

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● SATURDAY NOVEMBER 18, 1972 ● No. 924 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

UP, UP AND UP GO THE PRICES

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On October 17 the retail price index stood at 168.7 as compared with 166.4 on September 19 (January 16, 1962 = 100). In July prices were rising at an annual rate of 6.3 per cent, now the rate is 2.5 per cent higher. And this is despite a seasonal fall in the price of fruit and vegetables—left free to soar by Heath.

Here are a few more facts about Heath's pledge to cut prices 'at a stroke'.

● Prices of commodities bought by the working class increased at the rate of 12 per cent per year.

● Food prices have registered an astronomical 20-per-cent rise.

● Items like butter, meat and cheese—all basic parts of the diet—have clocked up even greater increases.

SOME FACTS ON THE FREEZE

● There was a flood of profiteering the two weeks before the anti-inflation Bill. No less than 5,000 items were increased—a record figure.

● Wholesale prices rocketed just before the freeze. They went up by over 9 per cent in the three months before the freeze—almost double the rate last year.

● This 9 per cent does not take account of the sharp rise the week before the freeze. It is no secret wholesalers jacked up their rates to beat the 'standstill'.

● The costs of basic materials last month rose 2.5 per cent. That is an annual rate of over 25 per cent. These increases will go on because MOST of the raw materials are imports, therefore exempt from controls.

● ALL fresh foods are exempt from control—meat, fish, vegetables—the lot.

● If firms can show their costs are up—their prices can go up too. A privilege not extended to the housewife.

WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE?

● The Common Market will mean an immediate 10-per-cent cost of living rise because of Value-Added Tax.

● Then, because of the Market's agricultural policy, food prices will rise faster than ever before—meat is expected to increase 15 per cent.

● The aim of the Market is to consolidate the control of the monopolies. Eventually they will be the complete dictators over workers' cost of living.

THIS IS THE MEANING OF HEATH'S TALK OF PRICE CONTROL. IT IS A COMPLETE LIE. AND EVERY HOUSEWIFE STRUGGLING TO MAKE ENDS MEET KNOWS IT.

Statement by the SLL Political Committee

HOW TO FIGHT RISING PRICES

RAPIDLY-RISING prices are now threatening the standard of living of millions of families in Britain.

The Tory government is permitting these increases, fully accepting the fact that they will create impoverishment and hardship for the working and middle classes.

At the same time the Tories pass a new law to prevent workers from increasing their wages. It is a crude piece of Tory arithmetic—prices go up, wages are held down. It equals a massive attack on the standard of living of workers and many sections of the middle class.

It cannot be over-emphasized that this is no temporary '90-day freeze'. The Tories have taken the first step towards permanent state-control over wages.

This measure, together with the Industrial Relations Act, makes strike action by trade unionists a crime. We have reached the point of rule by decree.

The Tories are driven to invoke corporatist-style legislation by the incurable crisis which is afflicting British and international capitalism.

As the way out, they have chosen the following 'remedies':

● Entry into the Common Market for an alliance with the most reactionary European big business against the working class.

● Slashing of living standards.

● Lowering of real wages.

● Increasing the rate of profit using all the means at their disposal—Industrial Relations Act, fear of unemployment, steeper productivity demands.

By operating these reactionary, anti-working-class policies the Tories hope to be able to compete in the growing world trade war. In anticipation of higher prices after EEC entry beef producers and other food suppliers are holding back stocks, creating scarcities and pushing prices up even further.

This profiteering is sanctioned

by the Tory 'Inflation' Bill which exempts from control all fresh food—fruit, vegetables, meat and fish—and imported goods. The working-class family budget, unlike that of the rich, is largely dependent on these items.

Unemployment is about 900,000—the official Census figures just released indicate the true figure is nearer 1.3 million—and will rise still higher on Market entry because of the flight of capital into Europe. Already big food companies are investing funds in western Europe to guarantee their future profits.

In the interest of safeguarding the vast profits of the parasitic capitalist minority—owners of the food manufacturing and distributing industries, of the banks and of the land—millions of pensioners and lower-paid workers and their children will actually have their lives shortened this winter by inability to buy the food they need.

The basic right of a decent standard of living was won in decades of bitter struggles. The Tories aim to abolish this right.

This has been made clear by the passage of the anti-union Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Act, which will eventually double council rents, and the deliberate creation of mass unemployment coupled with the encouragement of speed-up in the factories.

TURN TO PAGE 2

Talks on sacking at Oxford college



National Union of Public Employees members picketing St Anne's college, Oxford, yesterday during talks over the reinstatement of their sacked steward Frank Keen ● See story p. 12.

Socialist Labour League
Greater London Rally

**CELEBRATE
3RD ANNIVERSARY
OF WORKERS
PRESS**

**BUILD THE
REVOLUTIONARY
PARTY**

**SUNDAY
NOVEMBER 19
7 p.m.**

**Porchester Hall
Queensway, W2**

PREMIERE

SHOWING OF A
NEW FILM

THREE

YEARS

OF

WORKERS

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Showing the
developments and
gains since the
first issue of
Workers Press,
September 26, 1969.

Speakers:

G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)

CONNIE FAHEY (Wilmslow tenants' leader)

CORIN REDGRAVE (Equity)

ROY BATTERSBY (ACTT)

ALAN THORNETT (Deputy senior steward Morris Motors Assembly, Cowley, Oxford)

GARY GURMEET (Editor Keep Left)

Chairman:

MIKE BANDA (SLL Central Committee)

(Union and tenant speakers appear in a personal capacity)

Details of provincial meetings see p. 11.

A message on page 3 to all housewives
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Fight the Tory prices con-trick

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Kent State memories revived



Campus killings

A STATE of emergency was imposed yesterday around Louisiana's Southern University, where two students were shot dead by police who stormed a campus building. Local officials have promised further killings unless the 7,000 students at the university show proper respect for 'constituted authority'.

The killings were the culmination of several weeks of demonstrations at the university where the students are demanding changes in the administration.

Most of the students at Southern University are black, but the administration is dominated by the racist state administration.

The two black victims were killed when the police moved against the occupied administration building.

Hospital officials said they died of buckshot wounds, but the state police deny they fired any shots. They claim that the two students were trampled to death.

Coroner Hypolite Landry said they could have been killed by fragments from exploding tear-gas canisters, and ballistics experts are continuing investigations.

The police were armed with shotguns, rifles and pistols.

Edwin Edwards, governor of the deep-south state, ordered the university closed for a week and empowered a police curfew.

Baton Rouge's mayor W. Dumas, who presides over one of the country's most reactionary administrations, said after the killings: 'Two have been shot and there may be more if necessary.'

'We've sent the dogs in to get them out of the building. We are going to take back the administration building at any cost.' He added: 'This is the price you pay for appeasement. If you appease people you can expect the worst.'

The shootings are the worst campus massacre since four students were killed at Kent State university in 1970. Then police fired on a Vietnam demonstration in the university grounds.

Talks start in Paris: US in no hurry

NORTH VIETNAM'S negotiator Le Doc Tho arrived in Paris from Moscow yesterday for talks with Dr Henry Kissinger on an Indo-China ceasefire.

Before he left, the North Vietnamese leader held talks with Kremlin leaders, who have been pressing hard for a settlement and urging the US to sign the nine-point deal drawn up last month.

However Kissinger is demanding further concessions from North Vietnam, including the withdrawal of a large part of the liberation army in the south.

President Nixon's re-election has considerably

strengthened the American position at the talks and the US side now appears in no hurry to reach agreement.

Prior to the election Nixon's administration was proclaiming that 'peace' was only days away. Since the election, the US Air Force has resumed intensive bombing of the north and there has been hard fighting on the ground.

Nixon is relying heavily on assistance from Moscow and Peking to force his terms down the throats of the Vietnamese.

Both Stalinist bureaucracies see the war as an obstacle to the development of better relations

with the United States along the lines of the commercial and diplomatic deals concluded since Nixon visited the two capitals earlier this year.

Earlier this week, North Vietnam announced that it would not accept any change in the terms agreed during October and demanded that the US sign these terms immediately.

There is a widening gulf between North Vietnam and the United States—at least as far as their public statements are concerned.

If both sides stick to these positions at the talks, there seems little room for further discussions.

Narrow battle in German poll

THE MOST stiffly-fought West German General Election since the war will end tomorrow when voting takes place.

The coalition government of Willy Brandt's Social Democrats and the Free Democrats (liberals) is being challenged by the Christian Democrats led by Rainer Barzel and his Bavarian allies under Franz-Josef Strauss.

Although the election has caused enormous interest and unprecedented discussion, the party leaders have tried to direct it into polite channels.

Brandt's campaign, for example, has stressed his personal capacities as a politician and has appealed to national feeling with slogans like 'Germans be proud of Germany'.

In the industrial areas the main feature has been the enormous support for Social Democrats and the

hatred for Strauss.

He is seen as a potential dictator aiming to smash the working-class organizations and take away the gains which they have made during the boom.

When there was a threat to Brandt's government last May, workers swamped the streets in huge demonstrations of support. The party leaders have tried to keep this class feeling in check during the election campaign by stressing other issues, particularly East-West relations.

Threats of violence against party leaders were reported in the last days of the campaign and police have been on the alert.

About 90 per cent of Germany's 40 million electors are expected to take part in tomorrow's vote.

To secure representation, a party has to secure at least 5 per cent of the vote. This rules out any

possibility of the small German Communist Party winning any seats.

With votes tending to polarize between the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats, it could even knock out the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party and the Free Democrats, Brandt's coalition allies.

Brandt will probably need the support of the Free Democrats if his government is to continue in power.

No. 1 election controversy has been the proposed treaty with the German Democratic Republic initiated on November 8.

This would give recognition to the East German state and enable both German states to enter the United Nations.

It represents the last stage in Brandt's 'Ostpolitik', establishing normal relations with the

Soviet Union and the East European countries.

Barzel has accused Brandt of 'dividing Germany behind the voters' backs' and said that a Christian Democratic government could not ratify the treaty in its present form.

Both he and Strauss claim that better terms can be wrung out of Honecker's regime.

The announcement of talks between NATO powers and the East European states on reducing armed forces in central Europe, like the proposed treaty with East Germany, will be to Brandt's advantage.

Sunday's election victor will win by a narrow margin. The result will depend, the pollsters claim, on how the 15 per cent of the electors who are still undecided will cast their votes tomorrow.

FROM PAGE 1

While these assaults have been mounted on the labour and trade union movement, the City of London bankers and the property speculators have been cashing in hand over fist. Top companies have increased their profits by an average of 18 per cent over the past year—and many of these are in the food industry.

The smooth passage of this legislation, including the European Communities Bill, has been made possible by the cowardly retreats of the Labour and TUC leaders.

The Stalinists of the British Communist Party have assisted these renegades by diverting the working class from the political struggle against the government.

This was put into practice at the upper Clyde shipyards where the Stalinist-led 'work-in' set the pace for 'no-strike' pledges under the threat of unemployment.

This at a time when Toryism was blatantly showing its real face: profiteering in food while poverty and unemployment increases. Legislation for permanent state control of wages.

This is the reason for promoting Sir Geoffrey Howe—who drafted the Industrial Relations Act—to Cabinet rank in the Department of Trade and Industry. Having masterminded the anti-union laws, Howe will now mastermind the state pay plan which is to be backed by the criminal courts and unlimited fines.

Now the working class must give its answer.

The employers try to destroy the basic rights of the working class and talk of 'sacrifices' in the 'national emergency'—yet they have the greed and arrogance to go on making their millions at the expense of the working class.

In every town, in every area, Committees on Prices must be set up. These will consist of housewives and trade unionists, but must also include all those under the Tory attack, tenants, unemployed, etc.

How to fight rising prices

Functioning as part of the Councils of Action being built up in the areas, these Committees will keep track of all price increases and will organize the greatest possible mass meetings and demonstrations against the Tory policy of price increases.

These actions must be made with the direct collaboration of the workers in the factories and trade unions. The political aim is to force the Tory government to resign.

Simultaneously the wages fight must go on in every industry, on the widest scale. It is a deliberate lie that inflation is caused by wage increases. It comes from the capitalists' own international crisis.

First they printed millions of paper dollars year after year and distributed them throughout the world with no real backing.

And since August 1971, the collapse of the world monetary system has produced the greatest inflation of all. How can the Tories control prices while world currency is completely out of control?

The most important lever for price stabilization is currency stabilization. So long as the pound floats, however, real wages and living standards will continue to sink while currency speculators and price profiteers amass huge fortunes.

No capitalist government will dare to stabilize currency because to do so would reduce profits of the import and export monopolies and their controllers in the banks.

As the crisis worsens and the trade war intensifies currency depreciation feeds inflation and becomes a major weapon against the working class. To stop this

vicious attack, the Treasury must be abolished, the Bank of England put under workers' control, the foreign trade of Britain subjected to a state monopoly and the banks nationalized without compensation.

Another major source of inflation is the wasteful and criminal expenditure of successive Tory and Labour governments on armaments for the defence of imperialism.

Entry into the Common Market will increase this burden. The working class will have to pay through vastly-increased indirect taxation which will drive up the price of basic necessities.

The only answer is to force the Tories to resign and return a Labour government which will be made to:

- Abolish the standing army.
- Shut down overseas bases and military research establishments such as Porton Down.
- Withdraw all troops from Ulster and other overseas territories.
- Withdraw from NATO.

In the shock and confusion created by the crisis and the Tory laws it is possible that some sections in the working class will support the idea of protective tariffs and import quotas as an alternative to the Common Market and the decimation of their jobs and the hiking of prices.

They will be encouraged in this confused thinking by the class-collaboration tactics of the Communist Party and Labour 'lefts' who are preparing the political ground for supporting Heath's trade war as surely as they supported participation in the last war under Churchill.

We say that protectionism is a

reactionary blind-alley which will not save jobs or cut prices, but will only exacerbate the trend towards converting the trade war into a military one.

The task of British workers is to raise the banner of internationalism—to fight with the European workers to overthrow the Common Market and to replace it with a United Socialist States of Europe.

Every wages fight is now a political fight against a government which pronounces the wage struggle illegal. It is the same fight, against the same enemy, involving housewives and tenants.

All TUC approaches for talks with the government must end. Everything now depends on the mobilization of the fullest strength of the organized working class to defend its basic rights and force the Tory government to resign.

The Tories must be replaced by a Labour government with socialist policies to defend and advance the standard of living and all basic democratic rights.

There must be nationalization of the food manufacturing and supply monopolies, without compensation and under workers' control.

There must be nationalization of the banks and import-export agencies. Without this there can be no control of food prices.

Committees on Prices must supervise and control special food distribution centres, in collaboration with the Co-operative Societies, small shopkeepers and small food producers. Pensioners and the disabled must be supplied free or at cost price from these centres. EEC entry must be repealed.

Inflation paves the way for fascism. The whole history of the rise of Nazism in Germany has shown how the extreme-right, with the help of the monopolies, exploited not only the mass unemployment of the 1930s but, more important, the raging inflation of the 1920s, to mobilize backward, unorganized workers and disgruntled shopkeepers against the labour movement.

They were able to do this only because the official labour and trade union leaders tried to operate capitalism instead of overthrowing it—and thus gave full scope to inflation.

British labour must learn the lesson of Germany and unconditionally oppose every attempt at state control of wages and every attempt to increase prices and rents.

Neither Stalinism nor Social Democracy will lead this struggle. Only a revolutionary party based on Trotskyist policy and theory can take the workers to power.

The October 22 Conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance showed that the forces for such a party exist. The struggle against the state pay law and the inflation unleashed by the Tories can only be conducted as part of the fight to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.

This requires the help and dedication of all sections of the working class—students, youth, housewives, professional workers, trade unionists.

- Set up Committees on Prices!
- Form Councils of Action!
- Build the revolutionary party!
- Force the Tories to resign!
- For a Labour government pledged to socialist policies!

CONNIE FAHEY is a housewife and one of the leaders of the resistance in Manchester to the Tory rent increases. Here she makes a special plea to housewives to take the initiative and lead a campaign against the Tory measures to control wages.

A message to all housewives

From Wilmslow (Manchester) tenants' leader Mrs Connie Fahey

MANY HOUSEWIVES by now will have woken up to the Tory con-trick on prices. They do the shopping and they have seen prices going up and up while their husband's wage packet is kept down by law.

I want to appeal to housewives everywhere to take the lead and get rid of this government which is determined to impoverish working-class and even middle-class families in this country. What are the facts?

The Tories put out all the propaganda on prices and the fair deal we are supposed to be getting. But this must cause many a cynical remark in the shopping centres and markets of Britain.

There are figures to prove that in the weeks before the 'freeze' there was a big rise in prices. All the big food concerns and wholesalers anticipated the Tory plan.

So we have all suffered a cut in our living standards before the so-called anti-inflation laws were passed.

But this will not stop. Almost all fresh foods are exempt from control, as are imports, and a manufacturer can get away with a rise if he can show that his costs have risen.

This kind of consideration is not, of course, extended to the housewife. If her costs go up—and they will—her husband's wage still stays firmly pegged by government decree.

In the meantime the government lie machine tries to give the impression that the ordinary shopper can do something by complaining to the shopkeeper.

I have two things to say about this.

'Hot-line' bureaucrats

It is impossible for women to keep track of all the prices all the time. Even if she does complain, she will be fobbed-off with some excuse from the bureaucrat on the other end of the 'hot line'. Even the Tories admit that it is almost impossible to control retail prices.

Secondly, the responsibility for the rise in prices does not lie with the shopkeeper, especially the small shopkeeper. They are as much a victim as the housewife.

The government could control prices tomorrow if it took action against the big boys. I'm talking of firms like Unilever or MacFisheries. They own plantations, fishing fleets, big ranches; they control the flow of commodities, run the big wholesaling establishments and own chains of supermarkets. What they don't control in retailing, they dominate by the grip they have over supplies.

But the Tories keep these monopolists in the background. Why? Because this government rules in the interests of the monopolies and no one else!

I think people will wake up to this Tory trick. It was the same with the rent increases. The tenants' leaders in Manchester met many a family who were taken in. They

Fight the Tory prices con-trick

thought the great rebate policy gave them a way to escape the higher rents. But they were wrong.

In all my experience campaigning I have hardly ever met a low income family who has gained out of the rebate policy. Most are paying more to the Tories.

Political point

I think most housewives, whether they live in a council house or are owner-occupiers, will get a big shock when they realize that prices are going to keep on rising.

Here I would like to make a political point. It is quite clear that the attack on housewives, like the attack on tenants, is only part of the general strategy of this government to make the ordinary person pay for the crisis big business is in.

It is time people realized that the Tories have one aim in this country—to bring back the 1930s when people were defeated by poverty and unemployment.

Every day poverty creeps into more homes—at first it might show itself when the housewife has to buy less luxuries for her family. Later, you start cutting down on some food and clothing—then you realize you are in the desperate rat race to make ends meet. The government has got you on the treadmill to poverty.

Perhaps the most serious thing of all, however, is the attack the Tories make on your husbands' right to earn a decent wage and fight for his basic rights.

Great concern

Workers can be fined now if they go on strike for more money. The Industrial Relations Act, on the other hand, makes most actions taken by trade unions to defend their conditions and their organizations illegal.

All this is of great concern to the housewife. She depends mainly on her husband's wages and his ability to fight for their standard of living. If the Tories take this away, she is at the mercy of rising prices.

It is more and more apparent every day that there can be no solution to inflation, the increasing cost of living, unemployment or attacks on the wage packet until this

government is forced out of office.

But what can the housewife do?

● **FIRST** I would like to see the tenants' action groups—with many housewives in them—taking the initiative. They should go out into the shopping centres of every town, expose the Tory fraud and lead the campaign against this government. The fight should not be left to the tame middle-class 'consumer' organizations who have no intention of challenging the Tories.

Link-up struggle

● **SECONDLY** this fight has got to be linked with the struggle of other sections against the attacks of the government. Housewives should press their husbands



'Housewives' costs going up while husbands' wages are pegged . . . so get rid of the Tories'—Connie Fahey.

to keep up the campaign for more wages and against the Industrial Relations Act.

We need Councils of Action in every area to unite all these fights and unite all sections of workers.

● **THIRDLY** it must be recognized that this united action is political. Anyone who deludes the working class or middle class—be they tenants, trade unionists or ordinary housewives—that the fight for living standards and basic rights does not involve a battle against the government, are either charlatans or fools.

On issue after issue the Tories take on isolated groups and try to defeat them.

You can unite the whole working class on the basis of the political demand to get rid of them instead.

This is the policy we

should go out into the shopping centres with.

To control prices, the big food and commodity combines should be nationalized under workers' control. The retail chains should be taken out of the hands of the monopolies and nationalized.

Only answer

For the tenants we should demand the nationalization of the land, the building societies and the contracting firms. Then the whole housing problem could be solved by a crash programme and decent council houses built with cheap rents.

But all housewives and tenants should unite with trade unionists and shop stewards to get rid of this Tory government and get Labour back pledged to socialist policies. It is the only answer to inflation and rising prices.

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MARXISM OR RANK- AND-FILE-ISM?

An analysis of the tactics and strategy of the International Socialism Group.
By Michael Banda

The Tories' decision to enter the Common Market threatens British workers with the most savage attacks so far made against their living standards and their basic rights.

It is a significant and sinister step in the direction of the corporate state; the integration of the unions into the apparatus of the capitalist state.

It is no accident that the communiqué of the European Summit Conference combines the Bonapartist idea of ensuring 'the increasing involvement of labour and management in the economic and social decisions of the community' and 'consumer protection' with the plans for setting up mammoth continental monopolies, transferring capital, dividing up markets and centralizing research in preparation for the greatest trade war in history.

The essential condition for the success of this strategy of the bankrupt rulers of Europe, the heirs of Hitler, Mussolini and Salazar, is the integration of the Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies in the Brussels political and administrative apparatus while, at the same time, strengthening the repressive powers of the state and its control over wages and the exercise of workers' rights.

This is the only way in which the European capitalists can even hope to raise European productivity to US and Japanese levels, realize a large export surplus and set up a monetary union.

If this plan fails—and there is no indication that it will succeed—the European and British rulers will have no choice but to try and defeat the working class with military-police measures and impose the naked dictatorship of monopoly capital unadorned by the fig-leaf of parliamentary democracy.

Police-military dictatorship and fascism is the logical end of the protectionist Utopia of the Common Market.

The entry into the Market gives an entirely new dimension and quality to the struggles of the working class. The most important feature of the coming period will be a tremendous acceleration of that process already seen in the Industrial Relations, Housing Finance, and Immigration Acts whereby more and more power will be transferred from the legislature—parliament—to the state executive; not merely to Whitehall but to the Brussels Secretariat.

Parliament will be reduced to the status of the French National Assembly under the Fifth Republic—an impotent rubber stamp for bureaucratic decision. The degrading of parliament will expose further the blatant bankruptcy of the

Social Democratic Oppositional safety valve.

Another equally important feature of the creation of the Market is that every major struggle of any section of European workers against their state implicitly poses the question of the destruction of the Market and the progressive unification of east and west Europe under the banner of the Socialist United States of Europe. There is no other road for Europe.

Lastly, unquestionably—and most important—the plans of the European monopolies to undermine and destroy the working class movement cannot be halted or defeated by the economic struggles of the working class waged by the trade unions.

By virtue of its entry into the Market the British capitalist class has increased considerably its margin for manoeuvre against the unions and its ability to attack them by the elimination of the fiscal and legal barriers to mergers, by the transfer of capital and the creation of unemployment. In this sense the Common Market is aimed principally at the British trade unions.

These features of the Common Market lead unalterably to the conclusion that the only way forward for British workers is the political struggle to create an alternative revolutionary leadership to Stalinism and reformism; to take the state power and construct a nationalized and planned economy with the help of the European working class.

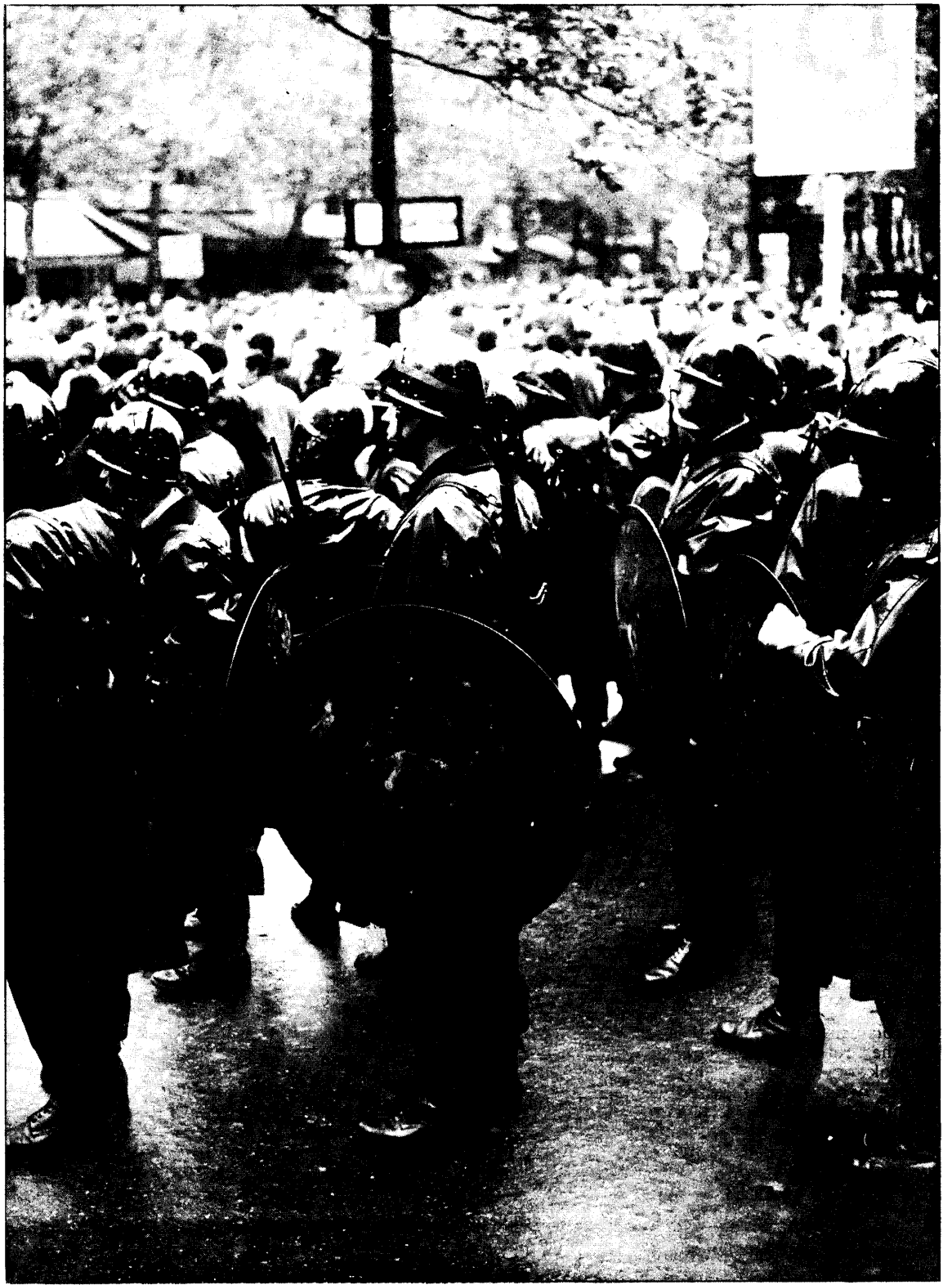
This leadership is today being built by the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The building of such a leadership means essentially the organization of the most politically-conscious elements of the working class into a revolutionary party which fights constantly against the prevailing non-revolutionary trade union consciousness of workers and for a clear Marxist understanding of the crisis, the role of the state and the revolutionary nature of the political tasks facing the working class. This was the task set by the October 22 Conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance.

The struggle for such a leadership, however, does not take place in a vacuum. As the economic crisis worsens the extent and intensity of trade union struggles, far from receding, will grow rapidly.

Trade union consciousness whose basis is the wages militancy and individualism of the class will be continually reinforced by the strike struggles. But at the same time the ruling class will defend itself with open and increasingly vicious, political measures.

The contradiction between the limited reformist aims and method of trade union militancy and the great tasks posed by the death agony of the capitalist regime must



The All Trades Unions Alliance conference at Birmingham which set the task of building the revolutionary party. Above: French CRS—specialist police trained for war on the working class.

come—and are coming—into conflict. Out of this conflict will grow the conditions for the recruitment, education and training of a cadre of Marxist leaders who will lead the coming socialist revolution in Britain.

Necessity for Theory

Revisionist sceptics will no doubt scoff at the idea that doctrinal training of the vanguard is more important than all the elemental struggles of the working class.

But history—including the history of bourgeois revolutionary movements in Britain—shows with compelling force, that the correct theory and practice of a conscious leadership—no matter how 'abstract' and 'sectarian' it may seem—can give an immeasurably greater impulse to historical development than all the 'spontaneous' struggles of an oppressed class.

Christopher Hill, in his biography of Cromwell, vindicates this argument when he reveals that the rise of the Puritan movement was intimately linked to doctrinal struggle and training. Com-

menting on the defeats of the 1590s Hill states:

... the underground Presbyterian movement was broken up, and in the last two parliaments of Elizabeth's reign (1597-1601) there was no vocal Puritan opposition, though there was plenty of opposition to government economic policies.

'The snake was scotched, not killed. For the fundamental fact of the gentry's wish to be free to control their parishes and their parsons without supervision from Bishops or High Commission was matched by the inner logic of Protestantism: its exaltation of preaching and the study of the Bible was continually training consciences which would stand out against any attempt to regiment them or dictate to them. After their defeat in the 1590s the Puritan clergy put more emphasis on preaching, character-forming, moral building, less on forms of church organization and discipline. In the long run they forged a better weapon, which in 1640 was too strong to be broken as it had been in the 1590s.' ('God's Englishman' p. 24. Penguin Books.)

The British Marxists of today no less than their Puritan Independent predecessors of the 16th and 17th centuries, cannot advance the liberation of their class without the highest possible development of its theoretical consciousness through the practice of political struggle.

But every analogy has its limits. Whereas the Puritan bourgeoisie perfected their own ideology—after borrowing it from their Swiss, German and Dutch predecessors—British Marxists base their work on the premise that the working class, i.e. the trade union movement, cannot, of its own accord, elaborate an independent ideology.



Heath signing Britain's entry into the Common Market.

If such a thing were possible, then the British labour movement would long ago have evolved the doctrine of scientific socialism and, arguably, put an end to the capitalist system before the 'backward' Russians.

Instead the British labour movement, despite its immense and varied experience in political and industrial struggle, has never been able to formulate a scientifically correct theory of socialism. In so far as the trade union movement produced a theory of its own, it has been nothing more than the reformist eclectic parody of socialism, Fabianism, which disorients and paralyses the power of the workers.

Fabianism is the synthesis of the reformist imperialist outlook of the aristocracy of labour which dominated the unions, with the empiricist and gradualist philosophy of the English middle class intelligentsia.

Today it is correct to say that this reactionary ideology dominates not only the Independent Labour and Labour Parties, but the Stalinist movement as well. Trotsky was absolutely correct when he wrote in 1925:

'On that day when the British proletariat is cleansed of the mental abomination of Fabianism, humanity, and in the first place Europe, will be immediately increased in stature by a whole head.' ('Where is Britain Going?' p. 59, New Park Publications.)

To say this is not to disparage the revolutionary qualities of the British working class or to decry the great contribution made by the Chartists and pioneer trade unionists to the formation of an independent labour movement, without which no communist theory could be developed.

But this does not change in any sense the basic truth that the spontaneous labour movement—despite the courageous attempts of isolated individuals—cannot but evolve an opportunist and reformist consciousness.

Lenin's contribution

Lenin's unique contribution to revolutionary theory was that he developed this basic idea—which he adopted from German Social Democracy—and gave it organizational expression in the Bolshevik Party.

Since the contemporary liquidators of Marxism, like the leaders of the French OCI, have tried to distort the essence of Lenin's struggle by misrepresenting Lenin's attitude to the spontaneous movement, it is necessary to repeat what Lenin quotes from the programme of the Austrian Social Democratic party, in 'What is to be Done?':

'Of course, socialism, as a doctrine, has its roots in modern economic relationships

just as the class struggle of the proletariat has, and, like the latter, emerges from the struggle against the capitalist-created poverty and misery of the masses. But socialism and the class struggle arise side by side and not one out of the other; each arises under different conditions. Modern socialist consciousness can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge. Indeed, modern economic science is as much a condition for socialist production as, say, modern technology, and the proletariat can create neither the one nor the other, no matter how much it may desire to do so; both arise out of the modern social process.

'The vehicle of science is not the proletariat, but the bourgeois intelligentsia: it was in the minds of individual members of this stratum that modern socialism originated, and it was they who communicated it to the more intellectually-developed proletarians who, in their turn, introduce it into the proletarian class struggle where conditions allow that to be done. Thus, socialist consciousness is something introduced into the proletarian class struggle from without and not something that arose within it spontaneously.'

So, for Lenin, the party is not a complement to the spontaneous labour movement, but is the opposite, which presupposes and is conditioned by the spontaneous movement.

The party is in conflict with the spontaneous movement and its growth is determined primarily by and through this conflict. The limits of this conflict can be gauged only by a thorough grasp of the dialectical method which Lenin outlined succinctly in 'Left-Wing Communism'.

If pushed too far, it could result in sectarian adventures and the isolation of the party. If too little, or not at all, it could lead to an adaptation to the reformist labour movement and the liquidation of every vestige of Marxism.

Trotsky summarized this viewpoint in his writings on Germany and, incidentally, refuted the insinuation now peddled by the revisionists that he was at variance with Lenin on this issue. Trotsky wrote:

'The identity, in principle, of the interests of the proletariat and of the aims of the Communist Party does not mean either that the proletariat as a whole is, even today, conscious of its class interests, or that the party under all conditions formulates them correctly. The very need of the party originates in the very fact that the proletariat is not born with the innate understanding of its historical interests. The task of the party consists in learning, from experience derived from the struggle, how to demonstrate to the proletariat its right to leadership. ('Germany What Next?' Our emphasis.)

CONTINUED ON MONDAY



Fred Hampton, killed by police when Panther headquarters were raided

FAST EDDIE

One of the big surprises of the US election campaign was the defeat of Edward V. Hanrahan in the poll for Cook County state attorney. The man who got the job, Republican Bernard Carey, is likely to turn a very penetrating eye on the past machinations of Chicago's mayor Richard Daley.

Hanrahan, sometimes known as 'fast Eddie', was widely regarded as Daley's heir apparent. When his defeat was announced, Daley appeared ashen-faced to say that 'Today was a very unique and extraordinary day'.

One case Carey will probably not be reopening, however, is the saga of Hanrahan's attack on the Black Panthers.

It is almost three years since 14 policemen assigned to his office raided a Chicago Black Panther headquarters killing Fred Hampton and Mark Clark and wounding four others.

Claims by the Black Panthers that all the shots had been fired from the outside by the police led to three separate grand jury investigations.

The police claimed that the Panthers had fired first, but the second inquiry found that more than 80 shots had been fired by the police against only one by the Panthers.

Following the third inquiry Hanrahan and 13 co-defendants were charged with conspiring to present false evidence, attempting to rig an internal police department probe and obstructing justice for the seven surviving Panthers.

The case was tried—with-out a jury—by Cook County Circuit Judge Philip Romiti. It lasted 15 weeks.

During the proceedings Judge Romiti commented on the prosecution's case, saying it was necessary to 'strip away the layers of rhetoric, of oratory, the emotional appeals, the speculation and conjecture in search of some hard evidence.'



Mayor Daley and Jessie Jackson

The conspiracy charge, said the judge, seemed one of 'inference pyramiding on inference'. There was, he continued, fresh evidence to show the Panthers fired not once, but four times. (There was no evidence that the police had fired less than 80 times.)

Without even calling on the defence witnesses, Romiti dismissed the case.

His verdict declared: 'The evidence is simply not sufficient to establish or prove any conspiracy against any defendant.'

Romiti was applauded in court by Hanrahan supporters, but the row is not over.

Andrew Barrett, executive secretary of the Chicago National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples branches, says he will raise 'serious questions about the integrity of the judge, who made a political rather than a judicial decision'.

The verdict undoubtedly came as a surprise to some of Hanrahan's political friends. Mayor Daley had attempted to drop him from his team before the elections, but after the verdict said it was 'all a mistake'.

And Adlai Stevenson III, who had withheld support even after Hanrahan had been renominated, was another who had to make a last-minute re-assessment.

As 'Fast Eddie' remarked, with some justification: 'There's nothing like a fair-weather friend who comes to your aid when the fight is over.'

HOW THE COMMUNIST PARTY AIDS ARRESTS IN COLOMBIA

Colombia's dictatorial regime continues to arrest Communist Party members, despite this Party's enthusiastic support for a peaceful road to socialism in the country.

At the beginning of October, a CP town councillor, Heriberto Parra, and two peasants were arrested by the police. Nothing has been heard of them since.

The CP lecturer at the National University, who is also a Central Committee member and on the Executive Committee of the Young Communists, Jaime Caycedo, was arrested last week in a police raid on universities.

At Medellin, the police broke up a meeting of student leaders and shot two students.

The CP's response was to organize a referendum among students to decide whether the university rector, who wants troops on the campus, should be removed or not.

Ninety-nine per cent of the 8,000 students who voted were predictably in favour of his removal.

The authorities were not at all impressed by the vote. After the results were announced, police arrested several students and went on to arrest 200 more who participated in a protest demonstration against repression in the universities.

Stalinist 'consensus' politics in Colombia is the best weapon the government has to fill its prisons with students.

NIXON'S JOBS FOR THE BOYS

The re-election of President Nixon has brought in its wake a number of what can only be termed 'jobs for the boys'.

One of the most obvious seems to be the naming of one Clark MacGregor as vice-president of the United States Aircraft Corporation.

Nothing strange in that you might say. You are wrong. It was Clark MacGregor himself who managed Nixon's election campaign.

The United States Aircraft Corporation is, interestingly enough, America's eighth largest GOVERNMENT contractor.

MacGregor will act as the liaison between the firm and the government headed by his old pal Nixon. To make things easier, MacGregor will be based in the company's Washington office.

United Aircraft, 19 other manufacturers and their trade association, Manufacturers' Aircraft Association, were named in anti-trust suit filed by the Justice Department in March.

The government alleged that the defendants had restricted or eliminated competition by agreeing to pool and cross-license patentable inventions for the production of aircraft and parts.



Trotsky dying after being struck down by an agent of Stalin's GPU. Right: Joseph Hansen (right) shields Trotsky's wife, Natalya from photographers. Hansen today leads the revisionist Socialist Workers' Party.

REVISIONISM AND THE 'ASSASSINATION OF TROTSKY'

BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

Joseph Losey's film 'The Assassination of Trotsky' is a distortion of the life and work of Leon Trotsky. The distortion arises because Losey himself, like so many artists and intellectuals a supporter of Stalinism in the 1930s and long after, refused and still refuses to make any real evaluation of the political meaning of Stalinism and Trotsky's struggle against it.

Whether Losey likes it or not, the product is politically a film which directly assists Stalinism, by obscuring its real role and by reducing Trotsky to the level of a played-out eccentric who met his death through a chance crossing of the ways with an assassin.

A film which so thoroughly distorts the historical reality, which ignores the real forces driving the characters, cannot but be a failure, even as 'entertainment'. It has no chance of qualifying as art, the first criterion of which is truth.

However Losey's work has produced a reaction among certain revisionists which is very revealing. Leading members of the 'Unified Secretariat' in Paris, which sets itself up as an alternative Trotskyist movement to the International Committee of the Fourth International, have leapt to Losey's defence . . . in the name of the freedom of the artist!

Pierre Frank, for many years the leading spokesman of the Pabloite revisionists in France, writes (in the Ligue Communiste's weekly 'Rouge'): 'Losey did not intend to make a political film and has not made an anti-Trotsky film.'

This apparently excuses everything, and indeed Frank ends by insisting that filmmakers 'like ourselves have every right to make mistakes!'

Frank's collaborator, Michel Lequenne, 'Rouge's' expert on questions of art and culture, explains their position even more openly. (He is replying to a correspondent of 'Rouge' who attacked the film.)

Lequenne's piece is entitled, 'The work of a great filmmaker' and runs:

'The criticism of Sabathe and Nicello is terrorist. It is a criticism made by disillusioned militants. But an explanation is not enough. The Marxist criticism of this film which honours Losey remains to be done at every level in the work of this great filmmaker, in the epoch of the renaissance of Trotskyism which we are experiencing, in its relation to a general public which, in its vast majority, ignores the historical facts in question.

'Neither Marx nor Lenin has until now met a poet of their stature. That is not just mere chance, but the result of the historic relation of the proletariat to culture. The Losey film, like the recent work by Peter Weiss, is an event which shows that the basis of the world is changing. Such works have a place in the problematic of uniting the revolutionary proletariat with the intelligentsia. It is useless to point out that a criticism like that of our comrades is no contribution to this.' ('Rouge' 156.)

First of all, why the epithet 'terrorist'? It is fashionable among certain middle-class intellectuals in France to brand as 'terrorist' anyone who demands that their opinions and work are criticized from the standpoint of principle and particularly the standpoint of the proletarian revolution.

So Lequenne is really fighting to make sure that 'Rouge' faithfully prostitutes 'Trotskyism' (i.e. Trotskyist phrases) to the requirements of these centrists, and on no account offend them by anything that even looks like paying attention to the working class and Marxism.

Next Lequenne demands an appreciation of the film, 'as film', as 'art', 'honouring' a great filmmaker.

This needs disentangling: it is deliberately designed to confuse the issue. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky certainly always fought against any vulgar conception that a writer or artist be judged by his explicit political opinions and

insisted that his work be judged by literary or artistic standards.

But what are these standards? A creative work must illuminate the truth about the objective world. The writer or film-maker may select and work on only one 'aspect' of this world, but his greatness consists of the way in which he creates compelling images of its relation to the whole historical movement of which it is part.

What Losey does in this film is the opposite. He presumably claims to be portraying the meaning of death, of the tension involved in final decisions, of the nature of personal violence. But he abstracts these things from the real historical forces which produce them, shape them and determine their results.

He therefore cannot see individuals as representative of historic forces, internally torn in some cases by the conflict of these forces. On the contrary, his 'psychological' presentation obscures the specific historic forces which form the real drive and tension to the events he portrays.

If this needs saying in reply to those who celebrate the supposed artistic or dramatic merit of Losey's film, it needs a million times more emphasis because Losey did after all choose a definite historical subject, the Stalinist bureaucracy's murder of Trotsky!

REFLECTION

The revisionists are telling us that the truth about this—the most burning issue of our time—must be placed second to the 'art' of the film-maker. The details of the assassination are therefore just an assortment of elements from which the film-maker can select and make what he wants of them! This is exactly what the petty-bourgeois centrists want to do with the traditions and theory of the workers' movement!

Lequenne goes further. His reference to 'the general public which, in its vast majority, ignores the historical facts in question'. The ignorance of the masses is invoked to justify the capitulation to bourgeois



ideology.

Film is a medium which can reach many millions of people all over the world. It does not bear the same relationship to the masses as the traditional art forms (poetry, drama, music, the novel). Even without considering the effects of massive capital investment on films and film-making, it is necessary to understand that every film, particularly on a political subject like this one, has an immediate effect on consciousness, as well as being itself a reflection in consciousness of society's conflicts.

The working class today is forced by the crisis into struggles which demand, above all, that the question of alternative revolutionary leadership is raised and resolved.

To build such a leadership, against Stalinism, means bringing forward the whole theory and history of Trotsky and Trotskyism, which now have a changed meaning for the actual lives of millions. A film now which distorts this plays a very reactionary role.

The powerlessness of the

ex-Stalinist petty-bourgeois to really overcome their past and subordinate themselves to the proletarian revolution results in frustration and speculation, and among these results is Losey's film.

EXPOSED

Revisionism prostitutes Marxism to crawl to this disintegration of bourgeois ideology and its bureaucratic assistants. This is exactly the source in past historical stages of 'left' intellectual circles producing the elements of extreme right-wing ideologies.

Joseph Hansen was one of Trotsky's bodyguards at the time of the assassination. He is today a leader of the Socialist Workers' Party which itself capitulated in 1963 to the revisionist Unified Secretariat of Pierre Frank.

But Hansen writes an entirely different review from that of Lequenne and Frank. He exposes the historical inaccuracies of the film, he easily shows up Losey's abysmal political ignorance (Losey says

he was 'surprised' to find Trotsky was for defence of the Soviet Union, and that the theory of permanent revolution consisted only of 'a few lines'!), and he rightly says that Losey's version of the assassination corresponded to the 1930s Stalinist versions of Trotsky and his role.

Now the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of France, ex-section of the International Committee, has written in its 'Informations Ouvrières', drawing attention to these conflicting interpretations.

Joseph Hansen engages in a systematic demolition of Losey's film which can only appear as a severe polemic against Frank and his expert on literature, the ineffable Lequenne.

'The interest of this polemic is, of course, that Joseph Hansen was one of Trotsky's bodyguards in Mexico, but also that Hansen is one of the main leaders of the SWP, an organization which in principle is "in political solidarity" with the Unified Secretariat.'

The OCI leaders, in their haste to ingratiate themselves with the politics of Mr Hansen, conveniently leave out the most Philistine section of Hansen's far from 'systematic' criticism:

'The producers, naturally [sic] were not interested in spending \$2.5m on a film devoted to the artistic reconstruction of a partially reconstructed Stalinist concept of Trotsky . . . What the producers had in mind was a profit on their investment . . .'

'This brings us to the moment of truth. "The Assassination of Trotsky" stands or falls on its merits as commercial art. On this level—the profoundest one in the film—Losey may well have scored a success . . . [sic]. The production is a bid to the market for films reeking with violence.'

Hansen tries to draw some invidious distinction between the demands of the box office and the political requirements of the producer. Does such a contradiction exist?

There is no contradiction at all. In fact there is a definite correspondence between the

image projected by the Stalinist-turned-Liberal Losey and the criteria of those who finance the film. The violence and sense of menace only subserve the real purpose of the film which is to discredit Trotsky's politics and distort his struggle to resolve the crisis of leadership in the working class. Contrary to Hansen there is a real connection between what is commercially profitable and what is politically necessary for the ruling class.

SCEPTICS

The financiers of the film no doubt believed, together with Hansen, that the film would be a box office draw. But, like Hansen, they seriously overestimated the credibility of their audience and underestimated the growing awareness of politically literate workers and professional people of the fact that Trotsky was a revolutionary leader, not a pompous old bore. (In London the film lasted only three weeks.)

If the OCI today find themselves lavishing praise on Hansen and the SWP, it is precisely because they share the same political scepticism towards the working class which is expressed in Hansen's review. In practice this means opposition to the building of a revolutionary party as an alternative to Stalinism and constant adaptation to the ideas and needs of the ruling class.

The difference between Losey and the OCI and Hansen is this: whereas Losey distorts Trotsky's life-struggle to suit the prejudices of middle-class Philistines, Hansen and the OCI preserve a formally-accurate picture of Trotsky, the man, only in order to revise more effectively and subtly the ideas of Trotsky—the Marxist. It is not difficult to say which of these is more dangerous to the working class.

The OCI leadership knows very well that Hansen and the SWP effected their agreement of 1963 by choosing to suppress all discussion of past differences and splits. This

could only result in later splits and differences, as we have seen, particularly in Sri Lanka.

Instead of prosecuting the struggle to deepen Marxist theory by taking all these developments to their roots, the OCI leaders adopt the very pragmatic method which Hansen has always used, and which has produced the present degeneration in revisionist forces.

As we have seen, what is really at stake is that the reactions of the Pabloites to the Losey film take them a step further in the direction of reaction. Through the struggle against them, we must deepen our own consciousness of the tasks and the dangers confronting the movement. Hansen sees nothing of all this.

Ignoring these basic weaknesses of Hansen's review, the OCI rushes to compound once again all the errors and the confusion which revisionism has developed in its attempts to destroy the Trotskyist movement. They will have no more success than the revisionists of the past.

WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY

A review by Tom Kemp. The years 1937-1938 continued

The volumes of Trotsky's writings so far published for the period after 1935 differ in several respects from the two already reviewed. They are printed on a large format page and consist mainly of facsimile reproductions of articles which appeared in the Trotskyist Press and other journals in the United States, together with a few items translated into English for the first time. The selections are grouped under headings according to country or subject rather than being in chronological order. This makes it possible to follow through Trotsky's thought on a particular topic, such as the Moscow Trials. On the other hand, the notes do little more than indicate the source of the articles, thus leaving the reader to find out for himself about the many persons, organizations and events which are referred to. In addition, there is no index. Apart from the faults of editorship, these volumes are still to be highly recommended because they bring together writings which are otherwise virtually inaccessible or, in certain cases, have never been available in English before.

To this day the Soviet bureaucracy has to conceal the full truth about the Moscow Trials and purges of the middle 1930s. It cannot permit a full investigation or discussion of the subject because its own origins, the source of its own power and privileges, are involved.

The purges were, in fact, carefully prepared and spread over a long period. Their purpose, as Trotsky said, was 'to kill the Fourth International and exterminate in passing the old generation of Bolsheviks, and from the subsequent generations all those who were morally connected with the tradition of the Bolshevik Party'.

The bureaucracy still reserves its greatest hatred and the worst punishment in prison or psychiatric ward for those oppositionists who claim their attachment to the traditions of Bolshevism.

As Trotsky pointed out time and again, there is no truth at all in the claim that Stalinism is the continuation of Bolshevism. A study of his writings on the Moscow Trials in this and the other volumes shows this conclusively. In the trials and purges Stalin tried to destroy every living trace of the party to which he once belonged in order to ensure the rule of the parasitic caste which he represented and conceal its counter-revolutionary role.

While the Moscow Trials and the campaign against them, together with the other crimes of Stalin, take up a good deal of this volume, it also contains sections on other political questions.

A number of items continue Trotsky's attack on the centrists of the London Bureau, particularly their position on the trials.

Fenner (now Lord) Brockway, then secretary of the Independent Labour Party, attacked the Dewey Commission and proposed an 'inquiry into the role of Trotskyism in the working-class movement'. He held, to Trotsky's scorn, that an international inquiry into the trials might arouse 'prejudice in Russia and in communist circles'.

While Brockway was running in harness with the Stalinists, backed by his friends in the London Bureau, their co-thinker in Spain, Andres Nin, had been murdered by Stalin's agents, to-

gether with many other members of his party, the POUM.

Trotsky demanded that Brockway and his friends institute an inquiry into the crimes of the GPU in Spain. And, in reply to Brockway's hypocrisy, the 'amoral' Bolsheviks, said Trotsky, while not hiding their criticism of Nin's policies, would give such an inquiry every support to 'rehabilitate his name and mercilessly brand his executioners'.

A number of other shame-faced defenders of Stalin's crimes also felt the scourge of Trotsky's pen at this time. They included André Malraux, then a fellow-traveller of the CP, later to be de Gaulle's Minister of Culture, and the editors of the US journals the 'Nation' and the 'New Republic'. The latter, Trotsky alleges, 'have systematically approved or at least kept silent about the work of falsification, of lies, corruption, which the Stalinist bureaucracy has accomplished throughout the world'.

Class nature

In the section on the Fourth International appears Trotsky's call to the congress of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth of France, as well as two important articles on the question of the class nature of the Soviet state.

In the first of these he counters the arguments of a member of the French section, Yvan Craipeau, who had argued that the bureaucracy was a class. In the second he takes up two American supporters, Burnham and Carter, who, while not going as far, claimed that the Soviet Union had ceased to be a workers' state 'in the traditional sense'.

Burnham's position in 1937 foreshadowed his break with Trotskyism two years later. Trotsky took up these objectors with great care and patience and the articles are well worth study in conjunction with his other writings on the Russian question.

As he pointed out, philosophical method was involved. 'Idealistic, ultimatic, "purely" normative thinking wishes to construct the world in its own image, and simply turns away from phenomena which are not to its liking.

'Dialectical thinking', wrote Trotsky, 'takes phenomena in their objective development and at the same time finds in the internal contradictions of this development a basis for the realization of its "norms". It is, of course, necessary not



Andres Nin, leader of the centrist POUM, murdered by Stalin. Above: André Malraux, defender of Stalin's crimes whom Trotsky exposes in this volume.

to forget that we expect the programmatic norms to be realized only if they are the generalized expression of the progressive tendencies of the objective historical process itself'.

As Trotsky goes on to insist: 'The recognition of the USSR as a workers' state—not a type but a mutilation of a type—does not at all signify a theoretical and political amnesty for the Soviet bureaucracy. On the contrary, its reactionary character is fully revealed only in the light of the contradiction between its anti-proletarian policies and the needs of the workers' state. Only by posing the question in this manner does our exposure of the crimes of the Stalinist clique gain full motive force. The defence of the USSR means not only the supreme struggle against imperialism, but a preparation for the over-

throw of the Bonapartist bureaucracy.'

The formal thinking of the present-day revisionists of the 'state capitalist' International Socialist variety has nothing in common with Marxism but a few phrases, and it leads them to conciliation with the Stalinists. In these articles Trotsky destroyed their method and answered their sophistries in advance.

Trotsky also wrote at this time about the question of China which had been forced to the forefront by the Japanese invasion. He called for working-class support for China and attacked the Chinese Communist Party for its policy of alliance with Chiang Kai-shek, the butcher of the Second Chinese Revolution of 1926-1927.

This volume also includes the important article called 'Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt' in which he replies to some critics and explains what was at stake in the uprising of the sailors in the naval base. He also explains why the question was being raised—as it still is—in a polemical way.

Future

All the groupings which did so, he pointed out, 'are interested in compromising the only genuinely revolutionary current which has never repudiated its banner, has not compromised with its enemies, and which alone represents the future'.

In another piece on the same subject Trotsky also put the historical record straight:

'I personally did not participate in the least in the suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion, nor in the repressions which followed the suppression . . . I was a member of the government, I considered the quelling of the rebellion necessary and therefore bear responsibility for the suppression.' Trotsky never shirked this responsibility.

Like the other volumes in this series this one is essential reading. Its main emphasis is the struggle against Stalinism, no less essential today than it was 35 years ago.

A better understanding of Trotsky's principled fight and the real meaning of his life work is to be obtained from these volumes than from the partisan accounts of the Isaac Deutschers. The reader gets closer to the struggle of living forces and shares Trotsky's passion for the cause of the working class and hatred for its enemies, especially those who pretended to be its friends.

Reading these volumes can be a rich and rewarding experience for those concerned in the building of the revolutionary party today. Their lessons ring out across the years in an unmistakable manner. It was in the struggle here recorded in his own words that Trotsky preserved the continuity of the international movement—the Fourth International.

CONCLUDED. The final volume in this series covering the last two years of Trotsky's life—1939-1940—will appear next Wednesday in Workers Press.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

SPACE DAMAGES

The widow of an astronaut who died in the 1967 space-craft fire has filed an action for damages in Houston, Texas.

Mrs Patricia White Davis, widow of Lt-Col Edward White, named the North American Rockwell Corporation and three subsidiary firms as defendants, alleging that negligence in construction of the Apollo spacecraft caused the Cape Kennedy fire. Mrs White is seeking damages on behalf of herself and two children, Edward (19) and Bonnie (16).

Lt-Col White (36) died with Major Roger Chafee (31) and Lt-Col Virgil Grissom (40) during pre-flight tests.

KNOTTY PROBLEMS

In mediaeval times, there was many a threat cut as a result of bitter polemics about the sex of angels. And even more lives were lost in the defence of the Holy Trinity.

Women's Lib has succeeded in arousing scholastic controversy and clerical passions in France on the subject of the foetus and whether it has consciousness or not.

At a trial in Bobigny, learned academics have brought forward three lines of argument so far!

(a) the embryo has no consciousness, but it would have one of it was allowed to develop.

(b) the central nervous system is on the go from the second month of conception.

(c) the foetus has no consciousness.

While these knotty problems are unravelled in the courtroom, President Pompidou and Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin prepare a police-state. Women's Lib and their coterie of squabbling academics find that less than worthy of attention.

IT'S ALWAYS REVOLUTIONARY



Velasco: Above: Fidel Castro.

The Cuban news agency Prensa Latina transmitted a noteworthy item last week. We were told that 'Peruvian youth' had ended a week of repudiation of imperialist aggression against the country's territorial waters.

'Down with the pirate law!' was the slogan of the Peruvians, of the columns of teenagers, workers, peasants, teachers...

Fidel's news service kept a complete silence on the activities of the Peruvian police who were upset by the excessive anti-imperialism of some of the youth on the nationalist jamboree.

President Velasco's police launched tear-gas and truncheon attacks on these unfortunate youth... 'Truth', Commandante Fidel has often repeated, 'is always revolutionary.'



FILM REVIEW BY BRIAN MOORE

RUPTURING AN ANGEL

Religions have it that history is the endless re-run of the struggle between good and evil. Outside the orbit of the material universe, God Almighty battles it out with the devil in division one of the struggle. Mere mortals reflect this almighty and eternal conflict on earth.

Essentially nothing changes. The eternal blight is the presence of the bad that disrupts the hoped-for serenity of the good. Experience is therefore a perpetual falling short of the ideal and the believer must either wait for the immortal delights of death, gird himself with faith, or succumb to a world-weary cynicism that says, 'that's life'.

After two world wars and the development of technology God, in the organized sense, has lost some of his earlier allure. But the thinking that created him in the first place is very much with us.

Innocence, back to nature, getting it 'right' in the head, are updated versions of the old mythology. But the world is no invention of the mind. It develops and changes through the conflict of material and social forces. Movement, richness, contradiction. Enough to drive the idealist out of his mind, or into fraudulent optimism or despairing defeat.

Chabrol's new film at the Paris Pulman, 'La Rupture' is a parable of innocence-and-virtue triumphing over vice-and-corruption.

Like all parables that reduce life to the battle of the forces of good against evil it can have only the crudity of melodrama. And unconvincing melodrama, at that. Chabrol himself remains the least convinced of all. Skilled though he is as a film-maker, in the end he can only contrive his material in this case to ludicrous proportions.

True it is a vigorous attack on the corruption and utter inhumanity of a wealthy industrialist who will go to any lengths to destroy his son's marriage and take over the custody of the child.

He has no legal right, but he has money and with money he can buy the services of a deadbeat playboy to do his best to compromise the wife, to dig up some dirt which will convince the courts she is an unfit mother.

True the Philistinism and insidious arrogance of the



Scenes from Chabrol's 'La Rupture'

bourgeois life is crisply portrayed, the desperate barrenness of the industrialist's wife, the mock gentility and correctness which conceals the blunt bludgeon of steel. On this, Chabrol is clear.

Yet in the lists of radicalism there has always been agreement on this. The bourgeoisie were the baddies from the first day the top-hatted squire seduced the innocent maid on the village green. This is not exactly a point of contention in those circles. The question remains—how do you deal with them?

Of course no film-maker is obliged to confront this question. But Chabrol proposes a solution.

For the wife by her determination, her honesty, her inner goodness if you will, triumphs. The industrialist does not defeat her, the playboy cannot corrupt her or implicate her in corruption. She takes her son and leaves for a new life in Paris.

The film is overlaid with the creaking machinery of allegorical symbolism. A crumbling old boarding house due for demolition which lodges an assortment of ageing spinsters, a failed actor, a drunken henpecked owner with an imbecilic daughter. The husband, a failed writer, collapsing between the pressures of his parents and his failure, who takes to drugs and one morning proceeds to strangle his wife and wound his child: the hired playboy who, for the promise of money and a directorship of the firm,

tries to trap the unsuspecting wife in the most bizarrely corrupt schemes which involves the seduction of the half-witted girl by a woman posing as the innocent wife.

If by now you are confused you have something of the contrived indulgence of the film. It's as if Chabrol grew bored with his material and went off into some random flight of fancy to jazz up his theme.

And that has the oversimplification of allegory itself. For the wife who glows throughout the picture, who tugs at the heartstrings is the key. She is an angel on earth. And with more creaking symbolism invests the old balloon seller in the park with the qualities of God, and his balloons, captive angels.

Drugged by the playboy in a last—wait for it—desperate attempt to compromise her, she sees under LSD only beauty and mystery.

She releases the balloons and they fly, as released balloons will—to the sky. LSD turned her husband into a brute and her into an angel.

The rupture or break is merely the path of honesty and goodness. And the old liberal crapology chimes like a hollow bell.

All the technique and expertise in the world cannot conceal the bankruptcy of thought. Liberalism today can only echo the tiredness of a defunct religious morality, to try and keep the bourgeoisie firmly in the saddle of power.

BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:
Germany 1931/1932
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87;
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London SW4 7UG.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 11.10 Merrie Melodies. 11.35 Puffin. 11.40 Bonanza. 12.30 London. 5.10 On the buses. 5.40 London. 7.00 Film: 'Gasbags'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 All our yesterdays. 11.55 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 10.45 Woobinda. 11.35 Gus Honeybun. 11.55 Faith for life. 12.00 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 9.15 You and your golf. 9.40 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.10 Wildlife theatre. 10.35 Follyfoot. 11.05 Cowboy in Africa. 12.00 Merrie melodies. 12.27 Weather. 12.30 London. 5.10 Persuaders. 6.10 London. 7.00 Film: 'The Texican'. 8.30 London. 10.40 News. 10.50 Film: 'Black Hand'. 12.30 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.00 London. 9.50 Bugs Bunny. 10.00 Tomfoolery. 10.30 Sesame street. 11.30 Follyfoot. 12.00 Farming diary. 12.30 London. 5.10 UFO. 6.10 London. 7.00 Film: 'The Deadly Hunt'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 Name of the game. 12.45 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as above except: 5.10 Turnbull's finest half hour. 5.40-6.10 Sion a sian.

ANGLIA: 9.00 London. 10.00 Sean the leprechaun. 10.15 Rovers. 10.40 Film: 'You Must Be Joking'. 12.30 London. 5.10 Riptide. 6.10 London. 7.00 Film: 'Anne of the Indies'. 8.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 Film: 'The Murder Game.'

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.15 You and your golf. 9.40 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.10 Lord Mountbatten. 11.00 Cartoon. 11.05 Tomfoolery show. 11.30 The Osmonds. 12.00 Elephant boy. 12.30 London. 5.15 It takes a thief. 6.10 London. 7.00 Film: 'A Lion in the Streets'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Upstairs, downstairs. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 Film: 'Saturday Night Out'. Weather.

SATURDAY

TV

BBC 2

3.00 Film: 'The Brass Bottle'. Tony Randall, Burl Ives, Barbara Eden. A genie is discovered inside an old bottle. 4.25 Play away. 4.50 Abracadabra. 5.00 Heritage. 5.25 Burke special. 5.55 Man alive.

6.45 **TELEVISION DOCTOR.**

7.00 **WESTMINSTER.**

7.20 **NEWS, SPORT.** Weather.

7.35 **RUGBY SPECIAL.** Ulster v The All Blacks.

8.20 **WAR AND PEACE.** A Beautiful Tale.

9.05 **FULL HOUSE.** Introduced by Joe Melia. 9.35 The Netherlands Wind Ensemble, Dannie Abse, Solid Gold Cadillac. 10.30 The Education of Skinny Spew and The Body Show Show.

11.20 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

11.25 **FILM: THE VANQUISHED'** John Payne, Jan Sterling, Coleen Gray.

BBC 1

10.00 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.30-10.55 Aventura. 11.20 Weather. 11.30 Mr Benn. 11.45 Harlem globetrotters. 12.05 Barrier reef. 12.30 Grandstand. 12.35 Football preview. 12.55, 1.25, 1.55, 2.25 Racing from Ascot. 1.10 International heavyweight boxing. Joe Bugner v Tony Doyle. 2.45 Rugby league. Featherstone Rovers v York. 3.50 Lancer. 4.40 Final score. 5.05 Disney parade. 5.15 Mary Tyler Moore show. 5.40 News and weather. 5.55 Bruce Forsyth and the generation game.

6.45 **DIXON OF DOCK GREEN.** Starpoint West.

7.35 **THE HARRY SECOMBE SHOW.** Guests Esther Ofarim, Gladys Knight and The Pips, James Pegler and The Band of the Welsh Guards.

8.20 **FILM: 'CALL NORTHSIDE 777.'** James Stewart. A Chicago journalist tries to prove the innocence of a man accused of murder.

10.10 **NEWS.** Weather.

10.20 **MATCH OF THE DAY.**

11.20 **PARKINSON.** Michael Parkinson.

12.20 **Weather.**

ITV

9.00 You and your golf. 9.30 Collecting on a shoestring. 9.55 Return to Peyton Place. 10.20 Sesame street. 11.20 Merrie Melodies. 11.30 The Osmonds. 11.59 Junior police five. 12.00 The Partridge family. 12.30 News. 12.35 World of sport. 12.40 On the ball. 1.05 International sports special. 1.20 ITV seven. 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Racing from Wetherby. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Racing from Warwick. 3.10 International sports special. Dewar cup finals. 3.50 Results, scores, news. 4.00 Wrestling. 4.50 Results service. 5.10 Adventures of Black Beauty. 5.40 Sale of the century.

6.10 **NEWS FROM ITN.**

6.15 **THE REG VARNEY REVUE.** With Pat Coombs, Elizabeth Counsell, David Lodge, Frank Thornton, George Chisholm and guests Beryl Reid and Adele Leigh.

7.00 **FILM: 'THE TIME TRAVELLERS.'** Preston Foster, Philip Carey, Merry Anders. Science fiction about a team of scientists who accidentally create a doorway to the future.

8.30 **NEW SCOTLAND YARD.** Shadow of a Deadbeat.

9.30 **VARIETY.** With Matt Monro, The Dallas Boys, Johnny More, Lionel Blair.

10.30 **NEWS FROM ITN.**

10.40 **RUSSELL HARTY PLUS.**

11.40 **PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE.**

11.45 **COLUMBO.** Short Fuse.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 11.00-12.25 London. 2.13 Weather. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Belle Starr'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.05 Film: 'D Day the Sixth of June'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Avengers. 12.05 Epilogue. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 10.30 Let them live. 12.35 Gardening today. 12.55 Collecting on a shoestring. 1.20 Smith family. 1.45 Gus Honeybun. 1.55 Farm and country news. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 9.15 Talking hands. 9.30 London. 10.30 Farm progress. 10.57 Weather. 11.00 London. 12.30 Bush boy. 1.00 Superman. 1.20 How. 1.50 Hogan's heroes. 2.15 London. 3.15 Fenn Street gang. 3.45 Golden shot. 4.40 Aquarius. 5.30 News. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Trouble With Angels'. 9.50 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 11.15 Jason King. 12.10 Frighteners. 12.35 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 10.30 All our yesterdays. 11.00 London. 12.30 Art for all. 1.00 University challenge. 1.25 Love, American style. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Frankie and Johnny'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Carry On. Don't Lose Your Head'. 9.30 Mr and Mrs. 10.00 London. 11.15 Nightmare. 12.15 Weather.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 10.30 Survival. 11.00 London. 12.30 Dr Simon Locke. 12.55 Randall and Hopkirk. 1.50 Weather. 1.55 Farming. 2.30 Name of the game. 3.55 Match. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film 'Lady L'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Department S.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 10.30 All our yesterdays. 11.00 London. 12.30 Citizen's rights. 1.00 Champions. 2.00 Soccer. 3.00 Film: 'I Could Go On Singing'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Nevada Smith'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Spyforce. 12.40 Stories. Weather.

SUNDAY

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 12.30 Golf. 1.00 Collecting. 1.30 HR Puffnstuf. 1.55 Women only. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Landfall'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.53 Sports results. 7.55 Film: 'The Agony and the Ecstasy'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Department S.

YORKSHIRE: 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 Let them live. 11.00 London. 12.30 On the buses. 1.00 Farming outlook. 1.25 Calendar. 1.55 Soccer. 2.50 Film: 'Diane'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Ghenghis Khan'. 9.50 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 11.15 It takes a thief. 12.10 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 10.35 Time to remember. 11.00 London. 12.25 Merrie melodies. 1.00 Saint. 1.50 Survival. 2.20 Football. 3.20 Film: 'It's That Man Again'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Return of the Seven'. 9.50 Mr Whitney had a notion. 10.00 London. 11.15 Scotland Yard.

TYNE TEES: 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 Let them live. 11.00 London. 12.30 On the buses. 1.00 Farming outlook. 1.25 World War I. 1.50 Where the jobs are. 1.55 Shoot. 2.50 Film: 'Diane'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Ghenghis Khan'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Challenge. 12.05 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 10.15 Master chefs. 10.30 World War I. 11.00 London. 12.30 On the buses. 1.00 Randall and Hopkirk. 2.00 Scotsport. 3.25 Film: 'Boys Will Be Boys'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Elephant boy. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Autumn Leaves'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Plain Mr Knox. 11.12 Rolf Harris show.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00 London. 12.30 Golf. 1.00 Collecting. 1.30 Farm progress. 2.00 Sport. 3.25 Film: 'Sailor of the King'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Hotel'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Untouchables.

TV

BBC 2

4.05 Man at work. 4.30 Money at work. 5.30 Horizon.

6.15 **NEWS REVIEW.**

6.50 **NEWS.** Weather.

7.00 **DOUBTS AND CERTAINITIES.** His Excellency President Kaunda of Zambia.

7.25 **AMERICA.** The New Found Land. Written and narrated by Alistair Cooke.

8.15 **WIDE WORLD OF ENTERTAINMENT.** Poland Dances. The Mazowsze Dance Company.

9.05 **SCOOP.** A Surfeit of Boots.

9.35 **DEAD OF NIGHT.** Bedtime. Ghost story by Hugh Whitmore.

10.25 **UP SUNDAY.** James Cameron, Kenny Everett, William Rushton and John Wells.

10.50 **FILM: 'MY DARLING CLEMENTINE.'** John Ford's western about Marshall Wyatt Earp. With Henry Fonda, Victor Mature, Linda Darnell.

12.25 **NEWS.** Weather.

BBC 1

9.00 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 9.30 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.00-10.25 Aventura. 11.00 Seeing and believing. 11.35 A job worth doing? 12.00 Design by design. 12.25 Edwardian affair. 12.50 Farming. 1.15 Made in Britain. 1.30 Jimmy Young. 1.55 News, weather. 2.00 Chigley. 2.15 Shari Lewis 2.25 Ken Dodd. 2.35 Ask Aspel. 2.55 The Block. 2.10 Film: 'To Please a Lady'. Clark Gable, Barbara Stanwyck. A motor racing driver is framed by a lady journalist. 5.40 The hole in the wall.

6.05 **NEWS.** Weather.

6.15 **A CHANCE TO MEET.** Marjorie Proops. OBE.

6.50 **SONGS OF PRAISE.**

7.25 **THE ONEDIN LINE.** Beyond the Upper Sea.

8.15 **FILM: 'SUNSET BOULEVARD.'** William Holden, Gloria Swanson. A faded movie queen dreams of a comeback.

10.05 **NEWS.** Weather.

10.15 **OMNIBUS.** The Great Orchestras. The Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

11.15 **JAMES STEWART.** Talking with Joan Bakewell and members of the audience at the National Film Theatre, London.

12.00 **Weather.**

ITV

9.30 Sung Eucharist. 10.30 Return to Peyton Place. 11.00 Weekend world. 12.30 Turnbull's finest half hour. 1.00 Thunderbirds. 1.50 Beloved enemy. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Persuaders. 4.20 Golden shot. 5.15 Aquarius.

6.05 **NEWS.**

6.15 **ADAM SMITH.**

6.40 **THE GOOD LIFE.**

7.00 **STARS ON SUNDAY.**

7.25 **THE FENN STREET GANG.** The Left Hand Path.

7.55 **FILM: 'RETURN TO PEYTON PLACE.'** Jeff Chandler, Carol Lynley, Eleanor Parker, Mary Astor. Allison Mackenzie has left Peyton Place for New York.

10.00 **NEWS.**

10.15 **PLAY: 'FIRST SIGHT.'** Brian Deacon, Sean Bury, Nina Thomas, Carol Hazell.

11.15 **THE FBI.** The Phone Call.

12.15 **PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE.** Paul Oestreich talks to RT Rev Colin Winter about prisoners in S Africa.

12.20 **HIS AND HERS.**



A second chance to see 'The Block'—a film about people forced to live in Chaucer House (above), a 'half-way' house—is provided by BBC 1 on Sunday at 2.55. It's rather an odd slot for a documentary and clashes with soccer on most independent channels. But it's worth looking at, even though it will not be followed, as it was originally, by a 'Late-Night Line-Up' discussion which revealed some of the liberal limitations of its makers . . . and some of its participants.

£2.40 no good to us—we want £4

Militant pay mood among hospital workers

BY SARAH HANNIGAN

JIMMY JEWELL has spent 21 years as a hospital ancillary worker. He is now chief shop steward for the 500 and more porters and ancillary staff at the Whittington Hospital, Archway, north London.

He is also a delegate to the national shop stewards' committee of the Health Service Unions, which represents hospital workers throughout the country in the general and municipal and public employees' unions.

He spoke to Workers Press before yesterday's talks between the Department of Health and Social Security and the union representatives on the workers' claim for a £4-a-week increase.

'The mood at present is militant,' said Mr Jewell. 'This is particularly so now that the dustmen have accepted the £2.40 offer and our members feel that our negotiations will be killed stone dead.'

'However, we have told them that we want our £4 or nothing.'

'I think they'll freeze the increase.'

'At the national shop stewards' meeting involving all the Health Service Unions on December 3 most of the shop stewards will oppose any settlement that does not come up to the £4 claim.'

'I think the union leaders should call a national strike. They keep telling us that it will mean a fine of £400, but I say what's £400. Our union—the General and Municipal Workers—is one of the best-financed unions in the country.'

'So far we haven't taken any industrial action, but that will soon be changed in my opinion.'

'I feel the TUC shouldn't have gone in for talks with the government and the employers in the first place. By accepting the principle of a freeze I think they have knuckled down to the government itself.'

'Of course they've placed themselves in a very awkward position because they can't call a strike. And if workers come out on an unofficial strike, then they're in trouble.'

'I'm 100 per cent behind the policy of Workers Press for forcing the Tory government to resign. One of your articles I

liked was the policy for getting a Labour government in with proper socialist policies. I think that's a very good idea.'

At present, Mr Jewell told us, basic pay for male ancillary workers is £20.70 a week for 40 hours. By working Saturdays and Sundays they can earn about £27. For women the basic weekly pay is £16.32; two days' overtime at the weekend brings it up to about £21.

'We're saying that the officials should go for a five-day week and that anybody who comes in Saturday or Sunday should get paid double-time.'

'We're saying that there should be a standard basic week on which we can make a good living without having to work Saturday or Sunday. We think that it should be a minimum of £28 a week for both men and women.'

'As far as we are concerned that is reasonable by today's standards, because if you're

taking anything under that you haven't got a hope.'

'I think that this idea of state control of wages is an attack on the basic rights of the trade unions and, more important, on the ordinary working people themselves.'

Whittington hospital at present stands on a split site on both sides of Highgate Hill. A new hospital is due to be built in the grounds of one section of the old hospital.

'Because of the new building,' said Mr Jewell, 'workers are being shoved all over the place in conditions that aren't fit for pigs.'

'We are understaffed. We have been working under a 10-per cent staff cut since 1967.'

'Originally we worked to an establishment number. That meant that a certain size of establishment had a certain number of ancillary workers. Now they say that we can have

a certain amount of money and if that doesn't agree with the establishment number, we have to go short. If you haven't got enough money you can't employ the people.'

'We are so short at the moment that people are having to come in on their rest days just to keep the place clean.'

'And now they're talking about introducing a new scheme which they have called the Ancillary Workers Efficiency Scheme.'

'This would mean very big redundancies among staff. They offered us a 40 to 45-per cent efficiency increase, a bonus increase of 15 per cent—15 per cent was the highest bonus we would get.'

'This scheme is already operating at four hospitals—Epsom, Poole, Cardiff and Castleford. They wanted to bring it in here as well, but we said no. We weren't going to accept those sort of cutbacks.'

Hidden jobless revealed by census analysis

REAL UNEMPLOYMENT today must be in the region of 1.5 million and not the 800,000-900,000 admitted by the government. In fact little credibility remains for official Department of Employment and Productivity figures after the publication of the Advance Analysis of the 1971 census.

The analysis reveals that 1,365,775 people were out of work in the week before census day (April 25, 1971)—when the government was claiming a figure of 773,800.

In some regions there was a 300 per cent discrepancy between the official figures and the census figures.

The official figures are based on employment exchange registers, while the census records come from the people themselves.

Workers Press has been saying for years that thousands of unemployed people do not register and that therefore real unemployment was much higher

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

than was officially admitted. Now this has been proved beyond any shadow of doubt.

In Greater London, for example, 196,200 people told the census they were out of a job. Yet the official figure showed only 72,265.

In Wales official unemployment stood at 44,800. The census revealed that 81,915 people were actually without work.

In Scotland the official figure was 123,100. The real one was 183,105.

The largest discrepancy was among women, many of whom do not register as unemployed when they lose their jobs. According to the government, 120,500 women were unemployed in April, 1971. The census showed the real figure to be 515,840.

The census also underlined the trend for unemployment to hit teenagers hardest.

5.3 per cent of men were out

of work in April, 1971. But among school-leavers unemployment stood at 8.2 per cent.

The worst places for unemployment were Clydeside (11 per cent), Tyneside (9.5 per cent) and Merseyside (9.4 per cent).

Youth unemployment in these blackspots was 15.5 per cent on Merseyside, 14.2 per cent on Clydeside and 12.6 per cent on Tyneside.

The provisional figures also highlight the problem of immigrant unemployment. Irish men without jobs (8.9 per cent) and West Indians (7.7 per cent) were the worst.

Nearly one in six West Indian teenagers (16.2 per cent) were without work.

Yet in these circumstances Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union calls for 'a detailed investigation and better recording arrangements'!

What is wanted is not polite requests to the Tories to keep more accurate records of the number of people they throw out of work, but a campaign to get rid of the Tories altogether.

The TUC leaders must be forced to end their cosy chats with the Tory government and employers. Heath and Company must be brought down and replaced by a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, which is the only way to end unemployment.

CELEBRATE 3rd ANNIVERSARY OF WORKERS PRESS (See p. 1)

LIVERPOOL

SUNDAY DECEMBER 3, 7 p.m.

Everyman Theatre

Speakers:

- MIKE BANDA (SLL Central Committee)
- JOHN HOWE (Deputy AUEW convenor, CAV)
- CONNIE FAHEY (Wilmslow tenants' leader)
- ALAN PEERS (Young Socialists' national committee)
- (Union and tenant speakers in a personal capacity.)

NEWCASTLE

SUNDAY DECEMBER 10, 7 p.m.

County Hotel

Speakers:

- MIKE BANDA (SLL Central committee)
- DAVID JONES (YS national committee)
- BOB MAINS (Unemployed)
- VINCENT FOY (secretary Jarrow Trades Council. In personal capacity.)

GLASGOW

SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 2 p.m.

Woodside Halls
St George's Cross

Speakers:

- MIKE BANDA (SLL Central Committee)
- JOHN BARRIE (YS national committee)
- WILLIE DOCHERTY (chairman Paisley Tenants' Action Committee. In personal capacity.)

BIRMINGHAM

SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 7 p.m.

Assembly Hall
Digbeth Civic Hall

Speakers:

- G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary)
- WILLIE AITKIN (YS national committee)
- PETER SMITH (Rover shop steward. In personal capacity.)

Socialist Labour League

LECTURES OXFORD

Thursday November 23
Opponents of Marxism
Thursday November 30
Marxism—the science of perspective

SOUTH OXFORD COMMUNITY CENTRE
Lake Street, 8 p.m.

LONDON

Sunday November 26
Basic Essentials of Marxism
Sunday December 3
A theory of knowledge

Sunday December 10
Opponents of Marxism
BEAVER HALL
at Mansion House tube
7.30 p.m.

Lectures given by
G. Healy
SLL national secretary

LIVERPOOL

Wednesday November 22
The Third International
1924-1929

Wednesday November 29
Stalinism 1932-1938

Wednesday December 6
Trotskyism and the founding of the Fourth International

COMMON HALL HACKINS HEY
off Dale Street, 7.30 p.m.

Lectures given by
Tom Kemp (SLL Central Committee)

All Trades Unions Alliance MEETINGS

BIRKENHEAD: Sunday November 19, 7.30 p.m. Pier Hotel, Woodside.

CORBY: Sunday November 19, 7.30 p.m. Nag's Head, Old Village.

BASINGSTOKE: Sunday, November 19, 7 p.m. The Hop Leaf, Church Street.

BRACKNELL: Monday November 20, 8 p.m. Priestwood Community Centre.

WEALDSTONE: Tuesday, November 21, 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Station Road.

Fight Rising Prices
Force the Tories to Resign

CROYDON: Monday November 20, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road, South Croydon.

WANDSWORTH: Tuesday November 21, 8 p.m. Balham Baths, Elmfield Road.

BARKING: Tuesday November 21, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, corner of Fanshawe Avenue/Longbridge Road.

SOUTH SHIELDS: Wednesday November 22, 7.30 p.m. Labour Club, Westoe Bridges. 'Support the Barbour's strikers.' Speakers: Joyce Patterson (Barbour's strike committee), Jack Grassby (secretary Trades Council), Hughie Nichol (ATUA).

DEPTFORD: Thursday November 23, 8 p.m. Engineers' Club, New Cross Road.

ACTON: Monday November 27, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road.

WEST LONDON: Tuesday November 28, 8 p.m. Prince Albert, Wharfedale Road, King's Cross.

I would like information about

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Fill in the form below and send to NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186a CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON SW4 7UG.

Name.....

Address.....

What we think

Secret talks

TWO MONTHS ago, when Fleet Street was screaming that the union chiefs had answered 'No! no! no!' to the Tory premier's proposal for a £2 limit on all wage increases, we maintained the TUC had entered into Heath's plans for state control over wages.

The General Council's decision to talk with Heath, was 'a shameful and historic retreat' (Workers Press, September 28, 1972). Like the decision to appear before the National Industrial Relations Court, it would help to 'smash the independence of trade unions and bring them under state control'.

Fat political sophisti-cats who think they are close to the corridors of power told us we were 'exaggerating'.

Last week there were more sneers when the TUC Economic Committee stated:

'It is impossible for discussions to be held in circumstances where the results of collective bargaining are to remain frozen by such ill-judged and objectionable provisions'.

But on Thursday TUC general secretary, Victor Feather, got together with Britain's top employer, CBI director-general W. O. Campbell Adamson, and the Tories' top civil servant, Sir William Armstrong, to work out follow-up legislation to the present 90-day law.

The talks were kept a closely-guarded secret. They were the main news of the day for Workers Press, but 'The Times' buried the story in four front-page paragraphs and most of the Press, including the 'Morning Star', failed to mention them at all.

It was not that the talks were not news—one TUC official admitted this is the first time such discussions have taken place since the breakdown of the Downing Street talks just over a fortnight ago.

They were secret to keep the working class in the dark about the process of making the state wage control permanent.

An April 1969 entry in Cecil King's recently-published diary, comments: 'Lunch yesterday for Victor Feather. I have known him well for years as the "Mirror" paid him a £500-a-year retainer, and he was a useful source of trade union opinion. He seemed to think a national wages board was not an impossible idea.'

Two months earlier, King had recorded an opinion Heath formed after dining with TUC leaders. This was that the engineers' president, Hugh Scanlon, was 'ready to accept the enforceability of labour contracts—one of the main planks of the later Industrial Relations Act.'

On Thames-TV's 'This Week' programme on Thursday, which went out a few hours after Feather's secret talks, Scanlon would not say if his union intended to break the Tories' pay law. The engineering section had not yet discussed this, he claimed.

But he hoped earnestly that there could still be an agreement between the government and the unions on the issue of pay and prices. So Scanlon, too, accepts the principle of state pay control.

From right to left, therefore, the present leadership of the trade unions is united against the working class. Are these men fit to lead? The answer from millions of workers, we are confident, will be a resounding No!

The building and training of a new, revolutionary leadership in the trade unions is therefore a vital necessity.

Drivers to meet with cold-store dockers

Lorries won't break picket

LONDON lorry drivers' leaders yesterday decided they would not cross dockers' picket lines outside a number of cold stores, as they had previously threatened to do on Monday.

Instead they have called on the Transport and General Workers' Union to organize a joint meeting of road-transport shop stewards and stewards from throughout the whole London dock group.

The aim would be to plan a united campaign around the cold stores.

Meat-lorry stewards have been instructed to refuse any orders

from employers to go through the picket lines while these joint talks are arranged.

Eric Rechnitz, the drivers' leader, said yesterday they had

been looking for a 'gem of light' to prevent a clash with the dockers.

'On Thursday night stewards from the Riverside No 5 division of the docks called me and said they were angered and surprised at some of the suggestions made by some stewards at the Royal group.'

They told him that a decision had been taken in isolation from other dock stewards.

'We want a joint campaign with the dockers. A battle could only benefit the capitalist class as a whole and Hay's Wharf and Vestey's in particular, while the Tory Press makes hay', Rechnitz added.

'We must prevent a waterside war between two sections of workers.'

Talks on college sacking

TALKS to settle a dispute which has rocked Oxford University were still going on late yesterday afternoon.

Representatives of the National Union of Public Employees were meeting with the governing body of St Anne's College over the demand by college workers to reinstate Frank Keen, a college handyman who was sacked three weeks ago.

A NUPE spokesman said that the fact the two sides were now

talking was 'a good sign'. But he would not say whether the college authorities had offered to reinstate Keen, a shop steward for the union before his sacking.

Workers at the college claim the sacking was due to Keen's efforts to recruit them into NUPE.

They have received support from carworkers at Cowley. Dustmen in the locality have also backed them.

Let prices rip-says Powell

INCREASES in house and land prices reflect great credit on the Tory government, claimed Enoch Powell, MP for Wolverhampton south-west, speaking to the South Portland Conservative Club last night.

The rises reflected demand, and the fact that people were seeking the best hedge against inflation. The

government was right not to try to control prices, but to let the market do its work.

Rents should also be permitted to rise to bring them into line with the cost of houses.

Powell praised the Tory government for releasing more land for development which, he claimed, permitted increasing demand for houses to be met—at a price.

This appeal to the price mechanism no

doubt pleased his Tory audience.

It means that those who own land and houses can be sure of getting richer and those who have to buy or rent them—the great majority of working-class and middle-class people—will have to pay higher rents and mortgage repayments.

Enoch Powell—himself a City man and a property owner—is on the winning side in this inflationary battle.

It is no wonder that he, and the whole Tory Party of landlords and financiers, like to see land values and rents going up.

It is more money into their pockets to enable them to keep ahead of inflation while wages and salaries fall behind.

'I touch last upon profit,' he said. 'It is no good being mealy-mouthed about profit. The making of such profits is the condition, and the sign, of success.'

Welsh council to discuss steel shock

EBBW VALE urban council is to hold a special meeting tomorrow to discuss the shock announcement by British Steel Corporation chairman, Lord Melchett, that half the 9,000 jobs in the local steelworks will go in the next few years.

Melchett agreed last Thursday that he had originally said that 8,000 men would continue to be employed at the works, but added: 'We have changed our minds about this.'

He explained: 'Ebbw Vale is caught up in the trend of change. It is just not sensible to continue with the old type of production here.'

The reduction of jobs at Ebbw Vale will involve 1,900 by 1975 and a further 1,400 the following year, making a total of 3,300 by 1976. By 1980, 4,500 jobs will have gone. Melchett told the works' council that BSC now anticipated that the blast furnaces would be closed during 1975, the open-hearth furnaces in 1976 and the hot strip-mill closed before the end of the decade.

A works' council spokesman said: 'The trade union movement at Ebbw Vale rejected as totally unacceptable the statement made by Lord Melchett in respect of the closure of steel-making and his reference to the hot mill. Under no circumstances are we prepared to see in this area any form of unemployment.'

He added that they intended to hold BSC to the 8,000 jobs promised by Lord Melchett in 1971.

The Ebbw Vale steelworks was opened in 1933 and provides work for 70 per cent of the area's working population.

Local MP Michael Foot was expected in the constituency last night 'to assess the situation'.

We totally reject Act—rent rebels

CLAY CROSS Labour council in Derbyshire has ignored the default order made against it for refusing to implement the Tories' Housing Finance Act.

A council meeting on Thursday night reaffirmed non-implementation. It was the last chance to put up the rents.

On Wednesday the Tory government issued a default order demanding that the council had to prepare within 16 days to implement the Act from January.

Council leader Arthur Wellon said after the meeting: 'We totally reject the Act and shall maintain our stand whatever happens.'

The next move is for the Tories to order a special audit of the council's accounts and possibly move in a Housing Commissioner.

When the special audit is completed the rebel councillors could be made to pay back all the missing rent revenue, amounting to many thousands of pounds.

Meanwhile the collapse at Eccles, near Manchester, one of the five Labour councils in England and Wales served with default orders, has been confirmed.

A council meeting voted 20 to seven on Thursday night to implement the 'fair rents' Act in line with a Labour group decision the previous night.

The retreat was inspired by council leader Ken Edwards, previously on the side of non-implementation.

He told the meeting that a freeze had been obtained until January 1 and it was now up to the tenants to carry on the fight themselves.

RIGHT WING terrorists branded the wife of former Stormont Opposition MP Austin Currie when they raided his home on Thursday night. There is little doubt that Mr Currie would have been murdered if he had been at home. As it was, the raiders scratched the initials 'UVF' across Mrs Currie's chest.

Workers Press MONTHLY APPEAL FUND

DECISIVE WEEKEND

WITH 13 days more to go, we have £621.43—still a long way from completing our £1,750 target. This is the decisive weekend. We urge you all, dear readers—do everything you can and turn the situation around.

Every day now we face new price increases biting more and more deeply into our pockets. Trade unionists everywhere are being drawn into battles for wages and forced into struggle against the Tories' state pay plan.


Workers Press leads the fight against the Tories. We know that because of this, all your support is behind us. All your help is needed for a very special effort this weekend for November's Fund. Go all out and raise as much as you can. Post every donation immediately to:

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

LECTURERS in 98 London colleges and polytechnics were yesterday asked by their union to join a half-day strike next Thursday by 37,000 London teachers in protest at government intervention to stop their agreed London weighting allowance.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS XMAS BAZAAR

Lucky number programme



SATURDAY NOVEMBER 25
East India Hall,
East India Dock Rd. E.14
Doors open 12 noon Price 5p

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FOOD PRICES in the Irish Republic have now risen by more than 4½p in the pound in the last three months. Reports of 200-per-cent profit margins on food and vegetables are being investigated in Dublin.