# Markers III

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • WEDNESDAY APRIL 12, 1972 • No. 737 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY G. HEALY, SLL national secretary

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Let us make this point clear. Contrary to what the pom-pous Fleet St leader writers may say, the resignation constitutes not a defeat for the labour movement but a victory.

Everywhere, the working class is pressing ahead with its offensive against the Tory government.

MINERS have won wage increases. ENGINEERS in Manchester and Oxford have occupied their factories in their determination to protect their standard of living.

DOCKERS are challenging the Industrial Relations Act.

WHITE-COLLAR unions, who have for

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These are the traditional mechanisms of class rule which today reflect the rapidly-approaching open confrontation of class forces as the seismograph reflects earthquakes.

It is within this atmosphere of gathering storm that we must analyse the real causes of the bale-out and not pen drippings of the gentlemen from

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But now the working class have called both Feather and Wilson to order. The resistance to the working of the Act has produced a legal crisis

of gigantic proportions.

Indeed Feather could easily find himself in the same court as Jack Jones of the T&GWU. After all Jones is only carrying out Feather's and the TUC's

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forced the Labour leaders to persuade the Labour Party NEC by a narrow majority to vote for the proposal of a

majority to vote for the proposal of a Common Market referendum when this comes shortly before the House of Commons. It was this decision which blew Jenkins off his perch.

Now, all the cowardly attempts of Wilson to avoid disciplining the pro-Marketeers have come to nought—the big birds have flown.

The Socialist Labour League has continuously fought for the mobilization of the working class to create conditions which would make the Tory government resign. We call upon the working class to elect a Labour government which they must then force to carry out socialist policies.

It is in the course of this struggle that experience will demonstrate to the working class the real need for revolutionary leadership.

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# Cowley body men vote to maintain their sit-in

FROM DAVID MAUDE IN OXFORD

WORKERS at British-Leyland's Cowley, Oxford, car-body plant yesterday voted overwhelmingly to continue their sit-in strike over pay.

In a 2,300-strong mass meeting, only 20 hands were raised against maintaining the sit-in.

The men are fighting a £10 a week increase under an annual review and a reduction in hours in line with the national engineering claim.

Also they are against a claimed management breach of an agreement signed last year. They say the company has

refused to negotiate the body-plant claim, simply offering them the £2.20 for day-shift workers and £5 for those on nights recently accepted at the nearby assembly plant.

Trevor Sharp, a direct production worker at the former Pressed Steel Fisher factory, told Workers Press the men were fighting not just for their pay claim, but for the existence of the Transport and General Work-ers' Union branch as a fighting

'It's not so much that there's a great gap between our claim and the company's offer, but that we know the company wants to have all future pay negotiations round the table with the officials

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'That would mean the end of shop-floor democracy,' he said.

Commented another sit-in striker, Perry Day: 'We'll win this one. I am convinced of it. This is the most important thing that's happened in this factory for a long time.

'But the sit-in just seemed like the natural thing to do. We can't relax for a minute, however. If we recognize its importance, you can bet that the company are going to fight to the end as well."

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# Strikebreaking together

FORMER Tory publicity man Geoffrey Tucket (r) and Sir Trevor Lloyd, Hughes, Wilson's publicity man at 10 Downing St, are now publicity men for Working Together which Working Together which launched a £1m campaign yesterday. The paign yesterday. The two men watch the platform perform: (I to r) Sir John Reiss, Associated Portland Cement; Sir Joseph Kagan, Gannex; Sir Anthony, Bowliby, former Joseph Ragan, Gannex; Sir Anthony Bowlby, former GKN board member; Frank Taylor, Taylor Woodrow; Michael Ivens, Aim of Industry director. Sinister references were members dealing with 'communist

• For a fuller report see p. 12.

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• For a fuller report see p. 12.

# Many big names in big business SIUMBS begin to cut their huge **losses**

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

VOLKSWAGEN, Europe's largest motor company, has trimmed its 1971 dividend by half, following the firm's failure to make any profit on its domestic operations.

Its 1971 dividend will be DM 4.50 compared with DM 9.25 paid in 1970. The company is paying its dividends from its income on 'other operations' and from foreign subsidiaries.

Other big names in W German industry are also cutting back as a result of recession and falling profits. Zeiss Ikon, the failing profits. Zelss Ikon, the camera makers, announced a few days ago that its Stuttgart plant is to close in 1973, making more than 3,000 workers re-

The Dutch-controlled Enka-Glazstoff AG, which produces synthetic fibres, also announced last week that it is phasing out production at its Wuppertal plant, placing another 3,000 out of work.

Other European firms are in similar difficulties. Announcing 'considerably reduced profits' for the current year, Johan Holte, president of Norsk Hydro, Scandinavia's largest chemical company, said:

'We are now in a terrible cost crisis with wages and other costs going up sharply all over Europe and this situation must be reflected in lower current wear earnings' year earnings."

Norsk Hydro profits for the second half of 1971 were 10m kronor compared with 46m kronor in the same period of

Alusuisse, the Swiss aluminium monopoly, this week recorded a 52 per cent fall in profits as a result of world overproduction of aluminium and dwindling demand in Europe. Net profits dropped from 129m francs to 62m francs and total sales were down 11 per cent on last year.

The world recession is also taking its toll in Japan, where Hitachi, the electrical giant, announced on Monday that net consolidated profits had dropped 33 per cent on the previous year's figure. Sales and orders were both down, the company

## Jail march arrests

POLICE arrested 15 people who marched on two Barcelona jails carrying gifts for political prisoners, student sources said yesterday.

Most of those held were medical and science students.

The outlawed Communist Party of Spain distributed leaflets last week calling for the protest and dozens of people queued outside the men's Modelo prison and the women's jail in the Catalan city to hand in their packets.

During the day undergraduates at the philosophy faculty of Barcelona's autonomous univer-sity boycotted classes in sympathy for those arrested.

# Podgorny boosts trade with anti-communist Turkish regime

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

SOVIET President Nikolae Podgorny arrived in Ankara, Turkey, yesterday for a week-long official visit and talks with leaders of the military state.

He was met at the airport by President Cevdet Sunay, Prime Minister Nihat Erim, Foreign Minister Haluk Bayulken and military and parliamentary leaders.

Though Turkish officials say that a new Soviet-Turkish treaty would be untimely for domestic and international reasons, it is expected that economic and trade agreements will be enlarged.

Soviet-Turkish trade has increased from £6m worth in 1964 to £35m projected for this year.

Under • aid agreements the Soviet Union is assisting Turkey to the value of £141m in estab-lishing major industrial projects in oil, steel, meat and chemical complexes.

President Sunay recently asked that Dr Erim's government be given wide powers to rule by decree to strengthen law and order in Turkey.

But so far his proposal has

been rejected by all four major political parties.

The Turkish government is trying to smash the workers' movement following the kidnapping of three NATO technicians by the left-wing Turkish Peoples' Liberation Army. Dr Erim has blamed 'an international com-munist plot' for unrest among workers and peasants in Turkey.

# WHAT WE THINK

# ILLUSION AND REALITY

THE 'Journal of Commerce', the newspaper of the port employers and big traders, yesterday devoted a front-page editorial to the legal jungle which has ensnared

the Tory government, the Transport and General Workers' Union, union officials and individual dockers.

The editorial says: 'It is time that the trade union leaders made it plain—very plain—to their rank-and-file members that although the union movement as a subplain and the leaders of the whole is opposed to the Industrial Relations Act, the Act is the law of the land and as such cannot be ignored with impunity. There seems to be some confusion on this point among dock members of the T&GWU in Liverpool.'

The paper then quoted Mr Lew Lloyd, the union's

district secretary, who said:

'I advised that they should not black the job against the law of the land—but the dockers feel that they are not breaking the law because their union does not accept the Industrial Relations Act.'

The editorial goes on: 'An interesting point this. It confirms what a lot of people have felt for a long time—that members of powerful unions accept that they are citizens of the United Kingdom when such citizenship confers rights and benefits, but they are members of an alien and sovereign state when United Kingdom laws are not to their liking.

This crudely-constructed opinion is worth studying because it explains, in a reactionary way and from the ruling class's point of view, what the law is all about. Capitalist laws are based on the protection of private property. In relation to these laws workers are members of an 'alien' state.

The working class is the dispossessed class. It has no property; workers' function under capitalism is to produce surplus value (profits) in return for wages. Capitalism is a system of legalized robbery. These are the powerful class considerations behind the resumption of the Heaton's case in the National Industrial

Relations Court today.

Both the chairman of the court, Sir John Donaldson, and the Attorney-General, Sir Peter Rawlinson, were not fooling when they said the whole body of law the law of the land, was at stake in this case. What they're really talking about is the preservation of

And even supposing some deal was hatched to dampen down the Heaton's case, the court and the law is only too ready to go to work on another complaint.

With the TUC's non-co-operation policy in operation, does anyone expect trade unionists to stand by and watch their unions milked of assets by fine after fine?

In concluding the editorial, the 'Journal' gives a clear indication of how it would like the Act used: 'The Act is not designed to penalize 5,000 dockers. But it can be used against their leaders—in this case the shop stewards who organized the meeting and encouraged continuation of the ban.

Contempt proceedings can be brought against individuals. And unless the T&GWU advise their members to observe the law, even though under protest, they will allow their members to place themselves in extreme financial jeopardy — for there is also the the matter of civil damages to be considered."

# Italian left clash with fascists

POLICE clashed with demonstrators in three Italian cities late Monday as tension increased in the campaign for the country's general elections on May 7.

In Bologna, heart of the country's 'red-belt', 12 people were arrested and at least one policeman hurt when left-wing demonstrators fought briefly with police following an extreme rightwing meeting.

On the W coast in Genoa, Italy's biggest port, five people were arrested and one released on bail and seven hurt in other clashes between police and leftwing demonstrators after a meeting held by Giorgio Almirante, head of the fascist party.

Meanwhile two police stations in Genoa were attacked with petrol bombs, but no one was hurt, and there was little dam-

Farther N, in Pavia, near Milan, nine people, including a communist councillor and a socialist alderman were arrested during clashes with police following a fascist election meeting.

# **WAVE OF RESIGNATIONS** IN YUGOSLAV INDUSTRY

A WAVE of resignations by directors of major industrial concerns in Slovenia, the Yugoslav republic, is further evidence of the deep crisis in the country's economy.

According to the official news agency Tanyug, the directors are handing in their resignations because 'under present business conditions they are in no position to secure a profit - making operation'.

Behind the resignations is the struggle of each autonomous 'self-managed' enterprise to corner foreign contracts and the lucrative foreign exchange which they bring in.

The managers claim that 'unfair competition' among the various enterprises has reached such proportions that foreign capitalist firms involved in joint enterprises 'laugh at us and use

it to our disadvantage'.

Ivan Atelsek, director of the Gorenje household goods factory, was the first to resign. He took this step after a sudden change in government regulations had barred his factory from fulfilling foreign orders worth 400m

Allegations of 'pressure, concessions and favouritism' are flying around, implying that the government bends the rules in favour of certain factories at the expense of others.

In some cases this has reached ludicrous proportions. The Skopje steelworks, according to Tanyug, has the monopoly of Yugoslav tinplate production, yet it is unable to supply demand and has to import.

The firms also complain about the price situation. Having con-tracted work for foreign companies, they are hit by increases in the price of imported materials, while the price of their goods on the home market is frozen by

Without a centralized plan, the Yugoslav economy is subject to the concentrated pressure of world capitalism.

Workers of Gorinje have refused to accept Atelsek's resig-

nation. They will be driven into more and more open conflict with the bureaucracy as the situ-

# Police fired first say Angela's lawyers

LAWYERS defending black militant Angela Davis were yesterday planning to attack prosecution evidence about who fired first in the courtroom 'shootout' 20 months ago which cost four lives.

Miss Davis, a Communist Party member and ex-college lecturer, faces murder, kidnap and conspiracy charges.

She is accused of smuggling guns into the court as part of a plan to take hostages to barter for the freedom of the 'Soledad Brothers'.

The defence says police fired the first shots which triggered the 'shootout'.

# Feather 'getting to know' new DEP chief

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

WITH THE National Industrial Relations Court poised to seize the assets and property of the Transport and General Workers' Union, TUC leader Victor Feather will today meet the new Secretary for Employment Maurice Macmillan.

Macmillan takes over from Robert Carr as administrator of the Industrial Relations Act. The newly-inaugurated court is a creature of the Act and has been given the legal status of a High Court.

The talks at the Department of Employment and Productivity will be 'informal'. A spokesman for the department said it was a 'getting-to-know-you' meeting.

Throughout the Tory administration, Feather has consistently kept up formal and informal contacts with senior Tory ministers.

His most recent publicised meeting was with Heath following the miners' strike.

#### **ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS**

**COVENTRY: Wednesday April** 12, 7.30 pm. Elastic Inn, Cox Street.

SE LONDON: Thursday April 13, 8 pm. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Rd (nr New Cross stn). Report back on YS conference.

N LONDON: Thursday April 13, 8 pm. 'Bricklayers Arms',

Tottenham High Rd (nr White Hart Lane). Report back on

E LONDON: Tuesday April 18, 8 pm. 'The Aberfeldy', Aber-feldy St, Blackwall Tunnel, Poplar. YS conference and the fight against the Industrial Relations Act.

CROYDON: Thursday April 20, 8 pm. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd, E Croydon, YS conference and the fight against the Tory government.

# Post Office cable jobs slashed 25pc

MORE than 1,700 of Britain's 4,600 overseas cable workers are to lose their jobs by autumn of 1974, the Post Office has confirmed.

The announcement—result of a massive computerization programme—has thrown a bombshell into the flimsy argument of the Union of Post Officé Workers that 'natural wastage' would prevent anyone actually losing their job.

At least 460 jobs are to go by June this year-420 of these will be lost at London's Electra House cable headquarters.

One third of the cable workers' jobs in London will have gone by the end of next year if the Post Office is allowed to get away with its plans.

Leaders of the UPW overseas telegraphists at Electra House meet tonight. The union branch meets on Friday.

At both meetings it is expected that the job-loss figures and the UPW leadership's complete failure to fight the threat will be the major discussion.

John Healy, UPW branch secretary at Electra House, is understood to have resigned following the announcement of the figures.

The figures were announced on the same day as Healy received a letter from the UPW general secretary Tom Jackson.

A meeting with Jackson had been sought following a redun-dancy agreement with the Post Office taken over the heads of the branch.

As a result engineers are now dividing Electra House into self-contained units under the computerization plan.

Floor-to-floor conveyor belts are being removed. 'You can see the place being pulled to pieces,' one UPW rank and filer commented.

All this has increased the anxieties of the 3,500 overseas work there.

Jackson claimed in his letter that the UPW executive's agreement for this work did not take 'any powers from you'.

And the sought-after meeting? 'My diary is extremely full at the present moment,' Jackson wrote, 'and I am wondering in view of the foregoing explanation if you really wish to press for a meeting with us.'

His reluctance to meet the telegraphists is understandable.

Estimates of the number of jobs cut by the computerization programme have been in Jackson's hands since November 1970. Present figures correspond almost exactly estimates. with

Yet no fight has been waged by the union on this question. A policy of blocking recruitment and encouraging people to leave the service voluntarily was expected to do the job.

The union leadership meanwhile remained sublimely indifferent to the rocketing national unemployment figures.

Post Office hiving off land, p. 11.

# **MAUDLING SEES WIDGERY** REPORT

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

HOME SECRETARY Reginald Maudling has received a copy of the Widgery report on the Bloody Sunday massacre in which 13 civilians were shot dead by the British army.

He received the report a week earlier than expected. Publication is due in the next two weeks.

The tribunal, headed by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Widgery, was boycotted by many of the relatives and witnesses because of allegations

Widgery was a former colonel in the Territorial Army.

The National Union of Students has just received a reply from the Home Secretary on the question of Ulster.

The union had forwarded to Maudling a copy of a resolution on Ulster which will be debated at this week's annual conference in Birmingham. The reply, sent by Maudling's private secretary, Mr Boys-Smith, said:

'The Home Secretary could not accept your view that the current difficulties in N Ireland constitute a situation of colonialist and imperialist oppression and discrimination.'

# **MOVE TO OUST** DERRY MP

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE CITY of Londonderry and Foyle Unionist Association's council has called for the immediate resignation of Robin Chichester-Clark, MP for Londonderry.

The local Unionist association furious because Chichester-Clark accepted the position of Minister of State at the Department of Employment in last week's Cabinet reshuffle.

The council's resolution said it no longer had confidence in him for joining Heath's ministerial

Chichester-Clark (44) is the brother of Lord Moyola, formerly stér-Clark, Stormont premier.

# MASS PICKET AT DAYTONA

ENGINEERS in E Birmingham are planning a mass picket tomorrow outside the Kingsbury Rd works of the Daytona Engineering Company.

AUEW members have been locked in a recognition dispute with the firm for more than 15 months and are bitterly critical of the attitude of their union's national executive.

'A few months ago the company agreed with the divisional organizer to recognize the union, but not to take any of the strikers back,' claims shop strikers back,' classteward Dale Brierley.

'The executive council recommended that we accept it.

'As it was, the district committee did not accept the recommendation, and the strike is still

'But the strike should have been pushed in the beginning. The executive committee wanted to let it drift on and on. Scanlon has said nothing about it.

'There's only seven of the original 18 strikers left how, and the longer it's allowed to go on, we're going to be in danger of

'I've been to the district committee meetings and told them what I think; and now they've organized a mass picket every Thursday morning. Last week we had 150 and you could see

the company was worried.

'The union abandoning the national claim doesn't surprise

me. We know what's happening.
'But there could still be a national strike. Last week our shop stewards' quarterly pledged full support in anything the T&GWU might do over the Industrial Relations Act.

'A national strike could topple the Tories, and this management—and I'd be the first one here next morning to let them know

# PRICE RISES MAKE 'BATTERY' MEN DETERMINED TO WIN

FOR THE past four weeks, the 300 striking engineers at Birmingham Battery and Metal Co have been hoping against hope that management would increase their offer in response to the men's £6-a-week pay claim. They have not.

When the factory opened its gates after the Easter ays, management was confident that some men would drift back to work, since it was clear their strike would win them nothing. But none did.

The strikers are now every bit as determined as the management. Keiran Quinn, a fitter's mate, said: 'If we accept less than

£5.25 in our factory, we can consider we have been defeated.'

In the three years he has been with the firm he had had one 60p rise. He said: 'We have got to go for the full claim.' No short cuts. We won't have any short cuts.

'In my opinion we have been messed about too much with half promises. Now we are going for the national claim.' Price rises under the Tories

are at the root of his determination not to give in.

Mr Quinn married 10 months go. When I first moved into this flat a year ago, it was possible to exist. I was bringing home £21 a week. Then the firm began to cut back because the level of trade was falling. There

was no weekend work.'

His tax return for 1970-1971 showed he earned £1,092 gross of which £178 went on tax. In the current year, which ended as the strike began, the return showed he had earned £1,090 gross and paid £117 tax.

about £8 a week on food.
Then there is HP on the record player, rent on the television, insurance payments and so on.

Let's face it, there is no chance of me having a family until my wages go up £6 or £8

'Out of this I am expected

to pay £6.84 a week rent for an unfurnished flat, £1.50 on

electricity, bus fares of £3 and

'At the moment I am living off my wife's earnings. But should a man have to live off his wife

like that? It is immoral and it should be illegal.' His wife works at a hair-dresser's and sometimes she is there until 7.30 in the evening. She said: 'Six weeks before

Christmas, the boss at one job I had said he would have to sack me because there was not enough trade. I knew there would not be much chance of another job, so I agreed to work

another job, so I agreed to work part time.

'Prices today are shocking and saving is one big joke.'

Mr Quinn added: 'At Christmas we paid £2 for a turkey, but the other day I went into the market and the same size. the market and the same size bird cost nearly £2.50. That is a 25 per cent rise in three months.'

Said his wife: 'This is the first year we have not bought an

Easter egg.'

Mr Quinn said: 'It is quite clearly Tory policy to hold wages down while prices go up. The £ in my pocket is now worth about 75p. Decimalization was another racket, another grab

for the racketeers. 'Our attitude is that we won't go back until the employers offer more money. I think we would be justified if the claim was for £12. We are not going

back until we have won.

**Moscow Trials Anthology** Paperback, 621 MAX SHACHTMAN: Behind The Moscow Trial Paperback , 5p **ROBERT BLACK:** Stalinism In Britain Paperback £1.12½—cloth £2 **LEON TROTSKY**: Death Agony of Capitalism (The Transitional Programme) Pamphlet 5p. Class Nature of the Soviet State Pamphlet 20p
In Defence of the October Revolution Pamphlet 15p The Theory and Practice of Revisionism Pamphlet 15p Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from : NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS 186a Ciapham High Street, London SW4 7UG.

# National action call

SEVERAL Midland branches of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers are demanding that district and national action be introduced in support of the national pay

Coventry No. 25 and No. 8 branches and Nuneaton Central and No. 4 branches of the AUEW have passed resolu-tions calling for 'supporting action' for the Manchester engineers, who are currently locked in struggle with the local employers.

The branches urged that there be no return to work until wages are increased by £6 a week, without strings, and working hours are reduced. Meanwhile Coventry No. 49

AUEW branch has passed the following resolution: 'This branch calls on the

district committee to initiate district strike action in sup-port of the engineers' national claim and also to call on the forthcoming AUEW national committee to organize national strike action for the claim.'

# BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Have you read the Draft Manifesto adopted by the All Trades Unions Alliance at the national conference at Birmingham last November? Have you expressed your views on the document in a letter to the Workers Press?

The Manifesto calls for the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party. This historic and vital task must be fully discussed and understood throughout the workers' movement: trade unionists, their families, students, the unemployed and people in the professions are invited to express their views on the Manifesto.

If you want a copy of the Draft Manifesto write to the Workers Press or contact your local ATUA branch. Today we present further correspondence in the Manifesto discussion.

#### GEORGE MONTGOMERY

Shop steward, Massey Ferguson,

As regards the Right-to-Work campaign, I think it was a tre-mendous achievement to get people of that age to take part in the march.

came through Kilmarnock, the march was very well organized and well disciplined. There was quite a bit of support for the march in Kilmarnock and with more communication there would have been more help forthcoming.

I read the statement in the Workers Press regarding the attitude of UCS on the question think the answer which was pub-

cannot believe that Jimmy Reid and James Airlie are so naïve not to know who the people were who organized the right-to-work campaign—such a committee as the UCS Shop Stewards would never give £100 without knowing who it was

stand where the money was going seemed to me to be highly un-likely. To assume such naïveté is so ridiculous it doesn't bear

There is no doubt that the action in withdrawing support for the right-to-work march was due to intervention by the Communist Party. When the UCS started their right-to-work campaign they got enormous support, they should not deny any other party the right to wage such a

Unemployment divides the working class. I have never agreed that a person, simply through ownership of capital, chould be able to juggle others able to about. No person in any class of society should be poor hungry: I don't agree with this

I agree with the basic aspects of the Manifesto. There is a lot of annoyance amongst trade unionists at the lack of leadership on the question of the In-

cerned, I want to see the Labour Party back in. But Wilson and Co. are extreme right-wingers.

Along with other trade unionists I met Wilson when we organized a demonstration a few months ago in Kilmarnock against unemployment, but we got nowhere with him.

If Labour go back in, it has to be on the basis of socialist policies. It was the lack of socialist policies in the last Labour government which put the Tories back in power.

Labour introduced the In-dustrial Relations Bill. For the rank and file on the shop floor it means that you are absolutely

Kilmarnock.

From what I saw when they

of who sponsored the march. I lished was very clear cut.

going to.

To say they did not under-

thinking about. It just doesn't happen in these committees.

campaign.

system.

dustrial Relations Act. Most trade unionists are watching carefully what happens about the T&GWU fine. As far as the Act is con-

Also, don't let us forget this at all, that with the Jenkins set-up something stinks to high heaven. With the vote on the Common Market a golden opportunity was missed to put the Tories out. In my opinion Labour must be opposed to Tory rule and it was the duty of Labour to get the Tories out, but the opportunity

was missed.

One of the basic things about the Common Market is the centralized control. Centralization and consolidation will take place with production centred where it is least costly from the point of view of transport. There will be

the consequent loss of jobs and

closure of factories. Scotland

will be particularly hard hit in this respect.

'I don't understand how some of the Labour and trade union leaders are bending to pressures. The Labour Party avoids expelling Jenkins, afraid he would split the party. As far as the Industrial Relations Act is concerned, most of the rank and file feel the same way, they are waiting for leadership from the

Now the rents issue is beginning to move people and they will fight back as rent increases

take place.
It is only a matter of organizing the working class to get the Tories out. The situation is ripe

for it but the leadership are not prepared to lead a fight. I would say we need a Labour government with strong socialist poli-cies and people who are prepared to face up to struggle.

#### **MRS BEVAN** Totton

Having read the Draft Manifesto I would recommend it to all Labour Party members and voters who I'm sure would agree to it

entirely.
To those who, like myself, have put in countless hours of hard work for the Party, all to no avail, it offers an alternative

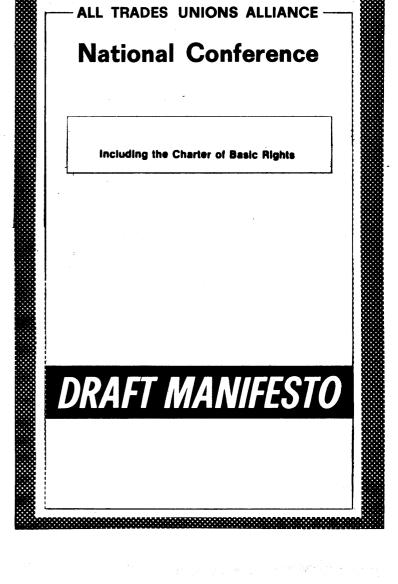
programme-one which should

have been the Labour Party's.

This seems to be the ideal time for all socialists who really capitalist society to join in defeating the Tories.

Reading the Workers Press over the past few months has opened my eyes to the true situation in the world of politics and power.

For years I have been disappointed and frustrated at the way successive Labour governments have carried on in the same old way handing out a few crumbs to keep us quiet, now I'm beginning to see the reason





FRENCH FASCISTS: BRINGING **NEW ORDER** TO THE CLASSROOMS

#### BY JOHN SPENCER

The French fascist movement Ordre Nouveau is trying to take a leaf out of the book of its Italian counterpart, the MSI (Italian Social Movement).

The movement's name is a reference to Adolf Hitler's 'New Order' in Europe and its members specialize in beating up militants.

It now wants to develop respectable parliamentary facade and shed its present image as a band of fascist gangsters. Like the MSI, Ordre Nouveau wants to appear as a bastion of law and order against the 'red menace'.

The process of toning down its slogans is already underway. At a recent fascist rally in Paris, for example, Ordre Nouveau com-mandos shouted for 'leftist' leaders like Alain Geismar and Jean-Paul Sartre to be put on trial.

In the past, they would simply have shouted out: 'Shoot them'. Besides changing its image, the movement is also striving to win the backing of all the other rightist splinter groups for its

new policy.

Among the front men for this manoeuvre is General Vanuxem, a veteran of the Indo-China war.

Another powerful supporter is an independent Gaullist deputy.

Ordre Nouveau has other powerful friends in the Gaullist establishment, as the recent incidents at the Montaigne high-school in Paris demonstrate.

On February 24, a group of

about 40 fascists, armed with iron bars, wearing helmets and carrying riot shields, mounted a savage assault on the pupils as

they left the school building.

Earlier the school building.
Earlier the same day, the fascists had fumed with rage as the Montaigne pupils tore up their leaflets calling for a 'clean-out of the leftist vermin'.

Among the victims of this assult was the deputy headmaster.

sault was the deputy headmaster, who was hit over the head and in the stomach and left lying in the school entrance.

Two days later another Ordre Nouveau commando turned up at the school, threw an iron bar through one of the windows and injured one pupil so badly that he spent the next three weeks in hospital.

On each of these occasions, the police who are permanently stationed in their cars just a block away, turned up half an hour after the fascists had vanished.

They were not the fascists' only allies. Powerful support came from the school staff as well. At the end of last month, the school's disciplinary council sat in judgement on six pupils who had dared to try and defend themselves against the fascist invasions.

Those who had thrown chairs at the attackers were accused of breaking school property and 'carrying iron bars'.

The majority of the school staff are ageing teachers at the top of the professional establishment who consider Montaigne as a 'good berth' to end their career.

They reacted with hatred to the growth of militancy in the school after May-June 1968. In the last union election, 60 per cent of the teachers voted in favour of the SNALC, the 'yellow' teachers' union which won only



Commandos of the fascist Ordre Nouveau who specialize in beating up militants.

per cent of the votes nation-

They are backed by a group of wealthy parents who have been calling on the staff to take the school 'in hand' with harsh dis-

ciplinary methods.

Things came to a head last year, when the Ministry of Education put out a circular banning general meetings of the student body. When the pupils tried to hold a general protest meeting against this circular, three were expelled as 'ringleaders'.

Similar incidents over the last four months culminated in the two attacks by the Ordre Nouveau commandos. Collusion between the staff and the fascists cannot be ruled out and it is clear that the fascists' 'disciplinary' activities were welcomed by a good

Workers Press, Wednesday April 12, 1872 PAGE 5

section of the staff.

The cowardly Ordre Nouveau commandos may get away with breaking the heads of few defenceless schoolchildren, but disciplining the French working class is an entirely different story. class is an entirely different story. Their bid for respectability

along the lines pioneered by the MSI cannot conceal the fascist cloven hoof under General Vanuxem's uniform.

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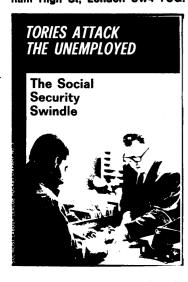
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# WE DEMAND THE RIGHT TO WORK



Spring 1972 Volume 7 No. 3 Price 25 pence Editorial: Class War and the **Draft International Perspectives** of the Fourth International

Fourth International

# MANDE

On March 6 this year the W German weekly magazine delta 'Der Spiegel' published an interview with Ernest Mandel, a leading figure in the United Secretariat of the Vinteriew with Ernest Mandel, a leading figure in the United Secretariat of the Socialist Island of the German regulations for official social popuration of the principles of Spiegel. And west professor would certainly not be just a faculty hack but would also use his teaching for official social popuration of the principles of the German regulations for official activity.

Spiegel. You were rejecture podum?

A Maxist professor would certainly not be just a faculty hack but would also use his teaching for official activity.

Spiegel. For a physician spearate his professor on the permanent revolution at the Permanent revolution at the permanent revolution and practice of the Spiegel. For a which for a bourgeois, appendence between its a unity of theory and practice.

Mandel. No., a Maxist realizes on the strategy and actics of the revolutionary party at the Free University.

Spiegel. For a word of the Science of a Maxist scholar?

Mandel. Single is the merciless criticism of resolutionary practice of a Maxist scholar?

Mandel. Single is the merciles or the strategy and activity of opinion at the university. Neither bourgeois on revolutionary scholars should of the Society is a precondition of the Fourth International.

Spiegel. When

activities?

Mandel. I write articles, take part in meetings, draft resolutions and submit them for votes. I hold open meetings and educational classes. The Fourth International is not a conspiratorial organization. I am not a weapons-dealer; I am not a weapons-dealer; I am in a counterfeiter. Our activity is not secret.

Spiegel. Doesn't the Fourth International also work secret.

Mandel. Only in countries where there is no democratic freedom for the workers' movement.

Spiegel. In the Federal Republic ... our work is absolutely open, because this freedom for the workers' movement exists.

Spiegel. The Federal Ministry of the Interior, which declared you a dangerous subversive and barred your entry into German territory, charges that you have worked in conspiracies. For example, that you have been repeatedly active in Germany under fictitious names.

Mandel. This is complete nonsense. Until now I was allowed to enter legally. For several years I wrote some newspaper articles under the name Pierre Gousset, that's all.

Spiegel. Just a pen name?

Mandel. That was not the only one. You also published under another name ...

Mandel. Not any more.

Spiegel. Germain?

Mandel. Not any more.

Spiegel. Did you intend to transfer the Secretariat of the Fourth International to Berlin after your appointment?

Mandel. No. That is a fabrication from start to finish. The Secretariat is composed of many people, not just me. J did not even intend to move to Germany myself.

myself.
Spiegel. When you wanted to give a speech to the business managers of the Duttweiler-Gesellschaft in Switzerland last

Spiege, Mr Mandel, in your books you claim that 'the bourgeois state must be overthrown through centralized political action . . and replaced by a workers' state. Is that still analysis, or is it practical direction?

Mandel. Naturally I don't confine myself solely to scientific analysis.

Spiegel. As a scholar, or are you now a political activist again?

Mandel. Those are two completely different things.

Spiegel. This schizophrenia...

Mandel... this is not schizo-

phrenia, but a question of method. You cannot equate the moon-landing with astrophysics, which created the scientific prerequisites for it. If you analyze the universe, it doesn't mean you have the conspiratorial intention of landing on the moon.

Spiegel. Back to the earth. What does Mandel the revolutionary do in order to bring down bourgeois society?

Mandel. An interesting question. Now we come to the neurotic attitude of defenders of the present society toward people like me. The socialist revolution will not be set in motion by conspiracy or agitation, but is possible only through the conscious participation of the masses of wage-earners, who in the Federal Republic are the absolute majority of the population.

Unless neo-capitalist society is crisis-free. In that case the activities of people like me, whether in education, propaganda, or daily political action, will be limited, and could not go beyond the framework of this society.

Interview m

Spiegel. Then the revolutionary would be a Social Democrat?

Mandel. No, Social Democracy is the attempt to strengthen the existing society through reforms. We want to alter society fundamentally, even if in the far future. Thus, when objective revolutionary crises break out, like May 1968 in France, or fall 1969 in Italy, the revolutionary organization must create the preconditions for the workers to use this crisis to alter society.

Spiegel. And you want to lead the proletariat as a vanguard? the proletariat as a vanguard? Wandel. We cannot set the workers in motion to change society or the state. We see ourselves as the yeast in a dough with must be there to start with

Top: Mandel. Above: On March 11 the interview with 'Professor Mandel, head Spiegel...but you hope to stir it a little. As a member of the conscious vanguard, how do you prepare for the overturn?

Mandel. Given an existing mass revolutionary movement, our task is only to lead it to success. Thus, in the factories, in the universities, we must broaden consciousness, so that the masses will be prepared for the decisive act

Spiegel. And then what should the masses do?
Mandel. In the midst of a broad mass movement, hold general meetings and elect democratic collective bodies, like councils, to take state power.

Spiegel. Employing parliamentary democracy?
Mandel. Ah, you know I am a more consistent democrat than the advocates of the bourgeoisparliamentary state order. There is a contradiction in the bourgeois constitution between the general rights and freedoms—freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of opinion, freedom of movement freedom for organize. So long as private property in the means of production exists, the majority of people can exercise these rights only in a limited way. Therefore, I am indeed for bringing down capitalist property.

Spiegel. Private property is not a constituent element of the Federal Republic. If anything, even full socialization is compatible with the basic law.

Mandel. Who isn't?

Mandel. We are for the independence of the unions, and dence of the unions, and naturally for the right to strike, even in a workers' state; and we are for full separation between party and state institutions.

Spiegel. Should the people's representation flow from general, equal, free, secret, and direct choice?

Mandel. On that we are agreed. The question is how this choice should be carried through, how this representation should be put together.

Spiegel. Indeed it is. Should only workers have voice?

Mandel. In the W European countries it would be senseless to exclude the bourgeoisie from elections.

Spiegel. In your soviet Utopia...

Mandel. ... in the soviet

Spiegel. In your soviet use of the regime, legality of the administration...

Spiegel. Are you for a multiparty system?

Mandel. ... all granted.

Spiegel. Are you for a multiparty system?

Mandel. ... all granted in your soviet republic?

Mandel. No party would be banned because of its views. But if we could prove in court protradiction with the basic law.

Spiegel. Doesn't the soviet republic for which you propagandize mean a restriction of political freedom?

Mandel. On the contrary. For the masses of people, only then would these rights become really meaningful.

Spiegel. Would you say that the soviet system is compatile with the liberal-democratic basic order, being even more free and democratic? In the soviet republic, for example, would the principle of division of powers still hold?

Mandel. Sure, that is in our programme.

Spiegel. Not at all. Your programme calls for the unity of the executive and the legislature.

Mandel. That has nothing to do with the principle of division of power. We think of it much more broadly.

broadly.

Spiegel. It is not a question of broadly.

Spiegel. It is not a question of breadth. Division of power means separation. Should judges be independent or—as in the model of the Paris Commune—be subject to recall on any occasion, if they make an unpopular decision, for example?

Mandel. Not on every occasion, but from time to time.

Spiegel. Over what intervals?

Mandel. Not every ten qays, but also not every ten qays, but also not every ten years. We would rather let that be determined by the practical work of the German soviet republic. We have worked out a model for the division of powers in a soviet

ceedings that people had violated the law, that conspiracies had been organized, weapon-stores accumulated, and alliances made with foreign powers, then we would ban such a party.

Spiegel. That's just how Husak argues in Czechoslovakia.

Mandel. And also just how the constitutional court of the German Federal Republic argued when it banned the Communist Party.

Spiegel. You make it sound like the Trotskyists have become completely domesticated—they no longer want a conscious overturn, but a parliamentary majority.

Mandel. We have always held the view that under the existing socio-economic relations, parliamentary bodies cannot (or can only in exceptional cases) give expression to the interests of the wage-earning population. The possibilities of choice are small, the differences between the big parties that support this state have lessened so much that parliamentarism increasingly degenerates into an empty formal mechanism. Real democracy is direct decision-making by the masses, and thereby is nearly identical with what I mean by revolution.

Spiegel. Revolution is the application of violence.

Mandel. What do you mean by violence.

Spiegel. Doors broken down, people beaten, barricades built, machine guns posted.

there has not been a revolutiona mass mobilization in a wester country that did not begin peacfully. Violence has come fro the other side, being used suppress the movement. Again this we must protect ourselves. Spiegel. As counter-violence yo consider violence legitimate? Mandel. If by violence you met he occupation of factories.

Spiegel. As counter-violence you consider violence legitimate?

Mandel. If by violence you mean the occupation of factories—good, then I say, right on, I'm for violence. Only I call it something sise: the workers taking their own rightful property—that own rightful property—that selves. That is the affair of the workers themselves. We will not lead a revolution behind the workers' backs, and we will also not make them happy against their will. We are not conspirators. I am not a putschist. But my ideas are feared. I am not allowed to present them to Berlin students.

Spiegel. As a champion of a soviet republic could you take the official oath of the liberal-democratic order?

Mandel. I would probably make an additional statement. Never in my life have I disavowed my convictions.

Mandel is always presented by his own supporters as an eminent everyer on economic affairs, a well-known exponent of Marxist theory, a man of impercable academic qualifications.

He appears at innumerable international seminars and colloquia and his articles are perfectly and his articles are colloquia and his articles are published in journals of the 'new fert' type which like to appear occasional 'Marxist' flavour to their general revisional seminars and a celebrity descending on various cognitive and his articles are published in journals of the 'new fert' type which like to appear overy open-minded by having on various capitalism', requiring a very deferred with his own there of the working class.

As imperialism, requiring a very different political styre, and decision by the sunderly in the same replaced by the capitalism', requiring a very different political styre, and decision by the sunderly in the article of the control of politics to fit the bill worker economic and political crisis, it must desperately suck away these middle-class elements to some centrist political styre.

As intered to take up this post was invited to taken mer maddle is an excluding intelligential from universities. But was invited to take up this was invited to take up this some centrist was invited to take up this some centrist when he recently tried to attend a 'tacab-in' there.

Now, of course, the Socialist Labour League is for the defence of the rights of all persons to the remained was invited to take up this was invited to take up this was invited to take up this of the rights of an article and his friends approach the article was invited to take up this of the rights of the rig

Deutschlan

evolution

Professor MANDEL

Internationale

Chef der IV

freiheitlich = unabhängig = überparteilich

Deutsche National Zeltur d of the Fourth Internation

republic. We are, to one example, in fa written, as opposed to

on the whole fundamental question of state power, Mandel mashamedly distorts the positions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Frotsky. We see it summed up in his sentence:

"Real democracy is direct decision-making by the masses, and thereby is nearly identical with what I mean by revolution."

Mandel, seeking bourgeois-democratic support for his campagn to travel and work freely in Germany, makes a complete continuity between bourgeois democracy and workers, power!

Marxism, however, insists first

We can see from Mandel's agreement to give this interview what is his conception of a struggle on democratic rights. For him, it is only a question of maximum publicity' and speaking to as many individual citizens' as possible, and not of making the issue one on which the organization and consciousness of the working class can be advanced in a revolutionary way. SLAUGHTER BY CLIFF

Perhaps a 'public relations' expert would be a good idea for this 'celebrity'.

One of Mandel's answers in the interview, however, is extremely informative, and forms the background to the opinions expressed in the 'Der Spiegel' interview also:

National Zeitung: Herr Professor, you have been prevented from entering the W German Republic. How do you understand this action by the Minister of the Interior?

Mandel: I consider this action by the Minister

Mandel: I consider this action by the Minister of the Interior as an attack on the basic democratic rights and freedoms of European citizens, and as a blow against the preparations for the political integration of Europe. Here we have Mandel apparently wanting to defend his democratic rights, but at the same time accepting the main strategy of the European monopoly capitalists—the 'political integration of Europe', i.e., the development of Europe'.

Af the Common Market, entry on Britain, etc.

The very development of the European monopolies, which constitutes the threat to the demorate rights of all workers, is appealed to by Mandel as something which will suffer if he continues to be attacked. We can only assume that the 'preparations for the political integration of Europe' would be become Professor of Economics.

in W Berlin!

No doubt this is at one with his remark in the 'Der Spiegel' interview: 'We want to alter society fundamentally, even if in the far future' (my emphasis, CS). In other words: no challenge to the present development of monopoly capitalism (Mandel's 'neo-capitalist society'), but simply a general demand for the democratic right to advocate some far-off socialist solution.

Here we have the true content of the Pabloite attack on Trot-skyism. General lip-service is paid to the idea of a workers' revolution and socialist solutions, but there can be no question of the working class today having any revolutionary significance. In this context Mandel tries to persuade his readers that really the Fourth International (i.e., his own spurious 'United Secretariat') is not revolutionary vanguard at all but simply a missionary society.

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It a little. As a member of the conscious vanguard, how do you prepare for the overturn?

Mandel: Given an existing mass revolutionary movement, our task is only to lead it to success. Thus, in the factories, in the universities, we must broaden consciousness, so that the masses will be prepared for the final act. Pabloism's political essence has always been to reject the Trotakysis theory of the need to build independent revolutionary parties which can defeat the existing leadership of the workers and lead the masses to state power.

This relationship of struggle, the central notion of the crisis of revolutionary leadership as the key to mankind's crisis, is entirely missing from Mandel's interviews.

Social-Democratis to the fear of the resurgent working class of Germany and all Europe. Mandel's conduct of his campaign without any reference to this working class and its independent interests is a capitulation to the Stalinists and Social Democratic apparatuses. Brezhnev went out of his way in March to make overtures to the European Common Market, i.e., to the monopolists of W Europe, Instead of exposing this treachery, Mandel falls in with it, bemoaning 'blows against the preparations for political integration of Europe.

The fact that he himself is in a small way the victim of the measures flowing from these latest Stalinist manoeuvres produces in him only an even more craven and cringing subservience that he had already shown in his work for Pablo in 1952-1953 and in the Belgian General Strike

incipal requirement control of a party which will the class its politice ince. That means a se struggle a gain sevolutionary Staliniss. This mandel and the control of the

No wonder, having thrown out these basic Marxist concepts, Mandel can mouth the complaint—impossible for a Marxist—that his exclusion from Germany contravenes 'the rule of law'! What law? Whose law?

So concerned is Mandel about his respectability in the eyes of the bourgeoisie and its law that he proposes to allow bourgeois parties complete political freedom under a proletarian dictator-

lwny only therej it would be senseless to exclude the bourgeoisie from elections.

So Mandel has finally come round openly to the Stalinist 'parliamentary roads to socialism'.

The nature of the campaign of Mandel and the Pabloites on this question fits in with these political conceptions. Against the reactionary tendencies flowing from the interests of the monopolists, Marxists fight in the working-class movement on a programme of socialist expropriation of these monopolies. Only the boldest initiatives against capitalist property can stem the reactionary tide. In such a period, it is fatal to make the appeal to democracy in general.

The middle class who are fondly supposed to respond to such a democracy in general.

The middle class who are fondly supposed to respond to such a the Popular Fronts of before World War II) are in fact being shaken out of their democratic illusions by the same crisis which pushes the monopolies to the right. They will respond only to the strongest and most resolute lead from the working class ... or to the fascists.

Instead of building support around such a workers' mobilization, the Pabloites are distorting the Marxist tactic of united front by talking about a united front by talking about a united front by talking about a united front of all those who will defend democracy.

Such an alliance of protesters is nothing to do with the Leninist united front, but is very similar to the Stalinist 'popular fronts' of the 1930s, behind which the murder of Trotskyists and the betrayal of the working class were prepared.

ere prepared.

Let us return, finally, to only we made earlier in passifiandel nowhere attacks Stamm, and has only a historic buke for the Social-Democrationing party in the Germannant

government.

Quite apart from anything else, the present division of Germany, and of Berlin, and the restoration of German capitalism after Hitler's fall, let alone the earlier victory of fascism, were the consequences of the Stalinism and Social-Democratic betrayal. Mandel wants to campaign on 'democracy' in Germany without conflicting with the Stalinists!

He will not find it so easy! Brandt, the Social-Democratic Chanceller of W Germany, has staked his whole future in the service of the bourgeoisie on his 'Ostpolitik', i.e., agreement with the USSR and E German Stalinism.

If Mandel's previously unhindered travels in W German hindered travels in W Germany have suddenly been stopped by the Social-Democrats, it is because even the mention of Trotskyism is too sensitive an issue for the Stalinists, and the Social-Democrats do not wish to offend them.

Behind this sensitivity is the fear of the resurgent worldars of Germany and Mandel's conditions.



# 

Part 1. By our foreign correspondent.

ARGENTINA developed in the 19th century as a colony of British imperialism. It has been dominated by imperialist exploitation ever since. Its landlords and capitalists are united in their hatred and repression of the masses and their subservience to foreign

Until the beginning of World War II, British imperialism was the main exploiter of Argentina's resources. It bought grain and meat and in return sold railways. finished products and allowed credit for development concentrated around Buenos Aires and the surrounding Litoral.

This structure, imposed on the Argentine economy, remains to this day, little different from that described by Lenin in his work on imperialism:

The division into two powerful groups of countries-possessors of colonies and colonies—is not the only feature of this period. There is also a variety of forms of dependent countries which formally are politically independent, but which are in fact caught up in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence. We have referred to one of the forms—the semi-colony. An example of another is pro-

vided by Argentina.'
Although the landlords and their 'gaucho' armies successfully resisted the armed intervention of British expeditionary forces under Sir Home Popham and put

an end to the Vice-Royalty of Spanish imperialism in 1810, they willingly bent to the power of the City of London and its representatives.

While slave revolts were put down in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the era of capitalist free trade hit the pampas. Britain bought hides, meat and grain and exported textiles, steel and iron. British capitalists brought credit to

In 1824 the Baring Brother floated a £1m loan nominal value for the Buenos Aires government and numerous joint-stock companies were launched for mining, colonization and industrial production.

Those who benefited were the large 'estancieros' who proceeded to build up large blocks of land and introduce disciplined methods of farming. They also built railways to reach large areas of land, in the course of which they destroyed the Argentinian

Their representatives in government were also 'estancieros', true grit frontiersmen trained in fighting Indians and the arts of horse riding.

General Rosas, elected governor and Captain General of Buenos Aires in 1829, adapted this ruthless toughness to create the Mazorca, a party for 'disciplining' his opponents.

His successor 'estanciero', General Urquiza, continued the 'estanciero'. tradition, also opening up the floodgates for the flow of more In 1888-1889, between one

foreign capital.

quarter and a half of new issues on the London capital market were on behalf of Argentinian enterprise. Argentina was now fully subordinated to the world capitalist economy and its crises.

This soon became evident in the famous Baring Brothers crisis of the 1890s. Baring's had been the first to raise money in Europe for development in Argentina. In the 1880s they were the leading bankers concerned in marketing Argentine securities

In 1890 they faced bankruptcy. Quite simply, they had agreed to pay the contractors who had built the Buenos Aires port in exchange for \$25m worth of bonds from the Argentinian government.

Unhappily they found they could not sell these to the investing public, which had lost its confidence in the capacity of the Argentinian government to payit was beset by inflation, bankruptcies and the growth of mili-

tant trade unionists.

However, Lord Rothschild signed an agreement with the Argentinian Minister Romero on July 3, 1893, in which the Argentinian government aband-oned its claims on the Buenos Aires Water Supply Drainage Co, which had been underwritten by Baring's.

Then the Argentinian government was saved by enormous expansion of the market for wheat,

cattle, wool, etc., and capital flowed in again.

The Depression revealed Argentina's continued depend-

ence on world trade: the highly specialized market it supplied was hit by the sharp decline in food prices and raw materials. (Even in 1962, 93 per cent of exports were agro-pecuarian and only 2 per cent were manufac-tured good. Eighty per cent of capital equipment and metal goods was imported.)

Investment reached a crescendo in the early 1960s: 1958-1960 \$270m were invested in petrochemicals, motor cars and petroleum derivatives; \$186m worth of machinery was imported through direct investment and \$345m worth to be exported through loans through international development banks, which are covers for American imperialism.

British imperialism's hegemony over Argentina, has been replaced by the United States. The growth of industry has depended on foreign investment, which controls the decisive sectors of industry.

For example, in mining the Union Minera Argentina, backed by foreign capital with high mechanization, produced 77 per cent of mining production, the remaining 23 per cent being mined by small firms backed by Argentine capital.

Farming is still dominated by the large landowners as it has been from the early 19th century.

The following was the pattern ownership in the 1930s: in

cattle farming:
84 per cent of cattle-farmers
owned 25-100 head of cattle-17.7 per cent of total.

14.4 per cent of cattle-farmers owned 101-1,000 head of cattle

-29.2 per cent of total.

6 per cent of cattle-farmers owned more than 1,000 head of cattle 43.1 per cent.

Today in Argentina, 50 per

cent of agropecuarian producers are tenants or share-croppers, most of who work the land themselves with their families. Together with seasonal workers they make up 400,000 working to feed a parasitic group of landowners-1,200 landowners own a quarter of the land in the province of Buenos Aires where the richest land is; 2,100 own 53½ million hectares, while 160,000 chacareros (small farmers) have only 1½ million hectares.

Many landowners have invested money in industry and the coming together of industrialists and landowners is evident in the landowners who participated in the setting up of the Union Industrial Argentina — an employers' association — such as Ayerza and Saenz Pena.

The political regimes tolerated in Argentina by imperialism have been usually authoritarian

and military.

During the Golden Age of investment, the landowners prided themselves on their love of democracy and tolerated the growth of trade unions, a Socialist Party and the Union Civica Radical—a radical petty

bourgeois party.

But it was a love which soon vanished.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



# TWO VIEWS OF SOVIET BUREAUCRACY

This book does not contain a systematic examination of the problems of the transition to socialism, but reproduces a discussion between Paul Sweezy, editor of 'Monthly Review', and French economist Charles Bettelheim, which began in 1968 after the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Neither of the participants has an exactly unblemished political past, nor do they reveal all they can about the past from their own experience.

Although Trotsky had a good

Although Trotsky had a good deal to say about the very questions which are under consideration, even Bettelheim, no stranger to Trotskyism, carefully avoids any reference to his contribution.

Likewise, Sweezy, who was for some time a fellow-traveller of the US Communist Party, is less than frank about Stalinism and its influence on the communist movement in the period in which he knew it best.

Such omissions make the discussion a little unreal. What we have, in fact, is a discussion which begins with the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia. Sweezy explains the invasion as arising from fear that if Novotny could be kicked out, so could the Soviet bureaucracy.

But he sees the bureaucracy itself as relying increasingly on capitalist methods and practices such as 'the discipline of the market and the incentive of profit' in order to maintain its

Sweezy left open the class nature of the Soviet Union. Bettelheim, in a comment on his article, came forward with a finished theory: 'The proletariat [Soviet or Czech] has lost its power to a new bourgeoisie, with the result that the revisionist leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is today the instrument of this new bourgeoisie.' This, of course, is the position of Peking.

Bettelheim then explains that what matters is not the degree of market relations existing in a state, but whether the proletariat exercises power.

Sweezy is able to pick up from Bettelheim's past writings—though he only goes back to about 1964—an evolution towards the view that a new bourgeoisie has taken power in

**BOOK REVIEW** 



'ON THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM' by Paul M. Sweezy and Charles Bettelheim. Monthly Review Press. Price £2.90.

the Soviet Union. The argument is not really about whether socialism does or does not abolish market relations, but what is the class nature of the Soviet Union and E European

Bettelheim's view has at least the merit of being clear-cut. One of its major weaknesses is that he does not say when, and under what conditions, the rule of the proletariat was overthrown and the new bourgeoisie took

Sweezy makes some concessions to this view. He sees the 'bureaucratic ruling stratum'—not yet a class—being challenged by a managerial élite 'which tends to develop into a new type of bourgeoisie'.

So Sweezy sees as still underway the process which Bettelheim assumes has already been completed. To put it another way, Bettelheim thinks that the proletariat has already been defeated, Sweezy does not consider the proletariat as a factor in the struggle at all.

Bettelheim never succeeds in proving that the Soviet state is a bourgeois state and the bureaucracy a new bourgeoisie.

It is not enough to say that 'the state apparatus is placed above the masses and acts in an authoritarian manner with respect to the masses'. Nor has he established that capitalist relations exist in the Soviet Union so that the bureaucracy must be a state bourgeoisie.

E a state bourgeoisie.
Like other variants of the

theory that the Soviet bureaucracy constitutes a new ruling class, Bettelheim avoids the real issue: that it depends upon nationalized property relations which issued from a proletarian revolution and has not been able to give any legitimacy to its parasitic social position. The challenge to the bureaucracy exists and is growing: it leads up to a political revolution not to a social revolution.

In Bettelheim's theory the 'state bourgeoisie' has been able to assume power without a violent physical struggle through the 'weakening of the role of proletarian ideology'. How and when this is supposed to have taken place is never precisely explained.

Bettelheim has washed his hands of the contradictions of Soviet development and taken refuge in some neat formulas. At the same time, he has discovered that the true upholders of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat are to be found, since the Cultural Revolution, in the Chinese Communist Party leadership.

The Sweezy-Bettelheim dis-

The Sweezy-Bettelheim discussion concludes with the establishment of a certain measures of agreement, chiefly brought about by a shift on Sweezy's part, who stands corrected on a number of points.

The second half of the volume consists of three articles or lectures by Sweezy which have appeared in 'Monthly Review'.

Like the discussion which precedes them, the analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet Union

Like the discussion which precedes them, the analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet Union leaves out the great struggle of the Left Opposition. It fails to make use of Trotsky's theoretical contributions which that struggle made possible.

Thus Sweezy is unable to draw the real lessons from the Russian Revolution or to explain the Stalinist degeneration. Like Bettelheim he ends up by accepting the Peking version of the rise of a new 'state bourgeoisie' to power, seeing little difference between the Soviet Union and

a capitalist country.
Unfortunately his authority for the statement that 'The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and certain other countries is the most important lesson to be drawn from the last 50 years of the history of the international communist movement' is the ill-fated, former second-in-command to Mao Tsetung, Marshal Lin Piao.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

# GRAVE

Some people may have thought that the stubborn refusal to retire of Merthyr Tydfil MP Mr S. O. Davies—nearly 90 years when he died recently—had its comic side.

But that is nothing compared to what is claimed to be happening in the constituency now.

On the eve of last Thursday's by-election, Plaid Cymru—the Welsh nationalist party—claimed to have made some amazing discoveries about the electoral roll.

They claimed some people had three votes, two year-old infants had them and a man who had been dead 17 years had one.

The nationalists' campaign manager Glyn Owen commented:

'I feel the whole system of democratic election is gravely in jeopardy'.

Merthyr's town clerk and acting returning officer, Selwyn Jones, said he had no power to add or delete names from the electoral roll.

# **CHOICE**

Nobody could say the 'Sunday Times' was not in tune with Tory thinking. In fact there are times when they are well in advance of it.

In a leading article on December 6, 1970, the paper notes:

'If the choice in Ulster is between keeping Harland and Wolff in business and formenting a looming civil war in a depressed province, we would not choose civil war'.

Last Monday the Tories announced they were planning to give the Belfast shipbuilders £12.5m.

## SENT HOME

Camden Council, London, always claiming to be one of the leaders in providing welfare services, has come up with one of the most notorious and sinister schemes ever evolved for the homeless—send them back to where they came from.

The man behind the move is Kenneth Unwin, director of social services of Camden Council, who has prepared a report for the councillors.

In the case of families it is

recommended that special temporary accommodation for ten families be set up where they could stay a month and sort out with the help of social workers whether they want to stay in London any more.

Because it has been discovered that out of 181 families admitted to temporary accommodation in the area over the last year, only 67 were regular Camden residents.

A further 55 came from other parts of London and about one third from Ireland, Scotland, the N, the Midlands or were from overseas.

So, what a terrible thing. Fancy having to help those who haven't got Camden ancestry. Repatriate them!



Minister of housing, Julian Amery

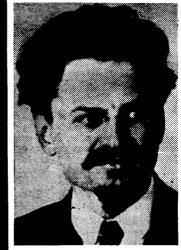
If after 'consultations' with social workers it was decided these people would be better off returning 'home', Camden would get in touch with other local authorities to see if they could find them somewhere to live and a job.

Probably one of the main reasons these families came to London was precisely because they couldn't find work or somewhere decent to live in their own towns.

Often the poorest sections of the community, they face the prospect of being shunted around from one town to another, unwanted by any local authority.

It is clear that this policy has the implicit blessing of the government. Last year the council submitted a request for a Home Office grant for special temporary accommodation for homeless families. It was turned down.

# **BOOKS**



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# YS 12th Annual Conference—Scarborough April 8&9

**MICHAEL BANDA** 

IT IS an acknowledged fact that the productive forces of society cannot be developed any further on capitalist foundations.

The capitalist class has become an absolute fetter on the development of human wealth and culture. And since 1914 it has tried to plunge humanity into the abyss of barbarism.

The decline of the capitalist system, which now threatens the entire world with cultural and economic decomposition, has made the socialist revolution unpostponably and un-conditionally necessary for the salvation of mankind.

But since revolution signifies a living class struggle, it is nowhere stated—except in reformist circles—that the defeat of the capitalist class is automatically and mechanically predetermined.

The capitalist class, far from conceding the judgement of history, fights back with all the means at its command. Hitler-like, it disregards all the signs of impending catastrophe.

It is pure idealism and alien to Marxism to recognize the fact that history creates the basic premise of the revolution, yet ignore the ruling-class prepara-tions to defy the laws of history and smash the working class.

'The bourgeoisie,' as Trotsky pointed out to W European Communist Parties 'even though it finds itself in a complete contradiction with the demands of historical progress, nevertheless still remains the most powerful class.

'More than that, it may be said that politically the bourgeoisie attains its greatest powers, greatest concentration of forces and resources, of political and military needs of deception, of coercion, and provocation, i.e., the flowering of its class strategy, at the moment when it is most immediately threatened by social ruin...This has rendered its instinct of class self-preservation sensitive in the

In his speech Trotsky had a special reference to Britain and to Lloyd George, who he called 'a superb strategist of the bour-



YS national secretary John Simmance addressing the conference

# great step forward

threatened with historical ruin'.

Both Trotsky and Lenin warned

the British communists not to expect the same kind of revolutionary development in Britain as took place in Russia.

In Britain the struggle would be more protracted—and more ruthless—because of the historical development of class relations unique in Europe.

'Let us not forget also that the bourgeoisie finds itself face to face with mortal danger, after having accumulated colossal political experience. The bourgeoisie has created and destroyed all sorts of regimes . . . All this varied and rich experience which has entered into the blood and marrow of bourgeois ruling circles has now been mobilized by them to maintain themselves in power at any cost.

'And they act the more resourcefully, cunningly, ruth-lessly, all the more clearly their

leaders take cognizance of the

threatening danger.'
('First Five Years of the Communist International'. New Park

Publications. p. 5.)
From this standpoint the emergency resolution adopted by the, Young Socialists' conference on Sunday was not only correct -but absolutely necessary to reemphasize the warning given by Trotsky 50 years agos Lloyd George may be dead,

but his spirit lives on in the political manoeuvres of the Tory Party in its attempts to outflank the working class.

Only the Trotskyist movement because it bases itself on the strategical and tactical contribu-tions of the First Four Congresses of the Communist International -can analyse Tory policy in a correct way and provide an alternative strategy.

As the YS resolution points

out, the Tory attack takes two

forms.
'...By the creation of chronic

unemployment which will be intensified with entry into the Common Market and by the strengthening of the repressive powers of the state. Demoraliza-tion by unemployment will be supplemented by wholesale intimidation through the courts and the police stations.' Attack is always preceded by

diversionary moves and the resolution shows exactly the nature of Tory manoeuvres by drawing attention to the conscious and credulous acceptance of Tory plans by the TUC and Labour

leaders.
Far from succumbing to the mood of euphoria, the YS resolution gives a sombre warning to the working class not to fall in behind the illusions which are deliberately created by the trade

union bureaucrats:
'They [the Tories] use the reformist leaders to create the maximum political confusion before the big battles, by reviving momentarily the old reformist pipedreams: regional develop-ment, state subsidies to industry, "peace" moves in Ulster, a Cabinet reshuffle which appears to replace reactionary ministers with Tory nonentities, but is in reality a preparation for battle.'

So while the Stalinist-dominated Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions was once again trying to revive the corpse of the protest movement and avoid a struggle to force the Tories to resign, the YS resolution rang out like a clarion call for real political struggle against the Tories:

'The only answer to the grave dangers from the policy of the employers and the government is the fight to force the government to resign. This fight has been pioneered by the YS and the SLL and no other tendency can or will carry out this policy.

As the Right-to-Work song proclaims: 'There is no one who can stop us, there's no one now

This does not mean in any sense that the YS ignores or belittles the struggle of workers for their legitimate economic demands, such as wages, rents, etc. On the contrary, it is only by tying these demands into the general strategy to replace the Tories with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies that these struggles can have any real significance.

This is something the Stalinists, reformists and revisionists pointedly refuse to do. In the words of the resolution:

'They tail behind the spontaneous militancy of the working class in order to avoid and obstruct the political struggle. Their "left talk" conceals their absolute passivity in face of the

absolute passivity in face of the preparations of the ruling class.'

Nothing illustrates this bankruptcy more clearly than this week's 'Socialist Worker'—the International Socialists' weekly—which calls on the T&GWU not to pay the £5,000 fine imposed by the National Industrial Relations. Court but remains tions Court, but remains inscrutably silent on the question of what to do about the Tory government!

Their evasion of this issue is explicable and predictable. None of these revisionist groups have an answer to the Tory government, because their reformist theory and their middle-class leadership inevitably doom them to prostration and servility before the capitalist class.

While these groups wallow in their political impotence, the YS, by endorsing the decision to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party, and by its campaigns over the last 12 years, has shown that it is in the forefront of the struggle for a socialist Britain.

# YS Right-to-Work marchers return cheque

Upper Clyde Shipbuilders Joint Shop Stewards Committee Clydebank Division Dunbartonshire

March 30, 1972

Dear Sir and Brother, Following the Empire Pool Right-to-Work marches on March 12, a meeting of the 250 marchers unanimously decided we return the £100 which the UCS Shop Stewards' Co-ordinating Committee donated to our funds early in January.

At the time we felt grateful for this act of solidarity which we

convinced represents overwhelming viewpoint of the majority of UCS. The Right to Work is a basic right affecting all members of the working class irrespective of what political difference may exist between

When our Scottish contingent was on the march just over a week, your committee issued a statement which implied that you were persuaded into giving the donation by some of our members, without you being aware that they were members of the Young Socialists, which is the youth organization of the Socialist Labour League.
This, of course, was untrue.

Those members who addressed your committee were well known in Glasgow as members of the YS who had sold Workers Press continuously outside the ship-yards. Indeed, they were specifically asked by members of our committee if they sold the Workers Press, to which they replied, of course, in the affirma-

Your repudiation of our march strengthened the right wing of the TUC and Labour Party who had banned and proscribed it. It was tentamount to a stab in the back of unemployed youth Glasgow and to the young people who marched for five weeks on the road to London.

Unemployed youth hate the Tory government and want to see it forced to resign.

Your action not only strengthened the enemies of the working class but it showed a contempt for the plight of the unemployed youth in the W of Scot-

In returning your £100 we feel sure that trade unionists every-where will send donations to cover it. The campaign for the Right to Work will go on with renewed vigour.

> Yours fraternally, CLIVE NORRIS, National Secretary.

# Costs 'grave danger' to hauliers

facing a 'grave danger' from rising costs, the chairman of the Road Haulage Association William McMillan warned yesterday.

Road haulage costs rose be-tween 12 and 14 per cent last

year, he told an Association luncheon at Nottingham.

At one time the operator who was unable to increase charges to match increased costs used to

McMillan admitted that some road hauliers would postpone delivery of a new vehicle, make

last longer

maintenance bills.
Under new legislation cutting standards could be fatal through suspension or revocation of the operator's licence.

Furthermore many customers were putting transport costs at the top of the list when seeking

# Yorkshire 'union' threat to ETU bargaining

THE YORKSHIRE-based Electricity Supply Union has applied to the National Industrial Relations Court for sole bargaining rights at the Ferrybridge 'C' power station at Knottingley. The application is a direct challenge to Frank Chapple's electrical and plumbing trade union, which at present shares bargaining rights on the joint industrial council.

The council negotiates with the electricity boards on wages and conditions of power workers.

Knottingley 'C' was the scene
of intense picketing during the
miners' strike.

# **Costly tot**

THE PRICE of most big brands of whisky is expected to go up by as much as 15p a bottle from May 1.

A spokesman for Distillers Limited whose brands include Haig, Johnnie Walker and Vat 69, said yesterday its wholesale price was going up by 10p a bottle at the end of the month.

The increase was necessary 'to recover increased costs in production and to maintain profit margins in the UK market'.

Distillers has 60 per cent of the home market.

# Tenants walk out on Labour

ANGRY tenants, dissatisfied with official Labour policies on the Tory 'fair rent' Bill, walked out of a 1,000-strong meeting in Barking on Monday night.

The walk-out came as a local councillor tried to 'talk out' the last few minutes of the meeting to prevent further discussion from the floor.

Earlier tenants had marched from their estates to the meeting in the centre of Barking.

At the meeting they heard Labour MPs, including Tom Driberg and Frank Allaun, Allaun, Labour Party national executive member.

Allaun said a re-

turned Labour government would repeal the Housing Finance Act, but added that the Tories could be forced to withdraw it.

He cited what he termed the 'victory' at UCS and the miners' strike and said that militancy could make the Tories change their minds.

In the discussion, re-peated demands from the floor for linking the struggle on the rents with all other struggles against the Tories, forcing the government to resign, were ignored by the platform.

Tenants' leaders de-clared themselves for rent strikes while others recalled previous struggles in which rent strikes had proved in-effective and suggested

# councillors and MPs over rent Bill

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

that industrial action

was needed as well.

Labour councillors on platform came under an angry barrage of questions demanding to know whether they would refuse to implement the Act.

The councillors refused to declare their position and said they were waiting to see

what other councillors would do.

One, in charge of finance, spoke at length at the end of the meeting, preventing further discussion from taking place.

Many tenants walked out in disgust as a resolution was put asking for a petition to be sent to the government.

# **POST OFFICE IS** LATEST STATE FIRM TO HIVE OFF LAND

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE POST Office is the latest in a line of public bodies queuing up to sell off valuable assets to property speculators.

When news broke last week that it had hired one of the biggest names in property consultancy, Bernard Thorpe and Partners, it confirmed a trend which has been gathering face over the last few years.

Now nearly all the public bodies are involved in selling off property bought over the years with taxpayers' money to the land-grabbers.

From these sales, speculators are able to redevelop sites at enormous profit. British Rail, the biggest landowner among the nationalized industries, has for some years been selling off station sites for office developoff

Another state industry moving into the property business is the National Bus Company, which has city-centre depots and bus stations ready for 'development'.

One of the most rapacious consumers of its own assets is the Port of London Authority. Last November it sold its City head office building for just £9.3m.

It is a valuable, prestige site and there was disquiet in the City that the 250,000 sq ft of building went so cheaply. Buyers were Renslade Investments were Renslade Investments, currently involved in a multi-

workers press

£20.28 for 12 months (312 issues) £10.14 for 6 months (156 issues) £5.07 for 3 months (78 issues)

million pound speculative project at Hay's Wharf.

Altogether, throughout Great Britain and N Ireland, the Post Office owns or leases over 13,000

Bernard Thorpe will advise the PO on 'the best use of redundant sites and buildings and, where appropriate, on the development potential of sites at present in operational use', said a spokes-

A short list of 50 properties has already been drawn up. They range from the S coast to Scotland. Three categories of suitable properties for sale have been drawn up, including redundant

town centre premises.

The PO puts the position bluntly, in the jargon of the best

property men:

'Most opportunities for profitable development are likely to occur in the postal business where, for example, new sorting offices release good town-centre sites, or where counters occupy valuable high street frontages and profitable redevelopment is practicable without detriment to the service.'

Opportunities for hiving off are also expected on the telecom-munications side of the business. Surplus space in office buildings might be rented to other users or sites redeveloped when offices are moved to new premises.

So when you go round the corner to buy that postage stamp in a few months' time don't be surprised to see a new office block rising in place of your friendly Post Office.

The dally

paper that leads the fight against

# Toolmakers' picket strengthened

AS THEY enter the second week of their official strike, toolmakers at Smith's Industries, Cricklewood, N London, were joined on the picket line yesterday by draughtsmen and technicians.

In an appeal handed out to all workers entering the factory the new pickets stated:

'We support them because we know that their claim is not exorbitant and that their present wages are sub-standard compared with toolmakers in other parts of the industry.

'This strike should and could ultimately benefit every employee at the factory and therefore we seek the support of every trade unionist.

The strike is over the 70 tool-

makers' demand for a £6 domestic rise plus the national the AUEW claim of £6 and a 35-

The toolmakers are enormously heartened by the show of solidarity. They are also pleased by the response of the vast majority of lorry drivers who have refused to cross their picket line.

They believe, however, that

management is smuggling some work out.

Sympathetic people living nearby have told them of seeing an oil lorry arriving at 9.30 p.m. one night after all normal oil delivery lorries had been turned

away during the day.

Late yesterday a meeting was in progress between AUEW officials and management.

### CAV toolmen start work-to-rule

EIGHTY toolroom men have begun a work-to-rule at the CAV factory, Acton in London.

Stewards say their action has taken following manage-attempts to set up a separate toolroom.

9.45 Pogles' Wood. 10.00 Champion the Wonder Horse. 10.25 Parsley. 10.30 Canoe. 10.55 Magic Roundabout. 11.00

Magic Roundabout. 11.00 Boomph with Becker. 12.25 Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan. 1.00 Disc

a Dawn. 1.30 Camberwick Green. 1.45 News, weather. 2.55 The Sky at Night. 3.15 Good Sailing.

3.45 Sights and Sounds of Britain. 4.15 Play School. 4.40

Jackanory. 4.55 Laurel and Hardy. 5.15 Graven's News Round. 5.20 Before the Event. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 News,

TOM AND JERRY.
SPY TRAP. A Visit from

Hamburg. Episode 1.
7.25 STAR TREK. Who Mourns

weather.
6.00 NATIONWIDE.

BBC 1

The toolmakers are a highlyskilled group of workers and are strongly organized. The management's objective

appears to be to allocate their work to other departments. This week's work-to-rule follows two walk-outs.

12.20 Towards a Better Europe. 1.15 House and Garden. 1.45 Racing from Newmarket. 2.15 Houseparty. 2.30 Good After-noon. 2.55 Racing. 3.45 Tales of Edgar Wallace. 4.40 Hatty Town. 4.55 Lift Off with Ayshea. 5.20 Tightrope. 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY.

6.35 CROSSROADS. 7.00 THIS IS YOUR LIFE. 7.30 CORONATION STREET. 8.00 CADE'S COUNTY. Home-

coming.

CALLAN. Charlie Says It's 9.00 Goodbye.
PARTY POLITICAL

PARTY POLITICAL BROADCAST. Conserva-10.00 tive Party. 10.10 NEWS. 10.45 OSCAR AWARDS.

11.50 PROFESSIONAL WREST-12.20 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY. 12.35 THE LAW IS YOURS.

for Adonais?

8.15 LORD PETER WIMSEY:
CLOUDS OF WITNESS. Part 2. 9.00 NEWS, Weather.

SPORTSNIGHT WITH 9.20 COLEMAN.
REPORT TO THE PEOPLE: 10.00 Conservative Party Broad-

PARKINSON AND ALI. Michael Parkinson talks to Muhammad Ali.

'A N AMERICAN ROM-ANCE'. With Brian Don-

levy, Ann Richards. Czech

immigrant pursues the American Dream in the

Conservative Party Broad-

steel industry.

10.00 REPORT TO THE PEOPLE.

10.10 AN AMERICAN ROMANCE.

11.30 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

10.55 24 HOURS. 11.30 SKY AT NIGHT.

cast

Part 2. 11.25 NEWS, Weather.

6.30 Odd couple. 7.00 London. 8.00. Cade's County 9.00 London. 12.20 Mad movies. 12.50 Weather.

HTV West as above except: 6.15-6.30 Report West. HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/

Wales as above except: 3.50 Hamdden. 4.15 Miri Mawr. 6.01 Y Dydd.

ANGLIA: 1.45 London. 3.45 Yoga. 4.15 News. 4.18 Cartoons. 4.30 Romper room, 4.55 London, 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 1.45 Racing. 3.35 Stars. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Mrs Muir. 4.40 Grasshopper island. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London.

ULSTER: 1.45 Racing. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 What's on? 6.35 London.

YORKSHIRE: 1.00 Rainbow country. 1.25 It's fun to be fooled.
1.30 Grasshopper island. 1.45
Racing. 2.15 The singer, the song. 2.30 London. 3.40 Dr Simon Locke. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cross-roads. 4.40 Hatty town. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 8.00 Cade's County. 9.00 London. 12.10 Weather.

GRANADA: 1.45 Racing. 3.30 Yoga. 4.00 Camera. 4.05 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. What's on? 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 1.15 Bird's eye view. 1.45 Racing. 2.15 Help the disabled. 2.30 London. 3.40 Dr Simon Locke. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London. 12.15 News. 12.30 Revolution and love.

GRAMPIAN: 1.45 Racing. 3.38 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Jimmy Stewart. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather.

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# BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 5.35 Open University. 7.05 Measure of Conscience.

7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.
8.00 TIMES REMEMBERED.
Jonathan Dimbleby talks
to Willie Harries who went down the pits at the age of ten.

8.10 MAN ALIVE. A Night in Jail, a Day in Court.
9.00 POT BLACK.

9.20 VINTAGE HOLLYWOOD:

# **REGIONAL TV-**

CHANNEL: 1.45 Racing. 4.05 Paulus. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Good afternoon. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Towards the year 2000. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure hunt. 7.30 London. 10.00 Life in France. 10.10 Lon-News, 12.15 Epilogue.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 12.15 News, weather. 12.19 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 2.05 Katie Stewart 2.30 London. 3.50 Cartoon. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Challenge. 7.00 London. 12.20 News. 12.30 Weather. Tower hill.

HTV: 1.20 Phoenix. 1.45 Racing. 3.20 Talking hands. 3.35 Enchanted house. 3.50 Ugliest girl in town. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.50 Crossroads, 4.55 London, 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales.

SCOTTISH: 1.45 Racing. 3.30 Pinky and Perky. 3.45 Cross-roads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Cartoon. 6.30 On the buses. 7.00 London. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London. 11.50 Sport. 12.20 Late call. 12.25 Wrestling.

6.10 Grampian week. 6.35 London. 8.00 Cade's county. 8.55 Police news. 9.00 London. 12.20

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# THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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# **STUDENT 'LEFTS' CLAIM A MORAL VICTORY**

FROM SARAH HANNIGAN IN BIRMINGHAM

THE LIAISON Committee for the Defence of Student Unions yesterday failed in its bid for National Union of Students president.

Communist Party member Digby Jacks was re-elected president with an increased majority on the second day of the NUS Birmingham conference. re-elected

Opposing Jacks for the presidency was Jeremy Fitzpatrick, a member of the 'Militant' Group in the Labour Party.

Fitzpatrick told Workers Press that he saw the result as a 'success' since the vote had shown that at least one-third of the student delegates were prepared to vote for a 'fairly revolutionary socialist

'We have got a political base on which we can build the future policies of the liaison committee,' he said.

During election speeches, Fitz-patrick attacked the executive for the failure of their campaign on student union finances.

He himself, however, failed to mention how student union autonomy could be won with the Tory government in power.

For the first time yesterday the student body formulated its policy on the Vietnam war. National secretary Mike reny proposed a resolution supporting the 'struggle of the NLF in Vietnam' and calling for the withdrawal of all American forces. It was carried overwhelmingly.

Addressing conference, Jacks claimed the union had made the government pay heavily for their devious manoeuvre' (the Department of Education and Science consultative document on student finances).

And, he added: 'Mrs Thatcher's reputation was discernibly tarnished, the DES civil servants held up to ridicule and the government was seen to suffer an initial . . . defeat.'

This concept of successfully pressurizing the Tories is the illusory and dangerous policy which is peddled by Jacks' mentors in the Communist Party on the question of the Industrial Relations Act last year and at UCS today.

# BLACK

FROM PHILIP WADE IN LIVERPOOL

TALKS broke down yesterday between Merseyside dockers' representatives and the transport firm which has brought an action in the National Industrial Relations Court against the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Heaton's Transport (St Helens) Limited once more refused to accede to the dockers' demands and walked out of the talks.

After the abortive talks Jimmy Symes, chairman of the Liverpool docks stewards committee said: 'This could be the biggest fight in the history of dockers and road transport workers. It's a fight we're prepared to go through to the finish with. The blacking continues.

Dockers are saying that the packing and unpacking of con-tainers should be carried out by registered dock labour and that drivers should be paid no less than £21 to £24 a week.

But while the talks were in progress yesterday, Liverpool dockers turned back the firm's lorries at Garston and Alexandra

order issued two weeks ago.

And for the first time the 'black' was extended outside Liverpool as Preston dockers also turned away Heaton's containers.

This follows Monday night's decision by the national ports shop stewards committee to give full support to the blacking and

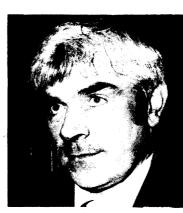
to extend it nationally.
Yesterday's fruitless discussions
took place between T&GWU officials from both Liverpool and St Helens, docks stewards and Mr Robert Heaton and his son, joint managing directors of the

'It's back to square one again I suppose, said docks stewards committee chairman J. Symes.

The scene moves today to the industrial court in London where the T&GWU faces a £5,000 fine for contempt of court imposed when the union continued the blacking in spite of a court



Robert Heaton (Jr) partner in



chairman port Jimmy Symes, shop stewards.

# VIETNAM: BIG PUSH IN HIGHLANDS

THE COMING N Vietnamese offensive in the central highlands of S Vietnam is expected to dwarf their current drives near Saigon and the demilitarized zone.

S Vietnamese forces and their American advisers in the highland region around Kontum city are bracing themselves for the shock of an all-out battle in the area.

The S Vietnamese claim to have captured documents indi-cating that the second phase of the 13-day-old attack is about to

This makes nonsense of their previous claims that the N Vietnamese are 'fully extended' on

the two main fronts they have opened since the fighting began.

The Saigon government is becoming panicky as the N Victnamese push from the Cambodian border moves closer to bodian border moves closer to the capital.

The city was shaken by a huge National Liberation Front sapper blew up an ammunition dump only 11 miles from the city

centre.

S Vietnamese troops rushed towards the front line from Saigon did not prevent the fall of another government base on

Monday night.

They lost the base, at the border village of Bodup, despite the presence of two S Vietnamese battalions.

The northern battlefront, below the demilitarized zone, was again the scene of heavy fighting yesterday as S Vietnamese troops tried to recapture one of the firebases they lost on Sunday.

The base, Camp O'Conner was

overrun after its garrison had fled from the N Vietnamese advance.

American ground forces have so far played little part in the fighting, but yesterday units of US forces were airlifted and driven into the northern town of Phu Bai, to protect remaining US installations there.

The move indicates that the N Vietnamese forces are still moving southwards, and shows the Americans' lack of confidence

in the defensive capacity of their

puppet army. President Nixon, ordered the giant B-52 bombers into action over N Vietnam for the first time since 1967, came under heavy criticism Peking again yesterday.

A Foreign Ministry statement

said it was absurd to describe the N Vietnamese as 'invading' S Vietnam: 'as is well known, S and N Vietnam are one

and N victual country.

The statement pledged 'resolute support' for the N Vietnamese in their struggle against the 'new military adventure of US

ROY JENKINS was described as one of Britain's most brilliant politicians by the ultra right-wing pro-Cathons Belgian newspaper La Libra Belgian "vesterday"

It praised him for his exceptional success as Chancellor of the Exchequer and for the 'scepticisms he has shown to the Marxist-leaning theses dear to the left wing of the party'.

Lord Chalfont yesterday resigned as Labour spokesman on Defence and Foreign Affairs in

Defence and Foreign Affairs in

the House of Lords.

After today's Parliamentary
I abour Party meeting about ten
Shadow ministers are expected to

# STRIKE-BREAKING **TOGETHER**

A £1m CAMPAIGN called Working Together was launched by right-wing businessmen at London's Savoy Hotel yesterday amid sinister hints of dealing with 'communist fanatics'.

The organizers say they will mount a massive television and press publicity campaign over the next three years, supplemented by films, discussions and mass leafleting of areas where workers live.

So far no trade unionists have agreed to join the five-man Working Together committee. But campaign director Michael Ivens, also a director of the right-wing, anti-nationalization Aims of Industry, told about 50 journal-

'I believe we are going to get some really good, brisk, trade union leaders on the committee fairly soon.'

While the non-political character of the campaign to 'harness workers and management in a common prosperity drive was repeatedly stressed, it seemed clear from the remarks of deputy chairman, Sir Joseph Kagan, that its aims were much wider.

'I have worked under Stalin and Hitler,' he said, 'and I believe that two philosophies are today contending for the soul of man and for the world.
'The strength of the economy

today is the defence of our very way of the just as in two world wars the army and navy have been.

Committee member Frank Taylor added: 'If the 500 or 600 anarchists in Britain who say they are trying to take the working class to power succeed, it will

mean communism and the end of our free way of life.'
Taylor, of the big construction firm Taylor-Woodrow, said: 'No one has spelled out what these fanatics are trying to do and I think it is important that we make it clear that we are prepared to defend our way of life.

Committee chairman and ex-Guest, Keen and Nettlefold's board member, Sir Anthony Bowlby, said the public were fed up with disruption in industry.

'The time is ripe for this kind of initiative,' he said. 'Conflict in British industry has led and is leading to a performance in

leading to a performance in international markets which can only be described as disappointing.
'Now we are about to enter

the Common Market, the challenge of a deeper sense of working together is one that we must face. If we work together, Britain can achieve great things. But if we don't, we shall be unable to face the problems that The campaign's massive pub-

licity is being jointly handled by the former director of publicity at Tory Central Office Geoffrey Tucker in conjunction with Lab-our leader Harold Wilson's former press secretary, Sir Trevor

Lloyd-Hughes.
Sir Joseph ('Joe') Kagan, the millionaire head of Gannex Raincoats, is a close personal friend of Wilson and is believed to have subscribed money to Labour Party funds.

Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists

#### MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION

Sunday May 7

ASSEMBLE: 1.30 p.m. The Embankment, Charing Cross

MARCH: via Trafalgar Square, Piccadilly, Regent Street, Oxford Street, Tottenham Court Road, Euston Road

MEETING: 4 p.m. St Pancras Town Hall. WE DEMAND THE RIGHT TO WORK MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN!

# **LATENEWS**

**NEWS DESK** 01-720 2000 **CIRCULATION** 01-622 7029

MOST of E England and Scotland will have sunny intervals and showers. Rain may spread to W districts during the day. It will be cold in E, but will rise to normal in most places later.

WORKERS at Daniel Doncaster's Monkbridge Forge, Leeds, will work to rule from Saturday following a £1.50 wage offer but no offer on hours or holidays.

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# £1,250 APRIL **FUND STANDS** AT £242.43

LET'S not waste a moment in the struggle to raise our Fund this month. The use of the Industrial Relations Act against the T&GWU could result in a major conflict with the working class.

As the political situation changes, Workers Press has a vital role to play. The working class everywhere must be warned and prepared of the nature of the great changes that are not taking place. We wrom are now taking place. We urge you all—fight back now against the Tory attacks. Go into action today and raise as much as you can for our April Fund. Post all donations immediately to:

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