

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER . MONDAY APRIL 30, 1973 . No 1060 . 4p

THE DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

the united strength the working class

DAY MANIFES SOCIALIST LABOUR

Capitalism in crisis

MAY DAY is being celebrated by the international working class in the midst of the greatest economic and political crisis since the 1930s.

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The final collapse of fixed parities early this year and the adop-tion of universal floating has done nothing to stabilize the situation. Currencies are still being driven down or upwards in value in response to balance of payments deficits of the different capitalist nations. As a con-sequence, international credit and trading operations are becoming increasingly difficult.

The massive US balance-of-payments deficit has led to a further devaluation of the dollar, and a general distrust of paper money. The flight into gold con-tinues. It now stands at over \$90 an ounce and US financiers pre-dict \$120 before long.

As currency declines in value the growth of world-wide infla-tion is inexorable. Capitalist countries have undermined their own currencies in vain attempts to expand their way out of the crisis of their economic system.

The more they print paper money, the deeper their crisis becomes, based as it is on an over-production of capital itself relative to the amount of surplus

value that can be squeezed out of the world's working class.

The attempts to start reflationary booms by creating more fictitious capital only puts off the day of reckoning for a while and also ensures that the economic crash, when it comes, will be on a far more devastating scale than 1929.

The only way the ruling classes of the capitalist countries can try to overcome this crisis is first of all to make their own working classes bear the cost of curbing inflation by taking enormous cuts in their living standards and producing far more surplus value in return for far less goods to

This is the reason for Phase Two and the Tory state pay laws. The Tories conspire to let prices rise to the full extent that the pent-up inflationary spiral has taken them while wages remain at a standstill—in a word introducing wage-cutting.

If allowed to continue, it will lead to a permanent reduction in workers' living standards to probably less than one quarter of what they are today. It will lead to an intensification of the trade war and the rapid development of a world slump.

Either the socialist revolution or dictatorship and nuclear war

the Tory govt

to resign

WE SAY emphatically that this cannot happen without a revolutionary crisis maturing. The working class cannot be driven back on such an international scale without a period of turmoil, of wars and revolutions

The ruling class cannot impose such a solution on the working class without first destroying the organized class strength of workers in their trade unions and political parties. Such an attempt would provoke civil war.

The alternative way for the capitalists to try to overcome their crisis with their system intact is to whip up the growing trade war into a shooting war the third nuclear world war.

We solemnly warn the labour movement that the economic and political conditions are being created for a drive towards dictatorship and fascism simultaneously with a drive towards the third imperialist war.

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difficulty with credit facilities and a threatened collapse of raw materials markets.

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It is this crisis in the colonial countries which could well become the sparking off point for World War III. There is no peace in Vietnam. Japan is once more turning towards rearma-ment. With American connivance Japan hopes to become the predominant power once again in the Far East. A major conflict with China is inevitable if this policy continues uninterrupted.

Dr Henry Kissinger's latest proposals for the military organization of capitalist Europe amount to an updating of the long-standing plans for the other theatre of world war against the Soviet Union and East Europe.

Despite the degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy and the transformation of the CPSU by Stalin into the major agency of counter-revolution in the world, the imperialist camp's main drive

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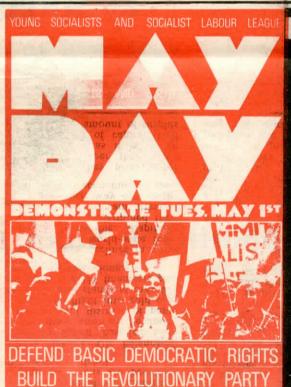
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01-622 7029.



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Mobilize the united strength of the working class

Clear Out the TUC traitors

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DEFEND BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY

YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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THE SO-CALLED 'popular' Press has systematically played down the abject capitulation to the Tories uttered by TUC-general secretary Victor Feather. While the leader of more than 10 million trade unionists was declaring on behalf of the TUC his 'reluctant acquiescence' to Phase Two of the Tory state pay laws, these papers emphasized his claim that 'millions' would take part in the May 1 strike.

The 'Sun' headlined its story 'Millions in May Day Demo—Feather', while the 'Daily Express' reported 'Millions will be out as Feather gives go-ahead on May Day.' The 'Daily Mirror' quoted Feather as saying: 'Several million people will be involved—I think there will be a good response.'

The main provincial newspapers followed the same line. Both the 'Yorkshire Post' and the 'Western Mail', for example, ran

their story under the heading 'Feather Expects May Day Millions'.

Of all the capitalist newspapers, only 'The Times', which is not widely read by workers, told the real story.

'Way is paved for Heath meeting', declared the leading bourgeois journal on Thursday. It continued: 'The General Council of the TUC yesterday announced 'resentful and reluctant acquiescence' in Phase Two of the government's anti-inflation policy.

'The decision, taken at a meeting lasting only 11 minutes, may pave the way for further Downing Street talks on voluntary measures to curb wage rises during Phase Three.'

'The Times' has a clear duty—to tell the truth to the class it represents.

The 'popular' Press serves capitalism in a different way. Its function is to keep the truth away from its working-class readership.

A workers' newspaper has an equally clear responsibility—to tell the truth to the working class at all times and so to prepare it for the struggles ahead.

Workers Press has always done that and will always continue to do so.

CONGRESS Right swing

After the 1972 TUC Congress, for example, we warned: 'The Brighton TUC marked a definite swing to the right.

'The leaders of millions of trade unionists are bent on total collaboration with the Tory government and its anti-union laws. This open collaboration with the state machine means virtual acceptance of the corporate state. All opposition to the Tories' attacks on the working class has been officially dropped.' (Workers Press, September 9, 1972.)

From the beginning we denounced Victor Feather and the trade union leaders who, instead of mobilizing their members against the Tory government, repeatedly trekked to 10 Downing Street to co-operate with Heath.

On October 26 we pointed out that when these leaders entered into talks with the CBI and the Cabinet, they had 'cut themselves loose from the last tatters of their recent conference's opposition to wage control'.

We had already pointed out on October 5—that the TUC's Economic Committee document 'contained no challenge to Tory plans for state control of wages'.

Again and again we stressed that the TUC's deliberate isolation of sections of the working class—like the gasmen and hospital workers—would encourage Heath on his road to corporatism. And we fought for the only way to answer this:

STRIKE Way forward

'The working class must force the special Congress of the TUC on March 5 to debate the General Strike and the bringing down of the Tory government as the only way forward.'

We refused to leave complacency undisturbed. When £55,000 was seized from the engineers' union in December under the Industrial Relations Act, we warned that 'the General Council's failure to take up decisive action and to seek backstage deals with the government opens up enormous dangers for the trade union movement.' (Workers Press December 21.)

As the TUC's March 5 Special Congress approached, Workers Press was the only newspaper to campaign to make the trade union leaders call a General Strike to create the economic and political conditions to force the Tories to resign and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

On March 2 we wrote: 'Either the government is defeated or state pay laws are accepted.'

Our report of the March 5 Congress declared: 'The TUC leaders have completely abandoned the fight for decent wages. A one-day protest is too little and too late. It will not budge the Tories.'

We were the only paper to denounce the refusal to fight for what it was—Black Monday.

And we warned 'If Feather and the other TUC leaders continue to encourage the Tories with round after round of dangerous talks, they will open the

The role of workers press

TO THE COURT OF THE CONTRACT OF THE COCIALIST LABOUR LEACH

door to the totalitarian state.'
We continually fought to expose not only the right wing, like Feather, but the 'lefts', like engineering union president Hugh Scanlon who recently publicly declared his acceptance of an 'amended' Industrial Relations

Every word we wrote has been proved correct.

Contrast this with the abysmal record of the 'Morning Star', the paper of the British Communist Party.

This Stalinist newspaper has deliberately sought to hide the truth from the working class by perpetrating the lie that the union leaders could be trusted to lead a real fight against the Tories.

Reporting the March 5 conference, the 'Morning Star' editorial claimed: 'Yesterday's call for action against wage restraint [note 'restraint', not state control of wages] and rising food prices was a blow to Heath.'

Moreover, according to the 'Star' the right wing had been defeated! 'It was also a setback for those trade union leaders... who wanted to restrict opposition to Heath's policy to words.'

DETERMINATIONFurther action

What was wanted by the 'Star' was not a fight to bring down the Tory government but 'a one-day General Strike which would show the determination of all organized workers to take all further action necessary to defend their rights and advance their standard of living'.

This could be achieved, their readers were told, under the Tory government by limited actions led by the right-wing trade union leaders forced to lead the movement by the pressure of the 'left' union leaders backed up by the Communist Party.

While open capitulation was under way, the 'Star' protested that agreeing to hold back other unions' claims 'could [1] weaken the struggle against the Tory incomes policy'.

comes policy'.

Even when the hospital workers were being cynically left to fight alone by the TUC, the 'Morning Star' claimed that Feather was helping them!

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'In the latest moves which Mr

Feather has made to try to help the hospital workers, it is regrettable that it has been agreed to argue that they should be treated by the government as an exceptional case.' (April 9. Emphasis added.)

Instead of calling for the unity of the entire trade union movement to force the Tories to resign, the Stalinist daily demanded only fund-raising and unspecified 'solidarity action' with the hospital workers.

SMOKESCREEN Co-operate openly

In this way the 'Morning Star' complemented the role of the 'popular' bourgeois Press in keeping the real truth away from its readers. Behind a smokescreen erected by the Stalinists, the trade union leaders prepared to capitulate on Phase Two of the Tory state pay laws and to cooperate openly on Phase Three.

The 'Morning Star' was particularly anxious to protect AUEW president Hugh Scanlon from his members' anger when he declared his willingness to accept the Industrial Relations Act and the Common Market and when he prepared the way for Feather's capitulation on state pay control by telling his union's National Committee that the Tories had 'won the first round' and that a large wage claim could not be achieved.

""We stand four-square against the Act"—Scanlon' screamed the 'Morning Star' front page after Scanlon had told the Parliamentary Press Gallery that he would accept an 'amended' Act. Those who said Scanlon had

Those who said Scanlon had abandoned the fight were, the 'Star' said, guilty of 'unscrupulous distortion'. (April 2.)

Now, when Feather says that the purpose of the May Day strike is to permit workers to 'express their acquiescence' to Tory policies, the 'Star' says that millions of workers will be 'shocked and infuriated'. (April

Only those workers who have been systematically deceived by the 'Star' into thinking that Feather was leading a fight could be 'shocked'.

Even now, the Stalinist daily proposes no fight for a new leadership of the trade union moveThe efforts of Feather and the executive of the National Union of Railwaymen to weaken Tuesday's demonstration are merely put down to 'misdirected zeal'!

The difference between the Workers Press and the 'Morning Star' is the difference between revolutionary politics and counter-revolutionary politics.

Workers Press stands in the line of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Its task is to continue the developments initiated by the Bolshevik Party which carried through the Russian Revolution, and the first four Congresses of the Communist International, which sought to construct revolutionary parties on a world scale

The 'Morning Star' is a product of Stalinism, itself created by the pressure of imperialism on an isolated, economically backward, workers' state.

Stalinism set out to destroy Bolshevism. It became a worldwide instrument of betrayal. Based on the anti-Marxist theories of 'peaceful co-existence' and 'parliamentary roads to socialism', it can only deliberately deceive and disarm the working class.

WORKERS PRESS Tells the truth

Today it is the Socialist Labour League which must carry out the task for which the British Communist Party, with the assistance of the Communist International, was formed in 1920.

The revolutionary newspaper, Workers Press, is an indispensable tool for the completion of that task.

Not only must the existing leadership of the working class be exposed, it must be removed and replaced by a revolutionary leadership. In constructing this leadership, Workers Press will fearlessly tell the truth to the working class at all times.

Only in this way can Marxist workers be trained, steeled in theory and in practical struggle. This is impossible without the daily revolutionary newspaper.

The tasks facing Workers Press are growing every day. That is why we urge all our readers to support us in our important plans for the expansion of our paper and the development of its work.

£100,000 PARTY BUILDING FUND

IT'S still coming in at a snail's pace. Socialist Labour League branches TOs £14; Bradford £22; Leeds £30; Dagenham £5. Total £9,756.77.

We need £40,243.23 by May 31 to complete the first leg of our target of £50,000.

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

APRIL FUND NOW STANDS AT £1,403.54 - ONLY ONE MORE DAY!

WE need £316.46 by tomorrow to complete our target for April. One last spurt and we will make

Rush everything you can to us immediately and make sure we reach our £1,750 total.

As thousands of workers all over the country come out and demonstrate on May Day, one thing stands out very clear. Their reformist and Stalinist trade union leadership is prepared to capitulate to Heath on Phase Two, accept the Industrial Relations Act and co-operate with

the pay boards.

More than ever an alternative

revolutionary leadership is needed as everywhere the working class is showing its determination to fight. Only Workers Press provides such a lead.

Our paper alone has led the fight against the corporate measures of this government and will continue unceasingly to campaign to force them to resign.

We must therefore do everything we can to complete our April Fund. Raise any amount, large or small, and rush it to us immediately. Workers Press April Appeal Fund,

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

Union chiefs recommend return RECOMMENDATIONS for a return to work in the five-weekold Rubery Owen dispute will be at Rubery Owen

turn to work in the five-weekold Rubery Owen dispute will be put to a mass meeting of strikers on May Day.

Seven hours of negotiations in Birmingham's Albany Hotel last Friday between Rubery Owen management and a union team led by national officials Moss Evans of the Transport and General Workers' Union and Bob Wright for the AUEW produced the go-back call.

The basis for the proposed return is that lower paid workers will get a £4-a-week increase and higher paid will get £1. Talks

will start immediately on a revised wages structure aimed at reducing the piecework content of the present wages structure.

Mr Brian Mathers, T&GWU

Mr Brian Mathers, T&GWU regional secretary told a Press conference:

The management had agreed to separate the claim for an immediate pay increase from its long term policy of reforming the pay system by putting pieceworkers on a high base rate. That's what the unions have been pressing for all along.'

But a young frame shop worker said after Friday's mass meeting: 'I'm 100 per cent against the new system. If it's brought in I will get a £3 a week rise but what's to say I can do a 100 per cent performance.'

Mr Fred Straw, Rubery Owen's

director of production services, said after the Birmingham meeting:

ing:
'The proposed distribution of wage increases is fairly similar to what the company originally proposed.'

Disappointing steel jobs march

STEELWORKERS and their families marched 3,000-strong through Deeside, North Wales, at the weekend in protest against the proposed shutdown of the Shotton steel-making plant.

There was a four-hour token strike at the plant, where 7,000 jobs are threatened, and shops in Queensferry, Shotton and Connahs Quay were closed from noon until 2 p.m.

Although this was the biggest demonstration ever staged in Deeside, the turnout was far below the 10,000 expected by the organizers.

At the rally afterwards speakers from the Tory, Welsh Nationalist, Communist and Labour Parties appeared together on the same platform . . . along with clergymen.

Three quarters of the demonstrators left the park long before the 16 speakers had finished.

From the galaxy of platform speakers the crowd reserved one of its heaviest cheers for apprentice Dave Anthony.

He said: 'All I want to tell

you is that we've got to fight back. If it means we have to get Heath out, then let's get him out.'

This call was one of the few to get past rally chairman Tom Jones who publicly insisted that the meeting and the steelmen's campaign was not political.

STELL: EBBW VALE LEADERS HAVE FALSE HOPE OF REPRIEVE

After only three weeks the national rank-andfile steel action committee is falling apart.

Leaders at Ebbw Vale steelworks, South Wales, where 4,500 men are due to be sacked, have announced their withdrawal.

And they say they will ignore the committee's call for a one-day industry-wide stoppage on May 1 in protest against the closures announced in the Tory White Paper.

The decision takes the 'plant chauvinism' which characterized the special Connah's Quay, North Wales, conference on April 16 to its logical conclusion

logical conclusion.

The Ebbw Vale works' council plainly hopes that if they keep their noses clean the British Steel Corporation's promise to negotiate closure dates may yet be turned into a wholesale reprieve for the works.

And the action committee at East Moors Works, Cardiff, has never broken from the belief that with good management a new works can be phased in and many of the threatened 4,100 jobs saved.

Illusions

Although they called the national action committee's conference, the Shotton leaders in North Wales have their share of illusions they can save 6,500 jobs by being 'reasonable' men.

These moods are also behind last Tuesday's move by the Steel Industry Management Association to use court action if necessary to force the BSC to reveal the grounds on which Shotton is to be shut.

In addition, works' leaders have allowed themselves to be fobbed off with the vague promise from steel union leaders that they will act where sackings are not matched by the availability of alternative jobs.

It is this belief that underlies Ebbw Vale committee chairman Mr Colin Hudson's explanation: 'We put our trust in the national official movement.'

The stark truth none of the action committees will face is that closure is not related to plant profitability, but to industry-wide profitability.

Ebbw Vale, Cardiff and Shotton all make money and the illusion is that this is all that is needed for them to be kept open.

The fact is that the BSC as a whole is in serious difficulty unless the old, costly, openhearth process can be phased out and the cheaper more modern basic oxygen system brought in.

The challenge is industrywide change—backed by the government. It can only be fought on an industry-wide basis. This means on a political basis.

The Tories cannot be 'persuaded' to scrap the plan to modernize BSC. They can only be stopped by a serious and decisive fight for the right to work.

This campaign must be aimed at creating the conditions in which the Tories will be forced to resign, paving the way for the election of a Labour government which can be forced by mass action to implement genuine socialist policies.

The action committees are riddled with a second major mistaken belief that if they can only hold on until Labour gets back to power their jobs will automatically be safe.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Michael Foot (representing Ebbw Vale) and a galaxy of other Labour MPs have said publicly time and again that they are not opposed to modernization.

They are opposed to the manner of it under the Tory government; to its social callousness.

Labour in power would not



One of a series of demonstrations by Shotton workers against the proposed closure of the Deeside works. Inset: Colin Hudson, Ebbw Vale action committee chairman.

end the process of changes in the steel industry, but rather they would try to make them more endurable.

From 1900 and before it has always been the role of reformist social democracy to temper the worst social excesses of capitalism while doing nothing at all to put an end to the monster responsible.

Furthermore in two years' time Labour will not be able to put the clocks back, even if they wanted to.

By then not only the basic oxygen process, but the new innovations for large - scale capital intensive working in rolling will be under way.

Lost forever

Even if the trade unions and the Labour Party between them were to succeed in cushioning the social effects of the closures, they will be job opportunities lost forever with all the frightful consequences for the steel

communities.

The fight for the right to work and against the loss of job opportunities in the steel industry is one which must be stepped up if unemployment is to be avoided and whole communities like Ebbw Vale and Shotton are not to wither away.

It is also a struggle which is inseparable from the struggle to build an alternative revolutionary leadership in the trade union and labour movement.

A new English edition of the 'First Five Years of the Communist International' incorporating hitherto unpublished material from Volume XIII of Trotsky's 'Works'



NEW EDITION

The First Five Years of the Communist International This first volume of Trotsky's writings and speeches for the Communist International covers the period of its first three Congresses when the post-war revolutionary upsurge reached its peak and then began to recede. It establishes, without fear of contradiction, the important role which he played in the foundation of this, the Third workers' International, and in the formation and early development of the French, German and Italian Communist Parties. At this time the theory of 'socialism in one country' had not been invented and Joseph Stalir was still a second-line Bolshevik leader who played no part in the international movement which he was later to pervert and eventually destroy.

Price: £1.50, 421 pages. Available from: New Park Publications 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG or the Paperbacks Centre 28 Charlotte Street, London, W1 (Enclose 10p for postage)

PENNY-PINCHING IN ABERFAN

Residents of Aberfan, South Wales, claim the removal of tips near the one which killed over a hundred people — the majority of them children —is being used to make fat profits.

Instead of merely being carted away in the shortest possible time, tip material is being processed for coal.

Once the fuel has been salvaged, the shale is then distributed over the 28-acre Grove Field.

But without reclamation, the residents feel the two tips on either side of the Aberfan Road could be cleared more rapidly.

The work is already in its sixth month and the National Coal Board, which is responsible for the removals, says it is likely to go on for another year.

ar. A Coal Board spokesman denies that any profit is being made.

But the whole project is an outstanding example of Tory penny-pinching in the face of a most horrible disaster.

The managing director of Ryan Industrial Fuels, contractors to the NCB, Mr George Tomkins, said that about 10 per cent of coal was being yielded by the reclamation process.

He added: 'This way it helps to pay for the operation.'

Mr Stewart Phillips, whose home overlooks the tip site, said: 'It seems to be turning into a commercial venture. It is bound to take longer when the coal is being taken from the shale. We want it completed in the quickest possible time.'

Mrs Annette Griffiths, a teacher, said: 'It looks like a miniature colliery. If they are going to do good here, why does there have to be a profit? This is going to slow the process down. We have seen enough coal in Aberfan.'

ANTI-PICKET SQUAD — THERE'S MORE IN RESERVE

The massive police force that made up the special antipicket squad used against Hull dockers recently was only the tip of the law and order iceberg.

Mark Carlisle, a junior minister at the Home Office has revealed that 200 police were on duty outside Barchard's Wharf, Hull, when a cargo of timber was being unloaded by labour not enjoying the privileges of the National Dock Labour Scheme.

But the minister said that a further 'substantial' number of police were held in reserve. They came from the Bradford, Leeds, Sheffield, Rotherham, west Yorkshire, York and the north east Yorkshire forces as well as from Hull.

The operation must have taken considerable planning but Carlisle would not reveal how much advanced notice Barchard's had given the Hull Chief Constable of their intention to unload the boat.

Hull dockers say they recognized many faces from last year's clashes when police sent massive forces to keep private wharfs open around Hull during last year's dockers' strike.

Answering Hull Labour MP Kevin McNamara, Carlisle said: 'The extra cost of the operation is not yet known. Advanced information was given to the Chief Constable but I do not think it right to go into detail.'

TREBLE PROFITS AND PRICES UP

Despite almost trebling its profits in 1972, the Esso Petroleum Company, a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, wants an increase in the price of crude oil.

In its annual report the company states: 'Whilst we must endeavour during 1973 to contain the extra costs generated inside the United Kingdom, it is not possible to contain the massive cost increases in the price of crude oil.'

Pre-tax profits for 1972 were £47,053,000 compared to £16,337,000 in 1971. Turnover increased by some £46,600,000 to £723,953,000.

IRELAND'S LABOUR PARTY BECOMES A RUBBER STAMP FOR FINE GAEL

Labour Party leaders in Eire are celebrating their 'victory' within the government they share with the rightwing Fine Gael Party.

There is the belief that they did well out of the share-out of posts in the government and there are some who say

BY IAN YEATS

Mrs Margaret Bailey is afraid to answer her front door to anyone and cannot sleep at night.

She is terrified that she will get another midnight visit at her Harlesden, north-west London home by men who broke down the door and searched her flat.

On Monday April 8, 60year-old widow Mrs Bailey was sitting quietly with her son watching 'Scales of Justice' on television.

At about ten minutes to one after the programme had ended they decided to go to bed.

Mrs Bailey claims her 21year-old son, Peter, came home from the musical instrument factory where he works and flopped into an armchair to watch television all evening.

Mrs Bailey says he prepared

Mrs Bailey says he prepared for bed while she went down two flights of steep stairs to leave some bottles out for the milkman.

As she put the bottles out she claims she saw two youth running along an alleyway opposite her front door.

She took no notice, closed the door and slid the top bolt into position. Since her husband died, Mrs Bailey has been extra anxious about security.

As she bent down to close the bottom bolt she heard a furious hammering on the

A voice shouted 'open up' but, frightened out of her wits, she refused. 'I thought it was drunks,' Mrs Bailey told me. 'We get a lot of them in that doorway.'



Her entrance is recessed next door to a steel-shuttered greengrocer's shop.

greengrocer's shop.
Seconds later, while she stood petrified in the hallway, a voice again told her to open up and warned that those on the other side were police.

'I still didn't open it,' said Mrs Bailey. 'They could have been phonies for all I knew.'

While she pressed her slight body against the door from the inside the men outside hurled themselves against it wrenching locks and bolts out

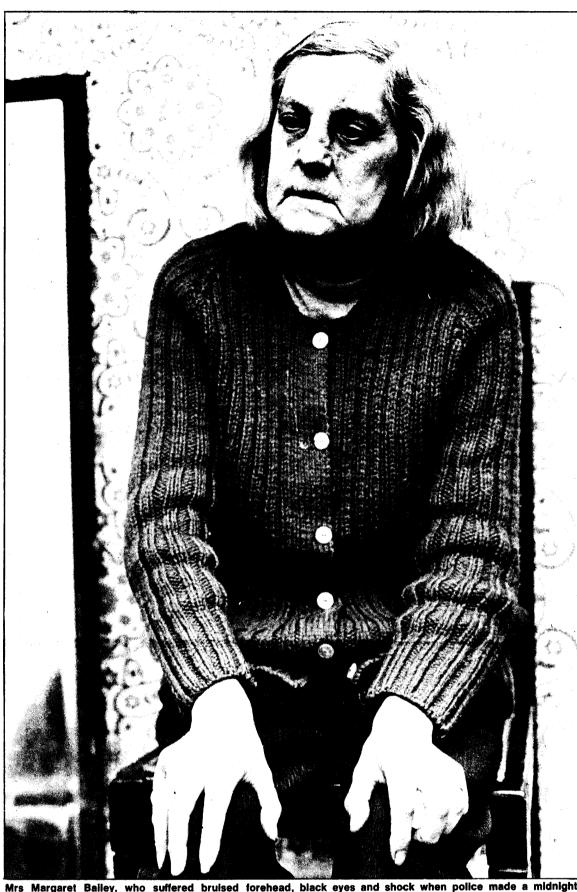
this signals a lurch to the left in the Republic. The most recent activities of the new government however will destroy this tender hope.

Labour appear to be the prisoners (willing or unwilling) rather than the masters of Fine Gael and are rapidly becoming the rubber stamp for the pro-Common Market politicians

This was highlighted recently by a decision not to reintroduce the Restrictive Practices Amendment Bill brought in by the last Fiana Fail government to curb the power of big business and the monopolies.

Fine Gael, who have close connections with the most reactionary sections of big business, are against this legislation. The Minister of Finance, Fine Gael member Ryan, claimed that there was little evidence that problems associated with mergers, such

'VISIT' FROM THE POLICE AT MIDNIGHT



Mrs Margaret Bailey, who suffered bruised forehead, black eyes and shock when police made a midnight search of her home. Above left: Mrs Bailey's son, who was taken away by police, but not charged.

of the woodwork and forcing it back on to Mrs Bailey.

She received two black eyes, a bruised forehead and was extremely shocked. She was treated afterwards at Willesden Green Hospital.

Far from being robbers or thugs, Mrs Bailey told me that six policemen rushed into her home, searched it and took away her son.

as the rights of workers, had emerged on any serious scale.

This was in line with a secret document circulated by Fine Gael to a small circle of influential bankers, financiers and stockbrokers before the election which unseated Fiana Fail's Jack Lynch

Fail's Jack Lynch.

This gave the assurance that there would be no early moves to regulate mergers and takeovers. The Labour Party had prior knowledge of this document before the electoral pact with Fine Gael was signed and sealed. Their agreement with Fine Gael on this issue was part of the bargain and Labour carried it out despite protest from some of their Ministers.

The whole incident is an indication of the patter of Irish politics at the top for some time to come. Socialists in Eire are now demanding that Labour break from the coalition and fight on an independent programme for power.

She claims they asked him where his mate was and refused to believe either of them that he had been watching television all evening.

It transpired that the police were chasing two youth and when they saw the light from Mrs Bailey's door as she put out her milk bottles they thought the boys had gone to ground there.

Mrs Bailey says she is sure the police, had no warrant to search her house. She was certainly never shown one. No charges have been brought against her son.

Mrs Bailey is placing full details of the case in the hands of the Citizen's Advice Bureau and she intends to sue the police for damages as a result of the injuries to herself.

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 8 of Leon Trotsky's 'Works' published in the Soviet Union in 1926. It provides the most vivid picture available of the historic figures of the Second International, their strengths and weaknesses, written by an observer who was also a participant in the daily struggle of the European and Russian working class.

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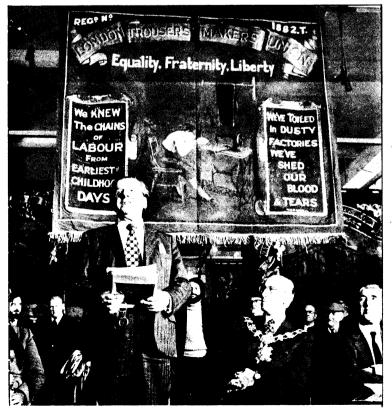
HISTORY POINTS A FINGE

Last week Victor Feather opened an exhibition of historic trade union banners just a few hours after signalling 'reluctant' TUC acceptance of the Tory pay laws. Here, graphically expressed, we see the two faces of the trade union bureaucracy today.

On the one hand, stuffed in their vaults, they keep the record of the bitter struggle of generations of workers to build their de-

an occasional airing, to impress the rank-and-file whom these leaders actually hold in contempt. Holiday speeches are made about 'forefathers' of the

fence organizations. These are brought out for



labour movement.

On the other hand, the union chiefs use these occasions to cover their return to the treacherous, reformist practices which threaten to undermine all the gains of these past struggles.

When Feather spells out 'resentful, reluctant acquies-cence in Phase Two of the government's pay policy', he is in fact declaring the TUC General Council's acceptance of the first steps towards a corporate state in Britain.

The corporate state means the end of independent trade unionism. For Feather to appear smiling, with a proprietorial air, amongst the banners of those who fought so determinedly and self-sacrificingly to found the early unions is an act of the utmost cynicism.

Earliest of the banners in the exhibition — that of the United Tin Plate Workers' Society of about 1821—was made when trade unionists were still labouring under the penal constraints of the vicious Combination Acts.

Today the slogan of Feather and the TUC General Council is cooperation with a government which is seeking to legislate away all workers' rights co-operation with those who want to bring back the

t Kalandiya da ka da garanga karanga karanga ka bara

Combination Acts in a modern form.

Another banner in the exhibition is that of the export branch of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers' Union, which arose out of the great 1889 'dockers' tanner' strike.

John Gorman, who assembled the exhibition and wrote the new book 'Banner Bright' (Allen Lane, £5), recalls a contemporary account of the dockers triumphant march on September 15, 1889, having won both their sixpence-an-hour rate and recognition for their union.

'All along the Commercial Road the women turned out in their thousands to see their husbands and sons pass in triumph. The sun seemed brighter, the music more inspiring, the banners more in number than ever before.'

And there were more banners. The strike, as Gorman says, 'signalled an explosion of unionism among the semi-skilled and unskilled'.

Now all these gains, this history, are called into question and the working class needs new banners — the banners of the revolutionary party—to meet the challenge

Significantly, one of the most elaborate banners on display, thought to date from

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around 1895, was only brought to light when the Pilkington glass strikers raided the St Helens office of the General Municipal Workers' Union in 1970.

This is the banner of the St Helens Sheet Glass Flat-teners Trade Protection Society, which became part of the G&MWU in 1924. Like the revolutionary traditions of another G&MWU constituent, the Gasworkers' Union which Eleanor Marx helped to found, the banner had been buried by the bureaucracy.

Feather was pictured last week, with John Gorman, under the Southall branch banner of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers, Motormen, Firemen and Cleaners.

Made in 1921, the banner is still on occasion carried by the locomen's union ASLEF. It featured prominently, for instance, in demonstrations against the infamous Beeching cuts.

Under the slogan 'The Power of Unity Breaks Down the Barriers of Capitalism', the banner portrays the heroic figure of a worker storming the employers in their lair.

Feather can certainly lay no claim to coming from that tradition. The banners exhibition points an accusing finger at him and his kind.



MAY DAY 1890

Like Tuesday's celebrations, the first May Day parade held in London in 1890 took place under conditions of great crisis and change inside the working-class movement.

For the huge demonstration which descended on Hyde Park on Sunday May 4 occurred at at decisive turning point when millions of workers were being forced by the sharp turn in the class struggle to break from their old leaders and create new political organizations which alone could solve their growing problems.

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The 1890s marked the advent of the imperialist stage of capitalism. The ruling class in every country was forced onto the offensive against the growing power of the working-class movement. In the desperate struggle for markets and outlets for capital exports, the employers embarked upon a determined onslaught against the living standards and organizations of millions of workers.

So it is today. All over the world, the capitalist system faces a crisis which can be summed up in a single word—inflation. It is the pressure of inflation which now continually shatters any attempt at 'stability' throughout Europe and America.

It is inflation which is thrusting the capitalist class into struggle to take from the working class all those rights and privileges which it has wrested from capitalism over the last century and a half.

And just as today, so in the 1890s, Britain is at the very centre of the world crisis. It was this crisis which forced tens of thousands of workers to take to the streets, in opposition to their leaders, to demand the implementation of the legal eight-hour day to curb the growing volume of unemployment, particularly among the unskilled workers.

The actual call for the May Day demonstration had come from the founding Congress of the Second International which met the previous year in Paris. A crucial decision at the Congress was 'to organize, for May 1, a great international demonstration, organized in such a way that on the same day the workers in all lands and cities will simultaneously demand from the powers-that-be a limitation of the working day to eight hours'.

The first call in Britain for the implementation of this resolution was to come from Karl Marx's daughter, Eleanor Marx-Aveling.

At a delegate meeting of the recently-formed Gasworkers' Union held in January 1890 it was unanimously decided, on

Eleanor's proposal, that in accordance with the Paris motion, a May Day demonstration should be held for a legal eight-hour day. The gasworkers had only recently forced a reduction of the working day from their employers, but feared that they would soon counter-attack and take away the gain. There was widespread support for political action which would make it secure.

Eleanor got in touch with the Bloomsbury Socialist Society which had been represented at the Paris Congress. At first she favoured holding the demonstration on May Day. There were practical difficulties in holding it on a working day, but she thought these could be overcome by adopting the expedient of the German party, which was to permit celebration in the evening if necessary.

But at an April meeting held in the Vauxhall Workingmen's Club it was decided to hold it on the first Sunday in the month. A central committee with Eleanor's husband, Edward Aveling, as chairman was elected and the support of the smaller unions and Radical clubs was sought.

Soon, however, the committee was to meet with the wrath and opposition of the official movement. It was in the preparation for the first May Day in 1890 that the battle between those advocating the legal eight-hour day as against those who favoured a campaign for the eight-hour day was to come to a head.

This was no mere difference over words. For what the 'Old Guard' trade union leaders who dominated the Parliamentary Committee of the TUC (forerunner of the General Council) wanted was to tie the working class to the Liberal Party. They opposed all political action which would raise the question of a new, independent party for labour. In limiting the fight to the question of the eight-hour day, they wanted to confine the struggle against each employer at the point of production.

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Eleanor Marx and her supporters, by raising the question of the legal eight-hour day, insisted upon the political nature of the struggle against the government. It was in response to her lead that the most oppressed workers, like the gasworkers, who were joining unions for the first time, provided the basis for the huge demonstration which gathered in Hyde Park on May 4.

It is entirely appropriate that Marx's daughter should have taken the lead in fighting to show workers the political implications of their struggle over 80 years ago.

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1880s and 1890s, we have fought consistently all those in the leadership of the working class, reformists and Stalinists, who have sought at every stage to divert the working class away from its main enemy, the Heath government.

MAY 4TH

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It also got permission to use Hyde Park for its demonstration and allocated two of its seven platforms to the Social Democratic Federation. This was the Marxist group formed in 1884 and led by H. M. Hyndman. The SDF, renowned for its sectarianism, had continually denounced the Paris resolution as a 'foolish' attempt by the 'Marxist clique' to impose its politics on the working class.

Aveling was forced to go to the office of the Commissioner of Works and, by threatening trouble at the Park, was eventually able to obtain a further seven platforms for the central committee. Now the 'tables were turned', as Engels wrote in a letter to Sorge and after May 4. He said: 'The movement here will take on quite a different aspect, and you will then hear more of Tussy [Eleanor] publicly.'

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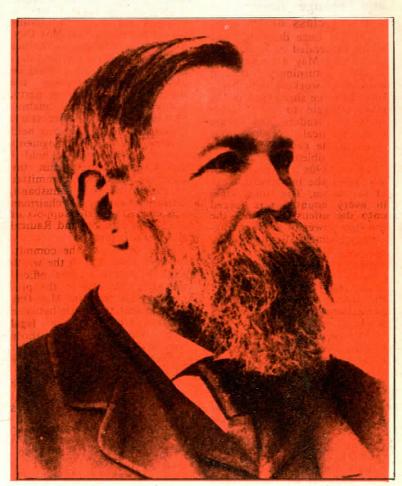
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Workers Press, Monday April 30, 1973 PAGE 7



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Workers Press, Monday April 30, 1973 PAGE 7



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ers marched through the streets in close formation. In Belgium, 340,000 took part in demonstrations. In Portugal, 14,000 workers struck, while in Bar-celona over 100,000 took part in demonstrations, with an even greater number attending a mass meeting in Stockholm.

Little wonder that Engels could say proudly: 'On May 4, 1890 the English working class joined up in the great international army . . . Its long winter sleep . . . is broken at last. The grandchildren of the old Chartists are entering the line of battle.'

Engels' only regret was that Marx had not lived to see the day. For the campaign for May Day, particularly in England, was a continuation of the fight he had waged inside the First International against Bakunin and the Anarchists. They had opposed the fight for the legal eight-hour day in the 1860s as determinedly as did the leaders of the skilled 'aristocracy of labour' in the 1890s.

But it was a campaign based on the continual fight to turn the working class to politics which was to reap such great rewards in the decade after Marx's death in 1883.

Victor Adler, leader of the Austrian Social Democracy,

summed up the gains following from the first May Day in that

'Entire layers of the working class, with which we would otherwise have made no contact, had been shaken out of their lethargy . . . we have drawn new strength from May Day and the demonstrations have been like a plough over virgin lands. The idea has taken root in the hearts of workers whom we could never have reached with our programme and speeches, and the inspiration will never be lost.'

The changes in the English working class were equally important following May Day

It gave a great impetus to the fight against the 'Old Guard' union leaders who had up to that point dominated the Parliamentary Committee of the TUC. A new group of leaders, often working under the direction of Eleanor Marx and Engels, came forward to fight consistently inside the movement for the programme of the legal eight-hour day and for a break from Liberalism and the formation of an independent Labour Party.

Despite all attempts by the old leaders, represented most typically by Henry Broadhurst, secretary of the Parliamentary Committee, it was a fight which brought great gains. In the summer of 1890 the London Trades Council-which only a few months earlier had led the fight against Aveling's central committee-instructed all its delegates to the 1890 TUC to vote for the legal eight-hour day.

Never for a moment had Engels or Eleanor Marx advocated that the fight inside the existing workers' organizations, particularly the trade unions, should be abandoned. They had always insisted with their collaborators—such as Will Thorne and Tom Mann—that they had to fight Broadhurst and his clique at every stage. Despite early rebuffs in the late 1880s, when the leaders of the old 'labour aristocracy' had been able to isolate the socialists in the TUC, Thorne and company never turned their backs on the fight.

For Engels knew that only through a fight inside the organizations of the working class, at every level, could all the new forces entering the struggle for the first time be united and the old leaders exposed.

How Engels would have denounced the revisionists of today. They have prepared for May Day 1973 by advocating the crudest forms of 'rank and file-ism' which can only confuse the working class while allowing the trade union and Labour leaders—who have done everything possible to destroy a united fight against the Tory government-to get off the hook.

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And despite its serious limitations and the inevitable confusion on the part of many of its leaders, Engels warmly welcomed the move as a vital step forward in the develop-ment of a political movement inside the British working class.

It is in this spirit that today we celebrate May Day. The

working class is in great danger. It is dominated by leaders, social democrats and Stalinists, who are a thousand times more reactionary than Henry Broadhurst and the 'Old Guard' of 1890.

But it remains an enormsame principled lead which the Marxists sought to give its great grandfathers over 80 years ago, we are convinced that it will be able to strike far greater blows against its enemies inside the working class than it did in the days following May 4, 1890.

And just as Eleanor Marx, Engels and their comrades were in the vanguard of the fight to clear out the 'Old Guard' of their day, so today, on May Day 1973, the Socialist Labour League gives this pledge: We will do all in our power to provide the working class with the Party which it now requires in order to take power and establish socialism.

It is a fight which means the struggle to clear out of the movement every Stalinist and reformist who in this period of great danger has consciously abandoned everything for which May Day stands in the international working-class

movement.





Above: Eleanor Marx-Aveling, who put out the first call for May Day in Britain. Below: Frederick Engels. Left: Eleanor Marx-Aveling speaks to workers about the founding of the Second International, portrayed at the Pageant of working class history at Empire Pool last March.

ers marched through the streets in close formation. In Belgium, 340,000 took part in demonstrations. In Portugal, 14,000 workers struck, while in Barcelona over 100,000 took part in demonstrations, with an even greater number attending a mass meeting in Stockholm.

Little wonder that Engels could say proudly: 'On May 4, 1890 the English working class joined up in the great international army . . . Its long winter sleep . . . is broken at last. The grandchildren of the old Chartists are entering the line of battle.'

Engels' only regret was that Marx had not lived to see the day. For the campaign for May Day, particularly in England, was a continuation of the fight he had waged inside the First International against Bakunin and the Anarchists. They had opposed the fight for the legal eight-hour day in the 1860s as determinedly as did the leaders of the skilled 'aristocracy of labour' in the 1890s.

But it was a campaign based on the continual fight to turn the working class to politics which was to reap such great rewards in the decade after Marx's death in 1883.

Victor Adler, leader of the Austrian Social Democracy,

summed up the gains following from the first May Day in that

'Entire layers of the working class, with which we would otherwise have made no contact, had been shaken out of their lethargy . . . we have drawn new strength from May Day and the demonstrations have been like a plough over virgin lands. The idea has taken root in the hearts of workers whom we could never have reached with our programme and speeches, and the inspiration will never be lost.'

The changes in the English working class were equally important following May Day 1890.

It gave a great impetus to the fight against the 'Old Guard' union leaders who had up to that point dominated the Parliamentary Committee of the TUC. A new group of leaders, often working under the direction of Eleanor Marx and Engels, came forward to fight consistently inside the movement for the programme of the legal eight-hour day and for a break from Liberalism and the formation of an independent Labour Party.

Despite all attempts by the old leaders, represented most typically by Henry Broadhurst,

secretary of the Parliamentary Committee, it was a fight which brought great gains. In the summer of 1890 the London Trades Council—which only a few months earlier had led the fight against Aveling's central committee—instructed all its delegates to the 1890 TUC to vote for the legal eight-hour day.

EXPOSED

Never for a moment had Engels or Eleanor Marx advocated that the fight inside the existing workers' organizations, particularly the trade unions, should be abandoned. They had always insisted with their collaborators—such as Will Thorne and Tom Mann—that they had to fight Broadhurst and his clique at every stage. Despite early rebuffs in the late 1880s, when the leaders of the old 'labour aristocracy' had been able to isolate the socialists in the TUC, Thorne and company never turned their backs on the fight.

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THE TORY ATTACK ON SHOPWORKERS

A series by Bernard Franks. Part One

The Tories have launched a determined attack on the rights and conditions of the working class in Britain. The effects of a rampant world economic crisis of capitalism are to be offset by protecting and developing big business at the expense of workers' jobs and wages.

The low-paid shopworker and others, far from being specially considered' as the Tories maintain, would have their poverty-line existence permanently endorsed. In real terms of what their money will buy, all workers face a savage wage-cut.

Some stark contrasts are shown in the retail distribution industry. On the one hand, hundreds of millions more pounds have been flowing through the tills of the giant retail chains. These stem from the 25-per-cent rise in prices during the past two years.

Recently announced profit

increases include:
Safeways Food Stores: profits
to October 1972, up by 50 per cent.

Lennons Supermarkets: profits up by more than 25 per

cent. W. H. Smith: profits for eight months up by 70 per cent on the similar eight months of the previous year.

Dorothy Perkins: the ladies clothing retail group: 32 per cent increase of profit for the half-year to November

(Out of this a golden hand-shake of £45,000 was paid to a director who resigned). The John Lewis Partnership: profits for 1972 up 36 per cent on the previous year.

International Stores: forecasts made of a 25 per cent increase of profit to April 1973 over the previous year. Dixon's photographic chain:

profits for 28 weeks to November 1972 increased by lar period in the previous

Millions more are expected from the price increases to

For example, Harrods, the London department store, took a record £1.1m during one day of the January sales, probably the first time ever that a single store in Britain has notched such a turnover in

one day's trading.
On the other hand, the enforcement of state wage con-trol laws, which can make any action for a living wage an illegal act, is an attempt to condemn the underpaid shopworkers and others to perma-

nent privation.

In grocery retail the Tories put a complete stop to a miserable pay deal which would barely have taken the minimum beyond £16 a week.

For shop workers, of course, there was no similar 'freeze' put by the government or employers on the extra work associated with the Christmastime rush, or the additional work involved in the January sales and re-stocking.

Even government-backed bodies like the National Economic Developments Office are forced to admit that shop wages are among the lowest.

The majority of workers in the industry must be accounted low-paid workers', said a 1971 Neddy report.

Retail minimum rates are set by wages councils covering different sections of the industry, the decisions being made law and known as statutory minimum rates.

Some statutory minimum rates for sales assistants in 1972 were £14.4 men, £12.05 women for 41 hours in drapery, outfitting and footwear; £13.90 men, £11.85 women for 41 hours in retail food.

These were London figures. In provincial areas they could be more than £1 a week lower.

On this basis, firms paying above minimum rates could safely point out that they were paying £3 and £4 over these amounts, yet still be sending their workers home with under

It should be added that, unlike many production industries, there are rarely any 'extras' available by way of shift allowances, bonuses or overtime payments.

The above-mentioned Neddy report states:

The shop worker on average gets very little more than the basic rate.'

Not that workers should have to increase their workload and hours to get a living wage.

Shop staff, like any other workers, will bear the brunt of rent rises and the price rises in line with Common Market entry. These include the payment of Value Added Tax (VAT) of which the government's Green Paper explained: 'Although it is paid by traders, in effect, the tax falls ultimately on final consumer expenditure.

The Tory price freeze, of course, is a complete fraud. Food prices have run riot. Further, as every manufacturer can claim that his product is affected by the cost of imported raw materials—because some substances in virtually every manufacturing process do come from abroad—then they are all in line for 'justified' price rises.

The giant superstores

In recent years there has been wide-spread rationalization of shops and shop work by the major companies and this is by no means over.

Changes from counter service to self-service; the introduction of decimalization; the use of modern methods of warehousing, transporting, handling, packaging, checkingout and accounting; the trend towards larger supermarkets run by fewer workers, have all meant that modern storeworking often takes on the form and speed of a factory

production line, and that an inroad into jobs has begun.

At the moment the major companies are in a mad scramble to get planning permission for giant superstores on greenbelt and edge-of-town sites. These will cater for the middle classes and the betterpaid worker shopping by car, who will not find it worthwhile to spend less than £4 to £5 a visit.

At the same time, many small town-centre stores are being closed as 'uneconomic' and are being sold to developers.

The fact is, every major distribution chain is in two businesses: retailing and propertv.

A retailing chain may own hundreds of key sites throughout the country, which, with zooming land and property prices, means enormous increases in assets without a penny being spent.

For example, a 1972 revaluation of properties owned by United Drapery Stores Ltd, gave an extra £52m surplus over book value of shops and stores held.

The last revaluation was in

are 3.75 million There people in the distributive trades in Britain—one in seven of the working population.

In shops there are just over 2 million workers, including sales assistants, porters, packers, cashiers, cleaners, buyers and managers. A third are part-time workers and twothirds are women.

Another 250,000 work in jobs selling a service—boot and shoe repairs, launderettes, dry-cleaning. On the wholesale side there are more than 500,000 workers, and another 500,000 work in associated motor trades, or as distributive workers for manufacturers-drivers, warehousemen, storekeepers, and so on.

There are roughly 480,000 retail establishments in Britain though the number is falling rapidly.

As well as shops, this figure includes market stalls, kiosks, roundsmen's depots mobile stores. More and than three-quarters are 'independent' i.e. not part of a retail chain. These are run by 500,000 people consisting of proprietors, often working with unpaid family help.

Shop work requires most staff to be on their feet all the time, to be instantly on call, even when no work is directly being done, to carry out extra work before and after shop hours and keep up a good appearance and manner. Sales assistants in modern stores are required to work at top speed, act as a security force to watch for pilfering, check for forged bank notes and carry the can for promised but unkept delivery dates.

Certainly, conditions are not always perfect. A recent report on safety exposed large discrepancies between conditions for customers and those for staff, with 'Exit' doors locked, others wedged open, no fire instruction and poor lighting.

Another concern is the constant contact with chemical fumes in dry-cleaning and ladies hairdressing establishments. And today's mechanization of storage increases the danger involved in working with powered machines in confined spaces.

Mostly, shop work is not complicated just chronically underpaid Rates for young people are especially bad. They may start at £8 or £9 for boys and £6.50 for girls or less paid as 'youth or learners'. There in fact, little to learn as most jobs have been simplified into elementary actions and activities. They are simply putting in an adult workload for a junior's pay.

Over the past ten years, the small independent shops have been closing at an average rate of 6,000 a year: 26 per cent of all grocers' shops alone have closed since 1961.

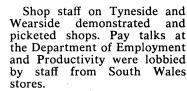
Numbers of empty premises stand derelict on every high street. Now, the time and energy - consuming paperwork in line with the Tories' Common Market entry policy-the introduction of VAT-is to be one more mighty nail in the small trader's coffin. He is to be given the job of unpaid tax collector.

It is not generally known that shop workers have a history of militancy reaching back to the middle of the last century.

TUC leaders do nothing

They fought continuously for better pay, for union recognition, against pernicious hours of work and the 'living-in' system, and for legislation to define their rights and conditions. Today many are determined to continue tradition.

Before Christmas hundreds of angry shop workers from big grocery multiples like Tesco and Fine Fare registered their disgust at the Tory treatment of their pay situation.



Branches of the union representing 120,000 multiple grocery workers demanded action for a £20 minimum

This activity, however, is in sharp contrast to that of many trade union officials.

The TUC leaders have done nothing to mobilize the membership against the Tory attacks on the labour movement. Far from seeking to improve the impoverished condition of the low-paid, they actively supported the talks with the employers and the government on controlling pay and banning strikes.

Even when workers were imprisoned under the Industrial Relations Act for defending their jobs, the TUC leaders did not withdraw from the talks. Instead, agreement was reached with the leading employers to set up a so-called conciliation and arbitration service—to police labour disputes.

In July 1972 the TUC and the employers established a joint standing committee to set up and oversee the service. The TUC's eight representatives included 'lefts', Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones, as well as the general secretary of USDAW, Alf Allen.

This collaboration paved the way for the Tories to bring in their new attack on wages, strikes and trade unions, the so-called Counter-Inflation Bill.

In face of the Tory offensive the USDAW negotiators completely caved in on the grocery shop workers' claim, accepting a miserable £2.30 to £3.50 offer by the employers.

The action by furious shopworkers forced the officials to reopen negotiations. Thev finally accepted a further 50p which would-if it were paid -bring the minimum scales to between £16.80 and £21.55 a week.

Said USDAW's assistant general secretary: 'We would have liked more, but in the circumstances we are urging our members to accept the new offer.'

Previously they had gone along to plead cap-in-hand with the Tories that any rise agreed might actually be paid -after February 26--when the initial 90 days 'freeze' was to end.

In fact, the Tories had made it clear that there was no question of their pay policy being a short-term measure; that, on the contrary, the curcent law was a holding operation while a stronger, more permanent system of control was prepared and established.

The Tory Bill had, in any case, a 60-day extension clause built in, which was clearly there to be used.

Along with the already operating labour courts, the developed Phase Two of replacing collective bargaining with rigid and permanent wage ordering by organizations appointed by the state, with heavy fines for strikes, is strongly reminiscent of the Labour Codes introduced by the Italian and German fascists in the 1920s and 1930s.

It is no wonder that Tesco's interim statement of December 1972 announced 'Record Group profits' - a 30 per cent increase-and remarked: 'It is anticipated that the second half of the current financial year will produce further good results.

Clearly, a new leadership must be built in the trade unions which will resolutely take up the political struggle to defend workers' rights, to defeat the Tories and to return a Labour government entirely committed to the implementation of socialist policies.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



BY IAN YEATS

'Minamata'. Directed by Noriaki Tsuchimoto. Distributors: Contemporary Films.

'Minamata' is the story of how a happy community of simple Japanese fishermen were overnight laid low by the callous, unscrupulous poisoning of their environment by the Chisso petro - chemical corporation.

Into the blue, sun-dappled sea from which the fishermen drew their food and their livelihoods Chisso indiscriminately pumped the waste products from their plant.

The waste included killer

mercury which Chisso had introduced to step up production and increase profits.

First the fish the community

lived on died, then the dogs and cats, then human beings. Even the unborn were affected in the wombs of their mothers.

At first, Noriaki Tsuchimoto's documentary shows the fisherfolk did not know what

was happening.
Between 1952 and 1960, 138 Minamatans died or were maimed by the dreadful disease which took the name of the town where they lived.

The disease intoxicates the nervous system and is characterized by ataxia, which can mean anything from slurred speech to complete loss of bodily control.

Unborn children can be inflicted with physical and nervous deformities as well as severe brain damage. Mothers saw the effects on their children as the disease ate away up to two thirds of their brain be-

Wives saw the flesh fall away from husbands they remembered as sun-tanned giants.

Husbands watched for years at the bedside of wives they married as lively young girls reduced by the disease to helpless, mindless, incontinent wrecks.

Meanwhile Chisso notched up profits running into millions of dollars.

From the start the company refused to admit a shred of responsibility for its crimes against human beings. And when the fishermen staged a monster 4,000-strong demonstration the police were called.

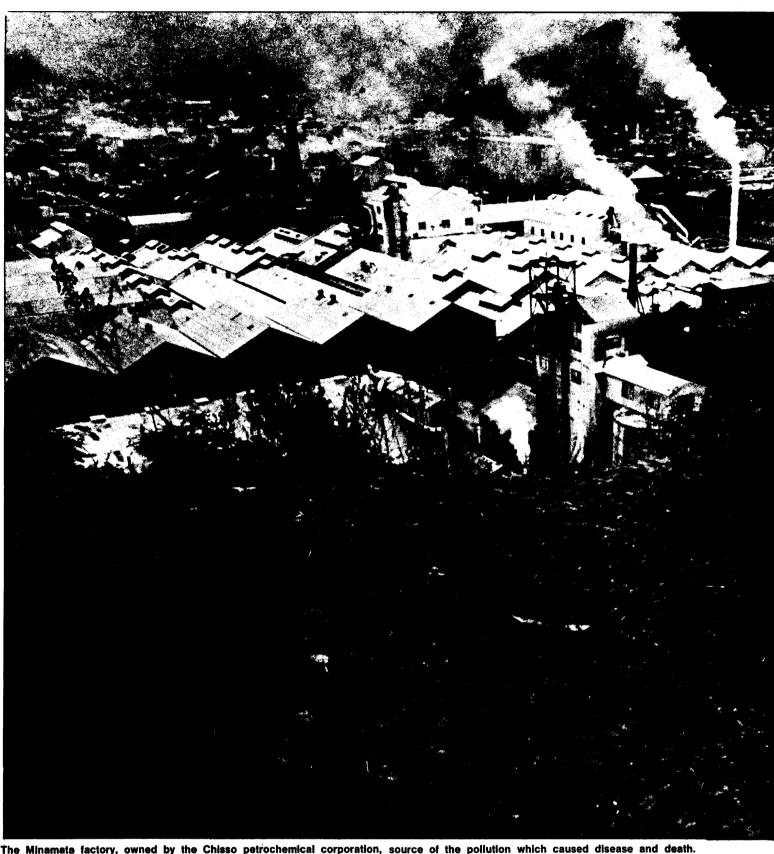
Doctors refused and are still refusing to diagnose Minamata in dozens of sufferers who are therefore prevented from claiming compensation or state aid.

Government officials made it clear whose side they were on and for the first time many of the fisherfolk had a glimpse of the real nature of the capitalist state.

In 1960 the disease was said to have officially ended. Yet in 1961 children were still being born with all its symptoms.

The fishermen mounted a campaign throughout the length

THE STORY OF MINAMATA



The Minamata factory, owned by the Chisso petrochemical corporation, source of the pollution which caused disease and death.

and breadth of Japan to force Chisso to admit responsibility and pay damages.

They appeared in symbolic funeral robes on the streets of major towns and cities to be gaped at or ignored putting their case over to the public with loud-hailers.

They succeeded in raising hundreds of thousands of yen their campaign and launched a single share movement so that they could legitimately attend the company's

1972 annual general meeting. Twenty years after Chisso first contaminated the coastal waters where the fishermen lived, the victims still had received only about \$1,500 from all sources.

The care of invalids, in some cases almost totally incapacitated and all requiring special treatment, imposed huge strains on the meagre incomes of the villagers.

The villagers went to the meeting and finally confronted the score of sombre-suited, previously faceless executives who had caused them so much horrible and untold misery . . .

They were offered sympathy. After all the suffering they had inflicted, Chisso then began to move out of Minamata to more profitable locations.

Finally, after an unprecedented campaign, the notorious Chisso company was forced to pay £1.5m to the bereaved and maimed of Minamata.

The case graphically illustrates the criminal thoughtlessness of capitalism in consciously neglecting even the most elementary safety precautions in its rapacious lust for profit.

to wage 'a cultural battle' to destroy 'rotten and alien' ideas.

'Only true ideology stemming from God's Book in which we have believed since Mohammed, may the peace and blessings of God be upon him, will be tolerated,' Gaddafi

'There is room only for the true ideology which knows no falsehoods; the ideology which stems from the Book of God and which expresses Arabism, Islam, humanity, socialism and progress.

'People, destroy all libraries and bookshops from which the real light does not shine, the light which guides people out darkness. Destroy the libraries which are the sources of darkness and dirt, the dirt of imported reactionary capitalist and Jewish-communist ideology.'

Gaddafi said a committee of 'revolutionary intellectuals' was already at work drawing up a list of books considered

It shows the utter and totally immoral callousness of the capitalists, even after they have broken up families and inflicted the most horrible 'living death' on scores of people in refusing to own up

or to pay compensation.

The cash the villagers received could not bring back the dead or alleviate the suffering.

While there is capitalism there will be other Chissos. The only way to end its murderous excesses is to end capitalism.

fit only for burning. He added that some libraries, cinemas and cultural centres had already been purged of 'bad' literature.

The 'enemies of the Union of Arab Republics' (Egypt-Libya-Syria) had to be eliminated, even if it meant civil war in Libya. Gaddafi said ominously. His talents as a law-maker have been demonstrated on previous occasions.

His last major piece of domestic legislation restored the ancient Islamic rule that thieves should have their hands cut off.

Gaddafi doesn't want anyone to think him behind the times and so he drew up a carefully-graded scale relating the size of the theft to the extent of the mutilation.

He also decreed that the hands (and in some cases feet) of the offenders should be amputated under sterile conditions by properly qualified surgeons.

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BURNING BOOKS

Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, the young Moslem fanatic who rules Libya, has embarked on a new drive to wipe out the infidel at home.

Speaking on the birthday of the Prophet Mohammed on April 15, Gaddafi decreed the suspension of all laws which might stand in the way of the struggle against the infidel.

He said: 'Anyone who talks to me about communism, Marx and atheism we will put into prison. We will give the order to the Minister of the Interior to purge any group of these sick people.'

He added that he intended

HUGE PROFITS FOR STEVEDORING GROUP

Ocean Transport and Trading, the powerful shipping and stevedoring group, is forecasting that its profits for this year could exceed £15m -50 per cent up on the results it has just announced.

The group, which under various guises has played a big part in the employers' campaign to undermine dockers' hard-won job-security, sailed in with pre-tax profits of £10.4m for 1972.

The comparable figure for 1971 was £7.24m, and the stock market had been expecting an increase to something like £9m.

But Ocean berthed with a £3m profit from associated companies, which now include interests in warehousing, road haulage, air forwarding and off-shore services to the oil industry.

This is a major turnround. Previously Ocean's associated companies made a £567.000

The major boost in this sector came from Ocean's container company, OCL, and from the recently-acquired shipowning and fuel contracting firm Wm Corv.

Overail profit rise of 44 per cent before tax was achieved on a turnover up 65 per cent at £137m. Shareholders will receive a final gross dividend of $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, to bring the total for the year up to 31½ per cent.

Meanwhile the campaign against dockers' rights continues, with the port employers and road haulage interests, among both of whom Ocean has a powerful voice, firmly resisting extension of the Dock

Labour Scheme.

It was the then head of Ocean, Sir John Nicholson, who initiated the employers' lobby of the Tories, within weeks of their election victory, for abolition of the Scheme.



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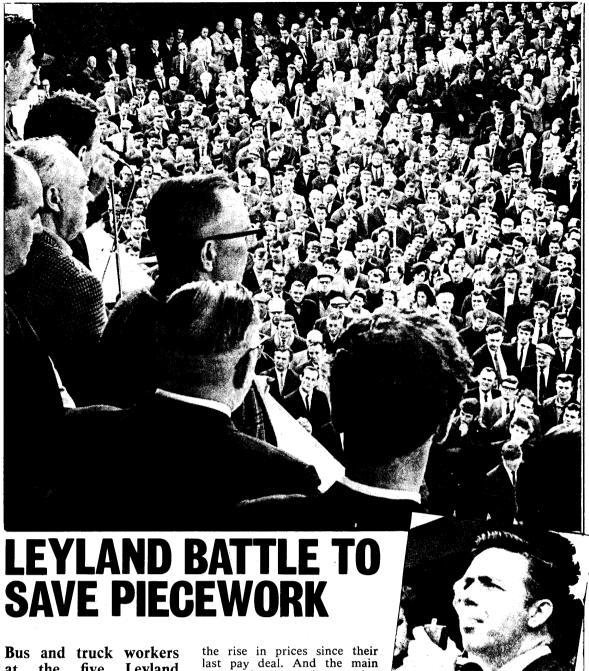
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at the five Leyland Motor factories in Lancashire are waging a determined battle against company attempts to push through a new pay system which would undermine piecework.

Talks on the company's proposals are currently deadlocked; the works committee has registered a 'failure to agree'

And convenor Len Brindle says there is unlikely to be any change in the situation until a connected pay dispute involving 58 engine assemblers is settled.

The assemblers have stayed out despite a vote by the rest of the factories not to support them. By today more than 2,000 production could be laid off. workers

But while there is some confusion in the five plants over the engine assemblers' dispute, opposition to the management's proposed new pay system is widespread.

The proposals, which have been produced following negotiations with the works' committee starting in November 1972, include putting a ceiling on piecework earnings, increasing the fixed element in the wage-packet, cutting bonus pay and establishing rules for the fixing and review of piecework

PRINCIPLE

Leyland claims the aim of the proposals is 'to give a fairer payment system, to give greater earnings stability to employees, to reward effort and skill more consistently, to reduce the time lost in bonus disputes'.

Union officials say there are at least three areas in which the proposals require changes involving basic principle—and at least eight essential points which are not covered in the draft agreement.

The shop-floor approach is much more direct.

No worker will gain anything from the agreement in pay terms, it is said. The proposed average increase of £2.50 is totally inadequate to meet

avenue for increasing earning power will be blocked off.

Meanwhile Leyland will considerably reduce its costs. And in addition, the company has admitted that at a later stage it intends to use the deal to put work-study men on the shop floor.

Leyland denies that the proposed deal is Measured-Day Work (MDW). But many workers insist that it would be a big step in this direction.

In the summer of 1969 the five Leyland Motor factories-Chorley, North Works, South Works, Spurrier Works and Farrington - struck for six weeks to win improvements in their then relatively poor wages and conditions.

The strike resulted in some important concessions being wrung from the company.

All job times were reviewed, for instance. The bonus percentage paid for demonstration jobs was set at 200 per cent.

On the basis of the 1969 deal, over the last three years, further concessions have been

Demonstration times are now set at 400 per cent. Average bonus percentages of 550 per cent are now not abnormal.

One relatively high-paid worker compared gross pay of £23 for 47 hours just after the 1969 strike with £38 for 40 hours today.

But Leyland is now hell-bent on taking back these gains.

The company claims that 'much of this wage growth has produced unjustifiable differences in wages between different sections' and that 'everincreasing sectional claims have led to the growing number of stoppages and disruption of

In 1972, complained an April 17 letter to all workers from operations director A. D. Fogg, there were 48 separate strikes and 19 other occasions when workers imposed sanctions of one kind or another.

Failure to agree the new proposals meant that the practice of presenting sectional claims continued — conditions which produced industrial action by maintenance engineers, storekeepers at the Chorley factory and the engine assemblers' dispute which is still going on.

Brindle. Above: Leyland workers from Lancashire strike in the summer of 1966.

But at a works' conference early in April, the company indicated that it intended to stick fast to the Tories' Phase Two pay-law norm, even if it meant continuing lay-offs and no agreement on the proposals.

In a bid to frighten the unions into acceptance Leyland insisted that if 'wage drift' continued at its present rate (it claimed it had been 12 per cent in 1972), it faced disaster.

At a further conference on April 13 the company reiterated that its offer was the maximum allowed under Phase Two.

Then, according to Bob Crook, district secretary of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, 'we finally stated that since we were no longer free agents to discuss and reach agreement because of outside interference. then the scheme was not acceptable'.

The company, Crook says in a report to his members, was 'reluctant to call it a day'. But the union side indicated that no useful purpose would be served by continuing discussions since it was not possible to arrive at a mutual agreement.

Since the conference had been sought by the company, it was its turn to record a failure to agree, and the union position is that the next move is up to the company.

But as one worker stressed: On the question of scrapping the present piecework agreement the men are determined that come hell or high water it's not on. We are not going to give up what we've won over the last three years.

'There's a strong feeling for strike action, and since our present pay deal has now expired we're all watching very closely to see what our officials and shop stewards are going to

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- 6.50 TOP OF THE FORM.
- 7.15 Z CARS. Suspicion.
- 8.00 PANORAMA.
- 9.00 NEWS. Weather.
- 9.25 SEARCH FOR THE NILE. Find Livingstone.
- 10.15 FORMATION DANCING.
- 10.50 MILO O'SHEA. 'Judgement Day'.
- 11.20 SKY AT NIGHT. How Big are the Planets?
- 11.40 LATE NIGHT NEWS.
- 11.45 MAN IN HIS PLACE. A Ceremonial Society.
- 12.05 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.30 World War I (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Scribble. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Mr and Mrs. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 Schools. 2.20 Cartoon. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Doing things. 3.25 Public eye. 4.25 Clapperboard. 4.50 Tomorrow people. 5.20 And mother makes three. 5.50 News.

- 6.90 TODAY.
- 6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS!
- 7.30 CORONATION STREET.
- 8.00 BLESS THIS HOUSE.
- 8.30 WORLD IN ACTION SPECIAL. The Rise and Fall of John Poulson.
- 9.30 LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR.
- 10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
- 10.30 THE WILD, WILD WEST. The Night of the Watery Death.
- 11.30 THE ART OF THE CRAFT. Mounting and Framing Pictures.
- 12.00 WORLD WAR I.
- 12.25 EPILOGUE.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school, 5.25 Open University.

- 7.05 PARENTS AND CHILDREN.
- 7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather. 7.35 INSIDE MEDICINE.

Going: Gone.

- 8.00 ALIAS SMITH AND JONES. The McCreedy Bust - Going:
- 8.55 CALL MY BLUFF.
- 9.25 FRANKIE HOWERD.
- 10.10 ONE PAIR OF EYES. Allan Prior, best known for his scripts for Z Cars and Softly. Softly.
- 11.00 NEWS, Weather.
- 11.30 OPEN DOOR.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.00 Plus Tam. 2.30 Women today. 3.00 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Survival. 6.45 London. 10.30 Sound stage. 11.03 History of motor racing. 11.23 Protectors. 11.50

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 6.20 Sport. 6.35 Date with Danton. 10.30 News. 11.50 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Home on the hill. 11.00 Streets of San Francisco. 11.55 News. 12.00 Farm progress. 12.25 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.00 At your service. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Curse of Frankenstein'. 12.00 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above 2.30-3.00 Hamdden. 6.01 wythnos. 9.00-9.30 Survival.

HTV West as above except: 6.22-6.45 This is the West this week.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.00 At your service. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Gardening. 11.00 Film: 'Scandal Gardening. 11.00 Film: Sheet'. 12.30 Big question.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 2.00 At your service. 2.30 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Romantic versus classic art. 11.00 Man in a suitcase. 12.00 Epilogue. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.33 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 Please don't eat the daisies. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.40 Film: 'The Long and the Short and the Tall'.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 2.00 At your service. 2.30 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.45 London. 10.30 Emmerdale farm. 11.25 Outsider. 12.20 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London, 2.00 At your service. 2.30 Yoga. 2.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Strange

on Tuesday at 9.25.

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 London. 4.20 Lottery. 4.25 London. 4.50 Young eyes. 5.20 Partridge family 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Look-around. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Tar-buck. 7.30 Curtain raiser. 7.35 Cool million. 9.00 London. 12.15 News, weather.

REGIONAL TV

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.25 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 12.12 News. 12.15

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Tarbuck. 7.15 Hec Ramsey. 9.00 London. 12.15 News. Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 2.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Try for ten. 7.05 London. 7.35 Columbo. 9.00 London. 12.15 Craftsmen. 12.45 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.25 Mirimawr. 4.35-4.50 Cantamil. 6.0-16.18 Y dydd. 10.30 Corau meibion. 11.15-11.30 O'r wasg. 12.15 Come-

HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Report West.

Sylvester McGovern

Branch Chairman

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 London. 5.20 Smith family. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Tarbuck. 7.30 Madigan. 9.00 London.

Vanessa Redgrave opens a new BBC 2 series, 'A Picture of Kather-

ine Mansfield', the New Zealand-born writer who died 50 years ago,

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 London. 5.20 Osmonds. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Tarbuck. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 McMillan and wife. 9.00 London. 12.15 Gordon Bailey. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.33 News. 1.35 Schools. 2.50 Romper room. 3.00 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Tarbuck. 7.30 McMillan and wife. 8.50 Cartoon. 9.00

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 12.25 Hammy hamster. 12.40 London. 2.30 Farmhouse kitchen. 3.00 London. 4.20 Here's Lucy. 5.50 London. 6.00 Cal-endar. Weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Tarbuck. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 Film: 'Do Not Fold, Spindle or Mutilate'. 9.00 London. 12.15 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 2.30 Collecting on a shoestring. 2.55 London. 5.15 Nature's window. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Police file. 6.40 Film: 'The Magic Carpet'. 9.00 London.

John Havlit

Branch Secretary

TUESDAY'S TV

BBC 1

9.38 Schools, 12.30 Mae gen i air! 12.55 News, 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Fingerbobs, 1.45 Ask the family. 2.05 Schools. 2.25 A fringe of Caesar's empire. 2,55 Animal design. 3.20 Gardeners' world. 3.45 Governor and J. J.. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Animal magic. 5.15 Time switch. 5.40 Hector's house. 5.45 News, weather.

- 6.00 NATIONWIDE.
- 6.45 TOM AND JERRY.
- 6.55 FILM: 'The Fighting Seabees'. John Wayne, Susan Hayward,
- 8.30 THE LIVER BIRDS.
- 9.00 NEWS. Weather.
- 9.25 DOCUMENTARY: 'The Year Money Went Mad'. Story of the great currency convulsion that paralysed Germany in 1923.
- 10.15 FILM 73. 10.45 MIDWEEK.
- 11.30 NEWS. Weather.
- 11.37 MEDICINE TODAY. Early diagnosis of cancer.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.45 Bertrand Russell speaks his mind (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Hatty town. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Lunchtime with Wogan. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 Harriet's back in town. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 About Britain. 3.25 Kate. 4.25 Junior showtime. 4.50 How. 5.20 Arnie. 5.50

- 6.00 TODAY, 6.40 CROSSROADS.
- 7.05 IT'S TARBUCK. Guest Lulu.
- 7.35 FILM: 'Women in Chains'. Ida Lupino, Belinda Montgomery. A young parole officer sets out to check on conditions in the women's penal system.
- 9.00 SIX DAYS OF JUSTICE. The Counsellor.
- 10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
- 10.30 DOCUMENTARY: 'The Charlton Brothers'. Bobby and Jack Charlton.
- 11.30 PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING.
- 12.15 EPILOGUE.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open

- 6.40 INTERACTION.
- 7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.
- 7.30 NEWS. Weather.
- 7.35 WHEELBASE. The 21st Safari Rally.
- 8.10 CIRCUS OF THE SHOOTING STAR. The imaginary circus conceived by French painter Georges Rouault brought to life.
- 9.00 POT BLACK.
- 9.25 A PICTURE OF KATHERINE MANSFIELD. Dramatization of her life and work with Vanessa Redgrave as Katherine.
- 10.15 FOR THE SAKE OF APPEAR-ANCE. Shadow and Substance. First of six programmes on historical costume introduced by Joan Bakewell.
- 10.30 OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST.
- 11.00 NEWS EXTRA. Weather. 11.30 OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST
- continued.

All Trades Unions Alliance meetings

Coventry Trades Council sends

MAY DAY GREETINGS TO

WORKERS EVERYWHERE

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: Monday April 30, 8 p.m. Room 2, Adey-field Hall, Queens Square. 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 WANDSWORTH: Monday April 30,

8 p.m. 'Kings Arms', High Street, S.W.18. 'Trotskylsm and Stalin-NORTHAMPTON: Monday, April 30, 8 p.m. 'The Green Man.' 'All Out May Day. Force the TUC to call a General Strike.'

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 Dav'.

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

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

FELTHAM: Thursday May 3, 8 p.m. 'Three Horse Shoes', Feltham High Street, Feltham, Middlesex. 'The Fight against the Tories after May Day.'

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

CENTRAL LONDON: Sunday May 6 7.30 p.m. Shaftesbury Hotel, Monmouth Street. Speaker Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League.

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. Wands-worth Road and North Street. 'Report back from May Day'. All Trades Unions Alliance Public Meetings

London Overseas Telephones No. 2 branch

MAY DAY GREETINGS TO FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS

from

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

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).

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

OLLERTON: Monday

7, 8 p.m. Blue Tit.

Central Committee).

Speaker: Mike Banda (SLL

CASTLEFORD: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. Sagar St Rooms.

Speaker: G. Healy (National Secretary SLL).

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!

Sheffield **WEDNESDAY MAY 2**

7.30 p.m. 'Grapes Inn'

Trippett Lane Speaker: Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee)

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DAY MANIFESTO

FROM PAGE 1

in any war must still be against the nationalized property rela-tions of the bureaucratically de-formed workers' states taking up where Hitler left off, to restore the capitalist system throughout the world.

We demand freedom for colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

- We demand the US forces out of Cambodia.
- We demand the withdrawal of all troops from overseas.
- Down with the imperialist preparations for the third nuclear world war. While waging a relentless campaign against Stalinism we will fight to defend the USSR, China and Eastern Europe against imperialist aggres-

wages in the autumn. In effect, they are opening the gates to the corporate state.

But the Tory government, while taking the fullest advantage of every retreat of the bureaucracy, is guided by the worsening economic crisis and will continue preparations for open confrontation with the working class.

The world crisis of inflation is unifying the working class in the colonial and metropolitan coun-

IN THIS highly political

situation, where the struggle

for power is posed, the revisionist

groups would wish to confine the

tries into one mighty force against

In Britain, the Tory pay laws have left the working class with no alternative but to fight the government. Every struggle for wages today poses fundamental political issues.

Since the working class has to fight the Tory government for wages to preserve its standard of living, the working class is drawn directly into a struggle living, for power.

The working class must re-establish control over its own trade unions if it is not to submit to Tory dictatorship of trade union policies. We demand that the trade union movement breaks from the Tory government and the capitalist state.

Either the working class will win this struggle, or the capitalist system will steadily prepare for the introduction of ever-more violent dictatorship leading eventually to fascism.

Reformist trade unionism

is bankrupt

THE PAST year has been a black one for trade unionism. Not only was the Industrial Relations Act strengthened by further High Court and House of Lords anti-union decisions, but it has created a deep-going split within the trade union movement.

The extreme right-wing trade union leaders have already registered their unions and more are preparing to register. The TUC is looking for openings to instruct the membership to come to terms with the government on amend-ments to the Act.

The discussions between the TUC and the Tory Cabinet have eventually given way to open connivance with the Tory government over Phases One and Two of the state pay laws.

The most important element in this retreat has been the 'left' cover which Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon have provided for the TUC's treacherous actions.

Neither they, nor the Communist Party, which always backs them up, has uttered a word against this organized betrayal, either over the hospital workers, the gas workers, or any other section which the TUC has abandoned.

The truth is that the whole of the bureaucracy—right wing, 'left' wing, and Stalinist—is incapable of waging an independent fight against the Tory government and imperialism in this period

of the sharpest class struggles because of its totally compromised class-collaboration relationship with the capitalists. In the case of the Communist Party, this is based upon the reformist 'peaceful road to socialism' which was drafted by Stalin for the British CP in 1952.

The trade union bureaucracy represents essentially the oppor-tunist degeneration of the workers' movement under pressure from imperialism. When the capitalist system is in crisis, the bureaucracy must emerge openly on the side of the capitalist enemy. Hence Feather and the TUC's announcement of capitulation to the Tory pay laws.

But the TUC leadership could not function if it was not for the connivance of the Communist Party. The Stalinists consistently cover up for the actions of Jones and Scanlon on the leading TUC committees. The CP supports a one-day protest on May Day, but at the National Union of Teachers' conference its members turned a blind eve while the NUT leadership, under its communist president, refused to back the demonstration and accepted a Phase Two pay deal.

Everywhere the reformist bureaucracy is in deep crisis. The TUC leaders and their Stalinist apologists will next give the go ahead for fresh talks with the Tory government to discuss plans for imposing on workers Phase Three of the state control on

Build the revolutionary party Transform the Socialist Labour League

> working class to the level of spontaneous activity, to an end-less round of protests. In practice, this means crawling behind the activity of the Stalinists and their bogus Liaison Committee for the Defence Trade Unions and avoiding like the plague the struggle to mobilize the working class to organize the General Strike to

If the working class is brought into struggle by the crisis of inflation, it is also true that the capitalist class in every country has mobilized all its agenciesfrom social democracy through to the Stalinists and the revisionists-to defend its system.

bring down this Tory government.

Nowhere is this more true than in Ulster, where the fight against British imperialism has been undermined by every kind of bourgeois ideological influence which has prevented the development of unity between the working class of Ireland and Britain.

Only such a unity, forged in the combined struggle to defeat the common capitalist enemy ruling at Westminster, Dublin, and Belfast, can win for the Irish people their full right to selfdetermination.

The working class in Britain cannot fight the Tory government effectively while its imperialist army is allowed to trample on the working class of Northern Ireland and establish a virtual military dictatorship with many demogratic rights with many democratic rights abolished.

The arbitrary shootings, internment without trial, torture, arrests without warrants and the general reign of terror unleashed on the working-class sectors of the main Northern Ireland towns are only the preparation for what the armed forces of the capitalist state will attempt to do in British cities when the economic and political crisis erupts into open class confrontation here.

- A campaign in defence of democratic rights in Britain and Northern Ireland is now an urgent question in order to:
- Repeal the Industrial Relations Act;
- Restore free collective bargaining and repeal the pay laws:
- Abolish the restrictions on normal legal rights in Ulster and the proposals to restrict legal rights in Britain.
- This means a united campaign between the working classes

of Britain and Ulster to force the withdrawal of British troops.

The only way to achieve these aims is by mobilizing the working class in a General Strike to bring down the Tory govern-

The most urgent task before the working class is to construct a revolutionary party and leadership based on the struggle for revolutionary Marxism as its theory of knowledge.

Such a party will be based on the achievements of Leninism and the Bolshevik Party in the Russian Revolution, on the struggles of Trotsky and the Left Opposition against Stalinism in the 1920s, and on the achieve-ments leading to the founding of the Fourth International in 1938.

Trotskyism today directly continues the struggles of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party for the world socialist revolution.

The Socialist Labour League in Britain is affiliated to the International Committee of the Fourth International. We base ourselves entirely on the strength of the working class and its ability to overturn capitalism, exactly as did Marx and Engels when they wrote the Communist Manifesto in 1848.

Fellow trade unionists, comrades and friends on this historic May Day we address you with this urgent call to action:

In its place must be elected a Labour government which is pledged by the mass action of the working class to implement socialist policies.

We say 'pledged' to socialist policies' knowing that the present leaders of the Labour movement have no intention of introducing such policies. Indeed, in the last analysis some of them will be prepared to join a coalition government with the Tories to head off the working class.

But if the working class is strong enough to force the Tories out, it is strong enough to deal with the traitors in its own midst. This can only be achieved by exposing them in the fight for an alternative socialist policy.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League calls upon the working class to support the following policies to unite the working class against the Tories and the present ilson-Feather leadership labour movement:

Here is the policy which the next Labour government must be forced to carry out.

1) A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act, Housing Finance Act, Immigration Acts, Fair Trading Act and all wage control. After the repeal of all Tory anti-working class measures, there must be legislation to implement the Charter of Basic Rights, along the following lines.

2) The right to work! Capitalism demands mass unemployment. The right to a job must be guaranteed. This can only be done by breaking the grip of capitalist ownership on the economy. Employed and unemployed must unite to insist on a Labour government nationalizing the main industries and banks, under workers' control and without compensation.

THE TORY government is relentlessly pursuing its plan for a confrontation with the working class. Each day new sections of workers are forced to become criminals — under Tory law — to defend their standard of living against government-inspired soaring cost of living.

Large sections of these workers openly acknowledge that the only answer to their fight to maintain a decent standard of living is a General Strike. That is, the creation of the industrial and political conditions which will force the government to resign.

3) The democratic right to strike and to organize in trade unions. Only the organized working class can lead mankind out of the historical crisis. Every right and every gain won by the working class, every democratic right in Britain, has been won because of the organized strength of the unions and the strike weapon.

A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act. This fight must begin now by forcing the TUC to break off all relations with the government and mobilize the working class to destroy state control of wages.

4) The right to defend rights won in the past and change the system. All the changes in legal procedures made by the Tory government must be repealed. All secret police and MI5 organizations must be disbanded and fully exposed. The secrets of the Tory administration in this sphere must be published. All rights to assembly, free speech and the Press must be guaranteed.

The struggle must begin now. No closures, no sackings, must be the policy of the trade unions. Occupation of factories threatened with closure, down the Tories.

5) The right to a higher standard of living. It is not the living standards of trade unionists, but the profit system, which causes the crisis. The first step must be to expropriate all the great fortunes of the rich, close down the k Exchange nl: ice a state control over all movements of capital in and out of the country.

Nationalization of the basic industries and of all large companies, banks, building and insurance societies will provide the resources for a unified plan to improve the living standards of the whole people. Workers' control of these, as well as the present nationalized industries, will run them in the interests of the workers and consumers.

Again, the fight must begin now. State control of wages must be answered by the most widespread fight for wage increases to meet price rises and improve standards. This means a fight to remove the Tory government and change the union leadership.

6) The right to health and welfare benefits. Every Tory gov-

as part of the fight to bring ernment cut in welfare benefits, in the health service and in all public spending must be revoked. On the basis of nationalization, a crash programme of expansion of services to the unemployed, the low-paid, the sick and the aged must be undertaken as an absolute priority. The working class and the Labour government must take immediate and absolute responsibility these victims of the capitalist system.

> 7) The right to decent housing. Decent housing is not a luxury; it is a necessity. People have the basic right to decent accommodation at rents they can afford. Nationalization of the handful of building monopolies and building societies will provide the basis for a massive programme of new house building. The disgraceful problem of the homeless in the cities must be immediately solved by census and takingover of all unoccupied property.

8) The international responsibilities of the working class. The working class is international. We fight for the unrestricted right of any worker of any nationality to move freely through the world.

Withdraw the troops from Ireland. Unite the Irish and British working class to throw out the Lynch and Heath governments.

Unite in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, the only alternative to the Common Market plans for dictatorship.

Withdraw all British troops from abroad and disband the present standing army.

Sign treaties with all excolonial countries for programmes of equal trade and mutual assistance.

Break from NATO and all imperialist alliances,

For the carrying out of such policies the SLL fights for the setting up of Councils of Action to lead the struggle against the Tory government in every area. These Councils unite trade unionists, tenants, unemployed, all political parties and tendencies of the working class (Labour Party, Communist Party, SLL, IS, IMG, etc.) to fight against the main enemy, the Tory govern-

The SLL calls upon every socialist and class-conscious worker to consider this programme and manifesto very carefully, and to decide now to take up their inescapable responsibilities. The building of the revolutionary party is the burning question now, not in some remote future. The SLL is determined to carry through its transformation into a revolutionary party.

JOIN the Socialist Labour League and help transform it into a revolutionary party.

Central Committee Socialist Labour League May 1, 1973.