

For socialist policies of nationalization without compensation and under workers' control

Keep the Tories out! Vote Labour June 18!

Manifesto of the 12th National Conference of the Socialist Labour League

Most politically advanced conference

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

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As chairman Mike Banda pointed out in opening the conference, the League has made enormous strides in the last 12 months.

"Internationally and nationally we have seen a completely irreversible change in the relation of class forces. It has been a great year for the working class and first of all for Trotskyism," he said.

Cliff Slaughter, delivering the international report at the conference, stressed the central importance of the League's fight for internationalism.

"When we call ourselves internationalists, we don't use that word in any vague sense," he said.

"For us internationalism means to build the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution."

The world capitalist crisis, he said, was going through an unprecedentedly rapid intensification.

Vindicated

The upsurge of the working class internationally coincided with the coming to a head of the crisis in the colonial and Stalinist-dominated countries.

"The Trotskyism of 1938 has now been fully vindicated. The banner of the Fourth International represents the future of millions of youth."

Fraternal greetings were brought to the conference by delegates from the Workers Internationalist League of Greece and the French Trotskyist Organization.

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Introducing the main conference resolution on British Perspectives, national secretary Gerry Healy emphasized

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It is because of the deepening economic crisis that the election is called for June.

The Confederation of British Industries, the employers' organization, and the Treasury itself, have issued grave warnings that the present series of wage increases must be stopped, otherwise all the improvements in balance of payments will come to an end, and profits cannot be kept up. The Tories want government office in order to strike heavy blows at the working class.

The working class has smashed the incomes policy, compelled Wilson to withdraw the anti-trade union laws and pressed forward in militant actions for wage increases to defend its standard of living against price increases.

The Tories at Selsdon, announced their programme: increased unemployment; anti-union laws; 'law and order' through new repressive legislation; more use of racism to split the working class.

The Tories are the enemy of all the reforms won in the past by the working class. They aim to cut back on unemployment benefit, national assistance and the health service and on education expenditure. They want to 'solve' their economic crisis at the expense of the workers. They want to defeat the working class in a series of strikes if they can, and re-impose the conditions of the 1930s. They regard the power, confidence and strength of the working class as intolerable for one minute longer.

Voting Labour on June 18 is a necessary blow against these anti-working-class preparations of the Tories. It will weaken them at a decisive moment. All those sectarian groups, when they say 'abstain' are playing the game of the Tories; weakening the working class with the indecision of the middle class.

But we must fight, above all, for socialist policies against the Tories. The prospect of beating the Tories does not come from anything done by Wilson, who has betrayed all socialist principles, but from the decision of millions of workers to fight against Wilson's policies. This fight has to be carried through now. It is more than a wages fight.

Wilson, if returned, would, undoubtedly, attempt anti-union laws. Ever since 1964 he has served the capitalist class's interests, and he will do so again. So the fight for socialist policies, for socialist leadership, for the sacking of Wilson and his cabinet has to begin now. This fight is the responsibility of the working class under a socialist leadership.

The Socialist Labour League, in May 1969, called on the working class to 'refuse to be handed over to the Tories bound hand and foot by anti-trade union legislation'.

The struggle of the working class actually defeated these laws. So the Tories now want to get back.

It is necessary, therefore, to keep the Tories out: in order to weaken the employers in their attitudes, and in order to have the best conditions for defeating Wilson and his anti-working-class policies, and replacing him with a socialist leadership.

What is a socialist policy for the crisis, an answer to the employers' plans?

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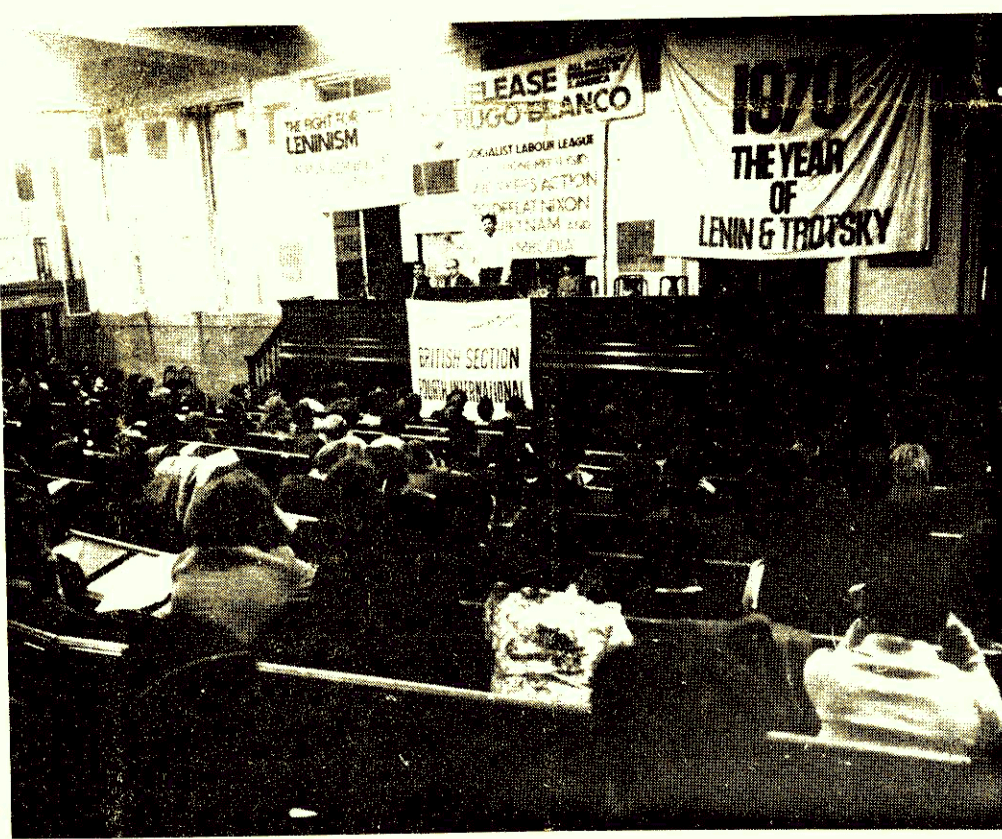
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'They rely entirely on the so-called goodwill of the ruling class. That's why we could not get any agreement with them to oppose Wilson's visit to Nixon—the same Nixon who presides over the biggest murder machine in human history.'

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Speakers included DATA vice-president Mike Cooley, 'state-capitalist' dockers T. Barrett, AEF assistant secretary Ernie Roberts and African National Congress representative Bizo Mncqicana.

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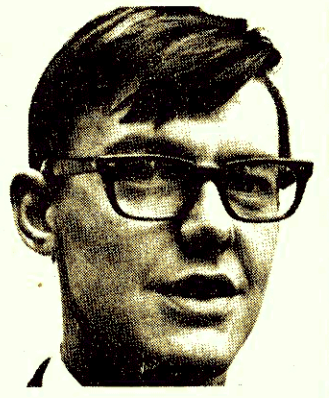
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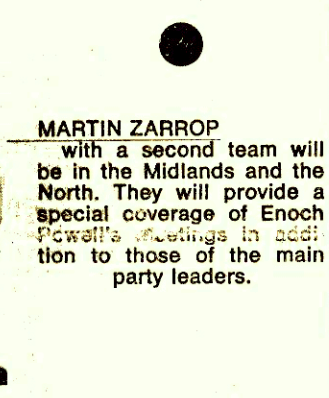
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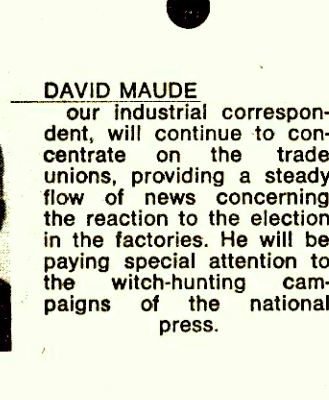
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186A Clapham High Street
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workers press

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Socialist Labour League

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'Only the working class can stop this war. We mustn't lose one hour to unite the working class behind a programme for industrial action.'

Major threat

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'The reason the Americans have the confidence to do this is because they have the tacit support of the Soviet bureaucracy.'

'Peaceful co-existence today means not only peaceful co-existence with capitalism, it means peaceful co-existence with every militarist and fascist thug in the world.'

Stressing the complicity of Stalinism in the Vietnam war, he pointed out that: 'The British Communist Party doesn't really want victory for the Vietnamese peoples.'

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and two Maoist organizations are being investigated on the grounds that they represent the reconstitution of organizations which were dissolved by government order after the May-June general strike.

These actions are now aimed at isolating the revolutionary youth from trade unionists, in a period when the gains made in 1968 by the French working class are being hacked away.

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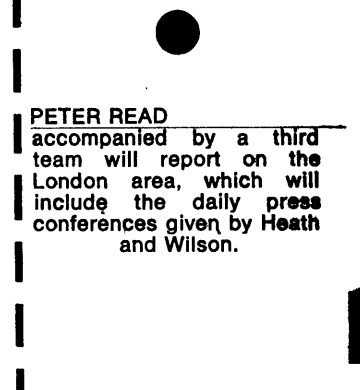
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Reform and Revolution in Britain

AS WE MADE clear in our introduction last week, the greatest single task which has confronted the British working class throughout its long history has been the construction of a leadership which could break it free from the grip of the politics of the middle class, represented particularly during the 20th century by the bureaucracy within the labour movement.

Chartism, the great revolutionary movement of the English working class which reached its high point in the 1830s and 1840s was the first and so far greatest example of the emergence of the working class as an independent and revolutionary force.

Charter

If we study this period we do so in order to draw the lessons from this revolutionary phase in the development of the working class, a phase which the middle class would so dearly like to 'forget' or distort.

The external details of Chartism can be rapidly told: The late 1830s and 1840s saw hundreds of thousands of workers organized in a struggle for the Six Points of the People's Charter, a document drawn up in 1837. These now famous Six Points consisted of annual elections to parliament; universal (manhood) suffrage; secret ballots; abolition of property qualifications for MPs; equal electoral districts and payment for MPs.

New force

The movement reached its high points in 1839, 1842 and 1848, all years of acute economic distress. After 1850 it was gradually to decline, at least as a movement with a mass following. In itself such a programme represented nothing new. Similar demands had many times been placed before the House of Commons during the 18th century and early 19th century.

What was new in Chartism was that a new force, the working class, was drawn into the struggle not as an appendage to the radical elements in the middle class, but as a force increasingly conscious of itself as one ranged against the whole of capitalist society.

The background to Chartism was, of course, the Industrial Revolution. The period after 1750 saw a series of industrial changes which in a relatively short period revolutionized the whole of English society.

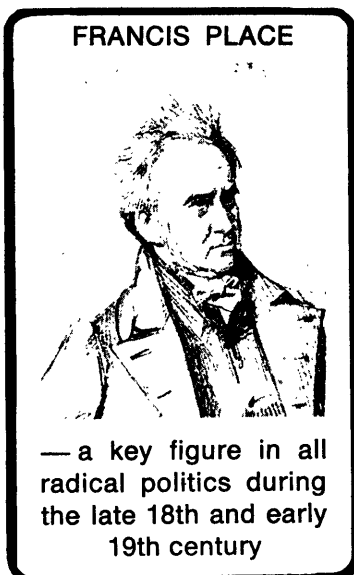
The Enclosure movement in agriculture, which drove thousands off the land into rapidly expanding towns like Leeds

and Manchester, combined with a series of technical changes in the textile industry which destroyed the old domestic basis for production, had, by the 1820s, begun to create a new town-based working class, particularly in Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Chartism was to draw its main strength from these new industrial areas in the North as well as from those many thousands like the handloom weavers who were made destitute by the development of power-driven machinery in the textile industry.

So rapid were these changes that only around one-quarter of the population were living in rural areas by the 1840s; by the same period Manchester was a world-famous commercial and industrial city with a population of over 350,000, a tenfold increase compared with the beginning of the century.

The horrific and brutal conditions which such a transformation involved for the working class were brilliantly outlined in Engels' 'Condition of the Working Class in England 1844' and need little dis-



FRANCIS PLACE
— a key figure in all radical politics during the late 18th and early 19th century

cussion, despite the attempts of many later historians to play down the enormous human cost which the industrial revolution involved.

But what is decisive for an appreciation of Chartism is that a new social force, the working class, had entered on the scene of history.

The struggle of the middle class for Parliamentary reform in the early 1830s had seen perhaps for the first time the entry of the modern working class as such an independent force.

Although the 17th century Cromwellian revolution had been thoroughly bourgeois in character and had seen the destruction of the old feudal

state and the creation of a new state which met the needs of the victorious class, parliament had remained largely unreformed throughout the 18th century.

The House of Commons (as well as the Lords) was still monopolized by the great landed interest. The struggle for the extension of the franchise by the town-based middle class in the 1830s was not therefore a social revolution aimed at changing the structure of society, but merely a struggle by the capitalists for the control of the seat of government.

But in their fight against the remnants of aristocratic privilege, the middle class were increasingly conscious of a new danger.

While, on the one hand, they needed support from sections of the working class in order to force the landed interest to yield to their demands, they also recognized that once called into action, the working class might well go beyond the limits of a fight merely for an extension of the franchise for the middle class and engage in a struggle which would threaten the entire interests of all property holders.

Francis Place, an ex-tailor who later became a capitalist and a key figure in all radical politics during the late 18th century and early 19th century, was perhaps most conscious of such dangers.

Dilemma

He summarized the dilemma which increasingly confronted Radicals such as himself in the face of the emergent working class; writing to a friend in 1831, justifying his membership of the National Political Union (a body embracing both working-class and middle-class members aiming at an extension of the franchise) he warns of the dangers of a too-limited campaign: 'The working people would see... the old desire to use them for a purpose and then to abandon them. The gap between the working and middle classes would be widened, the rancour that exists would be increased, and all chance of conciliation put off for years... I am a member of the Council (of the National Political Union) only because the Union includes working people. I have some reputation among them, and can at times exercise a wholesome influence over more or less of them.'

Place and other Radicals saw the dangers which the desperate plight of the working class was producing. Only

if the middle class could retain its hold over this force would the situation, in the long run, be saved:

A great mass of our unskilled and but little skilled labourers (among whom are the handloom weavers), and a very considerable number of our skilled labourers are in poverty, if not actual misery; a large portion of these have been in a state of poverty and great privation all their lives. They are neither ignorant of their condition nor reconciled to it... To escape from this state is with them of paramount importance. Among a vast multitude of these people not a day, scarcely an hour, can be said to pass without some excitement, some matter exciting reflection, occurring to remind them of their condition (and they scarcely ever cease, and never for a long period cease, to feel and to acknowledge to themselves with deep sensations of anguish their deplorable condition).

'Absurd'

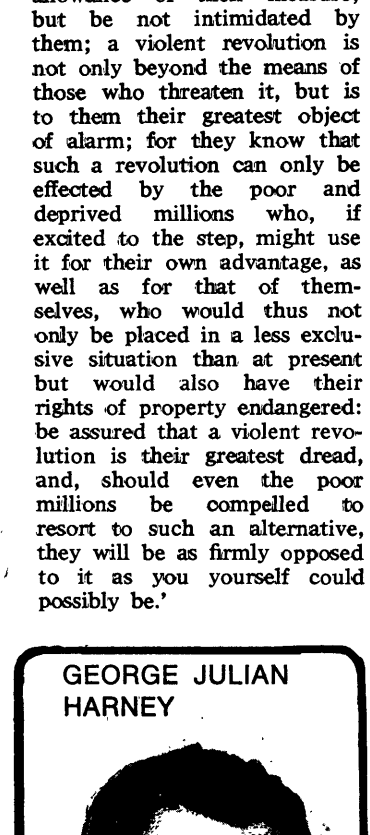
Rejecting John Doherty's contention that only a Bill would satisfy the working class, Place told him it was absurd to expect such a combination among the working people as would enable them to defeat the army and others who would not quietly submit to be plundered.

That the working people unaided by the middle class never had accomplished any national movement, and that it was insane in him to suppose that they could effect any change by force.

But if Place was anxious to retain the support of the working class as an instrument for forcing reforms from the aristocracy, the most advanced sections of the working class were also becoming clear about what was involved.

A petition addressed to the House of Lords and reprinted in the 'Poor Man's Guardian', October 1831, made this clear: 'Threats of a "revolution"

are employed by the middle class and "petty masters" as arguments to induce your allowance of their measure; but be not intimidated by them; a violent revolution is not only beyond the means of those who threaten it, but is to them their greatest object of alarm; for they know that such a revolution can only be effected by the poor and deprived millions who, if excited to the step, might use it for their own advantage, as well as for that of themselves, who would thus not only be placed in a less exclusive situation than at present but would also have their rights of property endangered: be assured that a violent revolution is their greatest dread, and should even the poor millions be compelled to resort to such an alternative, they will be as firmly opposed to it as you yourself could possibly be.'



GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY
— one of the leaders of the left wing of the Chartist movement

Place and other Radicals, even before the emergence of the Chartist movement, were bitterly hostile to those elements in the working class who were striving for a complete break with the Radicals. Some elements in the working class were even willing to support the Tories, in that to give

the vote to the urban middle classes would strengthen their enemies and leave them isolated.

Place was clear about the dangers from the most conscious sections of the working class. Attacking the 'Rotundists'—so named after the public house where they met in London—he writes:

'Some of these men were remarkably ignorant, but fluent speakers, filled with bitter notions of animosity against everybody who did not concur in the absurd notions they entertained, that everything which was produced belonged to those who, by their labour, produced it and ought to be shared amongst them; that there ought to be no accumulation of capital in the hands of anyone to enable him to employ others as labourers, and thus by becoming a master make slaves of others under the name of workmen... They denounced everyone who dissented from these notions as a political economist, under which appellation was included the notion of a bitter foe to the working classes, enemies who deserved no mercy at their hands.'

One of the most important features in the development of the working class in the 1830s was this growing opposition to and hatred of the 'political economy' of the capitalist class.

As Marx pointed out later in 'Das Kapital', the years around 1830 sounded the 'death knell' for any scientific political economy, which had reached its high point in the work of David Ricardo.

No longer could it examine the social relations of production objectively and scientifically as Smith and Ricardo had genuinely attempted; now the whole capitalist order was threatened from the growing working-class movement.

Political economy, under these conditions, degenerated and became mere apologetics for the continued existence of capitalism.

In response to this degeneration a new school of socialist economics developed in the 1820s (analysed by Marx in 'Theories of Surplus Value') which used the Ricardian labour theory of value as a justification of labour's right to the whole of its product.

A feature of later Chartist literature, especially of the 'Northern Star', was its bitter attack upon the hated political economy which 'justified' the horrific conditions of early 19th century Britain as inevitable products of 'market forces'.

Place and other Radicals who set out to court the working class were rightly condemned as 'sham-Malthusians'.

Threat

'They say we are too many', declared George Julian Harney, one of the leaders of the left wing of the Chartist movement, 'that population increases faster than the means of subsistence. If so, let those who work not leave the country, and when the aristocracy take themselves to Van Dieman's Land, and the moneybags to the devil, take my word for it there will be enough for you and me... Our country may be compared to a bedstead full of nasty, filthy, crawling aristocratic and shopocratic bugs. In answer to our calculators who say we wish to destroy property, I answer that we will not destroy the bedstead but we will annihilate the bugs.'

James Mill, father of John Stuart, and a leading disciple of Ricardo, also expressed fear that these new economic doctrines would gain a hold over important sections of the working class. Writing to Place in 1831 he says:

'Their notions about property look ugly; they not only desire that it should have nothing to do with representation, which is true, though not a truth for the

present time, as they ought to see, but they seem to think that it should not exist, and that the existence of it is an evil to them. Rascals, I have no doubt, are at work among them... Nobody has such a means of probing an ulcer as you, and nobody has so much the means of cure.'

'These opinions' declared Mill, writing to Lord Brougham in 1832, 'if they were to spread, would be the subversion of civilized society; worse than the overwhelming deluge of Huns and Tartars.'

Place and others deliberately tried to strengthen and encourage those 'respectable' elements in the working class like William Lovett, leader of the 'moral force' wing of the Chartists, against the attacks which were rained on them by the most class-conscious Chartists:

'As the best men in the working class proceed in their attainment of knowledge they will cease to enforce their mistaken notions, and this will be called abandoning their caste by those who remain unenlightened; and these men and such other men as have power over multitudes of other men, with sinister objects to accomplish, will misinterpret to the many the actions and opinions of those who may have become more enlightened, and will represent them as enemies of the people whom they would be best qualified and best disposed to serve. The people will continue to be misled, and will look upon their best friends as their worst enemies, and the more these, their friends, may attempt to justify themselves and to defend themselves against absurd and false imputations, the firmer will be the conviction of the misled, ill-judging multitude that they are enemies to be shunned.'

In the next article (Tuesday, June 2) we shall see how the 'physical force' wing of the movement was to deal with Place and his friends.



Part two: CHARTISM AND ITS LESSONS (1)

Some pages from the history of the British working class
BY PETER JEFFRIES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

These books and articles were found useful in preparing this series of articles. It is by no means exhaustive, but should provide a good starting point for anybody wishing to undertake some further study of the matters raised in the series.

Marx and Engels 'On Britain'. Lenin, 'On Britain'.

Both these items are indispensable. They provide a selection of the more important articles, speeches and letters by the founders of Marxism on the problems of the British working class in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Trotsky, 'Where is Britain Going?' A classical study of the traditions in the British labour movement, written on the eve of the General Strike, but retaining all its freshness and relevance.

Brian Pearce 'Some Past Rank-and-File Movements': A very useful study of the lessons of past rank and file movements.

M. Woodhouse 'Marxism and Stalinism in Britain 1920-1926': A series of articles appearing in 'Fourth International', theoretical organ of the International Committee of the Fourth International, dealing with this crucial period in the history of the British working class. The

first two parts are of particular value for the subjects discussed in these articles.

S&B Webb 'A History of Trade Unionism': A classical study of the emergence and development of trade unionism. Although openly Fabian in its approach, still the basic work from which all other studies must start.

A. Briggs (ed) 'Chartist Studies': A series of articles dealing with the regional background to Chartism. Useful material on the relationship of Chartism to the Anti-Corn Law League.

M. Hovell, 'The Chartist Movement': Despite its distortions, still a useful book for the basic facts of the Chartist movement, especially in its earlier period.

A. R. Schoyen, 'The Chartist Challenge': A lively study of George Julian Harney, one of the prominent 'physical force' Chartists.

G. Wallace 'The Life of Francis Place': An old work, written by a prominent early Fabian. Provides a good insight into the role of radicalism in the early working-class movement.

R. J. Harrison 'Before the Socialists': A series of specialist studies in working-class politics, 1860-1880. Useful work which tries to overcome some of the distortions of Stalinist historians.

A. Saville, 'Ernest Jones': A brief account of Jones's life and its relationship to Marx. Also includes a selection of Jones's articles, letters and speeches.

G. Dangerfield, 'The Strange Death of Liberal England':

* These books and pamphlets available from New Park Publications Limited, 1864 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

TUESDAY TV PROGRAMMES

BBC 1	REGIONAL ITV
12 noon Cricket: Roses Match, Yorkshire v Lancashire. 1.00-1.25 p.m. Dyna wall. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 3.00 Cricket: Roses Match. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Summer Search. 5.20 Shazzan. 5.44 Parsley. 5.50 News and weather. 6.00 LONDON-NATIONWIDE. 6.45 Z CARS: 'If You Can't Beat 'Em', part two. 7.10 TOM AND JERRY. 7.20 'THE JOE LOUIS STORY': Film biography of the great heavy-weight boxer. With Coley Wallace, James Edwards and Paul Stewart. 8.45 POINTS OF VIEW. 8.50 NEWS and weather. 9.10 ELECTION FORUM. Jeremy Thorpe answers viewers' questions. 9.35 'SON OF IRON HORSE'. Tuesday's documentary, the great train revival. 10.25 24 hours. 11.00 CHARLES DICKENS 1812-1870. A celebration of the great writer by Angus Wilson. 11.30 The sky at night.	CHANNEL: 1.45-3.45 London. 4.02 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.12 Hatty town. 4.25 Survival. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. weather. 6.10 What's on there. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'Gallant Journey' with Glenn Ford. 8.30 London. 11.20 Moviemem. 11.40 Gazette. 11.45 Commentaires et previsions meteorologiques, weather. HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except: 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Trip 'I' teulu. 11.30 Y dydd. HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.01 Y dydd. 6.30-6.35 Report-Wales. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Trip 'I' teulu. WESTWARD: As Channel except 4.00 News. 4.02 Gu Honeybun show. 6.00 Dairy. 11.45 Faith for life. 11.51 Weather. ANGLIA: 2.15-4.20 London. Newsroom. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Bitter Springs' with Chips Rafferty. Tommy Trinder and Gordon Jackson. 8.30 London. 11.25 All our yesterdays. 11.55 Reflection. SOUTHERN: 1.45-3.45 London. 4.00 Paulus. 4.15 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Jokers wild. 7.00 Father, Dear Father. 7.30 Film: 'No Time for Tears' with Anna Neagle and Anthony Quayle. Drama in a children's hospital. 9.00 London. 11.25 News. 11.35 Weather. 'Knights of St Columba'. HARLECH: 2.15 London. 4.25 Floris. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report. 6.10 Jokers wild. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Bonanza. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 London. 11.25 Adam 12. 11.55 Weather. ATV MIDLANDS: 1.45-3.45 London. 4.00 Women today. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 Origami. 4.50 Flaxton boys. 5.20 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Western. 'Fort Worth' with Randolph Scott. David Brian and Phyllis Thaxter. A gun-fighter hangs up his gun and battles lawlessness as a newspaperman. 8.30 London. 11.25 Douglas Fairbanks presents, weather. 7.10 Heddiw. 10.35 Hostess for Wales. 11.05 Z Cars. 11.30 The sky at night. Scotland: 6.00 Reporting Scotland. 6.15 General Assembly. 6.30-6.45 Nationwide. 10.35-11.05 Right, left and centre. 11.25 Scottish viewpoint. 11.45 News, weather. Northern Ireland: 6.00-6.45 News around six, weather. Nationwide. 10.35-11.05 Whistle stop. South and West: 6.00-6.45 Points West. South. weather. Spotlight South-West. Nationwide. 10.35-11.05 The enthusiasts. Charles Dickens 1812-1870. 11.27 News, weather. Wales: 5.20-5.50 Teletewe. 6.00 Wales today, weather. Nationwide. 6.45
11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL. 1.15-1.45 p.m. MEDICINE TODAY. 7.05 Making out. What it is to be an artist in Britain today. 7.30 NEWS and weather. 8.00 CODENAME. 'The Quikness of the Hand'. 8.50 'ONE MORE TIME'. A non-stop sing-in of familiar tunes. 9.10 HOLLYWOOD IN THE SIXTIES. 'Wake me When It's Over'. With Ernie Kovacs and Margo Moore. Comedy about a lonely and bored group of GIs on a desolate Pacific island who build a luxury hotel to liven things up—at the Army's expense. 11.10 NEWS and weather. 11.15 LINE-UP.	ULSTER: 2.15-4.20 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 ITV reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'West of Zanzibar' with Anthony Steel and Sheila Sim. A game warden is more concerned with saving people than animals. 8.30 Seven degrees west. 9.00 London. 11.25 Parkin's patch. YORKSHIRE: 1.45-3.45 London. 4.10 Tingha and Tucker. 4.25 Matinee. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 Beverly Hills. 7.00 Father, Dear Father. 7.30 'After Midnight' with Alan Ladd and Wanda Hendrix. Murder, treachery and intrigue in Italy. 9.00 London. 11.25 All our yesterdays. 11.55 Weather. GRANADA: 1.45-3.50 London. 4.15 News. 4.17 London. 4.25 Short story. 4.55 Floris. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Drama: 'No Place for Jennifer' with George Montgomery. Angela Stevens and Douglas Kennedy. Civil War western. 8.30 London. 11.25 Wally Whyton story. 11.55 News, weather. BORDER: 1.45-3.45 London. 4.10 News. 4.12 High living. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Floris. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Western: 'Jack McCall Desperado' with George Montgomery. Angela Stevens and Douglas Kennedy. Civil War western. 8.30 London. 11.25 Wally Whyton story. 11.55 News, weather. GRAMPIAN: 2.15-4.20 London. 4.25 High living. 4.55 London. 6.00 News and farming news. 6.15 Preview. 6.20 Music of the Highlanders. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.55 Movie: 'The Lady Killers'. 8.30 London.

THERE IS a type of 'historical fiction' which involves no more art than is required to twist the events of the past to suit the purposes of the present.

These productions are not redeemed or made more 'historical' by attention to detail.

I remember reading that in producing a recent epic professors of history were hired for fat fees to advise on the designs of mid-19th century Russian Army buttons.

'The Molly Maguires', which was filmed near the site of the events it 'relates', gives evidence of similar methods. As a whole, however, the film whitewashes the period when the methods of labour spies and gangsters, frame-up and legal lynchings, were first systematically used by American capitalism against the miners of the Pennsylvania anthracite regions in the 1870s.

While this Technicolor version is plastered across the screens of Europe, here is a brief account of what really happened.

The business crisis of September 1873, starting in New York, produced a terrible depression in the whole American economy, which lasted for six years.

At least a fifth of the working class was unemployed during this time. Men wandered the country in search of work, living off scraps from rubbish heaps.

carefully to break the unions and destroy the AOH.

They were organized under the leadership of Franklin B. Gowen, a lawyer and owner of large mines and railroads. He reinforced their private army, the 'Coal and Iron Police' and in December 1874 the owners announced wage-cuts of up to a fifth and the abolition of the minimum wage.

Faced with this the whole coal-field struck, against the advice of Siney and the WBA leaders. The miners had little or no money, and after a few weeks the northern pits yielded and went back to work, accepting defeat.

But in the South the strikers held on until June.

Digging for roots, living on bread and water, terrorized by the employers' armed men, they brought to the fight all the courage and bitterness of the Irish people's struggle against British capitalism.

When they went back, with their women and children star-



Executed leaders of the Pennsylvania anthracite miners; the original 'Molly Maguires', Left to right: Edward J. Kelly, Thomas Munley, Thomas Duffy, Michael J. Doyle and James Carroll

Richard Harris as James McParlan—



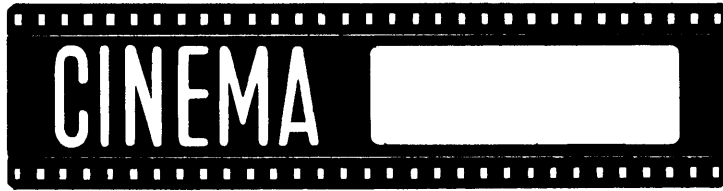
the witness who sent most of the victims to their deaths, later became notorious when he tried to frame Big Bill Hayward, then leader of the Western Federation of Miners, for blowing up the ex-Governor of Idaho.

The Molly Maguires

'The Molly Maguires' starring

SEAN CONNERY, SAMANTHA EGGAR, RICHARD HARRIS.

Directed by Martin Ritt.



Guest reviewer
DAVID BARNES

REPRESSION

For those still in employment wage cuts were enforced with the threat of the sack, while every report of work available brought crowds of hundreds.

Yet the working class was forced back only when it could fight no longer.

A massive demonstration in Chicago against unemployment was attacked by the police, and the movement only broken by jailing the leaders and sending agents into the organization to sow confusion.

Everywhere employers tried to take advantage of the depression to break organizations, cut wages and hunt out militant leaders.

Nowhere did they set out on this task with greater brutality than in the coalfields of eastern Pennsylvania.

Most of the miners were Irish Catholic immigrants. The owners had been forced, after an attempt at a wage-cut in 1869, to recognize the Workingmen's Benevolent Association.

This was the largest union, led then by John Siney, an Irish immigrant who had worked in the English mines and been part of the Chartist movement.

The early leaders were very moderate men. Believing in the harmonious co-operation of labour and capital, they wanted to guarantee that 'our stock is always worth its par value'.

Accordingly they signed an agreement for a sliding scale of pay, based on the price of coal.

The informal backbone of the trade unions was the Ancient Order of Hibernians, a society for mutual aid and protection which organized many of the Irish immigrants.

It was the descendant of the society of the same name in Ireland, which in turn grew out of the revolutionary struggles against the British oppressors.

The AOH united many of the militants who pushed the union leaders into action and organized the miners in the pits, in which British capitalism held important shares.

The miner-owners prepared

ing, the owners broke all open resistance.

Wages were cut, all leaders sacked, weight-checking was abolished.

Armed thugs of the employers redoubled their assaults on miners and their families and the owners exulted in their victory.

The miners, their union destroyed, turned to the Ancient Order of Hibernians. It became a semi-secret society, organizing defence and mutual help, and retaliation against the mine bosses and supervisors.

The employers, led by Gowen, sent in spies and agents provocateurs to procure the framing of militants. They witch-hunted the miners as 'murderers' and 'terrorists' in the press all over the United States.

Employers, Church, police and judges conspired with James McParlan, an employee of the notorious Pinkerton's strike-breaking organization, to send 19 men to the gallows in the years 1877 to 1879, and murder many others 'unofficially'.

There was never any organization calling itself the 'Molly Maguires'—the name was given by the press to the Ancient Order of Hibernians to add fuel to the witch-hunt.

James McParlan, the witness who sent most of the victims to their deaths, later became notorious when he tried to frame Big Bill Hayward, then leader of the Western Federation of Miners, for blowing up the ex-Governor of Idaho.

The miners picked out for execution were tried by juries selected from the small farmers who depended on the mines for their living.

'CONSPIRACY'

The judges of Pennsylvania had already sentenced men to jail for 'conspiracy' in forming a union. The courts were guarded by the 'Coal and Iron Police'.

The accused were convicted on the word of men who 'admitted' their part in the crimes, but turned State's evidence, usually with support from McParlan.

The main prosecuting lawyers were Gowen himself and General Albright, legal adviser to the Wilkes-Barre Coal Company.

The prosecution evidence was riddled with contradictions.

Yet, although support and protest came from other sections of the American working class, in the conditions after the defeat of the 'Long Strike' the coal owners not only carried out their murders, but made 'Molly Maguirism' a synonym for the violence and thuggery of which organized labour was to be accused in a whole series of struggles.

The 'Molly Maguires' were some of the first of many martyrs of the American labour movement.

Their real 'crime' was ex-

plained in the coal-owners' paper on the day after the main execution:

'What did they do? Whenever prices of labour did not suit them they organized and proclaimed a strike.'

Only a month after the first hangings, America was shaken by a nationwide wave of rail strikes, starting with the resistance to a wage cut in Pennsylvania.

When 20 workers were killed by militiamen tens of thousands of workers took over the centre of Pittsburgh.

The New York press called for the 'mob' to be 'shot down, but the employers were forced to retreat, withdrawing the wage cuts.'

In the aftermath of 1877 the

American capitalists established the strong state and national militia which they have used ever since to break strikes and terrorize workers.

IT'S an unpleasant duty to review 'The Molly Maguires'.

The struggles I've described are distorted into a film which is half gangster story and half 'psychological' melodrama.

'MOLLIES'

The 'Mollies' organize muggings and murders simply in protest against conditions in the mines.

They are criminals on behalf of their class, separated from it. Long, colour-stuffed scenes convey to us that 'Life in the mines

was really hell', but the chief Molly (Sean Connery) manages to preserve a healthy sultan beneath his powdering of grease-paint coal.

As backdrop to him and his fellow Mollies hundreds of similarly decorated extras trudge to work, fill the bar, sleep between shifts.

The producers see the working class as nothing more than a lot of people who work.

The focus of the film is the owners' spy (Richard Harris) closely based on the real-life McParlan.

We are invited to join him in chewing over the moral 'dilemma' of his own success versus his sympathy for the miners. Loyalty and justice are very

different concepts, you know! To complete the ethical triangle, there is, of course, a point of intense and unambiguous virtue, in the person of a miner's daughter (Samantha Eggar).

ESCAPE

She wants nothing more than to escape from the coalfields to the Philadelphic gentility of the middle class, and conducts a (highly restrained) affair with McParlan-Harris in the hope of doing so.

But she can't stomach it when he convicts Connery of murder.

These are the horizons of the film. They are filled in with realistic violence, a sound-track of saccharine music, lashings of

Irish whimsy and a reptilian Welsh policeman (Frank Finlay).

A subject which goes right back to the heart of American history, and capitalism turns it into a windy roustabout, blotting out the class heroism of the Pennsylvanian miners and absolving those who murdered them for greater profits. . . . Why?

Because they are terrified of the class history of America. They know that when that history is understood it will put an end to their profits, their murders, their wars and their lies.

When the last tame script-writer is gagged with the entrails of the last cinema mogul, then will Americans be able to make the films of their own history.

behind THE NEWS

One cheer for democracy

THE TORIES will not be short of canvassers this election.

The Police Federation spent a jolly time by the sea last week rooting for 'law and order' and generally conducting themselves in a manner befitting the Scottish Tories.

While Callaghan's former buddies were adding the possibility of shooting to the Scottish Tories' extensive list—including caning, birching and electrocution—of things they would like to do to 'trouble makers', another 750 troops—this time commandos—were packing their bags for the Emerald Isle to ensure that justice will be done in the forthcoming Ulster polling.

★

According to the Ministry of Defence, 7,000 troops are now in Northern Ireland because of 'the possibility of increased political activity'—obviously something to be avoided like the plague during an election (and preferably at all other times as well!).

Well to the fore in the electoral preparations—while keeping out of sight—are the civilian commandos of the various Special Branches, who no doubt find the whole business rather tiresome.

However, their contribution to the campaign has already been considerable.

It seems that while some chaps were running for Parliament in the North, others were gun-running for Parliament in the South and this was just not on. Kissing babies, shaking hands and generally renewing acquaintances with your constituents is one thing but, well. . . .

So three cabinet ministers in the Dail were replaced.

What appears to be worrying Westminster, however, is the fact that while the Foreign Office has always encouraged the Irish government to strengthen its 'legitimate', above-ground sources of information and contact in Ulster, they now know that at least for the past year, some functionaries of Irish intelligence have not been playing the game and have been indulging in underground activity in Ulster. Very sneaky!

Even worse, this could lead to some extremely embarrassing situations.

After all, with the British, Irish

and Ulster intelligence forces all working to make the election a success along with the 7,000 visible troops, some terrible mistakes could be made. Perhaps we shall see a headline appear in the press in the near future of the following description:

'Anarchist shot dead in Ulster rioting.'

(While the real story, in triplicate will make its confidential way to London in another form:

'Agent 001 of British Intelligence was unfortunately shot and killed in Ulster, yesterday by British troops while attempting to intervene in a minor disturbance involving two other men. These have since been identified as members of Irish Intelligence and Ulster Intelligence respectively. . . .')

Capitalist democracy is a wonderful institution, if a little hazardous!

Another 750 troops have been added to the 7,000-strong army already in N Ireland 'because of the possibility of increased political activity'—as the General Election nears!



'Any Answers' - Prague

style

REGULAR listeners to BBC radio will no doubt have heard the programmes 'Any Questions' and 'Any Answers' in which mainly old Tory women from the industrial complexes of Little Chipping-in-the-Mould and Greater Bumbleton open their hearts for the edification of the general public.

The reactionary views that issue forth from these quarters are usually very much in line with current Tory thinking on every subject and in particular what to do about those nasty people who won't get their noses down to the grindstone and show some enthusiasm about working their guts out in a factory for whatever wages the employer is kind enough to offer.

Apart from striking for more money and against the attempts of the employers to impose the latest techniques of speed up, workers will insist on exercising their bodily functions during daylight hours and even indulge in smoking (perish the thought).

★

Here is a letter to Prague radio sent in by a listener of no mean standing, though definitely not an old Tory woman.

It is from President Frantisek Bartonik of the industrial building enterprise in Gottwaldov and has obviously been chosen at random from 'Bureaucrats' Post-bag'.

'Lately. . . I wondered whether anybody had yet ascertained or calculated how many hours of statutory working time are wasted through smoking,' he muses.

'Every day it hits me in the eye how groups of smokers stand around talking in the corridors, lavatories or in rooms specially set aside.'

'These employees shorten their working time by offering lights to one another. . . the trouble is that the works' management tolerates this rule, because the

management itself wastes the biggest amount of time smoking.'

Bartonik goes on to estimate that, if 10-15 cigarettes are smoked each day, the loss of smoker's working time can be put at 100 to 120 minutes. . . . 'In other words, in many places smokers waste at least one hour a day which they sacrifice to personal enjoyment.'

What to do about this disgusting state of affairs?

Bartonik adds that in a number of 'highly-developed countries' (read capitalist Europe and the United States), smoking during working hours is not permitted and suggests that such measures should be implemented in Czechoslovakia also.

Smoking should be restricted to breaks in between working hours and works management should not acquiesce in employees' hanging around in corridors and making apparent their lack of interest in problems of work in so provocative a fashion (!).

'I do believe, however, that the whole issue is somewhat wider,' he goes on.

'Experience has shown that utilization of working hours depends to a large extent upon the standards set by executives.'

'It is not without reason that in the highly-developed countries, the principle holds good that morale depends on what the man in charge is like, and. . . where working discipline declines, it is not competent employees who are dismissed but the executives.'

Bartonik, of course, does not speak solely for himself. The drive for higher produc-

tivity in the factories throughout E Europe and the Soviet Union is now stepping up in the face of growing economic problems.

While the purgés continue against all those who express in any way opposition to the bureaucracy, there is no way to solve these problems within the confines of the workers' states themselves.

One thing is clear from Bartonik's plaintive plea.

The counter-revolutionary elements who endanger the continued existence of the nationalized property relations in E Europe are not the victims of the purges, but those who now carry them out and continue to maintain their grip over the economic life of these countries, while wistfully looking towards the metropolitan capitalist nations for the last word in 'labour discipline'.

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At the pit head—Jack Kehoe (SEAN CONNERY) centre.

Pilkington strike ends but

Glass workers' struggle is not over



One of the many meetings of glass workers in St Helens.

TWO FRESH disputes have now flared up at Pilkington's St Helens glassworks.

A work-to-rule and overtime ban will be in operation when workers return from the bank holiday to the Triplex safety-glass works today.

They are protesting against changes in the shift system there, announced following Friday's return to work, which would mean a loss of £3-£5 in earnings despite the £3 interim pay settlement.

At the Cowley Hill float-glass plant, meanwhile, Pilkington's came close to provoking a mass walk-out on Saturday by suspending a worker involved in an incident with a non-striker.

Clearly nothing is settled at St Helens. Workers have quickly made clear that if the company wants to avoid a further shut-down of the town's six glass plants it will have to negotiate with the rank-and-file leaders of their seven-week-long strike and not with the discredited General and Municipal Workers' shop stewards.

'Nailed lid'

'We have nailed the lid on the coffin of the G&MWU,' said strike committee chairman Gerry Caughey after spending several hours on Sunday sorting the 5,000 contracting-out forms filled in during the strike.

Both the committee and their supporters remain determined, despite Friday's seven-hour discussion with G&MWU and Trades Union Congress chiefs in London, that they are not going to return to the union's clutches. 'They tried to get us back into the G&MWU,' rank-and-file committee secretary Bill Cowley told the Workers Press.

BY DAVID MAUDE

Wood dismissed the wages issue at St Helens as 'a very small area of difference' and commented that 'violence, ill-feeling between men and damage to the company are matters of greater concern'.

Even 'The Guardian', which usually tries to preserve a liberal face towards industrial disputes of this kind, claimed in a waspish editorial the following day that 'democracy... has slid frighteningly into mob rule'.

By Lord Harry, the lower orders were stepping out of line. To understand the root of these gentlemen's concern it is necessary to go back almost a year to the TUC General Council's negotiations with Wilson over 'In Place of Strife'.

Victor Feather's 'solemn and binding undertaking' to do the Labour government's dirty work in the unions was accepted by Wilson only when the crucial phrase—'this... will have the same binding force as the TUC Bridlington principles and regulations'—was unanimously agreed by the council.

These fears steered the £108,792,000 Pilkington glass monopoly to lose £3.5 million in a 50-day strike and spurred the motor bosses into making the most expensive arrangements for charter-flight glass supplies in an attempt to break it.

Strike pickets, particularly those at the Ravenhead glassworks, also drew attention on several occasions to the company's plans for productivity dealing in St Helens and elsewhere.

Not simple

There is no simple solution to the basic questions raised at St Helens.

The fight for democratization of the trade unions is fundamental to the fight against the employers' anti-union, productivity-dealing plans. Support for the Pilkington glassworkers from trade unionists throughout Merseyside and S Lancashire remains essential.

Pilot scheme

A pilot scheme is already in operation at Ravenhead and the company has engaged Professor Tom Lupton from the Manchester Business School, to develop a national draft agreement.

Questioned

Since 1939, when the Bridlington resolution was carried by the TUC, it has become one of the major planks in the bureaucracy's programme for resisting an anti-capitalist revolution.

Otis engineers oppose speed-up

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

ENGINEERS from Liverpool's Otis Elevator plant are to lobby the city's Amalgamated Engineers' and Foundryworkers' district committee this week about the three-year job-evaluation agreement proposed by the factory's management.

PRETEXT?

An invitation from Nixon's puppet regime in Phnom Penh to extend the war deep into Cambodia territory, alongside the rampaging Saigon army, could serve as a 'legal' pretext for a new escalation of Nixon's Indo-Chinese war.

Workers action

FROM PAGE ONE

the latest most modern inventions of human ingenuity to carry out organized barbarism in Vietnam.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

SW LONDON

Tuesday, May 26, 8 p.m. Princes Head Falcon Road, SW11

Ben Salah jailed to justify policy switch

FROM PAGE ONE

As we pointed out in last Tuesday's Workers Press, the main targets of the trial were the co-operatives and the collective farms for which Ben Salah, the leading reformer in Bourguiba's government, was mainly responsible.

Ben Salah was dismissed last September and subsequently arrested. At the present moment the co-operative and collective movement has been almost entirely destroyed and much of the land sold to private landlords.

CAMBODIAN PLEA TO US TROOPS

Please stay!

US TROOPS are to be asked to remain in Cambodia after Nixon's June 30 deadline, it was announced at a press conference in Phnom Penh yesterday.

This was stated by the right-wing regime's Foreign Minister, Yem Sambaur.

President Nixon will be asked to keep his forces in Cambodia 'until the end of the war'.

He added that troops of the US puppet regime in Saigon would be welcome to stay in Cambodia, even after the Americans had pulled out. Even the most optimistic military spokesmen have given up all hope of uncovering the illusive NLF 'central office' in the 'Parrot's Beak' and 'Fish Hook' regions.

Sihanouk for N Vietnam

Norodom Sihanouk, leader of the Cambodian exile government, will visit N Vietnam in the near future, it was announced in Hanoi yesterday. He is currently staying in China.

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Ben Salah was dismissed last September and subsequently arrested. At the present moment the co-operative and collective movement has been almost entirely destroyed and much of the land sold to private landlords.

Ben Salah's trial, therefore, had to provide the political justification for this reactionary about-turn of policy.

Last week the prosecution brought forward a series of witnesses, mainly peasants and small shopkeepers, to describe how they had suffered under Ben Salah's policies.

In the specially-convened High Court in Tunis, these poverty-stricken men described how they had been forced into jobs they did not know and how crops and olive trees had been destroyed.

Another explained how he had had five years of drought, with the rains only coming after Ben Salah was dismissed.

Despite the fact that Ben Salah has said he is shocked beyond measure to discover the effect of his policies, serious doubts arise in everybody's mind about this 'trial'.

For a start, if the efforts of his policy were so disastrous, why was nothing heard of it for four years, and what responsibility had other government members for this?

The real target of the prosecution is the poor peasants and workers of Tunisia, who are still to be kept under the thumb of Tunisian and foreign capitalism, and the real co-prosecutor is Robert McNamara, ex-US Defence Secretary and now head of the World Bank.

Hospital pay claim lodged this week

UNIONS representing more than 250,000 ancillary hospital staff are this week to lodge a 20-32 per cent pay claim on behalf of their members.

They want the lowest basic rate for ancillary staff lifted to £16 10s increases of at least £2 15s a week for all the workers involved.

WEATHER

London area, SE England, Central Southern England, E Midlands, Central Northern England: Dry with sunny periods. Wind westerly light. Warm. Maximum temp. 21C (70F).

Channel Islands, SW England, NW England: Dry with sunny periods. Wind westerly, light or moderate. Warm maximum temp. 18C (64F).

Edinburgh, Glasgow area N Ireland: Mainly dry with sunny spells. Wind westerly moderate. Warm. Maximum temp. 16C (61F).

Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Little change.

NEW MID-EAST CLASH

LEBANESE and Israeli armoured forces were yesterday locked in battle in an area of South Lebanon.

Armoured Israeli forces, which launched a concentrated land attack on the Bint Jbeil area, Lebanese armoured and mechanized forces north of Yaroun village fought back.



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LATE NEWS

ISRAELI COLUMN HALTED

The Israeli armoured column which pushed into Lebanon yesterday (see story this page) was checked on the outskirts of Yaroun after fierce fighting near the southern frontier with Israel.

U.S. IN MID-EAST TALKS

Italian Foreign Minister Aldo Moro and US Secretary of State William Rogers held talks devoted mainly to the Middle East crisis in Rome yesterday.

DIPLOMATS LEAVE PHNOM PENH

After a three-week delay, diplomats from China, North Vietnam and Korea left Phnom Penh yesterday by plane for Canton and Peking. These three countries now recognise the Sihanouk exile government as the legal regime in Cambodia. (The Soviet bureaucracy still maintains its embassy in beleaguered Phnom Penh.)

Fresh forces

Turning to the development of the League, comrade Healy stressed that of all the activities which we carry out, the most urgent is to bring fresh political forces into our movement. We intend to build a mass communist party—a party to be proud of.

The Workers Press has to prepare this ground and concentrate on teaching the youth that the way forward is the revolutionary teachings of Marxism.

Most politically advanced conference

FROM PAGE ONE

that the conference must take serious stock of how the working class was to meet the developing international capitalist crisis.

'The most important question for the working class is that they should return a Labour government,' he said. The calling of the General Election was a crisis decision.

'The whole drive of the capitalist class through its press is to try and isolate the revolutionaries from the working class,' he added.

Favourable

The struggle to return a Labour government—while giving no concessions to the right wing and the fake left—enabled the revolutionary movement to wage its conflict in much more favourable conditions.

'If the Tories win, the drive will go ahead to isolate us. There will be amendments to Public Order Acts, brought in under a desperate atmosphere of witch-hunting.

Old forms

The changes in the working class, he pointed out, began with the old forms of development.

'The first stirrings mean that workers will try out what has served them in the past. The adverse side of these problems, he emphasized, must not be missed.

Discussing recent developments in the workers' movement, he pointed out that the St Helens glassworkers' strike—'one of the firmest, most hard fought strikes in the last 10-15 years'—showed the shape of what the working class could do as the crisis developed.

The problem of democratization of the unions, raised by the Pilkington strike and by a number of other important disputes, could not be solved immediately, but must become part of a great campaign for democratization.

Manifesto: Keep the Tories out! Vote Labour June 18!

FROM PAGE ONE

COMPENSATION:

Foreign capitalist investments in Britain would also come under the control of the state. Any question of compensation payments would be considered only after the domestic programme to meet the crisis was paid for.

INVESTMENTS:

The immense investment held overseas by British banks, insurance houses, big corporations and wealthy individuals would be brought immediately under the supervision and control of the state.

DEBTS:

All international short-term debts contracted for the defence of capitalism would be repudiated. All military expenditure incurred to protect the world position of British imperialism would be stopped and all troops withdrawn from foreign and colonial countries.

In this way the balance of payments problem, which results inevitably from the international monetary crisis, would be shown to be a product of capitalism.

Undoubtedly, however, such measures would cause a sharp aggravation of the crisis elsewhere and precipitate intensified struggle between the classes internationally.

It is only by making deep inroads into capitalist wealth and property that the source of the crisis can be removed. The idea that there is a solution of the crisis which leaves the capitalists' interests untouched is an illusion.

In fact it leads to the kind of attacks on working-class living standards and wages which the Wilson government has perpetrated and which would become even more vicious under the Tories.

FROM PAGE ONE

ASSISTANCE:

An attack would be launched against poverty by raising benefits, abolishing the system of National Assistance with its prying and probing and enabling all elderly people to spend the rest of their lives free from material anxiety.

HOUSING:

The whole building trade and the massive technological means now available would be mobilized to deal with the housing crisis and make possible the organization of housing as a social service.

INDO-CHINA:

All support for the US imperialists' war in Cambodia and Vietnam must cease immediately, and relations must be established with N Vietnam.

SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS:

A special attack would be made on sub-standard school buildings. A plan would be drawn up for re-building and expanding hospitals and providing special facilities now non-existent or deficient.

INSURANCE AND PENSIONS:

All increases in insurance and pension charges will be cancelled. The funds will be re-couped out of levies on the wealthy and afterwards maintained by direct charges on production each year.

RENTS, RATES AND TAXES:

Rents, rates, taxes and interest rates will come under state control. Interest rates, severed from the international finance market by the monopoly of foreign trade and control of exchange transactions, would be lowered.

This would permit mortgage rates on housing to be drastically reduced. Purchase tax would be abolished, income tax on low and middle wages would be reduced and revenue raised from the wealth expropriated from big business.

FROM PAGE ONE

All these charges would come up for revision in accordance with the general needs of a socialist financial policy and would be freed from the manipulations of speculators and the banks.

A genuinely socialist Labour government would thus be pledged to carrying through a policy in the interests of the working class, aiming at a transition to socialism.

Such a policy would require and obtain the support and co-operation of the class and its organizations and determined resistance to all those seeking to maintain or restore the old order.

Immediate re-housing of the homeless in the mansions and luxury homes of the rich.

Sections of industry could be re-organized to turn over from war production and the manufacture of luxuries for the rich, to producing housing components and the basic equipment of living.

Funds would be made available for medical research and to end the present shameful dependence on appeals for charity.

Considerable savings will thus be possible in administration costs.

FROM PAGE ONE

Among those recently seized by the police are five members of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Brazil—Will Alberto Brankas, Alexandre Schneider, Lucio Borges, Vito Antonio Letizia, and Nava Helena Naiman.

They are accused by the police of being part of a 'national subversive organization carrying out acts against the state' from bases in a number of towns including Pernambuco, Sao Paulo, Ceara, Bahia and

Without this programme, domestic and foreign, there could result only large-scale unemployment, cuts in the welfare state and impoverishment.

The Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists have always

THE MILITARY dictatorship of Brazil pushes on with its round-up of political opponents.

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FROM PAGE ONE

Many workers will vote Labour with illusions.

Basically they will vote in the belief that the experience of the last two years can be continued i.e., that no matter how treacherous Wilson is, militant union action can still preserve living standards.

This illusion will be shattered by experience, as Wilson returns to the attack and the economic crisis plunges downwards. Already many workers—as in shipbuilding, civil aviation, and the docks—have had to raise nationalization as the only answer to their future security.

Despite the dangers in capitalism of depression and war, the situation is favourable for the working class.

The employers are forced to attempt to destroy the independence of the unions but they must do so against a strong, confident and unbroken working class which will resist.

The election of a Labour government creates the best conditions for this fight back and for the defeat of the capitalists. It is not a question, as the Stalinists maintain, of 'pressure' to 'turn Wilson left'.

The task of socialists is to mobilize the maximum opposition to the Tories, before and after the election, on all fronts, political and industrial. This means above all to fight for independent socialist policies; build the circulation of the Workers Press; build the alternative leadership: the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.

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Brazilian Trotskyists jailed

Rio Grande do Sul. These comrades are among thousands of revolutionaries, militants and even democrats held in Brazilian jails, often without having charges brought against them.

Reports from one of the most notorious prisons, on the 'Isle of Flowers', have called forth protests from all over the world, forcing even the Pope to speak out.

But in addition to the official forces of the state, the government encourages right-wing terrorist squads, with names such as 'Communist-hunting Commando' and 'Death Squadron'.

The Brazilian government carries out its repressions with the full consent of American and European imperialism, both of which have large holdings in the country.

Fleury, head of the Brazilian political police, has recently visited France to 'inquire' into the activities of Brazilians in Europe.

The European labour movement must prepare to defend their brothers in Latin America, forced to face the most cruel and violent repression as the international crisis of imperialism drives the native ruling class and its imperialist backers to fascist methods.