDDLETON (Manchester): Thursday April 26, 8 p.m. New Inn, Long Street, Market Place, Middleton. 'May Day must begin the General Strike'.

WYTHENSHAW (Manchester): Thursday, April 26, 8 p.m. 'The Happy Man', Portway. 'The May Day Strike'.

GLASGOW (Engineers' and Shipyard Workers' meeting): Saturday April 28, 10 a.m. Room 1, Partick Burgh Hall. 'Make Scanlon retract'.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: Monday April 30, 8 p.m. Room 2, Adeyfield Hall, Queens Square. 'Defend Basic Democratic Rights'.

EAST LONDON: Monday April 30, 8 p.m. Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road, E.3. All out May 1! Force the TUC to call a General Strike!

WANDSWORTH: Monday April 30, 8 p.m. 'Kings Arms', High Street, S.W.18. 'Trotskyism and Stalinism'.

SOUTHALL: Wednesday May 2, 8 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'Report back from May Day'.

WALTHAMSTOW: Wednesday May 2, 8 p.m. 'The Bell', Hoe Street. 'Report back from May Day'.

WEMBLEY: Wednesday May 2, 8 p.m. Copland School, High Road. 'Report back from May Day'.

WOOLWICH: Wednesday May 2, 8 p.m. 'The Castle', Powis Street, S.E.18. 'Report back from May Day'.

SHEFFIELD: Wednesday May 2, 7.30 p.m. 'Grapes Inn', Trippett Lane.

BRIXTON: Monday May 7, 8 p.m. Control Room, Brixton Training Centre. 'Report back from May Day'.

LEWISHAM: Monday May 7, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, opp. New Cross Station. 'The role of the TUC in the fight against the Tories'.

BATTERSEA: Tuesday May 8, 8 p.m. 'Nags Head', cnr. Wandsworth Road and North Street. 'Report back from May Day'.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE MEETINGS

Make Scanlon retract!
No collaboration with the Industrial Relations Act!

No acceptance of Phase Two!

Force the Tories to resign!

Build the revolutionary party!

South London

TUESDAY APRIL 24, 8 p.m.

Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4

North London

WEDNESDAY APRIL 25, 8 p.m.

Woodlands Hall, Crown Street, Acton, W.3.

East London

SUNDAY APRIL 29, 7.30 p.m.

Abbey Hall, Axe Street (Behind Barking town hall)

Luton

FRIDAY APRIL 27, 8 p.m.

Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Road

Liverpool

Transform the SLL into the revolutionary party
MONDAY APRIL 23, 7.30 p.m.

'The Mona', James St (Entrance at back in Moor St)

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Islanders plan anti-oil armada

PROTESTORS at Canvey Island, south-east Essex, plan to launch an armada against Westminster over a decision to build an oil refinery near their homes.

Over 700 Canvey Island people heard an appeal to join in the demonstration after a march on Saturday.

Boats will leave the Island in the Thames estuary and make their way down river to Westminster, where they hope to lobby MPs over the decision by Monday Club member Geoffrey Rippon, the Minister of the Environment, to give the green light to a massive oil refinery project.

'We will never accept these monstrosities,' one action committee member told a rally after the march,

if they are built we will tear them down with our own hands.'

The demonstrators carried placards and chanted against the refinery, to be built by ENI, the giant Italian company.

One four-year-old protestor carried a poster with the words 'Oil fumes are not helpful to plants, animals and children'.

Other demonstrators carried an effigy of Rippon hanging from a gallows.

The march was the latest in a series of protests which have involved blocking the path of tankers bound for existing refineries.

● SEE CENTRE PAGES: THE BATTLE OF CANVEY ISLAND.



Slogan-chanting Canvey Islanders marching on Saturday.

Policies cannot attract working-class youth

Labour youth in membership crisis

BY DAVID MAUDE IN SKEGNESS

THE LABOUR Party's youth movement seems certain to slip even deeper into the membership and policy crisis which has dogged it since it was re-constituted after the mass expulsion of the Young Socialists National Committee majority from the Party in 1964.

At its conference in Skegness this weekend, the re-named Labour Party Young Socialists showed once more its inability to attract working-class youth.

The platform claimed over 1,000 delegates and visitors, but counts on two separate occasions revealed no more than 700 in the hall and card votes indicated that over 60 of the 220 delegates were absent.

On policy, the situation was no better.

The movement is still dominated by the 'Militant' group which claims to be Trotskyist, but in fact united with the right wing in 1964 to expel the majority of the National Committee who were fighting for socialist policies against the Party leadership.

For the first time 'Militant' faced a strong challenge from the so-called 'Chartist' group, which says the fight against the right-wing in the Party is not vigorous enough.

On policy questions the conference showed itself to be completely bankrupt and tied to the right wing, explaining why, in contrast to the 1,700-strong conference of the Young Socialists at Blackpool last week, the LPYS is not able to attract working-class youth.

It called on the LPYS National Committee to campaign within the Labour Party for the adoption of a socialist programme.

The sort of programme delegates wanted was, they said, embodied in a resolution from Shipley constituency passed by the party conference.

This was passed by the Party conference last October but not yet implemented by the National Executive Committee.

This calls on the NEC to

'formulate a socialist plan of production based on the public ownership with minimum compensation of the commanding heights of the economy'.

'The only answer is to call on the Labour movement to launch a campaign to bring down the Tory government and to replace it with a Labour government committed to a socialist programme'—concluded a lengthy resolution moved by Swansea LPYS.

Delegates also declared total opposition to the Tory government's 'freeze' of wages.

The level of political debate was revealed on Saturday when the key issue of socialism and parliament was raised.

Bradford delegate Brian Ingham insisted it was possible to achieve socialism through the ballot box.

Portsmouth delegate Ian Jenkinson said that parliament was a 'talking shop'.

The real decisions were taken in the boardrooms.

He said the mobilization of the working class on a 'really serious basis such as one-day General Strikes,' was necessary.

He went on to claim that parliament could 'legalize' any gains such a mobilization secured.

Replying for the National Committee 'Militant' supporter Tony Aitman said that the 'failure of the present Labour leaders to mobilize on this perspective' raised concretely the question of changing the leadership to one which is prepared to carry the struggle to the end.



MEMBERS and supporters of the Belfast 10 Defence Committee mounted a vigil on Saturday outside Brixton Prison. They were demanding the release of the ten people arrested in connection with the recent bombings in London and who are being held at Brixton on charges of conspiracy. A spokesman said that the three women were also being held there which is the first time women have ever been held at Brixton.

PETROL UP BY 1p IN MAY

THE PRICE of petrol will rise by up to 1p a gallon from the beginning of next month. The major oil companies have applied to the newly-formed Prices Commission for permission to increase prices by an average of 0.6p.

The companies are confident that the Commission, which comes into operation on April 28, will agree to the increase.

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Provisionals start a week's truce in Derry

THE PROVISIONAL IRA today starts a one-week truce in the Bogside and Creggan areas of Londonderry because, they say, a festival is being organized by the Bogside Community Association. 'Normal military action' will continue elsewhere.

The army says no agreement has been reached between them and the IRA and 'we shall react to the extent that if there are no gunmen to be seen, then we shall not shoot at them'.

As more than 50 Republican and Union Easter marches were being prepared, five shooting incidents and four bomb explosions hit Londonderry on Saturday night, a 10lb bomb extensively damaged a shop in Newry and an arms cache was discovered under the pulpit of the Protestant City Mission Hall in Clementine Street, Belfast.

And 1,400 rounds of ammunition, two pistols, a rifle, 15 maga-

zines, a radio, a bayonet and weapon-cleaning kit, were found in a house in Shomberg Street in the Protestant Sandy Row area yesterday.

In England a 92-year-old nearly blind Irishman who walks on crutches was stopped at Heathrow airport as a 'security risk'.

Joe Clarke, who comes to London every year for the anniversary of the Easter Rising, was put on a flight back to Dublin.

● William Whitelaw is expected to leave his post as Northern Ireland secretary towards the end of the year because of the 'excessive strain' of the job. A possible successor is the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Anthony Barber.

Rolls-Royce carworkers worried about their future

THE 9,000 employees of Rolls-Royce motor cars are becoming increasingly concerned about their future as the date for the compulsory sale of the car division approaches.

The firm will go to the highest bidder, regardless of what he wants to do with the company's plants at Crewe, Shrewsbury and Neasden. The union at Crewe are talking of a work-in if they get no job guarantees.

The successful purchaser will

be announced on May 4 after consideration by the Official Receiver and Rothschilds, the merchant bankers, of all bids. About £60m is the likely price.

Rolls' car division is being sold off following the bankruptcy of the parent firm in 1971.

The government took the aero engine division into public ownership.

Union leaders are to see Peter Walker, Minister for Trade and Industry, on April 30.

All Trades Unions Alliance Public Meetings

What next after the miners' ballot? The fight against the Tory government

SOUTH ELMSALL: Thursday April 26, 8 p.m. The Railway Hotel. Speaker: Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee).

DONCASTER Monday April 30, 8 p.m. White Bear Hotel, Hallgate. Speaker: Mike Banda (SLL Central Committee).

KNOTTINGLEY: Thursday May 3, 7.30 p.m. Railway Hotel, Hilltop. Speaker: G. Healy (National

Secretary SLL). **OLLERTON:** Monday May 7, 8 p.m. Blue Tit. Speaker: Mike Banda (SLL Central Committee).

BARNSELY: Thursday May 10, 8 p.m. Masons Arms. Speaker: Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee).

CASTLEFORD: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. Sagar St Rooms. Speaker: G. Healy (National Secretary SLL).