# Workers bress

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER . MONDAY DECEMBER 4, 1972 . No. 937 . 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

# **DUBLIN BOMB OUTRAGES** III EHANDOF THE SAS?

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE WAVE of bombings in Dublin marks one of the biggest political provocations since the Reichstag fire. Within 60 minutes of the bomb outrages last Friday night the opposition which threatened the Lynch government collapsed.

#### BRIEFLY

FIGURES released today show that 23,215,000 working days disappeared through strikes from January to October — nearly double the figure for the similar period last year and more than any complete year since the General Strike in 1926.

The 'Department of Employment Gazette', which publishes the statistics, was itself held up because of an industrial dispute at the printers.

at the printers.

In the first ten months of 1972 there were 2,132 stoppages involving 1,473,000 workers. Also 19.1 million working days were lost in the year to June 1971 through industrial injuries.

FEDERATION of Film Unions meeting yesterday endorsed over-whelmingly a decision by Shep-perton workers to occupy their Middlesex studio to oppose asset-

stripping by John Bentley.

Bentley, the head of Barclay
Securities, is proposing to sell
off 45 acres of the Shepperton
lot for property speculation and
to reduce the studio capacity.
This would destroy Shepperton's
viability as one of the country's
viability as one of the country's few remaining studios and cause at least 200 redundancies.

EVANGELIST James Industrial Relations Court has so far cost the engineers' union £6,000 in contempt of court fines and costs, is to see his lawvers again following his failure to get into the AUEW branch meeting at Sudbury, Suffolk, on Friday. He has said he will return to the NIRC as soon as possible.

ASTMS, the technicians' union, has been accused by one of its members of an unfair industrial practice involving a ballot. Mr S. Heaton, of Halewood Road, Liverpool, has complained to the NIRC about the conduct of a ballot held by the Royal Insurance Company, Liverpool.

COMPENSATION claim against the Transport and General Workers' Union has been lodged in the National Industrial Relations Court by General Aviation Services (UK) Ltd. The case in which the company is alleging an unfair industrial practice, arises out of a dispute at London's Heathrow Airport. No date has yet been fixed for the hearing.

Taking advantage of the hysteria created by the explosions, the anti-IRA Bill was rushed through both houses of parliament and the crisis facing British imperialism in Ireland was averted (see Ian Yeats' on-thespot report page 2.)

The fall of the Lynch government would have been a decisive victory for the Irish and British working class. For Irish workers it would have afforded an enormous opportunity to express their bitter opposition to EEC entry, unemployment, soaring prices and legal attacks on the trade unions.

For British workers it would have posed the question—If Lynch can be kicked out, why can't we do the same to Heath?

There can be no doubt that those responsible for the bomb attacks which killed two bus workers and injured 126 people were agents of British imperialism. Special Air Services (SAS) have been involved in the past in similar bombings in the poorth

Throughout last week it was possible to detect the hand of British Intelligence at work. It began with the sudden appearance of rocket launchers supposedly supplied to the IRA by 'Iron Curtain countries'

But as a strike movement began to develop and the passage of the Bill became uncertain, a provocation was necessary.

The target of the bombing—Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions—is evidence enough that those responsible hate the trade unions and the Bill to become law and the Bill to become law.

wanted the Bill to become law.

Both wings of the IRA have issued statements categorically denying any responsibility for the bombing.

The staging of this provocation shows the depth of the crisis in the ranks of the Green Tories. Along with the Tories in Britain, Lynch and company are desperate to get into the Com-mon Market. They need laws to smash the working class, just as

Heath needs his laws too.

The use of a bombing provocation is a tragic irony. It reveals the bankruptcy of the nation-alists' terror campaign. When the Lynch government

was on the brink of collapse, the arch-terrorists, the ruling class, used its agents to frighten the opposition with bomb attacks.

Bomb outrages thus became the lever by which the ruling class of Britain and Ireland dealt a deadly blow to the mass opposition to the Bill.

opposition to the Bill.

But the advantages they have won will be short-lived.

The jailing of Sean Mac-Stiofain, the sacking of the entire board of RTE, the charging of journalist Kevin O'Kelly, the introduction of anti-union legislation has brought the Irish working class onto the scene in concerted opposition to the Tories.

Coupled with the soaring cost

Coupled with the soaring cost of living and unemployment after EEC entry, this creates the conditions when a revolutionary leadership can and will be built. In recent years the Irish work-

ing class has paid a bitter price for the failures of leadership. Now a new and decisive chapter

TENANTS and trade unionists from at least a dozen towns throughout Britain demonstrated 3,000-strong in Clay Cross, Derbyshire, yesterday in support of the councillors defying the Tory 'fair rents' Act.

The High Street was blocked for 30 minutes by tenants who shouted 'Heath Out!', 'Tories Out!', and 'Rent Increases Out!'

Arthur Wellon, leader of the 11 Labour councillors who face possible surcharge and disqualification from the council, told Workers Press: 'This is only the beginning, just round-one of the

'We hope it will end in the downfall of this Tory government and a Labour government which will carry out their promises and not uphold the establishment.'

Ceylon

STARTING TODAY ON PAGE 8 Jack Gale's series on 'Renegades from Trotskyism'

#### Ireland

IAN YEATS, staff reporter, is in Dublin reporting on the anti-IRA Bill (see page 2). His 10-part series on 'A Crisis of Leadership' continues on page 4.

Due to pressure of space STEPHEN JOHNS' Investigation 'An IMG stunt that backfired' has been held over until tomorrow.



ABOUT 750 Anti-Internment League demonstrators marched from Hyde Park to Number 10 Downing Street yesterday in protest against the jailing of Sean MacStlofain. They also protested against the passing of the anti-IRA Bill. The march was headed by groups supporting the Provisional IRA and the vanguard wore military-style berets. Other contingents came from the International Marxist Group and the International Socialists. They chanted 'Victory to the IRA' and 'Tories Out, North and South'. See SLL meeting p.12.



# MARIE SIESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY DECEMBER 4, 1972 ● No. 937 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

# **DUBLIN BOMB OUTRAGES** THE HAND OF THE SAS?

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE WAVE of bombings in Dublin marks one of the biggest political provocations since the Reichstag fire. Within 60 minutes of the bomb outrages last Friday night the opposition which threatened the Lynch government collapsed.

#### **BRIEFLY**

FIGURES released today show that 23,215,000 working days disappeared through strikes from January to October — nearly double the figure for the similar period last year and more than any complete year since the General Strike in 1926.

The 'Department of Employment Gazette', which publishes the statistics, was itself held up because of an industrial dispute at the printers.

at the printers.

In the first ten months of 1972 there were 2,132 stoppages involving 1,473,000 workers. Also 19.1 million working days were lost in the year to June 1971 through industrial injuries.

FEDERATION of Film Unions meeting yesterday endorsed overwhelmingly a decision by Shep-perton workers to occupy their Middlesex studio to oppose asset-

stripping by John Bentley.

Bentley, the head of Barclay Securities, is proposing to sell off 45 acres of the Shepperton lot for property speculation and to reduce the studio capacity. This would destroy Shepperton's viability as one of the country's few remaining studios and cause few remaining studios and cause at least 200 redundancies.

EVANGELIST James Industrial Relations Court has so far cost the engineers' union £6,000 in contempt of court fines and costs, is to see his lawyers and costs, is to see his lawyers again following his failure to get into the AUEW branch meeting at Sudbury, Suffolk, on Friday. He has said he will return to the NIRC as soon as possible.

ASTMS, the technicians' union, has been accused by one of its members of an unfair industrial practice involving a ballot. Mr S. Heaton, of Halewood Road, Liverpool, has complained to the NIRC about the conduct of a ballot held by the Royal Insurance Company, Liverpool.

COMPENSATION claim against the Transport and General Workers' Union has been lodged in the National Industrial Relations Court by General Aviation Services (UK) Ltd. The case in which the company is alleging an unfair industrial practice, arises out of a dispute at London's Heathrow Airport. No date has yet been fixed for the hearing.

Taking advantage of the hysteria created by the explosions, the anti-IRA Bill was rushed through both houses of parliament and the crisis facing British imperialism in Ireland was averted (see Ian Yeats' on-thespot report page 2.)

The fall of the Lynch government would have been a decisive victory for the Irish and British working class. For Irish workers it would have afforded an enormous opportunity to express their bitter opposition to EEC entry, unemployment, soaring prices and legal attacks on the trade unions.

For British workers it would have posed the question—If Lynch can be kicked out, why can't we do the same to Heath?

There can be no doubt that those responsible for the bomb attacks which killed two bus workers and injured 126 people were agents of British imperialism. Special Air Services (SAS) have been involved in the past in similar bombings in the

Throughout last week it was possible to detect the hand of British Intelligence at work. It began with the sudden appearance of rocket launchers supposedly supplied to the IRA by 'Iron Curtain countries'.

But as a strike movement began to develop and the passage of the Bill became uncertain, a provocation was necessary.

The target of the bombing-Liberty Hall, the

headquarters of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions—is evidence enough that those responsible hate the trade unions and

wanted the Bill to become law.

Both wings of the IRA have issued statements categorically denying any responsibility for the bombing.

The staging of this provocation shows the depth of the crisis in the ranks of the Green Tories. Along with the Tories in Britain, Lynch and company are desperate to get into the Com-mon Market. They need laws to smash the working class, just as Heath needs his laws too.

The use of a bombing provocation is a tragic irony. It reveals the bankruptcy of the nationalists' terror campaign.

When the Lynch government

was on the brink of collapse, the arch-terrorists, the ruling class, used its agents to frighten the opposition with bomb attacks.

Bomb outrages thus became the lever by which the ruling class of Britain and Ireland dealt a deadly blow to the mass opposition to the Bill.

But the advantages they have won will be short-lived.

The jailing of Sean Mac-Stiofain, the sacking of the entire board of RTE, the charging of journalist Kevin O'Kelly, the introduction of anti-union legislation has anti-union legislation has brought the Irish working class onto the scene in concerted opposition to the Tories.

Coupled with the soaring cost of living and unemployment after EEC entry, this creates the conditions when a revolutionary leadership can and will be built. In recent years the Irish work-

ing class has paid a bitter price for the failures of leadership. Now a new and decisive chapter

TENANTS and trade unionists from at least a dozen towns throughout Britain demonstrated 3,000-strong in Clay Cross, Derbyshire, yesterday in support of the councillors defying the Tory 'fair rents' Act.

The High Street was blocked for 30 minutes by tenants who shouted 'Heath Out!', 'Tories Out!', and 'Rent Increases Out!'

Arthur Wellon, leader of the 11 Labour councillors who face possible surcharge and disqualification from the council, told Workers Press: 'This is only the beginning, just round-one of the

'We hope it will end in the downfall of this Tory government and a Labour government which will carry out their promises and not uphold the establishment.'

Ceylon

STARTING TODAY ON PAGE 8 Jack Gale's series on 'Renegades from Trotskyism'

#### Ireland

IAN YEATS, staff reporter, is in Dublin reporting on the anti-IRA Bill (see page 2). His 10-part series on 'A Crisis of Leadership' continues on page 4.

Due to pressure of space STEPHEN JOHNS' investigation 'An IMG stunt that backfired' has been held over until tomorrow.



ABOUT 750 Anti-Internment League demonstrators marched from Hyde Park to Number 10 Downing Street yesterday in protest against the jailing of Sean MacStiofain. They also protested against the passing of the anti-IRA Bill. The march was headed by groups supporting the Provisional IRA and the vanguard wore military-style berets. Other contingents came from the International Marxist Group and the International Socialists. They chanted 'Victory to the IRA' and 'Tories Out, North and South'. See SLL meeting p.12.



#### 'Timely' explosions force through Lynch's anti-IRA Bill THE IRISH government rushed its Bill

amending the already draconian Offences Against the State Act into law at the weekend while a rash of bomb scares in Dublin kept public tension at fever pitch.

The continuous disruption and panic in the city certainly encouraged senators to end their 11-hour debate on the Bill on Saturday with a 30 to eight vote in favour of it.

The Bill could not be made law yesterday, but President de Valera was expected to give his signature a few minutes after midnight today.

Army and police chiefs are rumoured to have prepared a massive security crackdown the moment the Bill becomes law and both wings of the IRA told me they were taking special precau-tions to safeguard leading mem-bers from possible arrest.

The mysterious twin bomb blasts in Dublin on Friday night which killed two CIE busmen and injured 126 people have effectively silenced all opposition to the Bill and saved Fianna Fail from certain defeat.

#### No objections

Within an hour of the first 100 lb bomb exploding at the 15storey headquarters of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Fine Gael leader Mr Liam Cosgrove told the Dail his 50-strong party did not intend to pursue their objections to the new law in the division lobbies.

Sixty nine deputies voted for the Bill and 22 against. If Fine Gael had carried out its pledge to oppose the government Fianna Fail would have been defeated by three votes and Prime Minister Jack Lynch would have been forced to fight a lawand-order election.

After talks with British Tory leader Edward Heath, Lynch returned to Ireland and made it clear that the government in-tended no let up on the terrorists and was prepared to make no concessions on its proposed amendments to the Offences Against the State Act.

# Bomb stampede

#### 'Political opinion suggests Fianna Fail knows more about the terrorists than it lets on'

#### FROM IAN YEATS IN DUBLIN



LP leader Conor Cruise O'Brien: Bound to oppose

None of the Opposition parties in the Dail wanted a general election. The smaller parties feared they would be wiped out in the tide of public support for Fianna Fail's anti-IRA policies and Fine Gael and Labour both expected to be badly mauled in a contest in which they would be branded supporters of terror-

#### **Safeguards**

On Thursday Cosgrove risked his position as leader of Fine Gael by flying in the face of the apparently unanimous view of the rest of his party and insisting that he supported the Bill but hoped merely that the government could be persuaded to add certain safeguards particularly as to the length of time it would be in operation.

The Labour Party was split with the right-wing led by Conor Cruise O'Brien tending towards Cosgrove's position and the left, led by David Thornley and John O'Connell, pressing for an all-or-nothing showdown with the government.

With Lynch in no mood for concessions, in the end, even Labour was forced to pit all its 17 votes against the Bill.

But within Fine Gael the immediate consequence of the explosion was to allow the party, which has consistently called for tougher measures against the IRA, to wriggle out of the tight political corner it had recklessly

The Friday night terror permitted Party members to bow to the 'security needs' of the moment and abstain.

The 'terror bombers' could not

have struck at a more opportune moment. As Conor Cruise O'Brien

explained to me, the legislation was phrased in such a way that 'any self respecting opposition was bound to oppose it', even though they had persistently called for something similar.

An earlier unexplained bomb blast at the Film Centre, O'Connell Bridge, last Saturday week in which 30 people were injured had done little either to stampede public opinion behind Fianna Fail or give the opposition the chance to say that the nation was so imperiled by terrorists that virtually any measure to deal with them was justified.

Then at 8 p.m. on Friday two bombs exploded within 25 minutes of each other at Liberty Hall and outside the CIE hall in Marlborough Street, terrorizing Dublin crowds and changing the political scene from top bottom.

The fear and panic generated by these explosions lasted throughout the weekend, fanned by lurid Press headlines and bomb scares at one time esti-mated at one every four minutes.

#### Slipped quietly

Meanwhile the legislation conferring virtual powers of dictator-ship on the Lynch government slipped more or less quietly through the Dail and the Senate and into the hands of President de Valera in the early hours of this morning.

Despite the hoaxes guardi and army were reacting with notable calm. There was a marked absence of large numbers of police or troops in the blast areas at the time of the explosions and even fewer were in evidence on Saturday and Sunday.

Although in his address to the nation over Radio Telefis Eireann on Friday night Lynch spoke of the grave threat from evil men. there is little evidence that the government expects this to continue to come from bombers.

#### Cowardly agents

Indeed in view of the denial of responsibility for Friday's blasts issued by both wings of the IRA and by the Ulster Defence Association, there is a broad current of political opinion suggesting Fianna Fail knows more about the identity of the terrorists than it is prepared to let on.

The Provisional IRA said in a statement: 'The Republican movement respectfully suggest that those responsible were obviously cowardly agents provocateur trying to destroy law and order in the south and thereby contributing at a vital moment to the acceptance of the O'Malley repressive Bill.'

● IRA Chief-of-Staff Sean Mac-Stiofain, imprisoned at the Curragh camp, was yesterday taking tea, orange juice, water and glucose and an army spokesman said he was expected to go on to soup and food this week. There has been no official statement from the IRA suggesting MacStiofain may end his 13-day hunger strike.

Socialist Labour League

#### **CELEBRATE** 3RD ANNIVERSARY OF WORKERS **PRESS BUILD THE** REVOLUTIONARY PARTY SUNDAY DECEMBER 10. 7 p.m. **County Hotel**

#### **THREE YEARS OF WORKERS PRESS** Showing the developments and gains since the first issue of NEWCASTLE

#### Speakers:

MIKE BANDA (SLL Central Committee) **DAVID JONES** (YS national committee)

BOB MAINS (Unemployed)

VINCENT FOY (Jarrow Trades Council secretary. In a

#### **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 Secre-

WILLIE AITKIN (YS national committee)

**PETER SMITH** (Rover shop steward. In personal capacity.) CORIN REDGRAVE (Equity. In a personal capacity.)

### Leyland joins giants RUMOURS in Madrid that in Spain

the 'Authi' car company—partly-owned by British-Leyland—was going to abandon the Spanish market have been scotched by the announcement of strengthened investment in Spain.

Lord Stokes has plans to take over the complete running and financing of 'Authi' and to carry through important extensions in the plant near Pamplona, in

Navarre province.

And the establishment of factories in Spain by Ford and General Motors means that the Franco regime is to play host to all the main car monopolies which are locked in bitter struggle for the European market.

On Saturday, Spanish Industry Minister Lopez de Letona held a round-table discussion on Spanish television with many directors of the present car giants already represented in Spain.

It was a high-point of a week of discussions in which he has been assuring them that they need have no fears about the appearance of their American rivals in Spain.

The massive flight of capital into Spain is accelerating rapidly as the international trade war sharpens. And Franco is a pastmaster in the diplomatic-game of pleasing all those who will fill the coffers of the Bank of Spain.

The coastal provinces of Barcelona and Valencia (Levante) are to become centres for this investment. Apart from the Seat plant in Barcelona and the proposed Ford factory in the Levante, Pittsburg capital is behind a new steel plant to be constructed

in the region.

Last week, Prince Juan Carlos opened the first section of a new container port in Barcelona.

This first unit, which has the capacity to move 60,000 containers a year, makes it one of the largest container ports in Europe. Container traffic has trebled through Barcelona from 9,000 units in 1969 to 28,000 in

The appeal which has just been lodged in the Madrid courts by Lucio Lobato, Spanish Com-munist Party central committee member, gives an indication of is so much to get into Spain.

Already Lobato has served long prison sentences on charges of rebellion since the Civil War. He was arrested again towards

the end of 1970 for organizing the illegal Communist Party.

The secret police gave evidence of the holding of classes in a flat which he had rented to discuss statements and theoretical articles. The flat was raided by police

who discovered an electric duplicator and leaflets issued by the Workers' Commissions, the illegal trade unions.

Lobato is now gainst the 21-year appealing for these 'crimes' of illegal combination and propaganda.

 Tomorrow a special feature on the car monopolies in Spain in our centre pages.

#### Whitlam to do a Wilson?

GOUGH WHITLAM, Australia's new Labour Prime Minister, has no programme to meet the deepening economic crisis which the country is entering.

Throughout his campaign Whit-lam talked imaginatively about recognizing China, withdrawing troops from Vietnam and oppos-ing French nuclear tests in the little or no substance to any of his speeches on the Australian

Yet there is growing unemployment, poverty, slum housing, bad housing and schooling; these problems have been aggravated by the international crisis of capitalism.

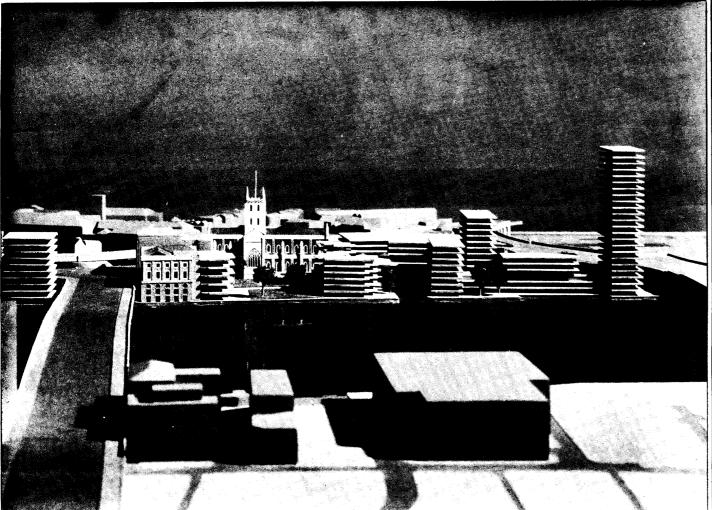
British capitalism has been bleeding Australia on a more ruthless basis in recent years while the Japanese have turned

the country into a gigantic quarry in the quest for raw materials like iron ore, bauxite, coal and copper.

When the economic questions have been raised, Whitlam has rested on a crude nationalism ('Australia for the Australian') which is both unrealistic and chauvinistic.

As one commentator said at the weekend: 'The greatest danger is that Whitlam will now do a Wilson.' And the British working class knows what that

The election of Labour after years is in line with a swing to Social Democratic parties in several countries. In recent weeks they have won victories in General Elections in Holland, West Germany and New Zealand.





# L GOOD NEWS

BY PHILIP WADE

Dockers and others will no doubt be pleased to know that the first stage of the proposed redevelopment of Hay's Wharf riverside area in Southwark has received planning permission.

When the good news came through last week that the Labour council at Southwark had given the go-ahead, shares in the proprietors of Hay's Wharf rose 6p to close at 447p each.

The Tooley Street estate between Cannon Street railway bridge in the west and Tower Bridge in the east amounts to about  $38\frac{1}{2}$  acres.

Today the slab of ugly, decaying warehouses are worth little as a going concern. The former storage and wharf operations died as containerization developed in London, taking the trade to more modern and efficient upstream unloading points.

Yet the owners are sitting

on a gold mine. When the site is revalued, taking into account what is to be built there, it will be worth, they şay, about £300m.

These are the plans: Clear the land Build 2.5 million sq. ft. of offices, two hotels, a shopping centre and some private flats. Sell the lot for £300m.

From this they will sub-tract the cost of buying some land, construction costs and interest charges on borrowed

money, in all about £135m.

That still leaves a clear capital profit of around £160m.

The first planning per-mission has been given for Hibernia Chambers, a Victorian building on the riverside side, near London Bridge. It is to be restored and im-proved to provide 40,000 square feet of offices and a much-needed City Livery Hall.

Harrison also told his annual meeting that, incidentally, planning consent had also been obtained for an office development of 70,000 sq. ft. in Aldgate. It brings the company's total development programme to more than £72m, excluding Hay's Wharf.

His company jointly owns the main developer, Renslade Investments. The other partner is Mr Michael Rivkin's Argyle Securities. Renslade paid a premium of £2m in July last year for a long lease of the site.

Michael Rivkin has an option to develop 231 acres of the land on the site on a 135-year lease.

Only just 30, Rivkin earned his spurs by fighting off Slater Walker Securities to get the option. Chairman Jim Slater had been buying Hay's shares fast, winning at one point 12½ per cent of the holdings.

Slater was working with Sir Max Rayne, husband of Lady Jane Rayne, sister of the Marquis of Londonderry, and a member of a family with extensive shareholdings Hav's.

But Rayne's negotiations with Hay's chairman Sir David Burnett fell through and Rivkin moved in for the kill.

Apart from Lady Jane, a number of other members of the aristocracy are involved Above left: model of the proposed redevelopment of Hay's Wharf. Right: Jim Slater, has been buying Hay's shares fast.

in the plans to create extremely profitable buildings on the south side of the Thames.

Southwark council has been complaining for some time that the Hay's Wharf scheme will not help the big housing programme, with over 20,000 on the council's waiting list.

Nevertheless, the planning permissions seem to be going ahead nicely. And developers are optimistic that within the next six months, they will be given the green light for much more than the Hibernia redevelopment. Then watch the Hay's shares!

#### It was a Mr Gabriel Harrison who announced this good news to the city. He is chairman of the mammoth Amalgamated Investment Property Company.

# GIVE A YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION WORKERS PRESS **AS YOUK**

Complete the form below with name and address of person to whom you would like the paper sent.

NAME ..... ADDRESS .....

Date to start sending ......

Amount enclosed (£20) £..... Complete form and post immediately to: WORKERS PRESS CIRCULATION DEPT., 186a CLAPHAM HIGH STREET, LONDON, SW47UG

### Writings of Leon **Trotsky**

	£1.43
	£1.43
	£1.25
	£1.25
,	£1.25
	£1.05



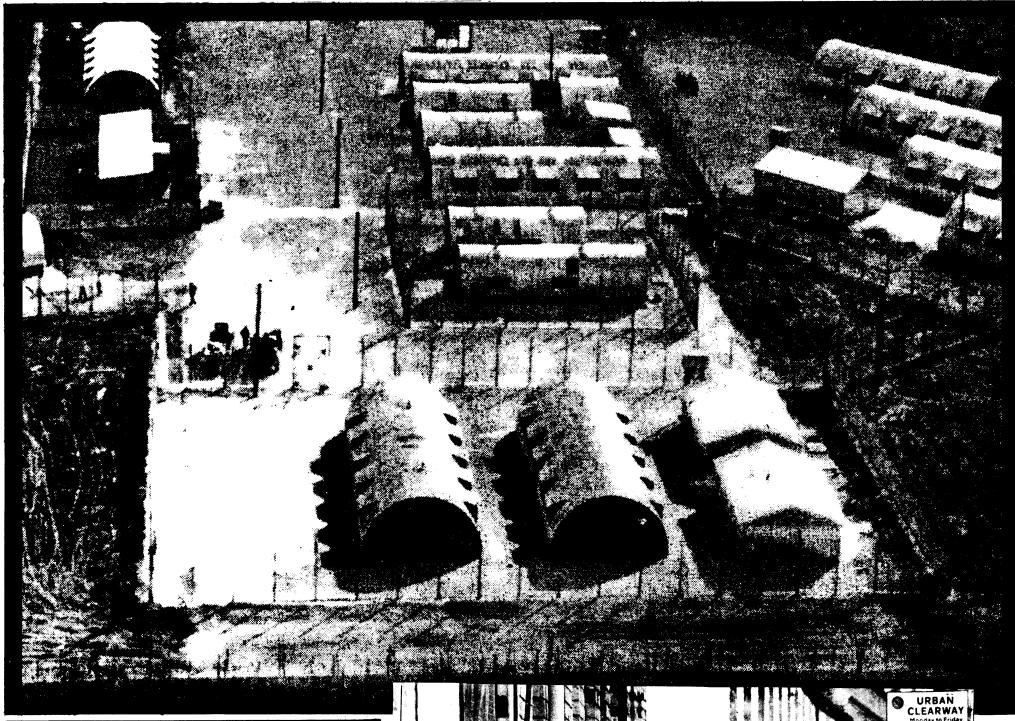
These extremely vital writings by Leon Trotsky between the years 1929 and 1940—his third and final exile from the Soviet Union—are now available in Britain from the Paperbacks Centre (see advert below).

**Charlotte St** London W1



ion, Tues, Wed, Thurs 9 alm.—6 p.m. Fri 9 a.m.—7.30 p.m. Sat 9 a.m.-5 p.m.

BOOKS PERIODICALS NEWSPAPERS



How successful have the policies of Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Army been since the first civil unrest in Ulster in 1968? IAN YEATS reports in a series of articles based on interviews with leading Republicans, revisionists and reformists on both sides of the border.

# IRELAND THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

#### PART FIVE MALACHY MCGURRAN SPEAKS

The question of reorganization was discussed at the 1963-1964 conference and the two main elements were Gouldling and Mac-Stiofain.

MacStiofain thought the organization should stay as it was and that the Republican Clubs should stay as it was and that the Republican Clubs should be used to screen people and if they were OK from the point of view of security get them into the movement.

Goulding proposed that it should be scrapped and that we should try to create a revolutionary party.

It was decided to appoint education officers to the units to attempt to give a deeper

understanding of Republicanism and socialism.

Goulding said you no longer needed gunmen, but Mac-Stiofain said you needed all types in the movement.

Until Roy Johnson came on the scene there was no direction of education, so the education officers did not know what to do. Goulding was mostly involved in organization, so the bulk of the political programme was left to Roy Johnson [CP].

There was a stumbling and fumbling approach.

One decision of the 1964 Army Convention was to get more in contact with local issues and the trade unions.

It was left very vague, but the IRA would wait on a social dispute and then move in—farms owned by foreigners, disputes with employers, land, rents and so on.

The thing naturally evolved without us having any active part in it. We stood on the side lines and sometimes we might be called in.

Outside Dublin we had been very weak in the trade unions, particularly in the north where you had a large number of Catholics unemployed.



'Internment, the Special Powers Act and the Army—we wanted to get rid of these so we could start organizing again.' Inset: the Army waiting on a street corner. Above: Long Kesh Internment Camp.

It was a slow process that we began in 1964 and I feel it is still going on.

I think Johnson was used as a whipping boy. Up till 1966-1967 allegiance was pledged to the IRA Army Council, but then this was done away with and the reds under the beds campaign became very, very strong.

Accusations mostly came from intelligence staff and of course MacStiofain was head of intelligence. They said the whole headquarters staff was communist.

But we were hung up on attitudes from the 1920s, 1940s and 1950s and the whole notion of handing over power to the army council and the structure of the organization had to go.

ion had to go.

It was getting people to realize that social and econo-

mic issues were as important as the north which was the problem. Right up to 1968 the role of the movement in the south had been to raise funds for the north.

A start had to be made raising the economic issues. You had to investigate where the main enemy was in economic terms, but the Provo element was very dubious about this.

1969 produced a reaction where many people went north to help out, but we had no

In the United States Clanna Gael gave up sending us money after articles appeared in the 'United Irishman' about Vietnam and the blacks.

People would not steal to get money. It was all right to go to the gallows with a smile on your face, but wrong to steal. In the end something was tried and the two guys got caught.

We decided to organize a new organization in the US and our support came mainly from the American-Irish not the Irish.

We tried to get weapons from the Moscow-orientated countries, but we got nothing. I think Moscow would have asked the CP here where the weapons were going and the CP said don't give them anything because they were afraid the weapons would be used

against them.

We were only left with the black market traders and the bigger ones always reported where they were selling arms.

After the acts of outright repression in August 1971 there was a feeling there was a need to retaliate to make it



'Goulding (above) proposed that we should create a revolutionary party', says Derry Republican leader, Malachy McGurran.

clear to the soldiers on the street that they could not kill and get away with it.

As the situation got worse the Officials' organization was devoted almost entirely to military operations.

Although no one admitted it, there was a campaign. A large-scale retaliation plan was drawn up for Bloody Sunday, including Aldershot.

including Aldershot.

The Best thing finalized it and made many in the movement feel they were in a campaign. Things had been allowed to drift to that. We were vying with the Provos.

But Best clearly showed that you can't take an isolated military act without it having political implications. The Best episode shocked a lot of Officials out of their apathy.

Long before 'Motorman' some of us thought the barricades were a hindrance. The debate was over how they should be removed. 'Motorman' was one of the best things that happened in the town because it took the barricades down.

We had said we were political and it gave us the chance to start building politically.

Internment, the Special Powers Act and the army—we wanted to get rid of these so we could start organizing

again.
Our position on the Green
Paper is that it ignores the
main issues. It is not so much
the national issue but the
social and economic issues
affecting a wider section of

the population.

The problems are unemployment and housing and these are issues where it does not matter whether Heath, Lynch or a condominium of working class Catholics and Protestants are in power, we

are not going to be better off.

We have had tenants' and housing committees and the unemployed action committee, but the results were not coming in fast enough.

The unemployed had a march and it lasted one or two hours and that was it. Everybody went home. Our crowd drifted out of the unemployed action committee and the tenants' association.

If we reactivate them, what are they to be? Are they to be pressure groups or what are they to be? What demands do you raise that can be related to practical action? Do we attempt to force Whitelaw to keep open a factory or do we take it over? If we take it over should we try to produce something at the factory?

One of our difficulties is that our organization lacks knowledge of the trade union movement in any kind of revolutionary struggle. Some sections say the trade unions are part of the bourgeois system.

I think the main problem of the Republican movement today is building a revolutionary movement. We need to see how the national question and the economic issues are

Whether social and economic conditions are the way to unite Catholics and Protestants at this stage I think is questionable.

I think there will have to be political unity first then sectarian unity around economic issues.

I don't think you can build a revolutionary party without a class organization, otherwise you have people thinking in purely nationalist terms or in terms of repression.

The problem is that you have an emotional subjection to the idea of nationalism and it is unfortunate that the republican movement is mainly made up of Catholics.

In 1969 we tried to keep the two sides apart, but then the areas in which you lived were under attack and you had to defend yourselves as best you could.

Many Protestant people thought they were better off, even though they lived in the same conditions as us and we felt the civil rights movement could have helped this. It was never a question of taking houses and jobs off Protestants. We just wanted more for all of us.

The Protestant workers are fragmented at the moment and they want defence. It is as easy for them to move to the right as to the left. At the moment Craig could raise the idea of National Socialism and have a good chance of getting away with it.

It would be short-lived, but the damage it would do and the repression under it would be ten times greater than anything we have had.

Eventually you cannot divorce the struggle in the north and south of Ireland from what is going on in England.

I would think it will be through the trade union movement that the unity of British and Irish workers will be brought about.

We must get rid of the Feathers and the Joneses and the trade union movement must be revolutionized and politicized.

The entry of Britain into the Common Market should be seen as the unity of the capitalist class, but there is no complementary development of the workers on the left

The Labour Party lives off protest and it must be seen at this stage simply as a release valve.

For the time being I think it is only practical to work within the context

of Ireland.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

# THE REAL FACE OF THE COMMON MARKET

**BY JUAN GARCIA** 

The co-operation between the governments of Pompidou and Franco has just received the blessing of the 'liberal' 'Le Monde'. It is worth noting some details of this alliance for 'European unity'.

Michel Debré, Minister of National Defence, signed an agreement in Madrid on June 22, 1970, which crowned months of exchange visits of French and Spanish generals.

The military a c c o r d guarantees close collaboration between the armaments industry of the two countries, including the divisions of missiles and munitions; for land, sea and air use; joint educational programmes and the concession of facilities for r e f u e l l i n g and joint manoeuvres.

#### SAME POLITICAL VIEW

Debré, pouring contempt on the pleas and parliamentary questions from the French Stalinists, said:

'Spain and France have the same political point of view, the same principles concerning national independence and international co-operation. We came here to make certain technical agreements, but realizing fully the political necessities which will make our countries march side by side in the coming years.'

Banner headlines on the front-page of the Falangist daily, 'El Alcazar' ('The Castle') screamed: 'Madrid-Paris—a political axis'.

The Burgos trials upset cooperation only by making progress a little more difficult in Paris; the trials cut through the warm picture of liberal, technocratic Spain projected by the liberals, and led to an angry movement of French workers. . .

But the clouds soon disappeared. General Diaz-Alegria went on an official tour of French military establishments in May 1971 and was favourably impressed:

'I saw many very interesting military installations. Nothing was hidden from me and I saw things I did not expect to see. Franco-Spanish military relations are excellent.'

In November joint air-force manoeuvres in Tarbes caused a stir. Pierre Villon, Communist deputy, wrote to Maurice Schumann:

'What treaty between France and Franco's Spain has allowed this manifestation of a "de facto" military alliance?"

Schumann assured the Stalinist parliamentarian that these were 'only joint manoeuvres of a strictly technical character'.

The French Stalinists, who have remained silent on the alliance between the bureaucracies in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and Franco, were easily satisfied, having duly registered their protest.

The Spanish and French working class are continuously trapped by Communist Party habitual one-sidedness on these questions.

Whilst the CP daily 'L'Humanité' prints the odd lukewarm protest against visiting fascist generals, the Spanish CP tells the Spanish working class that General Alegria is a liberal, open-minded European.

Both Stalinist parties attempt to hide the complicity of the Kremlin bureaucracy in this military conspiracy which is behind the Common Market and European Security Conference diplomatic toing-andfroing.

Well before Pompidou's September Press conference invitation to Spain to join the EEC, back in January 1971, he spoke of the need for a new 'centre of gravity' in Europe in reference to Spain and France.

Maurice Schumann in Madrid in June in the same year refused to meet leaders of the 'democratic opposition', yet spoke of his meeting with Franco with real exuberance and spirit:

'General Franco made a real profession of faith in Europe. . France will be the persistent advocate for Spain to get preferential agreements with the EEC.'

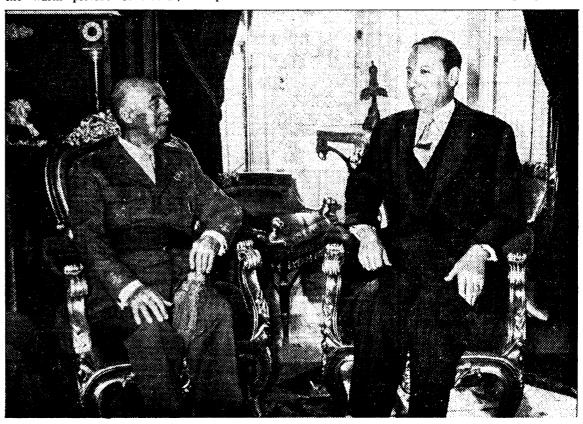
#### CONTINUAL HARASSMENT

The touching expression of faith has been expressed in exchanges between Enrique Garcia Ramal, Franco's Minister of Trade-Union Affairs the man responsible for the fascist vertical unions—and French minister Bettencourt. The talks are aimed at organizing Spanish immigrants in France in the fascist union in order to keep them away from the 'subversive' CGT.

The police and legal measures now continuously harassing French workers are the other side of Pompidou's preparations of dictatorship and alliance with Franco.

If any worker in Europe has any illusions about the fight their Stalinist leaderships will lead against dictatorship, he should compare the quarter-of an-hour national strike in engineering called against the trial of nine Berliet workers by the CGT with the military alliance which has been quietly proceeding since June 1970 between Pompidou and fascist Spain.

Below: Franco with France's Minister of National Defence, Michel Debré after signing.





# THE STRANGE TO THE WORLD OF THE STRANGE TO THE STRA MAI USUW

#### BY ALEX MITCHELL

In 1952 the Committee on Un-American Activities was in its prime. The capitalist Press was feeding off the daily interrogation and presecution of trade union activists, civil servants, academics, actors, directors, and musicians.

Broad sections of the leftwing movement lived in fear of receiving a subpoena compelling them to appear before the committee and its battery of television, radio and Press representatives. Many principled people refused to testify. Others left the country

to take up self-imposed exile

in Europe. Every now and again the committee turned up a coup witness, someone who was prepared to talk to the committee and name names. At 10.47 a.m. on February 6, 1952, such a witness entered the chamber. Representative John S. Wood, the committee's

a hush when he said: 'The committee will be in order.' Turning to the committee's full-time staff member, Mr Frank Tavenner, he inquired: 'Who do you have this

chairman, brought the room to

Tavenner: Mr Harvey M. Matusow.

Wood: Will you stand and be

sworn? Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give to this sub-committee, shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God? Matusow: I do.

Tavenner: Mr Matusow, would you please state your full name and present address? Matusow: Harvey M. Matusow, 1308 Grand Avenue, Dayton, Ohio.

Tavenner: When and where were you born, Mr Matusow? Matusow: October 3, 1926, in

the Bronx, NY. Tavenner: What has been your educational training? Matusow: I attended public

and high school in the Bronx, NY. I attended Biarritz American University in France, while I was in the Army, and City College of New York for about a year and a half after the war. Tavenner: Will you please outline for the committee, briefly, what your employment background has been, including any periods of active duty in the armed services of the United

States? Matusow: Well, in 1944, I was inducted into the infantry, United States Army. I served in the Army until 1946.

I then held a job at Grey Advertising Agency in New York City. I did some radio and television work for Noel Wesley Productions, in New

I worked for People's Songs, Inc., in New York City; the efferson School, Jefferson Book Shop, the Communist

Party of New York City; the Wholesale Book Corporation; Camp Unity in Wingdale, NY, and the Workers Book Shop in New York City.

I then worked for Bon Air Conditioning Co in New York City, and then entered the United States Air Force in 1951, the Reserve; was called to active duty. I was in the Air Force until December 11,

In January of this year I became an employee of the Ohio Un-American Activities on for the State of

Tavenner: Mr Matusow, the 'Daily Worker' of May 31, 1949, at page 6, lists you as a member of the Communist Party in New York City. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time referred to in the 'Daily Worker'?

Matusow: I was. Tavenner: When did you join the party, the Communist Party? Matusow: I joined the Com-

munist Party in October 1947, in New York City.

Tavenner: How long did you remain a member of the Communist Party, and under what circumstances was your mem-

bership in the Communist

Party terminated? Matusow: I was a member of the Communist Party until January 19, 1951. I was expelled from the Communist Party for, as the party termed it, being an enemy agent. I was suspected as being an OSS

agent in the Communist Party. Tavenner: Were you working in an undercover capacity for any government agency at that

Matusow: I was. About January or February of 1950, I made contact with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in New York and offered to give them any information that I might get pertaining to communist activities, and from that time until January 1951, I did furnish the FBI with information about communist activities in New York and New Mexico.

By this point the Press benches were straining to hear every word from the young man in the witness box. This was good copy. Matusow gave evidence for the next day and a half. It was sensational stuff. He described in exhaustive

detail the mechanism of youth recruitment of the American Communist Party. He named the leading members of the youth groups, gave their addresses, the names of their organizations and their modus operandi.

At the same time he implicated a number of well known artists.

• 'There was Paul Robeson Junior, I might say all the people I will list here attended party caucuses and classes with me at the camp that were only open to Communist Party members.

He told me that he was educated in the Soviet Union and had come back to the





people to what they called hoot-nannies, or a wing-ding, which was a small scale hoot-

United States and went to

very active in the Communist

Cornell University. He was

Party in Harlem. Paul Robe-

son Junior is now very active

in the Labour Youth League

and one of their leaders in

Harlem, nationally. They used

his name quite a bit . . . he

was very much in favour of

the system of the Soviet

Union and did say he would

like to see more of that over

• 'I joined People's Songs in

September of 1947 and imme-

diately became active in orga-

nizing a Bronx chapter of the

organization. There was a

Communist Party cell within

People's Songs. Pete Seeger.

He is a member of the sing-

ing group, The Weavers. Irvin

Silber, Wally Hallie, Jean Fox,

Betty Sanders, Neal Pelidorie,

Leonard Jacobson. The officers

whose names I have just read

were all members of the Com-

munist Party cell operating in

• 'Well, People's Songs took

the question of American folk

music and square dancing and

brought it, you might say, to

the big city. Many people,

such as Pete Seeger and a

name I didn't mention before,

Woody Guthrie, who wrote

the song, "So Long, It's Been Good To Know You", and

who was a member of the

group, had done such field

trips and research on the

question of folk music, and

they had quite an extensive

library on folk music, and

they attracted the young

People's Songs.

nannie. 'Pearl Bernstein and Elmer Bernstein. Mr Bernstein has since been to Hollywood and I believe he had done the music for one motion picture that I saw. I don't recall the title right now, but it is a picture that has been released within the last six weeks. He did the musical score for that picture. I also met Mr Bernstein at a similar place to Camp Unity in New Mexico.

Testifying about the New Mexico camp, he said: 'Some of the guests there were Elmer and Pearl Bernstein, who were mentioned before having worked at Camp Unity, and as members of the Communist Party of New York. They were guests at the ranch on their way to California where he did the music for one or more pictures; one that I know of

'I was on my way to California at the time . . . I was out there and I spent a week there, and after spending a week there, I just stayed on, and during all that period furnished reports to the FBI on the activities at the ranch.'

• 'Earl Robinson. Mr Robinson was the composer of Ballad for Americans and a number of Hollywood scenarios, the music for some pictures out there. He had at one time been employed at Camp Unity, which we mentioned. I also met Mr Robinson in New

York on one of his singing tours, and at that time he was identified to me as a member of the Communist Party.'

During the rest of the first day's hearing Matusow rattled off dozens of names for the committee and provided brief sketches of their party work and their place in the hier-Here are just some of the

people he named: Craig Vin-

cent, Ernie Lieberman, Lee

Hays, Horace Grennel, Cisco Huston, Ben Bordofsky, Ben Pascoff, Sidney Finkelstein Morris Schappes, Jack Foner, Herbert Kruckman, Ostrowsky, Dolly Mason, Nettie Rubenstein, Samuel Sillen, George Squier, William Vila, John W. Darr, Richard Morford, James Durkin, Alpheus Hunton, Ferdinand C. Smith. Milton Wolff, William L. Patterson, Norma Aaronson, Carl Abrams, Sidney Ballinger, Rose Baron, Ethel Beach, Harold Bernz, Joe Bucholt, Sue Buckingham, Diez Callen, Mario Casatta, Adrian Claiborne, James Coleman, Jesus Colon, Roger Daniels, Bernice and Lou Diskin, Louis Drucker, Sam Engler, Sey-mour Finkel, Enid Fogel, Jean Fox. Mort Freeman Lillian Gates, Harry Gay, Vicki Gottlied, Adolph Green, Jack Greenspan, Michael Quill, Liz Halpern, Betty Haufricht, James Hutchinson, Richard Ireland, Leonard Jacobson, Joe Jaffe, Oscar James, Jerry Jaroslow, Clint Jenks, Harry Kelber, Terry Kramer, Sam LanMatusow kept up a steady flow of details which delighted

And throughout the day

dauer etc. etc.

the reactionary jackals on the committee and in the capitalist Press.

The following day Matusow again took the stand. The newspapers were going wild with excitement. Overnight he had become an immense celebrity. Representative Clyde Doyle opened the hearing by saving:

'Mr Matusow, I have not had the pleasure or benefit of discussing the subject matter of your experiences with you prior to these several ques tions I am asking you. I did enjoy your testimony yesterday . . . But I am perhaps especially interested in the angle of your experiences and conclusions because you have been intimately a part of the communistic programme as

regards the youth of America. Doyle asked Matusow if he had any ideas for 'remedial legislation' to deal with the communist menace'.

Matusow: I have found in the past and from the work of this committee, when I was in the Communist Party, that the most effective job in immobilizing communist activities is by a means of exposing, and take by that quarantining members of the Communist

Their effectiveness and usefulness no longer is important to the party. They cannot go anywhere where they are not known as members of the Communist Party. People know them as such and, as I say, they cannot subtly indoctrinate young people or other people in industry.

They cannot, in many cases, use political issues to callwildcat strikes.

quarantined.

is of importance. Passing legislation to forbid Communists Government is good and very effective.

'Well, that is definitely the line, anybody who is subpoenaed is instructed, definitely, to use the statement, I believe, "I refuse to answer on the grounds that it might

incriminate me". . . Doyle: Then, do I understand that that answer, as given by those who are still communists, when they come before the committee, or who perhaps have been known to us as communists, generally speaking, the reason they give that answer is because they have been instructed to do so by the American Communist Party leaders?

had the diabolical effect of

luctant witnesses who had claimed immunity under the Constitution and refused to answer the red-baiters' ques-

Before he completed his evidence Matusow had some other gems. Talking about activities of the Greenwich

> 'Questions of sexual im morality were quite commonplace and still are. I know of two young women who were still in their teens, one who has had, I believe, two abortions, and one . . . who was pregnant for the first time, just in high school and not

> Mr Velde: Generally, would you say that the sexual immorality or sex instinct played a great part in the recruiting of members into the Communist Party?

Matusow: I will phrase it this way: That if they felt the end would justify the means, in that case, it was used. In their recruiting attempts, the communists will pick out your weakness, be it sex, then sex will be used to recruit you.

In closing Matusow's testimony Representative Wood didn't hide his gratitude to the star witness.

'Permit me, sir,' Wood said. 'to also convey to you the very deep appreciation that the committee feels for your coming-here and giving us this

tainly have given us some very crystal-clear testimony . . . a fine showing here before this committee. I wish you the as counsel or investigator for ities Commission.'

When these people are immobilized, as I say, they are

The question of outlawing the Communist Party will not do anything but push them down, say a little deeper underground. I believe very firmly that the party does not have a place in the American way of life, and I come to that conclusion because it does not stand for what we adhere to in this country.

The actual question of outlawing the party, I don't think, to hold certain positions in

The question of communists in certain basic industry has not been taken up in too much detail. There are still many communists in industry and key industry.

Doyle: Do you mean that we ought to consider passing a law that a member of the Communist Party could not occupy certain strategic positions in American industry because he is a Communist?

Matusow: That is correct, sir. There were further delicacies for the committee. Matusow testified that Party mem bers were told to use the first and fifth amendments of the US Constitution if called to give evidence. He said:

Matusow: That to my knowledge is correct.

This sweeping statement implying Communist Party membership for all those re-

'illage branch, he said: married and a member of the Communist Party.'

testimony.'
Mr Velde said: 'You cer-

want to congratulate you for best of luck in your new job the Ohio Un-American Activ-

Matusow: Thank you, sir.

Harvey Matusow, the mar credited with naming 180 alleged Communist Party members during the McCarthy hearings, now lives in a cottage in Essex.

He has a big following among media trendies and the 'underground'. His crowning success was in August this year when he staged an exhibition on 'environmental art' at the Roundhouse on the

fringes of Hampstead. He writes regularly for the arts pages of 'The Guardian' and is a contributor to a number of 'radical' publica-

The former McCarthy aide pleaded guilty to six charges of perjury in 1955 when he stated that his evidence to the Un-American Activities Sub committee was false.

He was sentenced to six vears' jail, but this was later reduced. Explaining why he gave false testimony to the committee, a letter was produced from Matusow to McCarthy which stated: would do anything for a buck.'

In his diary he wrote: 'At first it was a strange feeling to papers, but then, like a dope addict, I began to crave for it . . . publicity and more publicity, a never-ending chain that only brings more and more dishonesty.

Since arriving to settle in Britain Matusow has again become the centre of wide publicity. In 1966 he became chairman of the London Film-makers' Co-operative; 1968 he was a founder member of the International Society for the Abolition of Data Processing Machines; 1969 he formed a pop group called the Jews Harp Band; 1970 he staged an exhibition at the New Arts Lab called Drak Touch, a 'feelie' show.

His Roundhouse production this year-ICES (International Carnival of Experimental Sound)—received impressive coverage in the capitalist Press and was attended by London's 'swinging set'.

Matusow is still making a buck!

## RENEGADES **FROM TROTSKYISM**

A new series of articles by Jack Gale dealing especially with the situation in Ceylon.

On October 29 the revisionist 'Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International' issued a statement headed 'Healyites Smear Bala Tam-

Intended as a reply to the articles on Ceylon published in Workers Press on October 18, 19, 20 and 21, the statement was published in 'Intercontinental Press' a journal edited by Mr Joseph Hansen, a leading member of the American Socialist Workers Party.

In the course of this series we are reproducing this statement because it reveals a great deal of the political techniques of those revisionists who comprise the 'Unified Secreteriat'.

We are also publishing the documents of the Ceylon Commission set up by the 'Unified Secretariat' in 1969. These are reproduced from the American journal 'Spartacist' of autumn this year.

Although we have definite and clearly-defined political differences with the 'Spartacist' group, there can be no doubt that these documents are genuine.

As such they are of interest to all who are concerned with the development of Trotskyism and the struggle against revisionism in the Fourth inter-

They reveal a political scandal of enormous proportionsa besmirching of the name of Trotskyism almost without

But the worst culprits are not Bala Tampoe and his associates in Ceylon. The most degenerate political renegades are the leaders of the Unified Secretariat-Ernest Mandel, Livio Maitan and Pierre Frank. By their dishonesty and political corruption, these people play into the hands of the Stalinists who have always lyingly accused Trotskyists of such crimes as these.

Equally guilty is Joseph Hansen of the SWP which, for legal reasons, cannot be a member of the Unified Secretariat but shares political responsibility for these events.

These people—while lyingly and slanderously accusing the Socialist Labour League of degeneration'—h a v e covered up for a member of their International Executive Committee who, without a shadow of doubt, has associated with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and committed other crimes against the oppressed workers and peasants in Ceylon.

We make it clear that the rank-and-file members of the sections of the United Secretariat do not share the guilt of their leaders. There are many sincere people in the ranks of these sections who wish to build a revolutionary international.

But now this matter has been dragged into the open, they must examine it carefully -and, above all, demand to know why their leaders sought to hush it up and even now continue to protect Tampoe and retain him in their international leadership.

The ranks of the Unified Secretariat have a political responsibility. If they do not now challenge their leaders on these questions and demand a full inquiry into this political scandal, then they are just as guilty of a political crime as Mandel and company.

In May of this year—following a visit to Ceylon by a member or supporter of the Spartacist group—Edmund Samarakkody, a former member of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) LSSP(R) and of the Unified Secretariat's International Executive Committee, wrote to 'Spartacist' and forwarded the documents of the 'Ceylon Commission', together with a minority report submitted by its Indian member.

Together with the Unified Secretariat statement, we reprint here Samarakkody's letter and the two Commission reports.

May 26, 1972 Dear Comrade Gordon, I received your letter of May 12, 1972.

Regarding your inquiry on the authenticity of the two typewritten documents entitled 'Report of the Commisssion on Ceylon of the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International' and '[Indian delegate's] Report—Ceylon Question' both of which I handed to Comrade Bill L. when he was recently in Ceylon, I may

inform you as follows: I attended the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International (United Secretariat) held in Europe from April 11 to 19 1969 as a member of the International Executive Committee elected at the Eighth Congress in 1965. At this Congress (Ninth Congress) a Commission was appointed to inquire into the circumstances leading to, and the politics of the split in the LSSP(R) in 1968 and the request of the RSP that it be recognized as the Ceylon section of the International. Commission consisted of the following: [two delegates from North America, one from Switzerland, a senior delegate each from China and India, and a delegate from Japan designated who, however, was not present].

[The Indian delegate] left the Congress on the 17th. Before leaving [the Indian delegate] handed me a copy of his report which he stated was a minority report and which he left with the Commission, I returned his report to [the Indian delegate] after taking a true copy of it. I informed [the Indian delegate] that I had taken a copy of it.

On April 19, two days after,

the Ceylon question came up for consideration before the Congress. The report of the Commission was read out in open Congress by a member of the Commission and translated simultaneously to other lan-guages. Copies of the report were handed to Tampoe and

I raised with the Commission the question of the minority report of [the Indian delegate] a copy of which I said was with me. I displayed this copy of the [Indian delegate's] report and requested the Commission to table this report. The spokesman for the Commission thereupon admitted that [the Indian delegatel had submitted a report but that it was not a minority report. When my turn



Bala Tampoe, leader of the revisionist LSSP(R) who has associated with the Central Intelligence Agency

for intervention in the Ceylon question came I quoted exten-[Indian from the delegate's] report without being challenged in regard to

the accuracy of it.

At the end of the deliberations on the Ceylon question the Praesidium collected the copies of the report of the Commission that were in the hands of the translators and also the copies that had been handed over to me and Tam-poe. I however had with me my copies of the Commission report and [the Indian delegate's] report made by me from the originals in that regard when these were handed over to me by [a North American Commission member] and [the Indian delegate] respectively. I am in a position therefore to state that the copies of these two reports that I handed over to Comrade L. are true copies of the Ceylon Commission report and of the [Indian delegate's] report.

You are free to give publicity to these reports. I agree with you that 'the scandalous revelations will be a service to struggle to rebuild Fourth International.

Yours fraternally, [signed] Edmund Samarakkody Secretary Revolutionary Samasamaja Party

#### Report of the Commission on Ceylon

The Commission had to deal with the following matters:-

(a) A request by the RSP led by Comrade Edmund not to allow Comrade Bala to sit in the Congress because as an 'agent of the class enemy' he would endanger the world movement. This request was reiterated in the Commission, and in front of the Congress

charging Bala explicitly with being a 'CIA agent'.

(b) A written request of the RSP to disaffiliate the LSSP(R) led by Comrade Bala, as the section of the 4th International and to recognize the RSP as the Ceylon section of the 4th International.

(c) A written request by Comrade Karalasingham for his tendency that neither the LSSP(R) nor the RSP be recognized as the Ceylon section of the 4th International by this Congress.

#### **AGENT**

Concerning the charges that Comrade Bala is an agent of the enemy class, on the basis of documents submitted by Comrade Edmund and Bala and after hearing extensively from the two comrades the Commission [found] that the accusation that Comrade Bala is 'an agent of the class enemy'

or an 'agent of the CIA' was totally unsubstantiated by Comrade Edmund. To make such a grave charge was totally irresponsible on the part of Comrade Edmund and should be condemned by the World Congress.

Congress.

All members of the Commission were able to agree on one point; while the leadership of a large militant union by a comrade of the 4th International might be an important achievement, the close Interrelationship between the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) -a union of 30,000 white collar workers with its own political needs-and a small party of some 50 members a large percentage of whom either belong to the union or hold leadership positions in that union inevitably results in a tendency to subordinate the party line and actions of the party to the needs of the trade union policy. Such a situation is dangerous even if the comrades involved start with the best revolutionary intentions.

It was with this question that the Commission was centrally concerned. The Commission did not feel it was in a position to fully examine the policies of Comrade Bala in his Union. We were concerned only with the possible subordination of party policies to the needs of the union, and the serious problems posed by the dual position of Comrade Bala as secretary of the LSSP(R).

The Commission felt that some of the actions and policies of Comrade Bala and the LSSP(R) brought to our attention by Comrade Edmund and not denied by Comrade Bala could have seriously damaged the reputation of Comrade Bala as a revolutionary leader, compromised the 4th International in Ceylon and [could] have been exploited by all the enemies of our movement. In this context, we refer especially to the following examples:—

(a) A series of incidents which together constitute compromisingly close relations between Comrade Bala and the Ceylonese embassies or missions of the imperialist countries.

(1) A trip to the US in the summer of 1967, financed by the Asia Foundation.

(2) His acceptance of a small private luncheon invitation at the residence of the British High Commissioner, during the 1966 plantation workers strike—a luncheon that was also attended by Thondaman, a trade union leader who was playing an open strikebreaking role against the plantation workers.

(3) His attendance at a small dinner party at the West German Embassy for visiting Chancellor Kiesinger.

(b) A letter sent to the Ceylonese Prime Minister on January 22 1966 by Comrade Bala in his capacity as union General Secretary, concerning the state of emergency in which he implied support for the imposition of a curfew in response to the 'violence' that occurred in Colombo. (This letter is included in bulletin March 17 1969.)

(c) Comrade Bala's policy in regard to the struggle against devaluation of the rupee in November - December 1967. The CMU did not support the strike that took place at that time in the private sector. Serious questions are raised concerning why the LSSP(R) did not take the lead in fighting for united action by all the trade unions and working-class parties against devaluation.

Again on these charges and in other similar ones we did not attempt to pass judgement on the policies of the CMU, but on the subordination of the policies of the LSSP(R) to the union, as in none of these instances is there any evidence that the party took what the Commission considered a policy consistent with revolutionary Marxism.

The Commission was not unanimous in evaluating all these actions. While all agreed they were, or could be, extremely compromising, some comrades felt they might be explained in the context of Ceylonese political and trade union life; others felt they were totally unjustifiable.

#### **SPLIT**

With regard to the appeal of the RSP headed by Comrade Edmund, to be recognized as the Ceylon section of the 4th International, the Commission clearly established the following facts:

(1) that this group while in the LSSP(R) before the split operated as an undeclared faction within the party.

(2) that its claim of manipulation of the attendance of the April 1968 LSSP(R) conference is extremely dubious since at this conference both tendencies received the same number of votes as in the conference of June 1967.

(3) that while Comrade Edmund's tendency was not granted any minority representation at this 1968 conference, either on the Central Committee or on bodies such as the controlling body of the party Press, and that this refusal of representation is contrary to Trotskyist practice, Comrade Edmund's group group split one week after this conference, without consulting or even informing the United Secretariat in advance. In previous letters the United Secretariat had clearly stated it was opposed to any splits in the LSSP(R).

(4) that upon splitting or forming the RSP, this group quickly issued a declaration to the public not only simply announcing its break, but attacking Comrade Bala, leader of the Ceylon section, openly as an enemy of the working class and in a thinly disguised way as an agent of the CIA. The Ceylon capitalist Press featured the full text of this statement gravely accusing Comrade Bala whose union had just ended a large strike.

(5) Finally in its Press and its letterhead the RSP has fraudulently proclaimed itself as the Ceylon section of the 4th International.

On the basis of this mountain of evidence the majority report of the Commission begins with—the need to protect Tampoe! The enormous political crisis that has beset the Unified Secretariat's section in Ceylon is put down to 'the problems of adjusting to the change from mass party to a small organization! No explanation is given of how the Unified Secretariat came to lose its mass party.

All this report wishes to do is to patch everything up, in the hope that an organizational change (Tampoe's surrender of his post as secretary of the CMU) would somehow put everything right.

Tampoe, of course, was most reluctant to give up his comfortable trade union post and many weeks after this recommendation 'Intercontinental Press' was still referring proudly to Tampoe as the secretary of his union.

We publish here the recommendations of the majority report of the revisionists' Ceylon Commission:

On the basis of the undisputed facts the Commission had this established, and after lengthy and serious consideration, the Commission unanimously recommends the following conclusions to the World Congress:—

(1) It is the duty of the 4th International to defend Comrade Bala against accusations of the 'agent' type. The World Congress should appeal to the RSP to withdraw these slanderous and damaging accusations publicly and in an appropriate manner.

(2) The split from the LSSP(R) in April 1968 was only the last of a series of

crises and breakaways that have beset the LSSP(R) since its founding in the necessary break from the LSSP. One of the reasons for these periodic crises is that the leadership of the LSSP(R), or at least a part of it, could not adapt itself to the new reality of a reduced size of the party and tried to operate as they did during the days of the mass LSSP.

The Unified Secretariat was completely correct in stating that there was no principled political basis for the split of the Edmund group from the LSSP(R). The 4th International hopes that eventually all Trotskyist forces in Ceylon will be able to unite their efforts in one organization. However at this time, the latest split and the wounds it has caused being too recent to allow the two groups to function seriously as one.

(3) The evidence placed before the Commission tends to support the conclusion that the policies followed by Comrade Bala—especially in his dual role as CMU secretary and as LSSP(R) secretary—were gravely compromising to the 4th International.

The Commission was not in a position to get a clear enough picture of the policies of Comrade Bala in the concrete circumstances of Ceylon and the LSSP(R) to propose that this section be dissaffiliated by the World Congress. But we strongly feel the need for further investigation of this matter. We therefore recommend the establishment of a small Commission composed of experienced comrades, preferably including at least one comrade able to speak the languages of Ceylon who could investigate the case by going to that country. At the same time, of course, the FI should not only investigate, but should try to help the LSSP(R) concretely in its work.

Specifically we urge the World Congress the following:
(1) That the leading bodies of the International be instructed to appoint a small investigating committee along the lines mentioned above. This committee will submit a report of its findings and its recommendations for action to the next meeting of the IEC.

(2) That the EC act with all possible speed on the recommendations of this committee with full powers of a World Congress including the power to disaffiliate he LSSP(R) as the Ceylon section of the 4th International if it feels this is the proper action.

(3) That until the IEC decides otherwise, the LSSP(R) remains the Ceylon section of the FI and thus should be given all possible assistance in its work by all bodies of the International.

(4) That the double function of Comrade Bala as the secretary of both the CMU and the section be terminated as rapidly as possible.

(5) The RSP would not be recognized as the Ceylon section even were there not already a recognized section in Cevlon. The unacceptable methods by which this ten-dency carried through its factional fight before and after the split dictate a very reserved attitude on this question. We appeal to the RSP to prove its loyalty to the FI in renouncing at once the pretension of being the recognized section, by retracting the above mentioned attacks of a factional [nature] upon the LSSP(R) and its leadership, and by this means prepare the eventual regrouping of the Trotskyist forces of Ceylon in a united section.

● Tomorrow we will publish the report of the Indian Chairman of the Commission—who called for the disaffiliation of the LSSP(R) from the United Secretariat. We will also publish the minutes of the Third World Congress of the United Secretariat since the 1964 reunification dealing with Ceylon.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

#### **FAILURE**

Care for a magazine and newspaper rack which falls over at a touch? The Elektron supply association of Lwow in the Ukraine can provide it, together with an assortment of other unwanted consumer goods.

The Elektron group consists of factories in heavy industry which were encouraged to produce consumer goods as a sideline. But the project hasn't worked out too well.

Besides the newspaper racks, it turns out old-fashioned cufflinks which can't be sold, thermos flasks of inferior quality and large quantities of badges (depicting what is not clear), which nobody wants.

Perhaps the badges show Khrushchev—or even Stalin! In any case, nobody wants them. Of the 80 enterprises in the Lwow region permitted to produce consumer goods as a sideline, only 31 sent exhibits to a recent exhibition. Even these are accused of trying to produce items which will bring in a large amount of money regardless of quality or utility.

It is one more instance of mismanagement which the bureaucracy itself is unable to conceal and which evokes the anger of Soviet consumers.

#### **HOME STORES**

A man aged 75 recently appeared at Old Street magisstrates court, London, charged with stealing 16p worth of sweets in Hackney. He elected to go for trial by jury. The police told the magistrate that the initial decision to prosecute was taken by British Home Stores.

British Home Stores, owning 95 stores, increased its trading profit between 1970-1971 and 1971-1972 from £8.21m to £11.34m and increased its dividend payments from £2.88 to £3.86m. In 1970-1971 the top paid director of British Home Stores received £25,000.

That same year the company donated £1,050 to British United Industrialists—a fundraising agency for the Conservative Party.

Information: Labour Research Department

#### JIM AND PETE

Embarrassing scenes in Birmingham the other night when City takeover wizard Jim Slater was hosting a mighty banquet to launch a new merchant banking branch. The guest of honour was His Worship the Labour Mayor of Birmingham. During his official speech the mayor kept turning to his host and thanking him.

Unfortunately, he kept calling him 'Mr Walker', instead of Mr Slater.

Which is sort of under-



Peter Walker. Above: His partner and businessman in his own right, Jim Slater.

standable. The other half of the Slater-Walker Securities empire is Peter Walker, the new Tory Secretary for Trade and Industry. When he joined the Heath Cabinet in 1970 he was required by law to give up his interests with the family firm.

But I suppose he does visit his old mate Jim once in a while — which in turn must make it difficult for some people to distinguish between the two of them.

### **BOOKS**



LEON TROTSKY:
Germany 1931/1932
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87½
Where Is Britain Going?
Paperback 37½p
Revolution Betrayed
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.05
Problems of the Chinese Revolution
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87½
Permanent Revolution:
Results and Prospects
Paperback 75p
In Defence of Marxism
Paperback 75p
Lessons of October
Paperback 60p

Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from : NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG.

## JAPANESE AUTOS ON THEIR WAY

Watch out for a big increase in the importation of Japanese-made cars in the coming weeks. The main port of entry will be the Tees Docks.

Mr S. Wright, manager of the Tees and Hartlepool Port Authority, leaves for Oslo during the next week to discuss the handling of Datsun car imports with various shipping lines.

If the talks are successful the Tees will become a centre for transhipping cars to the Continent as well as an importing base for the British market.

Mr Wright said the Tees could be receiving more than 100,000 Datsun cars a year

and would be the biggest carhandling port in the country. Nissan is Japan's second biggest motor company and manufactures 160,000 cars a year for the European market.

Since February this year more than 20,000 cars have been brought through the Tees, at first only by feeder vessels loaded at Rotterdam. But since the dock strike deepsea vessels have arrived direct from Japan bringing up to 2,000 cars at a time.

If the authority pulls off the deal, cars destined for the Continent would be taken off deep-sea vessels coming from Japan and transhipped to the Continent on feeder vessels.

In preparation for this big expansion a new £700,000 roll-on, roll-off terminal will come into service in January.

#### A TORY STALINIST?

Businessman Leopold Friedman is a great supporter of East-West trade. He is also a firm believer in the British way of life, is 'more royalist than the Queen' and says he is 'the only Tory-voting communist in Britain'.

Writing Friedman's profile in 'The Financial Times', Michael Simmons reveals that he was a great friend of Wal Hannington, leader in the 1930s of the Stalinist-inspired National Unemployed Workers' Movement.

During the war Hannington worked in a munitions factory which Friedman ran and dedicated his book 'Unemployed Struggles' to 'My dear friend Leopold'.

While being a staunch upholder of capitalism, Friedman now spends much of his time bringing together British businessmen and east European bureaucrats over mutually advantageous trading

# Subscribe! workers press

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

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

If you want to take Workers Press twice a week the rates are: £1.56 for 3 months (24 issues) £6.24 for 12 months (96 issues)

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:

Circulation Dept., Workers Press, 186a Clapham High St., London, SW4 7UG.

I would like to t	ake out a subscripti	on to Workers Press.
Days required	MONDAY	THURSDAY
(Please tick)	TUESDAY	FRIDAY
•	WEDNESDAY	SATURDAY
Or		
Full subscription	(six days) for	months.
Name		
Address		

Amount enclosed £

I would like information about
THE SOCIALIST

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	

Birmingham Small Arms, the world famous motorcycle making group, is appealing to the Tory government for a £6m hand-out.

Only a year ago it was Barclays Bank which bailed out the company with a £10m loan.

BSA's profits have been sliding since 1968. In that year the company boasted a profit of £3.3m, while in the year ended July 1972 losses and write-offs amounted to the same amount.

The previous year was the worst on record when losses totalled £8.2m. At one stage the whole of the Birmingham operation looked like closing down with hundreds of workers being thrown on the dole.

In the financial and managerial reorganization Lord Shawcross, chairman of the City Takeover Panel, became chairman and chief executive.

In his first report to shareholders he gave a bleak view of future prospects. He said the losses would not be reduced in the next financial year. 'We shall continue to work towards a break-even result,' was his uncomforting news.

The weekly journal, 'Investors Chronicle', is also less than enthusiastic about BSA. 'Certainly trading prospects, in view of intense Japanese competition and the fashion element of the business, are not bright. And with a financial crisis blowing up a bidder is unlikely to emerge.'

The company is currently pinning its hopes on aid worth £6m from the government. There will be strong resistance to parting with such a sum even if it is going to such a Tory worthy as Lord Shawcross. (As Sir Hartley Shawcross he was a Labour Attorney-General. But he has long since become the most fearless defender of all Tory institutions and policies.)

BSA already has considerable overdrafts amounting to £6.3m, of which Export Credit Guarantee Department loans total £5m.

'Investors Chronicle' tells its readers: 'Whether or not BSA gets the £6m government aid it is looking for, there is no investment attraction at the current level.' Its advice to shareholders—Sell, SELL!

### BSA: EVEN WORSE TIMES AHEAD



## THE DIGITAL WAR

Plans are now being drawn up for an all-out trade war over the lucrative European computer market. They will pose question marks over the continued existence in its present form of the only British-owned firm, ICL.

For not only will ICL run into American giants IBM and Honeywell, but a new European-owned consortium which is now taking final shape.

At the beginning of January Philips of Holland, Siemens of Germany and the Frenchowned CII are expected to announce a blueprint for future collaboration.

INTEGRATION

Their aim will be to break the stranglehold exerted by IBM and Honeywell in Europe. The three computer firms plan more than a loose co-operative effort.

Strategy is being designed with the perspective of achieving a full-scale integration of their marketing and manufacturing operations.

What is essentially driving the Europeans together is the phenomenal costs involved in developing and marketing IBMcompatible equipment to win the customers away from the Americans.

As it stands, the pooled research and development expenditures of all three European companies amounts to no more than the spending of the second-rank American companies like Univac.

#### **BENEFITS**

Philips, for example, who entered the computer market in 1962, only spend 1 per cent of the group's turnover, or about £20m on research and development. With this sort of money they could never hope to bring forward System 4 ranges like those made by IBM.

Now, with a possible merger in the offing, Philips would reap the benefits of government subsidies paid to their German and French collabor-

ICL has consciously decided not to participate in the European counter-attack on the Americans. Most of the reasons given stem directly from the nature of ICL and their operations.

In any case they are in deep financial difficulties, to say the least. In July, the half-yearly profits return showed a slump from £4.5m to £1.5m.

The Tory government had to step in with aid worth £14m to cover the cost of research and development until 1973. ICL had asked for £107m over

the next five years.

Aid to date from the Tories already amounts to £40m, still far below the amount needed if ICL is to stand any chance whatsoever of surviving in Europe or anywhere else for that matter.

In the past three years ICL has sacked 9,000 workers, 3,000 in the last year alone. The labour force is now down to 28,000.

All this has taken place while the computer industry's output is running at its lowest level for two years.

#### **HANDICAPPED**

ICL are handicaped from the start when faced with Common Market competition. Even if they developed machines—given sufficient cash—along IBM lines, what would happen to their customers who have invested money in the training of staff and software for the 1900 series?

The most ICL could be able to manage in Europe would be the development of specialist terminals for finance and local government. But the way things are developing with the three-company European consortium, ICL could find themselves lucky to even manage that. The Philips-Siemens-CII link-up could sound the death-knell for the British firm.

## Slave trade in West Germany

A NEW version of the slave trade is flourishing in the Federal German Republic inseveral hundred volving thousand illegal immigrant workers.

Stuttgart police are investigating a racket involving over 3,000 foreign workers in that city. Immigrants unable to get work permits are being found jobs by unscrupulous agents who then take half their wages as a

Most German industrial cities have the same slave labour mar-

Most of the victims are Turks and Yugoslavs unable to find work in their own countries who enter Germany as tourists. Agents pick them up at railway stations, in cafes or on construction sites. They promise to find jobs, often asking for the worker's passport, and then demand half the pay to

Desperate for money the immigrants, often unable to speak

German and unfamiliar with the country, are only too happy to accept. The agents make arrangements with employers who need cheap labour and can also avoid paying security contributions for the immigrants. Many are taken on in the building trade or in the metal industry as casual labour doing the hardest jobs.

If the foreign workers protest against their bad treatment they know they will be expelled from Germany. They are prepared to put up with great hardships, some

even sleeping in the open, because they cannot afford to pay for other accommodation out of their depleted pay packets.

There are over 2.3 million guest workers in West Germany whose positions are by no means secure, even when they have labour permits. When unemployment rises they will find them-selves forced to return home.

German capitalism depends upon the super-exploitation of these millions of foreign workers to whom it refuses full citizen

#### **SLL LECTURES**

#### **LEEDS**

Monday December 4 The struggle for power Monday December 11 Revolutionary theory and the Marxist Party WHIP HOTEL Leeds 8 p. m. (Note change)

#### LIVERPOOL

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)

#### LONDON

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

Lectures given by G. Healy SLL national secretary

#### **BARNSLEY**

Sunday December 10 The struggle for power Sunday December 17 Revolutionary theory and the **Marxist Party** 

**RED LION HOTEL** (Worsbcrough) 8 p.m.

Lectures given by Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee)

#### SHEFFIELD

Monday December 11 Stalinism and Trotskyism Monday January 8 Marxism and the revolutionary party FORRESTERS HALL Trippett Lane, 7.30 p.m.

#### Yugoslav loan

THE BEOGRADSKA Bank of Belgrade has arranged a \$20m loan from a consortium of 14 US, Canadian, Italian, Japanese and Bahamian (!) banks to finance the expansion of the metallurgical and engineering industries of Yugoslavia.

The loan, which was arranged through the First Chicago Ltd of London, shows the increasing ties between Yugoslav industry and international finance capital by which Tito's regime is paving the way for the restoration of

#### **All Trades Unions Alliance MEETINGS**

Fight Rising Prices
Force the Tories to Resign

**BRACKNELL: Monday December** 4, 8.00 p.m. Priestwood Community Centre.

WANDSWORTH: Tuesday Decem-

wandsworth: Tuesday December 5, 8 p.m. Selkirk Hotel, Selkirk Road, Tooting Broadway. 'Fight Rising Prices'.

CLAPHAM: Tuesday December 5, 8 p.m. Small Hall, Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4. 'Repression in Ireland. State Pay Lawe in Britain. land—State Pay Laws in Britain: Preparation for the Common Market'.

TOTTENHAM: Thursday December 7, 8 p.m. Bricklayers Arms, Tottenham High Road (near White Hart Lane).

MANCHESTER: Friday December 8, 7.30 p.m. Milton Road, Deansgate. 'Force the Tories to resign!' BIRKENHEAD: Sunday December 10, 7.30 p.m. Pier Hotel.

#### Gierek launches attack on BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT **Polish** the problem of youth and to draw up a programme for dealing

THE GIEREK regime in Poland has launched an attack on the youth which calls for compulsory work for idlers and the combating of what it calls 'demoralization and depravity'. A call has been issued for tighter ideological training and discipline.

A special Plenum of the Central Committee of the ruling United Workers' (Communist) Party has been held to discuss

WATFORD: Monday December 11, 8 p.m. Upstairs Room, Wat-ford Trade Union Hall, Watford

WIGAN: Lancs. Monday, Decem-

ber 11, 7.30 p.m. The Market Hotel. 'Wages and laws against the trade unions'. Speaker: Mike

Farley (Building trade worker).

HULL: Monday December 11, 8 p.m. 'White Hart', Alfred Chelder Street, near Drypool bridge. 'No

state control of wages.'
ACTON: Monday December 11,
8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road,

W3. 'Free Sean MacStiofain'.
WEST LONDON: Tuesday Decem-

ber 12, 8 p.m. Prince Albert, Wharfdale Road, Kings Cross. 'No State Control of Wages'. LIVERPOOL: Tuesday December 12, 7.30 p.m. The Mitre, Dale

EAST LONDON: Tuesday Decem-

ber 12, 8 p.m. Festival Inn, Crisp Street, E14. 'Build Councils of

CROYDON: Wednesday December 13, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road, Croydon. 'Free

9.30 Schools. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Larry the lamb. 12.40 First

report. 1.00 Mr and Mrs. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'But I Don't Want to

Get Married'. Herschel Bernardi, Shirley Jones. A widower is pur-

sued on all fronts by offers of

marriage. 4.25 Black arrow. 4.55

Clapperboard. 5.20 And mother

6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS.

9.00 PLAY: 'EVENING CLASS'. Neville Aurelius.

LONGSTREET. One in the

Reality Column. James

THE DE-HUMANIZATION OF LABOUR. Work on as-

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.

Franciscus.

sembly lines.

makes three, 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY

8.30 SEZ LES.

11.30 DRIVE-IN.

Sean MacStiofain'

ITV

Watford Junction

Road (opp. Station).

with it. First Secretary Edward Gierek wound up the session with a lengthy speech. Although the present generation of Polish youth has grown up in a self-styled 'People's Democracy' it finds that it has to

Democracy' it finds that it has to submit to the dictates of the bureaucracy and the dead hand of Stalinist orthodoxy.

Its revolt against the regime takes many forms from political indifference and adoption of the habits of the pop culture of western capitalism to a politically-conscious opposition to the rule of the bureaucracy. of the bureaucracy.

The parents of young people recall the hopes raised by the coming to power of Gomulka after the Poznan uprising of 1956. Memories are still more fresh of the mass demonstrations of workers in the Baltic ports which caused his downfall and brought Edward Gierek onto the scene with promises of reform.

But the bureaucracy cannot But the bureaucracy cannot satisfy the aspirations of the young people and fears that it will spearhead the next round of discontent. So there has been an investigation of the youth question by the Party and a programme has been drawn up to try to win the youth.

Speaking of this programme Gierek said that it was the 'result of long studies and broad consultations in the Party, among non-Party people, in work estab-lishments, among teachers and educational workers in higher schools and among young people'. He called for the raising of

standards of education and the training of more specialists with higher education. He laid emphasis on the need for disci-pline and complained that 'dis-honesty and neglect at work are causing particular damage'

youth

'The basic and universal tasks of national education', he said, 'should include training to think in terms of the state, of respect for the problems of the state and a correct concept of civic duties.'

There had to be, he went on 'disciplined implementation of the policies of the socialist state by unflinching respect for its laws, by strengthening its prestige and by developing its ideological and political might, its economic and defence strength'.

He claimed that Poland had

begun to change from capitalism to socialism 28 years ago, but he made no reference to the events of 1956 or 1970 when the working class and students had moved into struggle against the bureaucracy which he represents.

Greatly concerned by current trends among the youth the Polish bureaucracy is to make an all-round effort to win it over. That was the purpose of the Central Committee Plenum and the national campaign for which it has called.

But Gierek is likely to be no more successful than his predecessors in stemming the tide of revolt among the Polish youth which foreshadows the overthrow of the bureaucracy which he represents.

#### BBC 1

9.38 Schools. 12.00 Profit by control. 12.25 Dechrau canu. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Along the trail. 1.45 Look, stranger. 2.05 The sky at night. 2.25 Schools. 4.00 Pixie and Dixie. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Crystal Tipps and Alistair. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.02 The Long chase. 5.45 News. The Long chase, 5.45 News.

- 6.00 NATIONWIDE.
- 6.45 QUIZ BALL.
- 7.10 Z CARS. The Amateurs.
- 8.00 PANORAMA.
- NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.
- 9.25 PLAY FOR TODAY: 'JUST YOUR LUCK'. Eileen McCallum, Joseph Greig, Mary Riggans, David Hay-man, Leslie Mackie. Life for a 17-year-old girl on a Greenock housing estate.
- 10.30 MASTERMIND.
- 11.00 THE SKY AT NIGHT. Tycho's Star.

11.00-11.25 Play school.

7.05 CHILDREN GROWING UP.

5 Plus. We See It Like

The Root of It All.

CALL MY BLUFF.

NEWSROOM. Weather.
ALIAS SMITH AND JONES.

SHOW OF THE WEEK:

- 11.20 LATE NIGHT NEWS.
- 11.25 IRELAND.
- 11.50 Weather.

BBC 2

8.50

## NIGHT CLUB. International

- AMERICA. Part 4. NEWS ON 2. Weather. 11.05
- 11.10 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

#### cabaret with Vikki Carr, The Jacques Loussier Loussier Trio, Paul Potassy, Jean Claude, Yvette Capricorn, Ukrainian Cossacks.

#### **REGIONAL TV**

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.00 Schools. 2.20 Yoga. 2.50 Film: 'Portrait of Clare'. 4.15 Puffin. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Knockout quiz. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.50 News. weather. News, weather,

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.27 News. 1.00 London. 4.15 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 6.35 Date with Danton. 10.30 News. 10.33 Format. 12.35 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.20 House.

News. 12.05 London. 2.30 House-party. 3.00 Film: 'Storm Centre'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Scene South. 11.00 News. 11.05 Theatre. 12.00 Farm progress. 12.25 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 1.00 Plus Tam. 1.30 London. Farmhouse kitchen. 2.30 Women. 3.00 Film: 'Rock Around the Clock'. 4.25 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London, 10.30 Film: 'The Frozen Dead', 12.20 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales 41 as above except: 6.01-6.22 Y dydd. HTV Cymru/Wales 7 as 41 plus: 8.00-8.30 Yr wythnos.

HTV West as above except: 6.22-6.45 This is the West this week. ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.00 Today. 12.05 London. 3.00 Film: 'Second Chance'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game.

11.00 London. ULSTER: News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 Film: 'Stage to Tucson'. 4.22 News. 4.25 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm, 5.50 London, 6.00 Reports. 6.15 Smith family. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.35 Film: 'Curse of the Fly'.
YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 3.00
Film: 'On the Night of the Fire'.
4.25 London. 4.55 Skipp. 5.20
London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather.
6.25 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30
Name of the game. 11.55 Yoga.
12.55 Weather.
GRANADA: 9.30 London. 11.55
Paint book. 12.05 London. 2.30
Film: 'Brushfire'. 4.00 Crossroads.
4.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.25
This is your right. 6.45 London.

This is your right. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Curse of the Mummy's Tomb'.

TYNE TEES: 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Galloping gourmet. 3.00 Film: 'The Leather Saint'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25

Today, 6.45 London, 10.30 Face the Press, 11.00 Spyforce, 11.55 News, 12.10 Greatest fights, 12.25 SCOTTISH: 9.30-11.52 Schools. 12.05 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 Film: **'Second Chance'**. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Late call. 10.35 Name of the game. GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.45 Enchanted house. 3.00 News. 3.05 Film: 'How to Murder a Rich Uncle'. 4.25 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London, 6.00 News, 6.05 Country focus. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London, 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 Meditation.

LABOUR **PUBLIC MEETINGS** 

#### SWINDON

Wednesday, December 13 8 pm **AEU HOUSE, FLEMING WAY, SWINDON** 

SPECIAL SHOWING OF THE 'RIGHT TO WORK' FILM. A film made by ACTT showing the five Right-to-Work marches from Glasgow, Liverpool, Swansea, Deal and Southampton to London, ending with a huge rally at Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 12, 1972.

Speaker: G. Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League. Chairman: F. Willis, AEU steward at British Rail Engineering Workshop, Swindon (in a personal capacity).

- We demand the right to work!
- Make the Tory government resign!
- Build the revolutionary party!

#### BRACKNELL (Berks)

Thursday December 14 7.45 p.m. VALE SCHOOL, MOREDALE AVENUE, PRIESTWOOD ESTATE MEADOW

WAGES, DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE TORY **GOVERNMENT** 

Speaker: G. Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League

## Workers press

#### HAS REACHED £125.32

A GREAT collection of £104.72 taken at our public meeting to 'Free Sean MacStiofain', last Friday evening, gave a great boost to our Fund this weekend. Our paper alone speaks out

Our paper alone speaks out loud and clear against the Hiegal sentence of MacStlofain. We were the first daily paper to oppose British troops in Ulster. Only Workers Press fights on behalf of the working class, both here and in Ireland, against the paper of British importation.

onslaught of British imperialism.
We know that it is this principled stand that wins your support. Help us, therefore, raise as much as possible for our Decem-ber Fund. Push ahead immediately. Post all donations to:
Workers Press

**December Appeal Fund** 186a Clapham High Street London SW4 7UG.



SLL meeting demands **'Free** MacStiofain'

New 'running dogs of imperialism'

# Moscow and Peking Stalinists slammed

THE RUSSIAN and Chinese leaderships were described as the new 'running dogs of imperialism' by the outspoken American journalist I. F. Stone at a Vietnam solidarity symposium held in London at the weekend. Mr Stone, who has won an international reputation for his persistent exposure of the US war against the Vietnamese people, warned that recent events demanded a 'sober re-evaluation of tactics'.

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

He said that the Vietnamese people had paid dearly for the aid given by her chief allies, Russia and China. 'It appears as though the chief running dogs of US imperialism are in Peking and Moscow.'

Mr Stone's remarks caused a ripple of nervous applause from a minority of the audience made up of supporters of the International

Marxist Group and Stalinists of the British Communist Party.

He said it was thanks to Moscow and Peking that America was saddled with four more years of Nixon and that the puppet Thieu regime still rules in Saigon.

In a reference to the Nixon visits to China and Russia, he said: 'When the Luftwaffe sent out its mass bombing raid over Britain, Hitler was never wel-comed for talks in London.'

'It is a strange fact that when America stands at the apex of its power it is wooed by China and Russia.'

He went on to warn that the war would continue for a 'long, long time' and there would be massive suffering.

'There is no sign whatsover that the Nixon administration is getting out of south-east Asia,' he said.

In Cambodia the American puppet Lon Nol regime had the backing of Russia and the Chinese had backed US imperialism and Pakistan over

the issue of Bangladesh.

He said the Vietnamese had shown they were capable of defeating the US war machine.

In his first public speech in Britain he called for the defeat of US imperialism that had plundered the great resources not only of south-east Asia, but America itself.

'What America is doing in the name of liberty in south-east Asia is a repeat of what she has done in Latin America backed the trinity of the priest, the general and the

I. F. Stone was followed by the American academic and critic of US foreign policy, Noam Chomsky.

He said that it was likely that the Americans would eventually sign some kind of peace treaty, but that it would be wrong to conclude that this would signal the end of the imperialist war in south-east Asia.

One major reason was that the American leaders believed that their 'second line of defence'—countries like Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Japan—were now more able to withstand the threat of communism.

A decisive point had been reached when the US imperialists had witnessed the slaughter of the huge Indonesian Communist Party with out any intervention or protests from China.

But the war would continue. The US military machine would simply 'put on civilian dress' and continue with clan-destine activities on a massive scale to undermine any development towards social revolu-tion in the south of Vietnam.

'The struggle for revolutionary national liberation and revolutionary social change is not going to stop in the Far East and it will be met by imperial restoration in the name of defending the four freedoms,



Over 400 people attended a public meeting in London on Friday to hear Gerry Healy, SLL national secretary, demand the release of IRA leader Sean MacStiofain. The other speaker was Sarah Hannigan, secretary of the London region of the Young Socialists. Michael Banda (SLL Central Committee) chaired the meeting.

#### CAV sit-in can win—with backing

THE CAV sit in strikers at Fazakerley, Liverpool, will win their fight against closure—if they get the backing they need from other sections of the working-class movement.

This was the message of Dave Martin, engineers' union convenor of the occupied factory, to a weekend rally at the Pier Head.

Four hundred Merseyside trade unionists demonstrated through Liverpool city centre—packed with shoppers before the meeting. Shouts of 'We demand the right to work. Kick the Tories won an enthusiastic response.

The march was organized by Liverpool Trades Council in sup-port of the CAV workers.

Contingents taking part represented Lucas Industrial Equipment workers laid off because of the sit-in; shop stewards from the Vauxhall and Triumph car factories; Merseyside dockers; strikers from the Inland Revenue Construction site, Bootle, and workers from the Clohurst radiator factory, formerly Fisher-Bendix.

Also on the march were delegations from the Socialist Labour League, the Young Socialists, Garston and Ormskirk Labour Party, the Labour Party YS, the

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press. 186a Clapham High Street, London. SW4 7UG.

Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Communist Party, Southdene Tenants' Association and the 'Big Flame'.

At the Pier Head meeting CAV occupation leaders were joined on the platform by a delegation from the Extrusion Company sit-in just started at Runcorn

Dave Martin told the meeting that no worker could stand aside from the problems faced by the CAV strikers now entering their ninth week of sit-in.

'We want to say to all workers on Merseyside: we can't win this struggle on our own. We must have the support of every trade union organization, every political party. Without that solidarity we will be defeated.'

The sit-in strikers were at present not getting the kind of support they needed, he said. It was essential that they received more finance and more support for the blacking of products. He emphasized:

We expect the whole of the working class on Merseyside to respond to this appeal. We will win if we get this support.'

Trades Council president Eddie Loyden announced that an all-Merseyside conference of shop stewards on the CAV issue had been called for December 13, and asked all those present to mobilize support.

#### Labourites warn rent rebels

RIGHT-WING Labourites on Kiveton Park council, near Sheffield, are taking action against hundreds of tenants who have refused to pay the increases due under the Tories' Housing Finance Act.

Not content with implementing the Housing Finance Act, the councillors are apparently determined to enter into the spirit of the Tory attack on the working

First, warning letters were sent to all tenants in arrears, estimated at 400. Then, solicitors' letters threatening legal proceedings were despatched. Now about half those withholding the increases have received county summonses

The summonses threaten judgement against the tenants unless the arrears, only £7 at this stage, are paid.

Tenants received them dated one day before the regular council meeting. When confronted with them, some councillors denied any knowledge of the summonses.

of the summonses.

Mr. J. Hepworth, a leading member of the tenants' association and National Union of Mineworkers' branch secretary at Shireoaks colliery, told Workers

'As far as I'm concerned it could be a blank sheet of paper and won't intimidate me. And there is even an NUM delegate on the council behind the summonses.

ROTHERHAM Trades Council and tenants' associations have jointly resolved to take the campaign against the summonses into all trade union branches in the area, calling for full support in the case of any eviction order being made.

FOUR Labour councils in Scotland have been declared in default by the Tory government following a public inquiry. They are Glasgow, Falkirk, Kirkcaldy and Lanark county council.

They have all been given two weeks to reverse their policy and implement the Scottish equiva-lent of the 'fair rents' Act.

Failure to do so could mean a special audit of their accounts

and possible surcharge.

The bill could be enormous.
Glasgow Corporation, for example, has lost almost £lm in our rent revenue for not carrying out Tory policy.

#### **WORKERS PRESS MEETING CLAY CROSS**



Fight Tory rent increases!

Force the government to resign! TUESDAY DECEMBER 5, New Inn, Market Street, 7.30 p.m.