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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY JOHN SPENCER

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On other fronts, the N Vietnamese are still pushing forward. Yesterday they drove Saigon forces out of Camp Bastogne, one of the key staging posts on the road to Kontum, a provincial capital in the centre of S Vietnam. And tanks and infantry are still pushing southwards towards Hue and Da Nang further N.

American desperation at the worsening military situation S of the border is reflected in President Nixon's decision to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong, the two main towns of N Vietnam.

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skilful and sophisticated anti-aircraft defences around both Hanoi and Haiphong, and the Vietnam News Agency yesterday reported that 11 of the attacking US bombers had been brought down.

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It ties Nixon's fate even more closely to that of his demoralized and incompetent Saigon allies. But it will not save the S Vietnamese from a devastating defeat in the current offensive.

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BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

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As the cliff-hanging talks went on, railmen reporting



Vote for the nationalization amendment

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BY IAN YEATS

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The meeting, called to discuss the rumoured shut-down of the Middlesex studios, carried the call for nationalization under workers' control as an amendment to a resolution drawn up by leaders of the industry's seven trade unions.

They had simply demanded government aid

to halt the contraction in the industry.

The resolution also called for industrial action to promote studio-based films, obtain government cash for the National Film Finance Corporation and resist studio closures—amended to include Shepperton specifically.

It asked the Tory government to make £5m available under the 1970 Films Act which would be used by the NFFC to take over Shepperton and promote a programme of new productions.

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**what we think**

**TUC CAUGHT IN CROSSFIRE**

CAUGHT between Barber's blackmail and the relentless resistance of the union ranks, TUC general secretary Victor Feather has been forced to make a rare show of militancy against the Tories.

Addressing the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union conference in Glasgow on Saturday, he implicitly contrasted the unity of the TUC on the question of de-registration with the desertion of the right-wing Jenkinites in the Labour Party. He appealed for unity and solidarity in the face of 'one of the hardest attacks this movement has ever had to face'.

Commending the TUC ranks for the fact that only 608,000 members out of a total of 10 million had been affected by the registration of some unions, Feather said:

'The divisiveness which was intended by the Act has been nullified and destroyed by the unity of the trade union movement.'

Feather's main barb was reserved for the Tory Chancellor's remarks on the rail crisis: 'If Barber is thinking of a General Election and using the unions as a whipping boy for that purpose, he will find that such activities can recoil.'

Brave words, fighting words—but words never stopped the Tories from passing the Industrial Relations Act or implementing the Act with a whopping £5,000 fine against Feather's colleagues in the TUC. Jack Jones and the T&GWU. And there is every indication that the Tory employers intend to use the Act to the utmost. It is instructive, to say the least, that Feather, when he did refer to the Act, did so with some embarrassment.

Even after the NIRC judgement he still maintained that 'cynics and wishful thinkers' who believed the Act would 'solve problems, have been shown to be miserably wrong'. This is nothing more than a pathetic attempt to continue the reformist argument that if the trade unions ignored the Act then the Tories could not invoke it and, later, the Labourites would repeal it when or if returned to power.

What will Feather do if Jack Jones, who, as the 'Economist' pointed out, once thought that a 'climbdown on the registration issue might become popular in the TUC General Council', suddenly passes the £5,000 fine to the TUC to pay?

Barber's speech blackmailing the unions and the activation of the Industrial Relations Act by the employers is the clearest and most direct political challenge offered to the unions so far. As 'The Guardian' editorial commented on Saturday, Barber converted an industrial dispute into a political conflict 'even if the unions did not want it elevated in this way'.

Feather's reaction to this escalation expresses most eloquently the bankruptcy of reformist policy and emphasizes most urgently the necessity for a new leadership and a determined campaign to force the Tories to resign. Said Feather: 'It has done more than anything else to emphasize the urgent need for the establishment of a completely independent conciliation service both nationally and regionally!'

But the task of the unions and the Labour Party is not to lecture the Tory gangsters on the need for new laws on the licensing of weapons, but to disarm these reactionaries before they murder the unions.

Neither negotiation, nor arbitration but working-class action to replace the Tories with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies is the need of the hour.

Instead of prattling on about his 'anxiety', Feather should take immediate steps to mobilize the full industrial strength of the TUC to make the Tory government resign.

AROUND THE WORLD

**Italian CP defends fascists**

THE ITALIAN Communist Party has demanded free speech for fascists in the current election campaign and attacked left-wing demonstrators who break up fascist meetings as agents of 'reactionary forces'.

The CP denunciation came as police all over Italy raided the offices of left-wing organizations and the homes of their supporters.

Over 4,800 people were arrested and charged in the course of the police swoop, though most were released on bail.

This is the background to the Stalinists' pose as defenders of democracy and fair play. The Italian Social Movement, which calls openly for the restoration of fascism, is stumping the country under heavy police guard holding

**Demands free speech and attacks left**

provocative meetings in major centres.

There have been riots at almost every town where fascist rallies have been held. The CP statement issued at the weekend said:

'Any attempt to hamper the electoral campaign by violating its rules must be rejected. It is inadmissible to take recourse to forms of protest that may lead

to clashes and repressive and indiscriminate police intervention.'

The statement added that the 'ultra-leftists' responsible for the incidents were pawns of 'foreign and domestic reactionary forces' that had been plotting for some time to seize power.

This is meant to refer to the Greek colonels, who are financing many of the MSI's activities and train-

ing its thugs.

In its anxiety to defend the corpse of capitalist democracy in Italy, the CP is reviving all the slanders of the 1930s about 'fascist agents'.

Its statement opens the door for the fascists by lulling the workers into the illusion that they will go away if ignored.

The crisis-ridden parliamentary system in Italy cannot defend a single worker against the fascist menace.

It can only be met by mobilizing the trade unions and the mass organizations to drive the fascists off the streets.

**Tariq Ali in Korea as new idol is created**

TARIQ ALI, former president of the Oxford Union who now edits the 'Red Mole' for the revisionist International Marxist Group, is currently visiting N Korea.

His visit coincides with the 60th birthday of the country's Stalinist leader, Kim Il-sung.

To celebrate the leader's birthday, the N Korean Communist Party has reached new heights of grotesque flattery in the Stalin manner.

Earlier this week, for example, the Party's Central School was renamed the 'Kim Il-sung Higher Party School'.

The N Korean news agency reported this had been done to 'hand down for ever, generation after generation, the great revolutionary idea, the Chuche idea, of Comrade Kim Il-sung, the respected and beloved leader of our party and the Korean people, peerless patriot, national hero, ever-victorious iron-willed brilliant commander, great thinker and theoretician and one of the outstanding leaders of the international communist movement and working-class movement, and his immortal revolutionary exploits and his minute guidance to, and deep solicitude for, the founding of the central party school and its strengthening and development'.

**'Death Squad' in Bolivia**

AN ANTI-COMMUNIST 'death squad' carried out its fourth execution in a month in the E Bolivian city of Santa Cruz on Saturday. Local police found a body riddled with 25 bullets bearing a note saying: 'The Death Squad will put an end to all defects in society and to all communists in this town.'

The group has adopted the same name as the Brazilian 'Death Squad' which is responsible for the execution of hundreds of opponents of Medici's police-state.

**'Thirty-day war' against Tupamaros**

URUGUAY is under a state of siege for a 30-day 'internal war'.

Government measures increase the powers of the armed forces and allow the court authorities to search and detain suspects without a court order.

In a nationwide broadcast President Bordaberry pledged a tough stand against the Tupamaros guerrilla fighters: 'We are not declaring war. It has been declared against us by the subversive groups.'

This clamp-down follows the escape of 25 prisoners, including 15 Tupamaros, from the Punta Carretas

prison last Wednesday and a gun-battle on Friday when the urban guerrillas killed a former government under-Secretary, several police and a senior navy officer.

However, behind the repression lies Bordaberry's fear of the strength of the Uruguayan working class rather than the terrorism of the Tupamaros.

The General Strike called on Wednesday by the 400,000-strong National Workers' Convention (CNT) was the third faced by Bordaberry since his government took office on March 1.

The strike, in support of 40 per cent wage increases, had backing of dockers, school teachers and university students. The govern-

ment has offered 20-per cent rises.

The CNT halted urban and long-distance bus services, the railways, private and state banks, industry, the civil service, education, broadcasting and newspapers.

Two more strikes are planned for tomorrow and April 25.

As in neighbouring Argentina, the working class is fighting bitterly against a drastic reduction in its living standards and 10 per cent cost-of-living rise and against political repression of militants.

The Tupamaros and Popular Revolutionary Army urban guerrillas turn their back on this struggle to engage in dangerous adventurism.



Nixon and Trudeau during their talks

**Nixon-Trudeau talks; No trade agreement**

PRESIDENT NIXON headed back to Washington from Ottawa yesterday after two days of talks with Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

The visit follows sharp disagreements between the two countries over Ameri-

can demands for trade concessions from Canada.

The Canadian government has so far refused to make any concessions to the US demands, despite intense pressure from Washington.

With over 8 per cent unemployment, Trudeau is in no hurry to commit poli-

tical suicide by restricting exports to Canada's largest market.

The two leaders agreed during their talks that both sides would review their positions over the coming weeks, but made clear that this does not imply agreement on the economic questions.

**Iraq-Iran four-day battle**

IRAQI and Iranian troops have fought a four-day battle with tanks and artillery after an Iraqi police patrol was ambushed by Iranian troops, according to a military communique issued in Baghdad.

The statement claimed that Iraqi troops inflicted heavy casualties on the Iranian 'aggressors' and said they had been repulsed. Iraq's casualties were

put at one soldier and two policemen slightly wounded.

There has been tension between Iran and Iraq for many years on a variety of issues. Iraq severed diplomatic relations after Iran occupied three strategic islands in the Persian Gulf last November.

One of the islands, Abu Musu, was occupied by prior agreement but Iran's landings on the others, Greater and

Lesser Tumb, aroused anger in the Arab world and especially in Iraq.

The latest clash follows the signing of a 15-year treaty of friendship and co-operation between Iraq and the Soviet Union.

The treaty, covering political, economic and military aspects, was signed on April 9, the final day of an official five-day visit by Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin to Iraq.

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# ANATOMY OF THE TEACHER

by Peter Read, delegate to the National Union of Teachers Conference from Luton

The National Union of Teachers recently voted by a huge majority not to register under the Industrial Relations Act.

The 2,000 delegates at the union's conference voted under the shadow of the fine imposed on the Transport and General Workers' Union by the National Industrial Relations Court.

Non-registration is an important pointer to the direction in which teachers are being forced to move despite their boom-time and middle-class outlook.

The mood behind the overwhelming vote for non-registration ran completely counter to the miserable fence-sitting stance of the NUT leadership.

To defend rights and conditions in education teachers are being impelled to join the struggle of the working class.

The Tory government aims to destroy the gains made in state education and has begun the onslaught on school milk and meals and blocked secondary school building.

Teachers' living standards are in the front line of Tory fire against wages in the public sector.

The post-war boom gave rise amongst teachers to a belief in sometimes-interrupted but inevitable progress in education.

These illusions will shatter as the rapidly-developing worldwide recession forces every ruling class into a ruthless programme to slash labour costs. This includes, of course, education expenditure.

## Significant protest

The protest meeting outside the NUT conference hall during Tory Education Secretary Margaret Thatcher's visit was significant.

Many of the delegates attending were from the most middle-class areas where Thatcher has blocked plans for comprehensive reorganization.

So the new militants came from areas such as Surrey, Chipping Barnet and Kidderminster!

This shows that whatever maybe the appearance, teachers will not passively watch the dismantling of gains made in decades of campaigning.

The attack on education is already looming very large on the horizon.

Roaring inflation and productivity menace teachers' living standards and working conditions.

Spending cuts poise an axe over jobs and the finance needed due to the raising of the school leaving age.

Teaching jobs are to be cut. The NUT journal 'The Teacher' headlined on March 31: 'Spending squeeze will cut number of teaching jobs.'

The article explained: 'Newly-qualified teachers will find it harder to get a job this September. At least three local authorities have decided to cut back the number of new recruits they will employ...'

'The massive cost-cutting exercise in Liverpool, where nearly £1m has been cut from the education estimate, means that 151 fewer teachers will be employed...'

'Berkshire, which had one of the lowest rate rises in the country—2p—will take on 60 fewer teachers in September.'

Teachers face an NUT executive which has no intention whatever of leading any kind of fight on salaries. Arbitration has been accepted on the current claim without even a protest.

On general secretary Edward Britton's own admission, teachers'

salaries have risen only 35.7 per cent since 1965—just one tenth of a per cent more than the cost of living increases—whereas average earnings elsewhere rose over the same period by 50 per cent.

The executive's pay claim for 1973 marks an acceptance of the principle behind the employers' divisive scales imposed last year.

These enormously complex gradings divide teachers' pay into five separate scales, plus two more for heads and deputy heads.

This opens the door for keeping a great majority of teachers on a depressed first scale. In addition teachers on Scale 2 and above have no interest in the plight of those on Scale 1. Hence the employers hope to achieve their aim of diverting teachers from trade union struggle to seeking individual advance on to higher scales in a fragmented profession.

On top of this, each scale could be negotiated separately and the way is open for grading of teachers to fit future slashed expenditure.

The system destroyed last year consisted of a basic scale with fixed extra allowances for senior posts except heads and deputy heads.

This unified teachers by tying all salaries to the basic scale and it is this unity that the employers wish to destroy.

At Blackpool the executive proposed a simplified system of scales—with about 600 different salary levels instead of 3,000. This abandonment of the basic scale principle, after years of campaigning in its defence, marks an extremely serious retreat. Its enormous implications have been indicated above.

The executive rested its case on the argument that its proposed scales are unified because they are mathematically linked by multiples of £96.

The leading Communist Party member on the executive Max Morris, termed this 'ingenious' and proclaimed: 'It's a winner.' Anyone who questioned it 'should use their brains', he said.

Some less mathematically-inclined delegates would have preferred the smallest indication of fire from their leaders.

The point is that however ingenious their claim might be, the teachers' leaders will continue to be treated with the customary contempt until they are prepared to lead a fight.

Management is determined to maintain its divisive system and will not hand teachers a powerful means to unite their ranks having just made a major bid to divide them!

Similarly the current £250 flat-rate claim met with a point-blank refusal. An imposed percentage settlement further widening differentials is likely.

Many teachers at present feel that the basic 'has gone for good' and 'we might as well fight from where we are'. However, this ignores that the government's aim is to reduce wages through its scales system and roaring inflation.

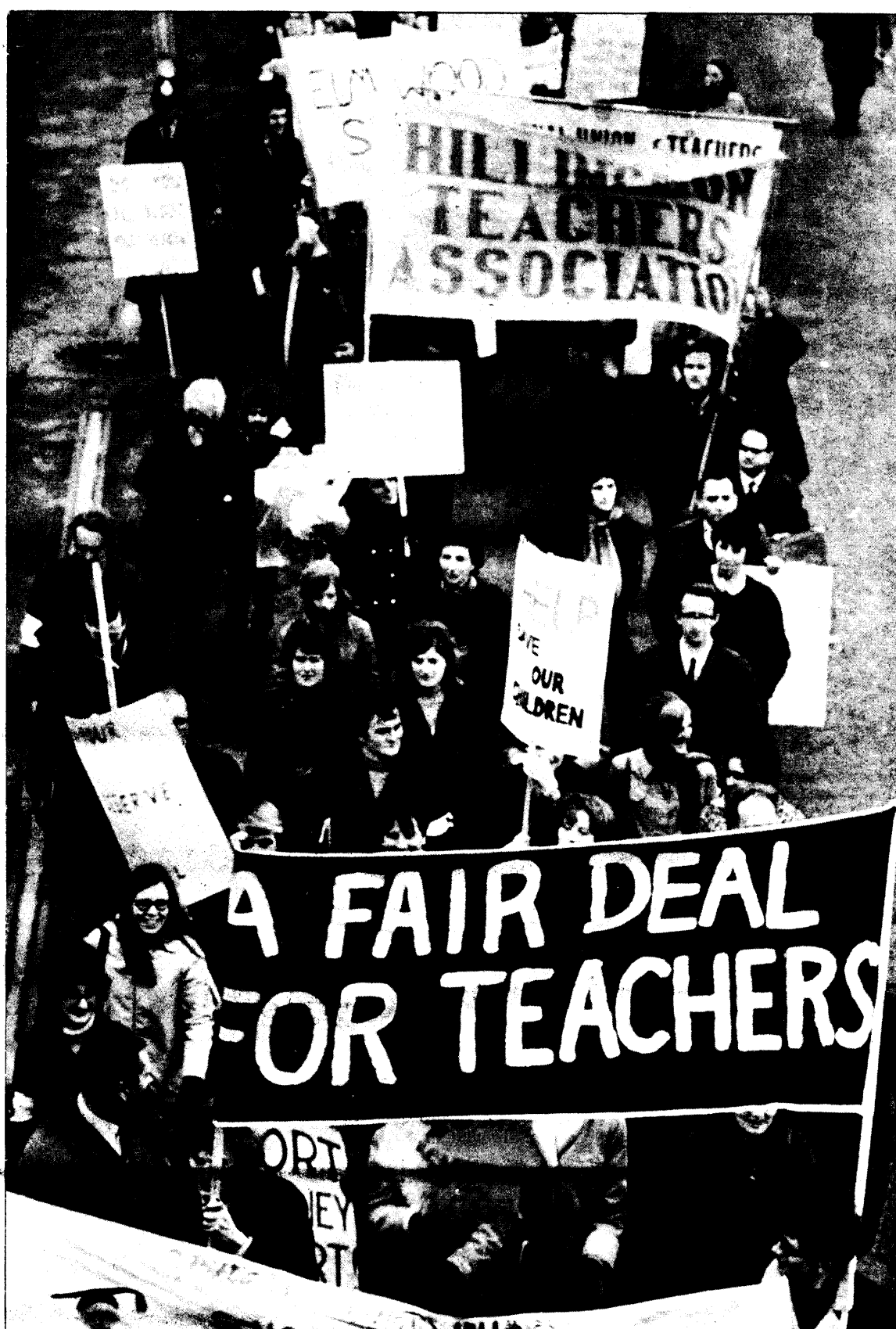
The response of the NUT leadership to these enormous problems is collaborationist and defeatist.

'Your executive are political realists,' says general secretary Britton.

He argues, therefore, that the union has no choice except to submit to 'a grossly unfair arbitration' on pay and to accept the employers' 'divide-and-rule' pay policy with hardly a murmur of protest.

Aided by the Stalinists and revisionists, the NUT leadership ducks the main issue: to defend teachers' wages and education conditions means an all-out fight against the Tory government.

A sizeable increase in the lowest scale is incompatible with the employers' pay scheme,



which seeks to slash the salaries bill.

Teachers must demand a sliding scale of wages to keep pace with the soaring cost of living.

The Tory government's confrontation with the trade union movement and its education cuts mean one vital lesson: trade union leaders who refuse to organize their members to defeat the government can only betray.

The defence of all aspects of education revolves around this central question:

## A future for schools and teachers

That is why the All Trades Unions Alliance fights to build a socialist leadership in the unions as part of the preparation for the launching of the revolutionary party in the coming autumn.

As the ATUA has said: 'Only socialist policies of the nationalization of the banks, the land and the major industries, without compensation and under workers' control, can provide the means for an expansion in education finance and a future for schools and teachers alike.'

This year's conference found the Stalinists moving rapidly rightwards into deeper crisis.

Stalinism in the NUT now has to play out its counter-revolutionary role through direct defence of a bankrupt reformist leadership.

Leading Stalinist Max Morris for years proposed what became known as the Brent resolution calling for the basic scale.

This year Morris—newly-elected as vice-President—abandoned this line and led the executive's vicious attack on opponents of the leadership's pay policy.

The Stalinist executive mem-

bers allow the right wing a free rein and bear a major responsibility for the position within the union.

The executive memoranda on such vital topics as registration and salaries were said to have unanimous executive approval.

Britton can even say with impunity in the middle of negotiations for a flat rate increase that teachers will probably have to accept a percentage increase in the end!

At the CP's teachers' meeting at Blackpool education spokesman John Tarver made clear the rightward evolution of Stalinist policy during his reactionary, Utopian and reformist statement.

The executive's proposed salary structure, he said, 'takes the sting out' of the employers' scales. Tarver claimed that the lowest scale would have to be negotiated first. (This point has already been taken up above.)

The Stalinists' faith in negotiation with the Tory government was reflected in their teachers' journal 'Education Today and Tomorrow'. In a leading article (Vol. 24, No. 2) the sole call to action was: 'Meantime, there should not be a staffroom in the country that has not demanded of the executive of their unions continuous sessions of Burnham until negotiations over the £250 claim are settled.'

Tarver also poured scorn on the suggestion that scales could be used to implement productivity measures and cuts.

It was presumably with these policies in mind that he claimed that 'no one has done so much for the teachers' fight as Max Morris'.

Not surprisingly the pre-conference 'militants' meeting usually called by the Inner London Teachers' Association—where the CP is strongly represented—was not held this year.

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# YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND YOUNG CENTRISTS

In this two part article Cliff Slaughter examines the record of Ted Grant's 'Militant' group in the Labour Party

The Young Socialists held their annual conference in Scarborough on April 8 and 9 with an eight years' record of outstanding campaigning and leadership since their expulsion from the Labour Party in 1964.

Before their expulsion they had won the national leadership of the Labour Party Young Socialists by mobilizing working-class youth, independently of the official reformist policy and machine of Transport House.

At the centre of their work, then and now, was the building of the independent revolutionary Trotskyist party, the Socialist Labour League.

In our epoch, this is the question of questions. All socialist propaganda and agitation, however 'left', turns into its opposite, into a deception and a cover for the right wing unless it is part of the struggle to train the youth in Marxism, as the forces of the revolutionary party.

One week earlier, the Spa at Scarborough had housed another conference, that of the 'official' Labour Party YS, the rump who have accepted the terms dictated by the right-wing machine after the expulsion of the revolutionaries—the Labour Party has never been able to run a youth movement under declared right-wing leadership.

But they have now found a 'left-talking' group, the so-called 'Militant' group (publishing a journal of the same name) to occupy the majority of the National Committee and even a place on the Labour Party NEC.

The 'Militant' tendency is formed around a group claiming that their voluntary burial in the Labour Party is somehow revolutionary work.

## QUOTATIONS

Their leader, one Ted Grant, liberally uses quotations from Lenin and Trotsky to give a 'revolutionary' and 'theoretical' flavour to the opportunism of this group. It is time to begin an examination of their record.

First of all, what did their 'majority' decide at their conference?

In an emergency resolution on the recent £5,000 fine on the Transport and General Workers' Union, they 'condemned' the court decision, advocated solidarity with anyone similarly punished, demanded the next Labour government pay back all fines imposed on unions, and called upon the trade union movement to 'totally ignore' the working of the Industrial Relations Act.

They 'totally ignore' the real fight against the Act, which is a question of mobilizing the working class movement now to force the Tory government to resign.

What the 'Militants' advocate is identical with the treacherous TUC leaders' own recommendation of 'non-co-operation'.

It is common knowledge that behind this screen of 'non-co-operation' several unions are already participating in the government's Industrial Court and working with the Industrial Relations Commission.

On every issue we will find the 'Militant' group issuing its 'condemnation', but proposing lines of action which fit in perfectly with the requirements of the reformist and trade union bureaucracy.

For example, their rump 'Young Socialist' conference 'condemned' the presence of British

troops in Ireland, but it had nothing to say about the struggle of British and Irish workers to bring down the Tory government.

Grant, writing in 'Militant', calls for 'a class approach and class solidarity', and ends: 'Withdraw the troops! For a trade union defence force.' But nowhere does he call for a fight to make the Tories resign.

To put forward such a policy would, of course, require the fake 'YS' National Committee to actually lead such a campaign, and that would bring them into conflict with the Labour Party machine.

To avoid such an action is Grant's main concern. The Transport House bureaucracy can put up forever with generalizations like 'A United Socialist Ireland, linked to Socialist Britain, is the sole solution to the problem'.

This is the role of centrism everywhere. It uses left talk to cover the tracks of the right wing. In the NE, Peter Doyle, 'Militant' chairman of the Labour Party YS and its representative of the Labour Party NEC, actually organized a diversionary activity in order to take workers away from the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work march when it passed through this area.

## MILITANT

At all costs, the working class must not look outside the 'official' Labour Party framework.

Worst of all at the LPYS conference was the 'Militant' rejection of a call to expel Jenkins and the Labour Party MPs who voted in the House of Commons with the Tory government on the Common Market.

These 'Militants' voted against a campaign for expulsion on the grounds that it would solve nothing, since Wilsonites were as bad as Jenkinsites.

Here abstract 'left' correctness ('they're all social democrats') becomes the formula for capitulation, deliberately carried out. Grant and Doyle know very well that the expulsion of Jenkins and his friends would have been the biggest possible blow against Wilson.

Only two weeks later, Jenkins and his friends resigned from the Opposition Front Bench, in order to resave Heath from defeat in the House of Commons.

Grant and the 'Militants' know that the feeling of the working class, expressed in opposition to the Industrial Relations Act, but balked by the TUC betrayal, flooded behind the Common Market issue and would have been greatly advanced through the experience of a defeat of the right wing.

But because such a campaign would bring the so-called 'Militants' into a clash with the Labour Party leadership, an excuse was deliberately invented which helped to stop this working-class development.

Here we come to the crux of the matter. Our self-professed 'Militants' constantly attack us as sectarians, saying that by being outside the Labour Party we isolate ourselves.

They, on the other hand, are in 'the mainstream'. But as we see in this case, their own opportunist interests as a group to stay in the Labour Party, actually led to policies which are opposed to the general interests of the class. It is they who are the sectarians, led to it by the grossest opportunism.

What deceit, to refuse to expel Jenkins because Wilson is 'the same'. Grant is, always shout-



The Young Socialists, who were expelled from the Labour Party in 1964 meet at their recent 12th annual conference in Scarborough

ing about 'Labour to power'. But why not argue: 'Labour is the same as the Tories, they carry out capitalist policies?' This is the logic of Grant's position.

Grant is actually the legitimate descendant of an opportunist and anti-Marxist tendency in the British Trotskyist movement. From 1941 to 1950, Jock Haston, secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party (then the British section of the Fourth International) used Grant for his own empiricist road to betrayal and Grant willingly gave this support.

First Haston liquidated into the Labour Party and now he ends up as a highly-conscious right-wing chief of 'education' for the anti-communist leadership of the EPTU, the electricians and plumbers union run by Frank Chapple.

The Trotskyist movement in Britain, now the Socialist Labour League, could be built only in a long and bitter struggle against this method.

Grant is repeating the same old formulae. The basic revision he makes is to refuse to recognize the working class as an independent historical force, requiring independent Marxist leadership.

He sees only the apparatus of the trade unions, the reformists and the Stalinists.

For example, at the 'Militant's' own meeting in Scarborough on April 1, Grant said to his followers:

'The election of Scanlon, Jones and Daly was an enormous step forward for the working class,

because it reflected a change in the working class.'

This is a treacherous way to educate a youth movement. No mention of the role of these 'left' leaders in refusing to bring the engineers into a national struggle alongside the miners.

No mention of their presence, with Feather, at 10 Downing Street a few days after the strike ended. No mention of Jones' virtual advocacy of compulsory arbitration.

Above all, no attention to the role of Stalinism in restricting the advanced workers to these union chiefs or of the need to fight Stalinism and the betrayal of these leaders. The working class is seen only through its supposed 'reflection' in the apparatus.

## STRUGGLES

Just as Grant accepts these leaders as 'expressions of the working class' and proposes no struggle against them, so he rejects the struggle against Jenkins.

According to him, the crisis in the Parliamentary Labour Party 'demonstrates the need to refurbish the parliamentary party'. ('Militant International Review', Jan. 1972)

How? By expelling Jenkins? No, by changing the rules for selecting and recalling candidates.

All this is part of what Grant

calls the 'transformation' of the Labour Party. This transformation within, Grant counterposes to the building of the independent revolutionary party.

'Events of the last two and a half decades indicate the enormous change that is beginning to take place in the labour movement. It is transformed, hardened and re-transformed [?] in the great events that impend today. We are just at the beginning of the process. The Marxists in the movement look with confidence to the role they can play in this transformation. In fighting for it, they can turn the Marxist tendency from a tiny component into a powerful part of the labour movement.' ('Militant International Review', Jan. 1972.)

Not accidentally, Grant does not say, 'build the revolutionary party', but become a 'powerful part of the labour movement'.

It will all happen through some general process. Just as Grant at one time decided that Egypt and Burma had become 'workers' states' because of nationalization under bourgeois military governments, so he wants Marxists to accept a 'process of transformation' of the social-democracy, not a revolutionary struggle to lead the working class against it.

We must warn yet again, the tendency of centrism in a pre-revolutionary period such as this is to move rapidly to the right, providing cover for the right wing's worst betrayals.

Continued Tomorrow

# WORLD'S STALINISTS EMBRACE NUMEIRY

Part three by John Spencer on Stalinism and the Numeiry regime in Sudan

Eight months after the defeat of the July 19 coup d'état in the Sudan, the various Stalinist governments are back on the most cordial terms with communist-killer, President Jaafar Numeiry.

The British Communist Party has dropped its short-lived protest campaign and the fate of the Sudan CP leaders no longer figures in its press.

Numeiry's relations with China are closer than ever before and the Stalinist diplomats have filtered back into Khartoum.

Some of them never left: the Yugoslav embassy was occupied throughout the coup and its bloody aftermath, and Numeiry praised Tito's government for faithfully keeping up its trade obligations while his troops slaughtered the Sudanese workers' leaders.

The Stalinists base themselves on the counter-revolutionary idea of 'peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems'.

This provides them with the theoretical cover to give aid and comfort to military dictators and anti-communists throughout the world, from Turkey to Peru.

What happened in the Sudan was no 'accident' or 'mistake'. It followed the grim pattern of international class-collaboration that has cost the lives of countless workers and militants since the Chinese counter-revolution of 1926.

In China, Stalin forced the CP to enter the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang. Its leader, Chiang Kai-shek, was feted in Moscow as a member of the Comintern presidium. He returned to China and massacred his CP allies, who had handed over their membership lists on Stalin's instructions. Stalin's heirs continue the same

policy today. Their bureaucratic rule depends on collaboration with imperialism and its agents against the threat of revolution in the capitalist world.

Their policy in the Sudan was the 'National Democratic Front', a coalition of 'the working class, peasantry, revolutionary intellectuals, national bourgeoisie, revolutionary officers and soldiers'—in other words, the subordination of the working class to the Sudanese bourgeoisie.

This conception was expressed with brutal directness by leading Czech Stalinist Vasil Bilak in a speech to the Czech CP's central committee on October 21 last year.

Bilak is one of the Kremlin's most slavish stooges in occupied Czechoslovakia, and he supported to the hilt the policy which led to the massacres of Sudanese communists.

Justifying the resumption of relations with Numeiry after the counter-coup, he said the 'noble reaction' of revulsion against the executions of CP leaders was based on a misunderstanding.

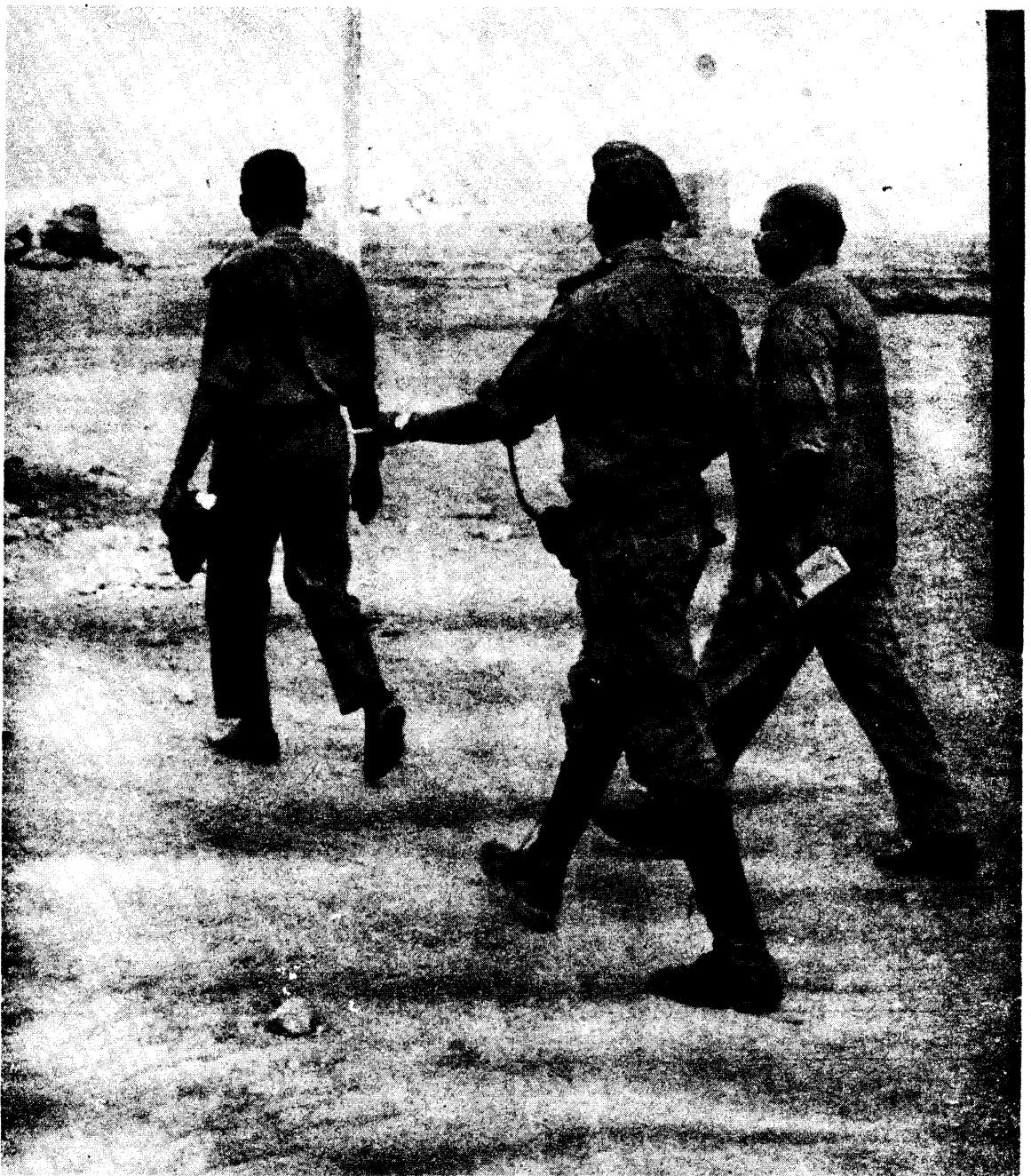
'It would not have been wise for us to abandon our hard-won positions in the Sudan or elsewhere.

'We would only have been playing the game of imperialism, which would have been delighted to see us lose the possibility of influencing events by breaking our contracts with the just struggle of progressive forces.'

Here the Numeiry regime becomes a 'progressive force' and its struggle to suppress the CP a 'just struggle'.

Abdel Mahgoub, the executed Sudan CP leader, over whom the Stalinists had just been weeping crocodile tears, is sharply taken to task:

'The group around Mahgoub... were moving towards sectarian positions [in relation to]



Mahgoub, after being sentenced is led off to be executed. Numeiry is now fully back in favour.

Numeiry's democratic revolutionary regime of progressive officers... [which had] overthrown a government representing the feudalists and the big bourgeoisie,' Bilak said.

But Mahgoub's party was banned from the start by Numeiry, whose 'progressive' regime had begun by imposing the death penalty for strikes! Mahgoub himself was jailed in November 1970, escaping the following May only with the aid of sympathetic prison guards.

And Numeiry was stomping the country threatening to crush the CP long before the July coup.

For Bilak, however, it is Mahgoub, not Numeiry, who was out of line. By opposing the reactionary plans for federation with Egypt and Libya, he was

'taking a negative attitude' and even 'playing the game of the pro-Americans'.

Those communists who stood in Numeiry's way and resisted the liquidation of their Party are aiding imperialism. Those who collaborate in denouncing and banning their comrades are the 'progressives'.

It comes as no surprise to learn from Bilak that 'neither we nor the other fraternal parties [i.e., Moscow] were informed about Mahgoub's preparations to overthrow Numeiry'.

Clearly Mahgoub did not trust Moscow. And Bilak's speech makes it plain that rather than abandon their 'hard-won positions' with Numeiry, the Stalinists preferred Mahgoub and his comrades dead.

Relations with Numeiry are

once again flourishing now that the 'misunderstanding' has been disposed of.

Rumanian premier Nicolae Ceausescu visited the Sudan earlier this month for talks with Numeiry.

On his arrival at Khartoum, he assured Numeiry that he had to 'consolidate co-operation in all fields...'. He particularly welcomed the opportunity to familiarize himself 'with the challenges facing the Arabs in their struggle for peace based on justice'.

Numeiry the communist-killer is fully back in favour with the Stalinists, who have already 'forgotten' the fate of their dead comrades in the Sudan.

CONCLUDED

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# THE BATTLE FOR MOZAMBIQUE

BY JOHN SPENCER

Frelimo, the Mozambique national liberation movement, has been fighting a bitter armed struggle for the last eight years to overthrow the Portuguese colonial regime.

It is a war without quarter, in which the Frelimo guerrilla bands are pitted against young Portuguese conscripts armed with the latest NATO weapons and backed up by the colony's powerful white supremacist neighbours, S Africa and Rhodesia.

Portugal spends a staggering 42 per cent of its budget on its armed forces — most of which goes to pay for the three colonial wars the dictatorship is waging in Africa: in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique.

Defending the people of the overseas provinces, as the official euphemism has it, costs about \$217m a year. The Portu-

guese are fighting to maintain their right to exploit the Africans and in the mines, to suck the natural wealth of Mozambique into the pockets of Lisbon bankers and fascist politicians, leaving the people of Mozambique illiterate, diseased and totally without basic rights.

Behind the threadbare Portuguese dictatorship stands the wealth and power of NATO, which provides the weapons and the know-how for the Mozambique war.

NATO is protecting the strategic port of Beira, through which the Rhodesian racials get their sanction-busting oil supplies, and the railroad to Johannesburg, which links the colonial administration with its racist friends in S Africa.

Portugal's war against the Mozambique people is aimed at protecting the big British, S African and US investments in

the plantations and mineral resources. Perhaps even more important, Portugal is protecting the vulnerable flanks of white supremacy and apartheid throughout southern Africa.

Many of Mozambique's 8 million black inhabitants work on the vast 'concessions' owned by Portuguese land-owners. On these tracts of land a combination of plantation agriculture and forced cultivation of crops for tribute operates.

Other workers are sent under contract to man the mines and industries of S Africa—the Portuguese colonial authorities get £1 a man for these human exports, who are forced to live separated from their families for years at a time under the most appalling prison-like conditions.

Mozambique produces sugar, maize, copra, sisal and cashew nuts. The aluminium ore bauxite, gold and precious stones are

mined there. But perhaps the most important natural resource now being developed there is the hydro-electric power of the Cabora Bassa dam on the Zambezi river, an immense project involving British, European and S African capital on a vast scale. Two-thirds of the cost of the dam is being borne by E Africa, which will take virtually all the electric power produced.

## Protection

The dam itself is protected by detachments of Vorster's troops. Frelimo say at least four battalions comprising about 1,200 S African troops, have joined the Portuguese garrison around Cabora Bassa.

The S Africans are quartered in the towns of Maque, Chioco, Chicoa and Zumbo. They do not

wear S African uniform, but are conspicuous because they speak Afrikaans.

The dam is among the guerrillas' prime targets, and its construction is already way behind schedule because of constant harassment by the Frelimo fighters and the difficulty in arranging firm contracts with European construction companies.

Portugal is understandably reticent about the human cost of the war: official estimates of the death toll in the three African colonies amount to ten soldiers lost every day. Most of these deaths are officially attributed to 'road accidents'.

In fact, the news that leaks through the regime's heavy press censorship makes it clear that the guerrillas are rapidly expanding their sphere of operation and now control the better part of the country's four northern provinces, Cabo Delgado, Niassa Zambesia and Tete.

Frelimo itself makes no pretence to socialism, even of the 'African' variety once patronized by various bourgeois-nationalist politicians. Its leaders are studiously vague about the movement's economic and political programme for an independent Mozambique.

They promise reforms, but say they prefer to work these out on the ground in the liberated areas, rather than draw up plans for territories still in the hands of the Portuguese.

Their reticence can partly be

explained by the movement's character as a coalition of various anti-Portuguese interests. But as a result, Frelimo has undergone a serious split from which its present leaders claim to have emerged strengthened.

Frelimo is almost ten years old. It held its first congress in September 1962, in the wake of the brutal repression of African strikers by the Portuguese colonial authorities. Strikers in Lourenço Marques, the capital, were gunned down by troops when they demonstrated for basic democratic rights. This followed the killing of some 500 demonstrators in the Cabo Delgado province at Mueda in the far N.

The movement's early cadres received training in military and technical questions in Tanzania and Algeria and after two years of preparation decided to launch armed actions against the colonial rulers.

Its original force of 250 armed men infiltrated into the provinces of Cabo Delgado, Niassa Tete and Zambesia. The movement was set back later that year when the Portuguese uncovered its clandestine network of agents Lourenço Marques.

Opposition from Dr Hastings Banda of Malawi, who was even then veering towards his present policy of 'dialogue' with the southern African apartheid regimes, forced Frelimo to suspend operations in the provinces of Tete and Zambesia.

Frelimo's policy then as now

was to go deep into the country and establish base areas, winning over the local people to the aims of the movement and carrying out systematic propaganda against the Portuguese.

## Recruits

In this way, Frelimo won recruits and a firm basis of popular support. Now the movement claims 'several tens of thousands' of fighters—perhaps 10,000 under arms and many others waiting for the means to fight.

In its base areas, its cadres wage the battle against illiteracy — by teaching a common language, Portuguese — and do what they can with inadequate medical supplies to combat the endemic tropical diseases. Above all, they teach the peasants to stand up for themselves and fight their oppressors.

The women, traditionally the most oppressed sector of the peasant population, are taking a leading part in Frelimo, which has special women's battalions — among them some of the movement's best units.

With arms from China, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and other eastern bloc countries, Frelimo was able in 1968 to reopen its fight for control of Tete province, where the vital Cabora Bassa site is situated.

But these developments were not achieved without serious internal struggle in the move-

ment. Things came to a head with the death of its founder, Eduardo Mondlane, killed by a bomb which was almost certainly posted to him by Portuguese security agents.

Mondlane, expelled as a student from S Africa for his political activities and hounded out of university in Lisbon, finished his education in the United States where he became a university teacher. He was elected the movement's president at the first Frelimo congress.

His assassination in February 1969, set off a full-blown leadership struggle which brought to a head long-standing differences between factions in the movement.

As one Frelimo central committee member put it in a recent interview: 'At the beginning anybody who opposed the Portuguese colonists would join. Some wanted to take the place of the Portuguese in the colonial structure. Some felt they were not earning enough, others felt they would get education with Frelimo. They came with different motives and they were allowed to stay.'

As the movement became established in the liberated areas, its leaders clashed with a section which wanted to preserve all the main features of the colonial system, but operated it to their own profit.

The consummate representative of this wing was Lazaro Cabandame, the movement's provincial secretary in Cabo Delgado. A

substantial land-owner and merchant, Cabandame organized the execution of a tribunal appointed by the Frelimo leaders to investigate charges that he was profiteering at the peasants' expense.

He later defected to the Portuguese and may have played a part in the assassination of Mondlane, who was killed shortly after Cabandame's defection.

But Mondlane's death only served to bring the basic split to the fore. The spokesman of the movement's most opportunist wing, the Rev Uriah Simango, a Lutheran priest, became one of a triumvirate set up to lead Frelimo after Mondlane's death.

## Deserters

Against the other two leaders, military commander Samora Machel and 'Foreign Secretary' Marcellino dos Santos, Simango advocated basic policy changes. He wanted an end to the policy of clemency for Portuguese deserters who came over to Frelimo, opposed the participation of women in the organization, favoured tribalism and regionalism and wanted Frelimo to expel the Portuguese from Cabo Delgado province and declare it an independent state.

Frelimo's majority opposed this blatantly racist and tribalist programme at an 11-day central committee session in April 1969. Simango stayed in the leadership

Left: Frelimo's military commander, Samora Machel with recruits. Above: Girl recruits in Niassa Province.

for a while with only nominal status, before finally breaking with Frelimo and leaving Tanzania to found a splinter movement.

He is now in the United States seeking support for a policy of negotiations with the Portuguese. The sharp struggle at the top appears to have strengthened the Frelimo organization on the ground. In 1970 it was able to withstand a major Portuguese offensive in which 35,000 soldiers were used to try and drive the guerrillas out of the northern provinces.

The effort has not succeeded. In Tete province, where much of Frelimo's military effort is now concentrated, the Portuguese authorities have failed to confine the guerrillas to the northern banks of the Zambezi. Their campaign, conducted with the utmost brutality, involved the destruction of all river boats and the use of armed speedboats to kill anybody trying to make an unauthorized crossing.

The extension of the war to southern Tete opens up the whole of the central provinces to guerrilla activity and the Portuguese are desperately trying to prevent the Frelimo forces from encircling the Cabora Bassa dam site.

# GERMAN ECONOMY AND THE WORLD SLUMP 1929-1932

By Tom Kemp, part one

The world economic depression of the 1930s, which began with the Wall St crash in the autumn of 1929, struck German capitalism with special severity. It plunged it into a social and political crisis which culminated in the defeat of the highly-organized working-class movement and the coming to power of Hitler. This series of articles will deal with the economic aspects of the victory of Nazism, examine the connection between the Nazi regime and monopoly capitalism and conclude with an analysis of Hitler Germany's war economy.

German capitalism had only survived the shock of war and defeat because of the treachery of the Social-Democratic leaders and the inability of the young German Communist Party to provide an alternative which could take the working class to power.

## The mark collapses

In 1923, after the occupation of the Ruhr by French troops in an effort to enforce reparations payments, the mark collapsed in a whirlwind of inflation.

Large sections of the German middle class saw their savings evaporate almost overnight. Giant industrial firms strengthened their position as inflation wiped out their debt burden.

In the late 1920s, Germany, like the rest of the capitalist world, experienced a boom. The heavy reparations burden imposed by the Versailles settlement had been scaled down. Loans were raised in the United States to meet the payments.

The semblance of prosperity rested on a very fragile base—an inflow of capital from American banks. Borrowed on short term, much of this capital was tied up in long-term investment by industry and public authorities.

Even in the prosperous years, many German workers were unable to find jobs, leaving almost 2 million unemployed. The limitation of the internal market meant that industry had to export. Armaments were limited under the Versailles treaty and even though some of its provisions were evaded, the scale of arms production remained limited.

During the boom years the expansion of exports enabled industry to make profits and invest in 'rationalization'; the adoption of American methods in industry.

The Wall St crash quickly knocked the supports from under German 'prosperity'. The withdrawal of US capital brought about the virtual collapse of the banking system.

The market was sharply reduced both abroad and inside Germany. Investment fell to one-third of its boom level by 1932 and industrial production as a whole fell by a half.

Germany's relative position in the world market suffered. From second place in industrial production behind the US, she fell to fifth rank by 1932.

Official figures showed over 6 million unemployed, but many did not bother to register or

were not included in the statistics. Probably one worker in three was unemployed by 1932. Those in jobs could not bargain effectively when lines of hungry men were outside the factories waiting to take their place.

The country was hit by an unprecedented social catastrophe which provided the backdrop for a series of short-lived crisis governments and the growing appeal of the National Socialist movement.

The overwhelming majority of the German working class remained solid behind its organizations.

The 'free' trade unions and a majority of the unemployed looked to the Communist Party for leadership.

The political developments have been dealt with in a previous series to which the reader can be referred.

The main support for Hitler and the National Socialists came from the middle classes. Already partly ruined by the inflation and fearful of another collapse of the mark, millions shifted their allegiance from the traditional conservative parties to the Nazis.

Many middle-class people were by now affected by unemployment and falling trade. Businessmen went bankrupt; professional people found their practices diminish; peasants were crushed between falling prices and mortgages whose repayment burden had become intolerable.

The enraged middle class looked for a saviour who would restore their pride in Germany, shattered by the 'humiliation' of Versailles, protecting them against the threat of the big monopolies on the one hand and the organized working class on the other and provide them with a scapegoat.

The National Socialist programme did just that: it was opposed to the Versailles system, promised to deal with the monopolies and the trade unions and pointed to the Marxists and the Jews as responsible for Germany's ills.

The depth of the social catastrophe enabled Hitler to reach new layers of people with his propaganda, the enormous costs of which were now being met by big-business backers.

## The financial crisis

Before Hitler came to power in 1933 a number of governments had grappled unsuccessfully with the slump. Political differences within the ruling class were intensified over the question of who should bear the burden of the financial crisis. When the Brüning government took over in 1930, it tried to meet the crisis by deflation: rigid economies and the cutting of state expenditure, which only made the depression worse.

Brüning fell in May 1932 when his government put forward a modest programme of public works, which was carried forward by its successor, the Papen government. By this time the social crisis was reaching its paroxysm. The Nazis were gaining in strength and self-confidence and battling it out with their working-class opponents on the streets in almost daily clashes in the main towns.

The palpable bankruptcy of the policies brought forward by the orthodox bourgeois and aristocratic parties—the alliance of heavy industry, the Junker land-



The effect of inflation: the mark became valueless

owning class and the army, upon which the Bonapartist regimes of Brüning and Papen rested—opened up the prospect of power for the Nazis.

They had by this time the support of about one-third of the electorate and a disciplined private army led by adventurers from the middle class and recruited from the petty bourgeoisie and the unemployed.

By the time that General Schleicher had taken over from Papen, big business had seen the

value of Hitler's alternative. They saw in the Nazi party a powerful and stable force able to deal with the working class and stave off the threat of revolution.

It was also able, through the ballot box, to give the impression of having a mass base. It was essential both for Hitler and his backers that he should come to power legally, in alliance with the traditional conservative parties.

This reassured the army chiefs, the Junkers and those

sections of the ruling class and middle class who were dubious both about some aspects of the Nazi's policies—their 'anti-capitalism' for example—and their demagogic and strong-arm methods.

When Hitler finally took over, in January 1933, all was forgiven and forgotten in the relief that the danger of revolution had passed and in a wave of patriotic euphoria which swept across the propertied classes of Germany.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



# ANGELA DAVIS AND BLACK POWER

An important interview with Angela Davis published in the United States Black Panther paper discusses the perspectives behind her trial defence at considerable length.

Miss Davis, a member of the US Communist Party, is on trial in San Jose, California, on frame-up charges of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy.

The state and its governor Ronald Reagan are determined to railroad her as an example to other militants who dare to challenge the existing order of capitalism in the United States.

But as the following review of the Black Panther interview, reprinted from the Workers League weekly paper 'Bulletin', shows, Angela Davis' defence remains tied to black nationalism and not to the independent struggle of the working class:

What Angela Davis' contribution reveals is that she remains tied in all essentials to the outlook of black nationalism. She sees the struggle for black liberation as isolated from the fight of the working class.

From there it is but a short step to the perspectives of Stalinism and the complete acceptance of the Popular Front, black Democratic politicians and the reformist survival programme of the Panthers.

Socialism remains for Angela Davis an idealist goal completely removed from the immediate struggle. She stated that: 'As has been continually pointed out and is expressed in the concept of a survival programme, if we're ever going to make a revolution, we have to be able to survive.'

She turns to the black worker in an idealist way not as a member of the working class and the organized labour movement, but as a resident in the community.

'When we talk about the black worker, we tend to fail to see the black worker as a live force in our community, but rather as someone who is hidden away on the assembly line, hidden away in the factory.'



Ronald Reagan

Thus she turns away from the fight to develop a revolutionary leadership in the unions to a community perspective of reform and a call for nationalist formations within the unions: 'Organizations of black workers have seen the need to form outside of the structure of the traditional labour unions.'

Rather than seeing the rebellions and the turn towards Marxist theory in the jails as reflections of the strength of the working class and anticipations of developments taking place outside the jails among the youth and in the labour movement itself, she sees the prisoners simply becoming conscious as revolutionaries because they are exploited as labourers in the jails.

It is no wonder that precisely at the time that thousands of black youth are prepared to take



## STALINIST CRISIS



up the fight for Marxist theory Angela Davis can state that she supports Ron Dellums as one who reflects 'the stage that the black mass movement has reached'.

In the same way she adapts completely to the reformism of the Black Panthers:

'The recent development of the Black Panther Party has evinced a very profound attempt to seek out new means of involving the community, new methods of bringing the community, the black community onto the continuum of black liberation and revolution.'

Davis can make this statement in the middle of a Tammany Hall-type campaign by the Panthers to register 10,000 voters into the Democratic Party with a rally to give away 10,000 bags of groceries (chicken in every bag). This rally will feature black Democrats from all over the

country around the slogan of a 'vote for survival'.

These perspectives make crystal clear the conduct of the defence in the Davis trial. This is why Angela can proclaim a white overwhelmingly middle-class jury as reflecting the composition of Santa Clara County. She virtually identifies the trade unionists and unemployed workers and youth who find no representatives on this panel with the crisis-ridden middle class.

Indeed she goes so far as to expect that this jury will give her a 'fair' trial and is echoed by the Communist Party paper 'People's World' which hails the jurors as 'relatively willing to be objective about the case'.

All of this can only mean that they intend to rely entirely on the evidence for Angela's innocence ignoring completely the class basis for the trial.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## Medics

A parliamentary select committee has just completed an inquiry into private medicine and its implications for the future of the National Health Service. It was a complete whitewash job with the chairman, Mrs Renee Short, the main dissenting vote.

She said the Tory majority on the committee had completely avoided any criticism of private medicine.

Anyone who has recently spent any time in hospital will tell you that the private boys are certainly getting their cut of the fat. The NHS medics are left with the lean.

Take this item from a Sheffield paper:

'While an NHS patient lay waiting for an emergency operation in a Yorkshire hospital, the consultant who should have been treating him was doing private work at a nearby private hospital.'

## Leaflet

Went along to a Labour Party anti-rents Bill meeting the other day.

Someone handed me this leaflet. (see below). After hearing the various Labourite speakers, I was convinced the leaflet was their strategy for defeating the Bill!

PS: A linguist friend tells me it's a Japanese tourist brochure explaining the architectural genius of Westminster Abbey.



## ウエストミンスター大聖堂

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聖公会、ウエストミンスター大聖堂には幾世紀にわたる多くの人達の祈りがこめられております。この大聖堂の持つ多くの記念物を参観に来られた皆さんを当大聖堂は喜んでお迎えます。入場は無料です。

まず最初にこの大聖堂が"神"の家であり、過去900年以上にわたって礼拝が続けられていることを銘記して下さい。毎日この大聖堂では聖餐式が行われ、朝、夕の祈りが捧げられております。

どうかここが聖なる地であることを心にとめて敬虔な態度で行動し、もし話しをする時は小声で参観して下さい。またこの大聖堂を賛美するにあたって、たびたび上を仰ぎ見ることを忘れないで下さい。

主祭壇の後ろには懺悔の王と尊ばれた、聖エドワードの記念礼拝堂があります。英国の聖者達はキリストがわれわれの上になるように祈りて来ました。皆さんも巡礼者の気持で聖エドワード記念礼拝堂に入りそのようにお祈りをして下さい。

## Great national asset

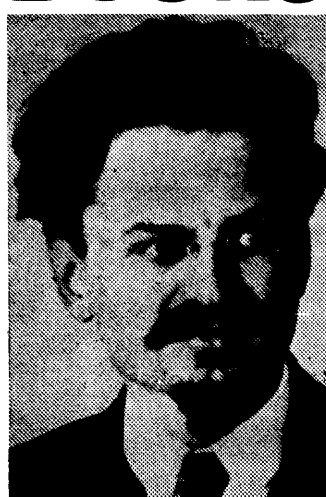
Just in case you didn't know it, Britain's 1 million-odd unemployed are a great national asset. That's according to Robert Carr anyway.

'The Times' reported this from Carr's speech to German capitalists:

'The government hope the pool of unemployed labour will

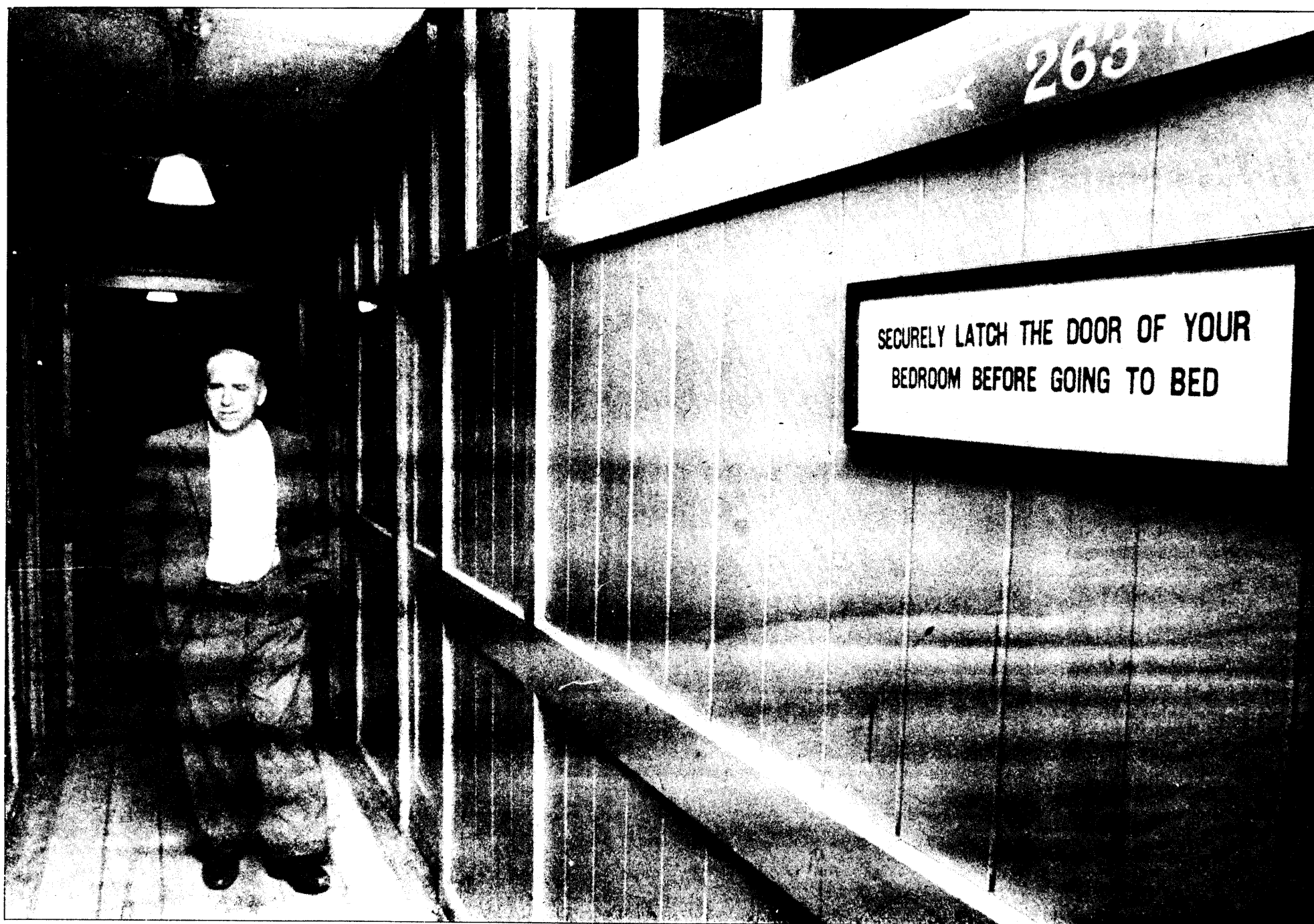
attract foreign investment when Britain joins the Common Market,' Mr Robert Carr said here today. 'I hope that when Britain is in the Common Market the fact that we have unused labour resources will be one of the reasons why the UK will be an attractive place for investment.'

# BOOKS



- LEON TROTSKY: Germany 1931/1932 Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87½
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# THE COLD FACE OF CHARITY

There are those who claim that in a materialistic world we still need the old-fashioned charities to bring some warmth into dealing with people's problems. The state, they say, is too remote to care.

A document recently circulated amongst its voluntary and full-time workers by the St Martin-in-the-Fields Social Service Unit, London, shows just how closely many of the charities are in fact incorporated into the state.

Marked 'Strictly Confidential', it is headed, 'What do we need to know about Social Security?'

It outlines the way in which the charity co-operates with the Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS) when people come to it for help.

St Martin-in-the-Fields in the heart of London's West End, deals largely with desperate, defeated men and women who have nowhere else to go. It also has an increasing number of people who have come to London looking for a job and have no accommodation and very little money. This is how they are dealt with:

'If your client is either a "single" person or a "married" couple who are of no fixed abode,' the document states, 'there are certain problems involved in finding accommodation... couples should, in the first instance, be referred to the nearest DHSS office. According to the impressions conveyed to the officer by the claimant (and they are usually accurate) they will usually (if "satisfactory") be given a token payment (in the region of £6) with which to find private (flat) accommodation. If

they fail and use the money for B&B establishments, etc., the office may well feel within their rights to refer both man and woman to their respective reception centres at the point at which they next apply for benefit... If, on the other hand, the officer felt them to be "unsatisfactory" they may well be referred at once to reception centres.'

There are separate reception centres for men and women, so if they are deemed to be 'unsatisfactory', the couple would immediately be separated.

In the case of the single male homeless, DHSS can give him a voucher to stay overnight in a men's hostel and a small token amount (75p) to enable him to sign on for benefit next day.

'In a few cases where the claimant is of undoubted good character, DHSS may decide to give him a larger amount to obtain private accommodation. If he applies again, though, he may well be referred to the reception centre.'

Conditions at the reception centres, the document is satisfied, 'while not luxurious, are far from as bad as most people would have you believe'. The writer of the document, of course, does not have to stay there.

The document goes on to point out that 'there are discretions involved in those cases, but we find that those powers are nearly always applied with accuracy'.

Shades of Victorian charity! The only difference is that in those days they did not refer to the poor as 'satisfactory' and 'unsatisfactory', but 'deserving' and 'undeserving'. Such is progress.

DHSS does have discretionary powers, the document goes on, to give old people an extra



Dosshouses: 'while not luxurious, are far from as bad as most people would believe'

allowance for heating, diet, special footwear, or clothing, and so on. These special payments are only supposed to last for a six-month period, 'but those who find difficulty in saving from their weekly payment, or rather are incapable (their emphasis) of doing so' may get sympathetic consideration.

Stand up all you spendthrift old age pensioners who are incapable of saving out of your lavish £6 a week! You ought to be ashamed of yourselves.

To those who are capable of work, DHSS can give notice that

when, in their opinion, there is suitable employment in the area, unless work is obtained within four weeks supplementary benefit will be withdrawn.

'The decision is never arrived at lightly and in general there is very good reason for it being reached, and it is a known fact that in the vast majority of cases employment is found quickly and maintained.

'It is easy to sympathize with someone who has been subjected to this ruling,' the document goes on self-righteously, 'it is more constructive to apply ones

powers of persuasion in order to get a person thinking seriously about finding employment.'

So the 1 million unemployed had better get the message—if you will only just start thinking seriously about getting work, you will find it—or then again, perhaps you won't.

However, if they cut off your supplementary benefit and leave you destitute, you can feel comforted by the idea that the decision was not reached lightly.

It might be cold sleeping rough, but it is certainly not half as cold as this sort of 'charity'.



Lord Hailsham

## JP's must tackle anarchy—Hailsham

TORY LORD Chancellor Lord Hailsham has told magistrates to make sentences even stiffer.

In a law-and-order speech to the Devon branch of the Magistrates' Association, Hailsham said 'excessive lenience' was a worse fault than excessive severity.

While too severe sentences could be varied on appeal, there was no appeal against those who were too light, he said.

'A court whose general pattern of sentencing was too low brings the law into disrepute,' he added.

Hailsham also attacked 'the idea that there was something morally respectable about civil disobedience.'

'If it is to survive a society must not simply have rules, but must retain the intention to enforce the rules against all-comers and at all costs.'

'And it must do so on occasions even if, were it not for the rules, one might have a good deal of sympathy with the action of the man who had fallen foul of them.'

'If society is to survive at all without descending into anarchy or tyranny it must be a law-abiding society and, to be law-abiding, it must be more law respecting than it has proved of late.'

'There have been times recently when I have begun to think the veneer of civilization is wearing pretty thin.'

# Post Office jobs meeting closed

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT DAVID MAUDE

OVERSEAS telegraphists who want to fight a 36-per-cent redundancy threat, made by the Post Office last week, are rapidly learning that they will get no help from right-wing or centrist union representatives.

The Union of Post Office Workers' branch committee at London's Electra House cable headquarters meets today, supposedly to discuss opposition to the redundancies.

But at a special branch meeting in the building on Friday night, management representatives were called to shut down discussions on the subject.

UPW members were told that police would be brought in to evict them if they did not immediately leave the premises.

Minutes before, the right wing and the middle-of-the-roads had walked out of the meeting after stonewalling on the redundancies.

If the Post Office is allowed to carry through computerization plans already under way, 1,700 of Britain's 4,600 overseas cable workers will lose their jobs by autumn 1974.

Most of these jobs are located in London. A third of cable workers' jobs in London is due to go by the end of next year. 420 will be lost at Electra House by this June.

The UPW executive has known that this was the case since November 1970.

Its line has been that actual physical redundancy could be avoided because 'natural wastage' would achieve the necessary reduction in staff. Therefore a ban on outside recruitment has been in operation. The effect of this on the national unemployment figures has been shrugged off.

Rising joblessness has placed a hefty damper on the usual rapid turnover of personnel in the service. The telegraphists, in other words, have shown marked reluctance to be 'naturally'

wasted.

But the number of dismissals under the Post Office's disciplinary code has rapidly increased of late. Militants feel this is related to the corporation's redundancy needs.

On the table at last Friday's meeting was a resolution calling on the executive to give the branch authority to defend members from being sacked in this way.

When a young branch member asked from the floor what the branch committee proposed to do about the redundancies, the

main speaker at the meeting was stopped from answering.

A challenge to the chairman's ruling — a common and accepted occurrence at UPW conferences — was answered by the chairman closing the meeting and walking out.

As the vice-chairman took over and the discussion started, a management official walked in.

He had been officially informed that the meeting was over, he said. If those present did not leave immediately, the police would be called.

# Sit-in cordon on BSC machines

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

A HUMAN cordon will be thrown around any machinery Firth Brown Ltd attempts to move out of the British Steel Corporation's River Don works, Sheffield.

The steelworkers have accepted a proposal from their shop stewards that they stop the movement of machines or documents by the private-enterprise company until they are given guarantees about the future of melt-

ing operations at the works.

Firth Brown have an option on 37 machines from River Don in a transfer of drop-forge facilities due to be completed next month.

But although the workers involved have already signed new contracts with the company, the deal will be blocked unless the guarantees are forthcoming from the BSC.

Steelworkers will also sit-in unless the BSC improves its pay offer for a new system of three-shift working which has been agreed by stewards.

One sit-in action is already in progress. On Thursday and Friday afternoons, 160 men in the S machine shop sat in over the alteration of a piece-work agreement.

They are expected to repeat their action today.

## Equity 'misguided' to register —union MP

MR HUGH JENKINS, MP for Putney, London, has issued a statement saying the council of Equity, the actors' union, is 'misguided' in applying for registration under the Industrial Relations Act.

'Insofar as I am entitled to advise at all, I advised against registration and have never expressed any other view,' added Mr

Jenkins, a former assistant general secretary of Equity.

He was commenting on a circular which is apparently been circulated among Equity members.

Recently the Equity council reversed all previous policy and decided to register under the Act.

However, a special conference has now been summoned for April 23 by

more than 400 Equity members who signed a petition demanding that Equity maintains TUC policy of non-co-operation.

Mr Jenkins, who is still a part-time member of the union's staff, said:

'I have always been in favour of Equity maintaining solidarity with the wider trade union movement.'

## Machine-tool walk-out

WORKERS at the George Meyer's machine-tool factory, Willesden, have walked out in protest against action taken against a fitter. They will resume work on Tuesday.

Several weeks ago the engineers submitted a 25-per-cent wage claim. Management offered 8 per cent. The men then introduced a work-to-rule.

Last Friday a fitter was asked to do unskilled work; when he refused he was sent home until Tuesday.

A mass meeting was immediately held and the whole work force agreed to walk out.

## Tenants won't pay 50p

TENANTS at Worsley, near Manchester, are to stage a rents revolt. They will not pay the 50p increase which began this month nor the further 50p rise due in October.

The local Worsley council has been accused of 'doing the government's dirty work' by raising the rents.

There are several tenants' groups in the area who have been campaigning against the new Tory charges.

They are the Worsley United Tenants' and Owner-Occupiers' Association, Altrincham Tenants' Association and Manchester, Salford and District Tenants' Association.

Tempers ran high at a public meeting at Pembroke Hall, Worsley, last week when tenants' representatives were refused permission to speak.

Councillors who attempted to get ratepayers to accept the 'fair rents' Bill were booed and jeered. At one point tenants' leaders jumped on the stage and took over the meeting.

### BBC 1

9.45 Trumpton. 10.00 Champion. 10.25 Parsley. 10.30 Canoe. 10.55. 11.00 Magic roundabout. 1.00 How can you be so sure? 1.30 Fingerbobs. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 3.00 Good sailing. 3.30 Sights and sounds. 4.00 Boomph with Becker. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Aeronauts. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK. Weather.

6.20 MARY TYLER MOORE SHOW. Smokey the Bear Wants You.

6.45 A QUESTION OF SPORT. 7.10 Z CARS. Tessa in the Woodpile.

8.00 PANORAMA.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.

9.20 THE REGIMENT. A Lion at Sunset.

10.10 TALES FROM THE LAZY ACRE. Judgement Day.

10.40 24 HOURS.

11.15 CANOE.

11.40 Weather.

### BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.35-7.00 Open University.

7.05 CHILDREN GROWING UP. 7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.

8.00 FILM: 'A DAY OF FURY'. Dale Robertson, Mara Corday, Jock Mahoney. Western.

# TV

### ITV

11.55 One way of helping. 12.15 Inca road. 12.50 Lone Ranger. 1.15 Look at Australia. 2.00 Matinee. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'A Boy, A Girl and a Bike'. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.55 Lassie. 5.20 Pardon my genie. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.20 CROSSROADS.

6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS!

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.

8.30 BLESS THIS HOUSE. Wives and Lovers.

9.00 SIX DAYS OF JUSTICE. Suddenly... You're In It.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 MCMILLAN AND WIFE.

11.55 THIS GREEN AND PLEASANT LAND?

CHANNEL: 2.45 Wonderful world of wheels. 3.35 Devon. 4.05 Once upon a time. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Yoga. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.15 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 10.30 Weather. 10.32 University challenge. 11.03 Marcus Welby. 11.55 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.20 Sports desk.

10.59 News, weather. 11.55 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 2.05 Katie Stewart. 2.30 Good afternoon. 2.55 Yoga. 3.20 Out of town. 3.40 Lucy. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Heckle and Jeckle. 4.25 Junkin. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Southern scene. 11.00 Marcus Welby. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather. Something to say.

HTV: 1.45 Arthur. 2.00 Out of town. 2.20 Hazel. 3.20 Sara and Hoppity. 3.30 Enchanted house. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Superman. 4.50 Tom Grattan's war. 5.20 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Terror of the Tongs'. 11.50 Weather.

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

HTV Wales as above except: 4.15-4.30 Cantamil. 6.01-6.22 Y dydd.

HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus: 8.00-8.30 Yr wythnos. 10.30 Awdur a'r mis. 11.15 Strange report. 12.10 Weather.

ANGLIA: 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Joker's wild. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper room. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.30 Theatre.

ATV MIDLANDS: 2.35 Golf. 2.45 Mr Piper. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Stars. 3.40 Women today. 4.10 Nanny. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Randall and Hopkirk.

ULSTER: 4.00 Yoga. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Clapper-

board. 5.20 London. 6.00 UTV report. 6.15 Funny face. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.35 Film: '1984'.

YORKSHIRE: 1.00 Arthur. 1.25 Pied piper. 1.30 Sean. 1.40 Delta. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'Dangerous Moonlight'. 4.35 News. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 HR Puffnstuf. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.25 Calendar special. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 All our yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 2.30 Dr Gannon. 3.30 Yoga. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'Tower of London'.

TYNE TEES: 12.45 Eighteen footers. 1.00 Mr Piper. 1.30 Time to remember. 2.00 Bird's eye view. 2.30 Common Market cookbook. 3.00 Film: 'Dangerous Moonlight'. 4.35 News. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Rainbow country. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25 Brighthouse London. 10.30 Times four. 11.00 Saint. 11.55 News. 12.10 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 3.30 Nuts and bones. 3.45 Simon Locke. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Marty Feldman.

GRAMPIAN: 3.38 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Junkin. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.05 Simon Locke. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Mannix. 11.55 Epilogue.



No it's no Harold Wilson with long hair. It's Sheila Brennan as the rather eccentric 'Judge's' wife in the second of BBC-1's 'Tales From the Lazy Acre' tonight.

# Marathon UCS cash decision in 10 days

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS IN GLASGOW

A DECISION on whether Marathon Manufacturing of Texas will receive government backing in its bid to take over the Clydebank division of UCS is expected within ten days.

Union officials and shop stewards at UCS expect the decision to be favourable. If the oil-rig builders do get the £12m they asked for on March 20, stewards say they will honour in full pledges to co-operate with employers.

This means they will ratify agreements already negotiated with Govan Shipbuilders for increasing productivity and curbing unofficial strikes and begin bargaining with Marathon over a four year 'no-strike' contract.

The stewards are already committed to producing four vessels for the Irish Shipping Company, no matter what happens to Clydebank. They say they will extend these guarantees to cover two ships for the Harrison line the UCS liquidator is expected to release for construction at the Scotstoun division.

The new pledge was given to avoid a crisis at Scotstoun, where 300 shipyard workers were threatened with redundancy because work was running out.

The scope of these concessions can be gauged from the fact that the six ships will provide the Govan-Linthouse and Scotstoun divisions of UCS with just under a year's work.

If the two contracts are released, it will mean that exactly half of the orders frozen at the time of UCS's liquidation will have been freed for building on the upper Clyde. The other six, however, are unlikely to be completed on the Clydeside.

Shipping lines have either cancelled their orders because of the slump in world trade or want the boats built elsewhere.

Vessels under current construction in the UCS yards are Govan, four Irish Shipping Company vessels and one dredger under construction; Scotstoun, one bulk carrier under construction; Clydebank, two bulk carriers under construction, two fitting out and one rail ferry fitting out.

Since the UCS crisis began, the shop stewards' co-ordinating committee has agreed to release seven ships despite frequent pledges that unless a solution for all four yards was found, vessels would be held back by the labour force.



About 200 workers at the Kearns-Richards engineering factory, Altrincham, occupied their premises at the weekend. It is the 25th sit-in the Greater Manchester engineering pay dispute. ● See Davy United sit-in p. 1.

# Challenge to docks black

FROM PHILIP WADE IN LIVERPOOL

THE CONTAINER row at Liverpool docks reaches another flash-point today. Heatons Transport (St Helens) Limited intends sending lorries to the docks as a direct confrontation to the union's blacking policy.

If, as expected, the dockers maintain their black, Heatons will almost certainly initiate further contempt proceedings in the National Industrial Relations Court in London.

One dangerous escalation in the dispute could be court action against Merseyside shop stewards.

Decks Leaders I spoke to at the weekend said that if any moves were made against individual dockers, there would be an immediate mass walk-out.

In yesterday's capitalist press there was speculation that future fines against the Transport and General Workers' Union would be 'drastically' higher than the £5,000 already imposed.

The £5,000 contempt-of-court fine was confirmed last Wednesday after the T&GWU refused to attend court to explain why it should not pay.

Their boycott of the court is in compliance with the TUC policy not to co-operate with the Industrial Relations Act. The union now has three weeks to pay before its assets are seized. At the same time, the order against the blacking was made permanent.

But further action against the union was deferred to see if a negotiated settlement could be reached.

Doug Farrar, Manchester-based T&GWU regional secretary, hastened to Liverpool and convened talks for Friday evening. These only lasted ten minutes.

Heatons demanded the lifting of the black and a return to the status quo before talks could begin. The dockers refused point-blank and Heatons walked out.

Liverpool dock leaders are sticking to their original position - the blacking will not be called off until the firm signs the agreement declaring loading and unloading of containers to be dockers' work.

Heatons' containers and general cargo are now blacked at several ports

# Clerks avoid clash with union Act

A CALL for 'voluntary self-discipline' to avoid clashing with the Industrial Relations Act was issued at the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union conference at the weekend.

Joan Lipson, a CAWU executive member, issued the call during a debate in which the union's annual conference amended its rules to protect its funds from the Act, but refused to call for the expulsion from the TUC of unions who register under it.

Roy Jenkins MP, billed to speak at the conference on Saturday, failed to turn up, but yesterday Victor Feather of the TUC made the trip to Scarborough to speak to the delegates.

Cynics who had said the TUC was not serious about fighting the Act had been proved 'miserably wrong', he said. He did not explain what proof he was talking about. (See What We Think, page 2.)

CAWU president Denis Howell MP, one of the 69 pro-Common Market MPs who voted with Jenkins to keep the Tories in power last October 28, accused the government on Saturday of setting out 'deliberately... on a policy of confrontation'.

He did not mention his own role on allowing them to continue this policy. But Carmel Dersch, a London delegate, launched an indirect attack on it.

Moving reference back of the standing orders committee report, she said that an amendment her branch had tabled to a Common Market motion had been described as 'impertinent' and excluded from the agenda.

Her branch considered those Labour MPs who had voted with the Tories 'traitors to the labour movement', she continued.

Miss Dersch went on: 'We consider it is highly impertinent for an MP to take the money of this union and then vote in a way which is contrary to the best interests of the members of the union.'

But her attempted reference back was defeated.

# Shepperton

● FROM PAGE 1

But ACTT general council member Roy Battersby told the 450 strong audience:

'The cash is just not available.' If Shepperton closed, he said, it would be the action of property developers-fighting for profit'.

The studios occupy about 60 acres of prime development land just outside the green belt and ideal for housing or light industry.

Roy Battersby said: 'When we passed the resolution at Blackpool 1971 calling for nationalization without compensation and under the control of elected representatives, we were quite clear it would mean a fight. We knew they would not just hand it to us.'

'But we were also clear that it was the only resolution capable of resolving all the contradictions brought out at this meeting today.'

'We must show clearly to the government and to the employers that we intend to keep Shepperton and all the other studios open.'

Seconding Battersby's amendment, Yvonne Richards, ACTT, said:

'You cannot divide the situation of the miners, the railwaymen and the engineering sit-ins up and down the country from what is happening in the film industry. That is why nationalization is so important.'

## LATE NEWS WEATHER

NEWS DESK  
01-720 2000  
CIRCULATION  
01-622 7029

NEXT STEPS in the five-and-a-half-week pay struggle of 2,350 carworkers from British-Leyland's Cowley, Oxford, body factory will be decided at a mass meeting this morning.

Yesterday the men who work on the Maxi and Marina production-lines, received the backing of the Transport and General Workers' Union 5/60 branch in their fight.

For the past week, management has been suspending the men without pay for operating work restrictions in support of their demand for £10 a week pay increases, greater job-security and other improvements in line with the national engineering claim.

CENTRAL, E. England, Wales and Scotland will have a mainly dry day with sunny or bright periods. W. England, Wales and N. Ireland, will be dull or cloudy with drizzle and hill fog.

Temperatures will be near or just above normal but rather cold on the East coast of Scotland.

Outlook for Tuesday and Wednesday: Perhaps some showers in SE England but mostly dry with sunny spells elsewhere.

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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!