## 

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER . SATURDAY FEBRUARY 3, 1973 . No. 988 . 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## SHARES SLIP AND DOLLAR WOBBLES

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## GRSSTALKS

CARRIERS ELECTRICIA

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BY OUR FOREIGN EDITOR JOHN SPENCER

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The dollar is now in an extremely weak position. The American government appears blandly unconcerned that its currency is creating chaos and panic overseas. Washington has taken no action to strengthen the dollar.

US administration officials have hinted broadly that a new American monetary blow against Europe and Japan is being planned. This could well be a further dollar devaluation, giving the US an advan-tage in overseas markets and wiping out a slice of its foreign debts.

With relations deteriorating rapidly between the three main trading blocs, neither the European nor the Japanese capitalists want their currencies up-valued again. They fear this would finally prick the inflationary bubble and lead to wholesale financial collapses.

It is to prevent just this development that the British and other European central banks have been buying in dollars to hold down their own currency rates over the past few days.

The Bank of England spent hundreds of millions of pounds on Wednesday to support the sterling

Lack of confidence in paper currency was also reflected in the rising price of gold. On the socalled 'free' market, the price reached \$67.50 an ounce yester-day—up 70 cents on Wednesday's closing price.

There was frantic selling of shares on the Tokyo Stock Ex-change after Bank of Japan governor Tadashi Sasaki warned par-liament of possible new measures to curb inflation.

This was taken to mean a rise in the official bank discount rate, which it was believed would lead to pressure for increased exports thus raise the chances of another yen revaluation.

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The worsening currency situation has erupted as Tory premier Edward Heath meets President Nixon for crisis talks in the US.

Speaking to the Press club in Washington on Thursday, Heath detailed EEC grievances over American trade practices.

He accused the US of protecting its own industry at other countries' expense and said:

'The fact is that protectionism is a sin of which no trading country is free, even if each of us tends to believe he is more sinned against than sinning.'

He added: 'You have your complaints about some of our European trade practices. We,

for our part, have very real grievances about US trade barriers. There are many American mea-sures that effectively discriminate against overseas suppliers.

Heath's stock of grievances about US trading practices will not have been diminished by the US airlines' decision to cancel orders for the Concorde, making the future of this aircraft extremely tenuous.

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Contractors' Association headquarters in Victoria. Increases under the deal were due to be paid from January 1.

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'We appeal to you to come in your thousands . . . to demonstrate that you will not allow the law and the courts to deprive working men and women of their right to defend their jobs and

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PERSPECTIVES

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## **SHARES** DOLLAR WOBBLES

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BY OUR JOHN SPENCER

**FOREIGN EDITOR** 

## Civil servants to strike against pay law

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

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## WHAT WE THINK

IF REFORMIST claptrap could resolve the Ulster problem then Mr Merlyn Rees, Shadow spokesman on Northern Ireland, deserves a Nobel Prize for the art of dispensing verbal panaceas.

While the reactionary UDA, aided no doubt by the British army, carries on a savage campaign of assassination and intimidation against Catholic workers in preparation for the coming border plebiscite, this Labourite called on the Tories on Thursday to 'act quickly and publish their White Paper on the future constitutional arrangements for Northern Ireland'!

Speaking to the Leeds University Economic Society, Rees made no pretence of concealing the reactionary bipartisan policy of Tories and Labour on Ireland.

He proudly said: . . . confronted by private armies and sectarian killings, the government, any [sic] government, has a heavy responsibility. We in the opposition have played our part in seeking an acceptable solution to the "Irish problem"... The impetus which came from direct rule must not be allowed to run into political sands.'

He need hardly worry. By sending troops to Ulster and creating the conditions for direct rule, the Labour leaders have made a unique and mighty contribution to the 678 deaths and 10,000 injuries in Ulster since August 1969.

There is little doubt that if the Labour leaders had refused to support direct rule and the presence of British troops in Ulster, the whole rickety structure Orange establishment and the Tory government would have collapsed.

But this is the last thing the Labour leaders want. In the same way as they have no alternative policy for the economic and monetary crisis and support the Tories' Phase Two policies—with suitable reservations—so their policy on Ulster becomes less and less distinguishable from Whitelaw's as the crisis in Ulster reaches its flashpoint.

This is the meaning of Rees' pathetic plea to the Tories to publish the White Paper before the border poll and to hold elections to a 'meaningful assembly'. This assembly would be a revamped Stormont without any effective power to decide anything.

As Rees said unashamedly: 'Given the situation in Northern Ireland, there is no case for a full constitutional assembly that would debate and decide upon the whole contents of the White Paper.'

Instead the Labourites want guarantees on the border, security to be controlled by Westminster, a Bill of Rights (a special sop to the Stalinists) the ending of the Special Powers Act and an all-Ireland 'institution' (!).

None of these provisions will bring peace and communal harmony to Ulster. They only perpetuate the colonial status of the province and, since British troops and Long Kesh are presumably to remain, will intensify the oppression of the Catholic workers.

Most important, the central questions of unemployment and bad housing are ignored and certainly will not be resolved by any Tory government.

Rees' reactionary proposals however are not the only buttress for Whitelaw's Bonapartist rule. Supplementing the Labour traitors' reliance on the Ulster supremo are the wretched knee-crooking appeals of the Social Democratic and Labour Party MPs who have asked Whitelaw—of all people—to call in all licensed guns

Predictably Mr Whitelaw has refused to do this and the Ulster Vanguard have threatened violent resistance to any attempt at disarming Protestants. At the same time the IRA Provisionals while courageously defending the Catholic ghettos against the army and the sectarian thugs have signally failed to advance any alternative policy to direct rule in the north and reliance on reactionary politicians like Boland in the south.

This policy alienates Protestant workers precisely at the factions. Rees' statement and the crisis of leadership in Ulster is a salutary warning to the working class to remove this parasitic, treacherous leadership and to force the Tories out—before Wilson's Frankenstein monster in Ulster transfers its rule to Westminster.

## Tax scandal threat to Gaullists' election

AS THE Gaullist regime faces the test of a General Election another ugly scandal is brewing.

The Inspector of Taxes for the Chaillot district of Paris, Edouard Dega, has been in prison without trial since December 1971 on a charge of tax fraud and corruption of officials. It is alleged that he assisted many prominent figures, including leading Gaullists, to evade taxes.

The government is anxious that Dega should not be brought to trial until after the elections because it fears that the revelations it will bring to light about tax fraud and evasion by Gaullist politicians will damage its chances at the polls. BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

At a Press conference in Paris on Thursday, Dega's wife revealed the names of six Gaullists whose tax affairs she said should be investigated. She also alleged that the Minister of Agriculture, Jacques Chirac, and a former Minister had intervened with the tax office to enable the tax due from their friends to be reduced.

Chirac is a close associate of the President, Georges Pompidou, who last year had to jettison his Prime Minister, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, after a tax evasion scandal. At the same time it was alleged that Chirac had been able to restore a chateau he had bought at government expense by having it declared of historic interest.

Madame Dega implied that her husband was being made a scapegoat for the real villains in the gov-ernment and the Gaullist Party who had put pressure on tax officials in order to defraud the revenue. She accused the Finance Minister, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, of holding up proceedings because of the danger to the government from the revela-tions which would come out in

She declared ominously that a purge would have to begin very high up, presumably meaning in the government itself. Her husband's case, she said, was closely connected with that of Chaban-Delmas and she hinted that he had been framed to take the heat off the former Prime

#### Around the world

## 'Reprisal' raids in Reggio

## **Fascist bombers** blast union HO

THE BOMB-SOUADS of the Italian fascists have struck once again in Reggio Calabria, southern Italy. There were six explosions in nine minutes in different parts of the city on Wednesday, including a post office and the regional office of a journalists' union.

The attacks are re-

AGAINST a speech of the socialist President of Regional Council blaming the fascists for turning Italy into a bloodbath.

AGAINST the court case brought against seven fascists accused of blowing up a train-load of trade unionists in October.

The trade unionists were coming from the north to demonstrate north against unemployment and poverty in the south.

The Stalinist-led engineering unions in Turin brought workers out on short three hour strikes on Thursday 'against the growing repression in Fiat and Lancia'.

This conscious dissipation of workers' militancy is aimed at diverting attention from the betrayal being prepared in the negotiations over the renewal of wage-contracts in the engineering industry.

### Lira devaluation move

ITALY took a further step towards the full-scale de-valuation of the lira on Wednesday following the introduction 12 days ago of a two-tier foreign exchange system.

Tourists will be encouraged to bring in bank-notes rather than travellers' to be exchanged at the floating 'financial rate' instead of the 'commercial

The latter is kept within fixed limits by the Bank of rate' reflects more fully the extent of the devaluation of the lira.

Travellers' cheques will still be exchanged at the 'commercial rate'.

The amount of money Italian tourists can take out of the country has been cut by 50 per cent.

Behind these measures is the need to stem the

outflow of speculative capital from Italy which amounted in 1972 to over

## **CP backs Concorde**

THE FRENCH Communist Party yesterday gave its full backing to the Concorde project. It can and must continue, declared Politbureau member René Piquet in 'L'Humanité'.

turns, but what kind of returns are they?' he said.

'Capitalist returns, that is to say immediately disposable profits.

'Returns must not be calculated in terms of immediate benefits, but in terms of technical and scientific knowledge and what it brings to the whole

## £1.400m.

We're hearing about re-

economy.'

## l'et offensive organizer back in Saigon

TRAN VAN TRA is back in Saigon, flown in by the Americans to represent the National Liberation Front on the Joint Military Commission set up to supervise the ceasefire.

His last mission to South Vietnam's capital had a somewhat different purpose. In 1968, attired like an ordinary peasant, he reconnoitred the city to put the Tet offensive, which he had planned, into operation.

After joining the Vietnamese Communist Party around 1940 he worked in the underground. Later he was sent to Russia and China for military studies, re-turning to fight against French

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT colonialism and then against the

General Tra's arrival with 29 aides makes it possible for the JMC to begin its work. Advance elements of the International Commission of Control and Supervision have made little progress. It consists of troops from Canada, Indonesia, Poland and Hungary and will have the job of maintaining a truce under virtually impossible conditions.

In principle, teams from the four-power commission will watch

border crossing points and monitor movements of troops and arms. They will also supervise the return of prisoners of war.

Once US troop withdrawal is completed, ten days after the coming into effect of the cease-fire, the JMC will consist only of Saigon and the Provisional Revolutionary Government representatives.

The International Commission can only act on the basis of un-animity and will remain in being until it is asked to end its work

by a newly-elected government in South Vietnam. Speaking to North Vietnam peace negotiator Le Duc Tho in his Peking study, Mao Tse-tung said that Chinese help to the North Vietnamese had been very little. 'We should thank you. It is you who have helped us. You have been fighting against US imperialism for more than ten

years'.
The Chinese have nothing to boast about now in recalling the modest scale of their aid to North Vietnam—especially as they took advantage of the sacrifices of the North Vietnamese to make a deal with the United

Mao's tributes are phoney. Effective support for the Vietnamese revolution from the Soviet Union and China could have defeated US imperialism long ago.

## Polish-**Spanish** offer at banquet

POLISH representatives offered Spanish fascists diplomatic relations at a treacherous banquet in Helsinki this week.

The guest list at the dinner, given by the Spanish delegation to the European Security Con-ference, included Win-centy Krasko, leader of the Polish contingent and, Carlos Iniesta Cano, director of the murderous Spanish civil guard.

Cano had just arrived back from his visit to Warsaw as a member of Madrid parliamentary delegation.

While he was away his thugs continued the repression of workers and students.

And on Thursday evening the military tribunal in Zaragoza gave life sentences to five students on charges of burning down the French consulate.

The Maoist students, arrested by the civil guard, have also to pay £8,000 compensation.

The strike in both Madrid universities continues against increased meal and

travel prices.
On Wednesday, Garcia
Valdecasas, the Dean of the Faculty of Law and a founder of the Falange, organized the military occupation of the campus.

(Garcia Valdecasas was one of the Cortes com-mittee which accepted the protocol for the trade deal between Spain and the Soviet Union.) Police with helicopters,

jeeps, armoured cars and machine-guns occupied the University City.

In Madrid, the art critics, In Madrid, the art critics, Moreno Galvan and Moure Trenor, are being held in prison for attempting to give a lecture on the work of Pablo Picasso in the University City.

They were both physically attacked by police and both face charges of 'violence and the organization of non-peaceful meet-

tion of non-peaceful meetings'.

The prosecutor is demanding jail sentences of at least two years.

The Pamplona civil guard is still holding eight wor-kers involved in organizing the strike in the Torfinasa factory of the industrialist Huarte who has just been released by the Basque nationalists.

## Talks on lorry bonus



AS INFORMAL talks took place on the BRS drivers' dispute in the Midlands yester-day, strikes in Coventry and Birmingham brought the total number of carworkers laid off in the area to well over 14,000.

The strikes were at the Standard-Triumph assembly plant in Coventry and at the steering-gear manufacturers Burman and Sons, Birmingham. With the BRS dispute, they stopped all Triumph production. The company sent 2,000 men home.

At Triumph, 250 trim-shop workers were fighting the three-day suspension of a man for alleged bad timekeeping, while at Burman's, 35 toolroom workers say their wages have fallen £8 below those in other factories because the company is refusing to implement a national agreement relating their pay to that of skilled pieceworkers.

Meanwhile at BRS depots throughout the Midlands region, heavy-goods vehicles which transport vital supplies to the car factories, were still lying idle. They cannot be moved because the company refuses to pay a £2.50 bonus which is already standard at private hauliers.

The drivers have handed their new heavy-goods vehicle (HGV) licences, which become compulsory this week, in to the Transport and General Workers' Union, so they cannot be sent out on the road with any vehicle over three tons unladen weight.

But the 1,000 men involved are reporting for work inside the depots each day, and since there is nothing in their contracts of employment about holding an HGV licence, BRS is having to pay them.

#### Report

Shop stewards went to T&GWU headquarters in Birmingham yesterday afternoon to hear a report from Alan Law, the union's commercial trade group secretary in the Midlands, on the outcome of informal talks with the company.

BRS is believed still to be insisting that the £2.50 cannot be paid because of the Tories' state pay law.

But a comment from Dave Dingwall, a driver at Birmingham's Cheapside

British Road Services drivers in the Midlands are going into their depots each day and are being paid by the company. But they are having to stand around because BRS refuses to pay a bonus already paid to other drivers in the area. The men have handed their heavy goods vehicle licences to union officials. They can't work without them. Below: Dave Dingwall says 'We'll keep this up until the end of the freeze.'



BY DAVID MAUDE OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

depot, is typical of the men's confidence that they can win:

'We've been asked how long we're prepared to keep this up,' he told Workers Press. 'Well, the answer is: as long as BRS and the government likes. Certainly until the end of any freeze you care to mention.'

'I don't know much about politics,' said Albert

of the T&GWU's 5/38 drivers' branch, explained the background to the present dispute:

'This claim went in long before the freeze was even thought of,' he said.

'Our rates in BRS are £4.60 below those in the private firms, who are members of the Road Haulage Association.

'But at the moment



Harry Shorter . . . we want the rate for the Job

Caldicott, shop steward at Birmingham's Bromsgrove Lane BRS depot, 'But I do know that the Tory government has done us no good at all. They don't give you a chance to breathe even.'

He said the drivers were determined to continue their action until BRS pays up.

Harry Shorter, secretary

we're not even asking our employer to close that gap. All we want is this £2.50 which is being paid by 171 private firms to men with HGV licences, for exactly the same work.

'What we are saying is this: "it doesn't matter what the emblem is on the side of the cab, we want the rate for the job and we're going to get it".' So in an area from Rosson-Wye to Wellington, Shropshire, and from Tamworth to Swindon, none of the purpose-built BRS vehicles which serve the motor industry is moving.

Ironically, it was the Tory government's own subdivision of BRS into regions last November which handed the drivers the power to cripple the carmakers' heartland.

BRS Midlands region brings drivers from all over the area under the same management umbrella, and they have now flexed their muscles for the first time.

#### **Effect**

The effect has been devastating.

Austin-Morris have stopped making cars at Longbridge, Birmingham, and have laid off nearly 5,000 men.

Jaguar, with 1,200 workers idle in Coventry, are not producing any XJ saloons. MG sports car output has ceased at Abingdon, Berks, and some car production is affected at Austin-Morris, Cowley.

Thousands more workers are laid off at car body plants in Birmingham, Swindon and Oxford. Yesterday's Triumph shutdown at Coventry could affect production at Liverpool.

## Steel closure hits 2,800 north-east jobs

BY IAN YEATS

THE BRITISH Steel Corporation has said that its obsolete Hartlepool open-hearth steelworks in the north-east is to close.

The plate mill at the works is to continue after the closure in 1975, but at least 2,850 jobs will be axed.

The shutdown is part of the government's plan to concentrate steelmaking on Teesside at a giant new basic oxygen

(BOS) plant at Lackenby.
Other works in the district, such as Cargo Fleet,
Skinningrove and the openhearth shops at Redcar and
Lackenby have already disappeared as a result of
the rationalization.

Although Lord Melchett said the plate mill would continue, he added ominously that it might have to close toward the end of the decade if the BSC decided to include a new large plate mill in its Lackenby complex.

This is nearly certain. The whole basis of the Tory government's plan for steel is large-scale steel-making to begin with and, as the new BOS plants come into full operation, large-scale rolling and finishing in giant mechanized and semi-automated mills.

By the end of the decade at the latest, none of the existing integrated plants may be left.

IN SCOTLAND, where 7,000 steel jobs are to go, a meeting of more than 70 shop stewards with the



BSC chairman

STUC decided not to act until the government's White Paper on the industry's future was published. And the meeting noted that the only real hope of averting the redundancies lay in the return of the next Labour government.

THERE was more bad news for the north east yesterday with the announcement by the National Coal Board that its Solway pit at Workington is to close

on is to close.

The pit, which employs 530 men, will shut on Saturday, May 26. The NCB says the mine's resources are exhausted and losses last year totalled £738,000.

#### Warrington freezes rent rise

WARRINGTON Labour council has decided to defy the Tory 'fair rents' Act by deferring a rents assesment for the town's 10,000 council houses.

Failure to publish the assessment by next Friday, February 9, is almost certain to lead to the Department of the Environment serving a default order on the Lancashire council.

Alderman George

Cooper, Labour leader of the council, says the decision has been taken in the light of the Tory government's state pay laws. Cllr Bill Avery, housing committee chairman, adds

committee chairman, adds that the Tories cannot ask people to resist inflation while pushing up their rent.

Every council tenant in

the town faces a 50p-a-week rent increase in October.

## Unions seeking new terms for CAV occupiers

UNION OFFICIALS in Liverpool have opened talks with the Lucas combine about the possibility of alternative work and improved redundancy terms for the sit-in strikers at CAV Fazakerley.

And, on the recommendation of leading shop stewards, the strikers have agreed to allow Lucas management onto the Fazakerley site without passes issued by the occupation committee.

#### **BRIEFLY ● BRIEFLY**

BUILDING employers should equip themselves with a much bigger skilled force to prevent shoddy standards. National Federation of Building Trades Employers' president John Westacott told the Federation's southern region AGM: 'We all know that in past years, stop-go policies for building have not helped our recruitment and training programmes.' He called on every type and size of firm to join the drive for new standards.

RAILWAY worker Jack Flynn (59), of Jap Road, Wimbledon, was killed yesterday by a train while working on the track at Waterloo station.

## CBI warns about asset-rigging

THE CONFEDERATION of British Industry is concerned about inflated values in many company accounts. The leaders of big business feel that annual reports are not giving a true picture of company finances. This is particularly true of property assets.

For book purposes property portfolios are being revalued at a staggering rate, thus indicating the 'sound trading position' of the firm.

In a recent case, one group increased the value of its land holdings by £100m—'at a stroke'!

Sir David Barran, former head of Shell, has just completed a

## at a stroke

report for the CBI on this asset rigging.

The CBI threw its influential weight behind Thursday's suggestion from the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales that companies should give supplementary tables in their annual accounts showing the real value of their profits or losses after inflation.

Sir David said tables reflecting the real purchasing power of the pound might in many cases reveal less bright financial picture.

And this indication of the real position could mean that unions would not make excessive claims.

It would also make it easier for industry to tackle the government on the question of too much taxation of profits.

The committee felt it important that inflation accounting should be done on an international scale so that British companies were not put in an unfair position in relation to competitors overseas.

Sir David accepted that it might be difficult to sell the idea to some British companies!

This will probably mean that full production can be restarted at the Lucas Industrial Equipment factory, which shares the Fazakerley site with CAV. LIE workers have been 'working in' since Monday after a 13-week lay-off.

A mass meeting at CAV has also agreed to hand over Lucas's control of canteen facilities for the LIE workers.

Early next week, the union officials are expected to report back to a further mass meeting on the combine's reply.

The executive of the Liverpool Trades Council has agreed to call a conference of shop stewards on Tuesday, February 13, to discuss the 16-week fight against closure at CAV, the threat to jobs at Shotton steelworks and the fight against unemployment generally.



## DRAFT RESOLUTION: PERSPECTIVES FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SLL INTO A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Two thousand two hundred delegates at the All Trades Unions Alliance Conference in Birmingham on October 22 last year voted unanimously to proceed with the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party. Today Workers Press publishes the draft political perspectives and programme for the party, submitted by the Central Committee of the SLL. In every area the Socialist Labour League will proceed to organize meetings and conferences to discuss, amend and improve this resolution, and our columns are open for the same discussion. All amendments will be discussed and voted on at a special national conference to plan the founding of the party in May of this year. We urgently ask all our readers to study and distribute this resolution on the widest possible basis. Every day makes more pressing the task of building the alternative revolutionary leadership.

Resolution on Perspectives for the Transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a Revolutionary Party.

## INTRODUCTION

1973 is a year of historic decision for the British working

January has seen the Tory government legislate a threeyear state dictatorship over wages. Already they have paved the way with their Industrial Relations Act.

The so-called 'Phase II' and 'Phase III' are the inevitable consequence of entry into the European Common Market. These dictatorial measures, carried through with rough contempt for the electorate or for parliamentary debate, prove beyond doubt that the Common Market is an alliance of British and West European big banks and monopolies to oppress and exploit the working class.

Far from 'controlling inflation' the Tories are out to use it as the big stick; to frighten and stampede the middle class,

and to weaken and divide the

working class.

Already Labour Party leaders have said that they will not hinder the implementation of the new measures, and have advised the working class to obey the new laws. They are willing assistants in the steps to the police state.

Trade union leaders have collaborated at every step, and are even now looking for ways of resuming their collaboration with the Heath government.

The working class urgently needs a programme to defend all its basic democratic rights, to unite the whole working class into action to remove the Tory government. For this it is essential that a new leadership be built in the working-class movement.

Just as the employing class and the Tories cannot any longer rule in the old way, with compromise, reform, and the 'swing of the electoral pendulum', so the working class cannot go on with the old leadership and the old betrayals.

The three-year state control of wages is no temporary measure. If the Tories are permitted to go through with this, it is intended as permanent destruction of all basic democratic rights. Every Labour and trade union leader who acts in any way to prevent the working class from using all its strength to defeat the government now is as historically guilty as were the leaders who betrayed the German workers to Hitler.

Every single basic right of the working class, won in centuries of struggle, is in immediate and extreme danger.

The British capitalist class, gripped by insoluble world economic crisis, and mortally afraid of the organized strength of the undefeated working class of today, has resolved to destroy these rights.

Already, after less than three years of this government, millions of working men and women are realizing that their whole existence is threatened. State control of wages, rocketing price and rent increases. loss of democratic rights and legislation to destroy the trade unions—all these attacks are designed to destroy the working class as a class which fights to defend itself and change the social system.

All Trades Unions Alliance Conference in Birmingham, 1972. The vote was unanimous, to proceed with transformation of the SLL into a revolutionary party.

The Tory government aims to reduce every worker to the level of an isolated citizen obeying the authority of the

state and the employer. It is not just a matter of changes over three years of one government, which can be reversed simply by replacing that government at the end of its term. Nor is it even only a matter of the Tories destroying the gains in living standards made by the organized working-class movement since World War II. What is happening is that the whole pattern of social and political relations between the classes in Britain is now forced to

Within the framework of Britain being the first and strongest capitalist country (since the 17th century), it has been possible for the British working class to force definite economic concessions and basic democratic rights and to make the ruling class extend to it

the method of compromise which was first developed between the old, landed aristocracy and the capitalists themselves.

Every one of these rights had to be won by bitter struggle against people who claimed the allegiance of the working class but preached that such concessions and rights could be won and maintained without a fight.

tained without a fight.

Today British capitalism, like world capitalism, is at the end of all 'compromise' solutions to the class struggle. The ruling class senses that it cannot impose new solutions. Having relied until now on the reformist leaders of the working class to sell compromises — to restrict the organized strength of the class purely to the role of 'pressure' for small reforms—they must now put an end to reforms and take back what has been won by the working class in the past. They therefore prepare energetically to defeat the working class in struggle.

The British working class,

The British working class, facing the very real threat of losing everything it has gained through its trade unions and its political struggle, must now find the men and women, the theory, the discipline and the fighting capacity, to resist this attack, this attempt to turn back the clock of history. That means that a new party must be built, a party that can defeat and replace the bankrupt. Labour and Stalintst leaders and unite the working class around a programme to defeat the Tory attack.

Defence of basic democratic rights, led by such a revolutionary party, will be turned into attack, attack on the Tory government, the common

Such a task can certainly be accomplished. The working class, throughout the period of this Tory government, has shown its ability to fight back. Despite the cowardly retreats of the trade union leaders, millions of workers have entered the battle not only workers have against their employers but against the government, from postmen and local council workers, miners, car to workers, workers, shipyard builders and dockers.

These betrayals of leader-ship culminated in the collaboration of the TUC General Council in talks with the Heath Cabinet on 'control of inflation' on the eve of Common Market entry. Such betrayal means that the old ways of fighting have come to a contradiction which must be resolved.

The trade unions preserve the strength of the working class. But the reformist, class-collaborationist politics and leadership of these unions has now become one of the wheels in the capitalist machine being constructed to **destroy** that same strength!

The gains of all past struggles are at stake, and new ways of struggle must be found. This is not something merely invented by Marxists, it is the inescapable lesson of history as it works out, to this very moment. Either a change to revolutionary policies, programme and organization, or else the working class will be smashed.

The forces for a new revolutionary party with this task definitely exist, as the struggles of the working class have shown since 1970. But these forces are going into action separately, one after the other, instead of as a concerted body. They are scattered and divided because of the policies and tactics of the trade union leaders.

This is the situation which must be overcome, a situation which gets more intolerable every day. Unless every socialist and class-conscious worker takes up his responsibility for the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party, then the situation can only deteriorate rapidly.

The crisis faced by capitalism is worse than 1929-1933, which led to fascism in Germany and World War II. Just as Hitler set out to destroy the working class's traditional organizations, so the Tories today set out to destroy 'collective bargaining' as the method for regulating class relations in the day-to-day struggle. This is what is meant by the end of reformism and the need for a revolutionary party.

What is vitally necessary is the unity of the working class to defeat the main enemy, the common enemy, the Tory government. Millions of workers' families are saddled with rent increases and impossible increases in food prices. Millions of trade unionists are suddenly and brutally told that to press their justified wage demands will be to break the law.

Unemployed workers are reduced to the poverty line. Youth and students face a future of economic decline, unemployment, education cuts and cuts in real wages. The rights of every one of these sections to resist have been legislated away. A socialist programme to unite all these sections is the need of the hour. The building of the alternative revolutionary party. with such a programme, far from conflicting with the unity of the working-class movement, is the only way to assure that unity. The great obstacle to unity is the present reformist leadership.

## THE TORY GOVERNMENT'S ATTACK

The Tory government has taken Britain into the European Common Market. Behind the propaganda about a 'great adventure' and a 'better to-morrow' lies the stark reality: the Common Market is a financial, industrial and political alliance of big business and capitalist governments against the common people of every country in the Market. Its true nature was revealed by the statement by Thomson, one of the two 'European Com-missioners' appointed by the Heath government. On the day before entry, he said: 'What dictators failed to achieve by military force, we are achieving by democratic means.'

In the first place, it is a lie that 'democratic means' were used. The government deliberately broke its pledge to consult the electorate before entry became definite. It acted without a mandate and in effect deprived the people of the right to vote, a vote won in centuries of struggle, particularly by the working class before the Reform Act of 1832 and the extension of the franchise in 1870, and for the women's vote in the early part of this century.

But Thomson's declaration is much more revealing. The dictators he refers to are Hitler and Mussolini. They tried to 'unite' Europe and enslave the European working class by building war machines on behalf of the big financiers and monopolists. This was the only way the Italian and German capitalists could overcome the conflict between modern productive forces on the one hand and the nation state and private capitalist property on the other.

Today the contradiction is even more acute. Heath and the European capitalists are attempting to build a power bloc, a dictatorship, to confront the economic giants America and Japan. Within this bloc, they are working to protect the power and profits of big business, the same bankers and industrialists who financed Hitler, and destroy the interests and rights of the

workers throughout Europe.

They will not flinch from the same measures as Hitler took, just as the US imperialists did not shrink from bombing to death in Vietnam more people than were killed in the same way in the whole of World War II. That is the real meaning of the Common Market and the Tory government. It is the real meaning of the betrayal of the Labour Party right wing in supporting entry. (Thomson himself is an ex-Labour Minister!)

The essence of the Tory programme is to destroy trade unions as we know them, destroy the standard of living built up over generations, destroy the democratic rights of individual citizens as well as trade unions — in short, to destroy all basic rights.

They do this in the name of 'fair play', and pose as the defenders of the people's rights against the so-called 'monopoly' of the organized working class in the factories, mines and building sites.

The real driving force behind them is not their sense of 'fairness' but the economic crisis which forces them to take measures to secure their privileged class interests whatever the consequences. When they say they attack the 'monopoly' of the trade unions over labour supply and costs, they are really defending their own monopoly of all the wealth, their own monopoly which enables them to condemn millions to unemployment.

When they pass the 'fair rents' Housing Finance Act, the word 'fair' is used to conceal its opposite: the monopoly control of the big banks, building societies, building and building materials, industrialists, and landlords and real estate speculators over all housing and planning.

This monopoly they use to extort massive rent increases and interest payments from ordinary tenants and householders.

When they list 'unfair industrial practices' as legal offences in the Industrial Relations Act, they are actually making it illegal for workers to defend their basic rights and standards through strikes and other forms of industrial action. Every trade unionist knows that without these rights within his union he and his family would be completely at the mercy of the exploiting capitalist class.

In the name of a 'Fair Trading Act' the Tory government is building up laws and legal penalties against 'restrictive practices' by workers in the factories. They mean by a restrictive practice any means by which the workers have organized to restrict the power of the employer to dictate terms of work and payment. The Act will be used to destroy these rights, built up in years of struggle, to reduce the worker on the shop floor to the status of a mere instrument of the capitalist's will.

What is behind the appeal to 'fairness'? It is this: the Tory government is setting itself up as the representative of the 'consumer' or 'individual citizen' who wants 'fair play' undisturbed by strong, organized groups. Thus the power of the unions must be curbed to stop inflation, for example, and a strong government must be given middle-class support to do this.

Sir Geoffrey Howe, who drafted the Industrial Relations Act, is brought into the Cabinet as 'Minister for the Consumer'. Just as uncontrollable inflation heralded Nazi dictatorship in Germany, so today it provides the basis for the 'British' variety

the 'British' variety.

The Tory and Liberal propaganda idea of the independent citizen-consumer, standing up for fair play against monopoly, does not exist. Tory ideas of 'rights' are based on property ownership, which has always been confined to the privileged minority. The 19th century

myth is being used to stand in the way of the only forces that can challenge monopoly capitalism: the organized working class and the socialist revolution.

## THE ATTACK ON BASIC RIGHTS

Britain of the 1960s and 1970s has been plundered by profiteers of every sort. Never have such massive business mergers taken place. Chemicals, electronic products, building materials, food, catering, electronics, cars—each of these is now controlled by a mere handful of big companies.

The millions paid as taxes by workers and middle-class people have been used by Tory and Labour governments to swell ever bigger the profits of these monopolies. With these funds they have rationalized and speeded up industry and cut down the labour force, all with the direct help of the trade union leaders, in the name of 'productivity'. The reward for the ordinary workers has been mass unemployment and unprecedented cost-of-living increases.

The state machine and government are being made over into the kind of dictatorship which is suited to these monopolies and their control over labour.

The Cabinet is manned, more and more, by men like Peter Walker and Anthony Barber, products of the great finance capital bonanza of the Reginald Maudling, dropped because of the Poulson scandal, ranked as top thinker and representative of this political and business élite, and rightly so. For the protection of the profits of these men and the class they serve, state control of 'prices and increases' has been decreed, again in the name of fairness and equality sacrifice.

Once again this is a fraud. Wages are actually cut by state decree, and even negotiations for future increases are banned. The government intends permanent state control of wages. This means the destruction of basic rights to a decent standard of living and of the right of the working class to defend itself against the effects of capitalist profitering, exploitation and unemployment.

The Tories, not content with the wide powers they already possess for states of emergency and rule by Privy Council, are attacking the whole system of democratic rights.

More and more, changes are made in the mechanism of state control without any reference to parliament, let alone the electorate. Small teams of permanent civil servants, Cabinet Ministers and top lawyers, consulting businessmen (and even TUC leaders in order to decide their tactics) decide and determine major issues like the Industrial Relations Act and the new state control of wages.

The truth is that the Tory government has already legislated the people's basic democratic rights out of existence. At the first great clash between the government and the working class the workers will realize with a shock that its treasured rights no longer exist!

The right to strike and to organize in unions: The Industrial Relations Act is used to levy a £55,000 fine on the engineering union, because unions are deprived of their basic right to unite and to implement their own rules—the right of the membership to exclude those who actively oppose trade union principles.

The House of Lords judgement after the release of the five dockers from Pentonville jail in June 1972 is a return of the 1901 Taff Vale judgement, which made trade unions as such legally and financially responsible in the courts for all the actions by their members. The aim of this Act is to destroy independent trade unions completely.

The right to a decent standard of living: Above all the British capitalists want to get out of the crisis created through their own profiteering and greed by reducing their labour costs, i.e. reducing the worker and his family to the poverty line, wiping out the wage concessions won since World War II. The end result of all the reformists' 'incomes policy' is the present state control of wages backed by the new law to increase rents. In this way the Tories hope to reduce the resistance and fighting capacity of the working class.

The attack on welfare benefits—school meals, school milk, the health service, spending on education — and especially on entitlement to supplementary benefit and the return to the means test—are part of the same attack on the basic right to a decent living standard.

The right to work: The capitalist class has never accepted the right to full employment fought for by the working class. They consider it their

fought for by the working class. They consider it their right to have a vast reserve army of unemployed with which to intimidate the employed. In response to the temporary fall in jobless to 750,000 in December 1972, the government took £400m out of the economy to stop prosperity getting too 'overheated'! Unemployment is a weapon of the Tory government. The right to work must be defended and guaranteed!

The right to decent housing: In order to ensure the thousands of billions of pounds interest and profit payable to banks and building societies on the one hand, and building and materials monopolies on the other, existing housing becomes impossibly expensive and current building is diverted to speculative property projects which do nothing to ease the housing shortage. The 'fair rents' Act is the instrument for this.

The housing shortage and high cost of accommodation could be resolved in a very short time. Already all the funds and resources for an emergency house-building programme are concentrated in the hands of a few building societies, insurance companies, banks and building firms.

A socialist government would nationalize all these under workers' control and without compensation (except to small savers).

The immediate problem of the thousands of homeless must be tackled more urgently. If a census were taken of all unoccupied houses belonging to the wealthy, and of estates and vacant office properties, the homeless would soon be found somewhere to live, at rents they could afford.

This applies to every need of the working class: the solutions are at hand, but the existing privileges of the rich, taken for granted for so long, stand in the way! These are the obstacles which a socialist government should remove. They would have the backing of the working class to enforce these solutions. Only the refusal of Labour governments in the past to attack these privileges has kept the capitalists' power intact.

The right to vote: Even this

The right to vote: Even this right is infringed by the entry into the EEC without the 'consultation with the electorate' pledged by Heath. The most vicious clauses in the Industrial Relations Act went through without parliamentary

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debate. Phase Two of Heath's 'freeze' was implemented by Order in Council with no opportunity for parliamentary debate or even question. Not only that. In the implementation of the Housing Finance Act against Labour Councils, the Tory government appoints Commissioners and has the power to dismiss and disqualify the elected representatives of the people.

The right to freedom of expression: The Tories are preparing to attack this basic democratic right. The NIRC President, Sir John Donaldson, has already warned the Press against commenting on cases coming before his Court. The suppression of programmes on TV, and the campaigning of the right wing on 'moral purity' and 'offences against public taste' are attacks on these basic rights.

All these attacks on basic rights and changes in the form of government reveal one thing. The Tory government represents a decadent ruling class setting its face stubbornly against the necessary historical change to socialism. To do this it is prepared to roll back all the gains made by the workers in the past. It therefore resorts to 'Bonapartist' dictatorial forms of rule. This is what Heath meant at the

first Tory conference after coming into office. 'We will change the course of history of the nation.'

And how will they do it? Heath went on, at the United Nations the next month, to predict that the 1970s would be a period of 'civil wars'. Anyone who doubts his words should look across the Irish Sea. There forces for 'civil war' in Britain are being drilled and turned out on bloody exercises.

In Britain, it was recently revealed that a special Army Corps, 60,000 strong, is being built to deal with security. Preparations are well advanced to abolish trial by jury in many cases, and the rights of accused have already been slashed.

Such a Bonapartist regime can come about and survive, given two conditions: the rottenness and weakness of the existing ruling class; and the unpreparedness of the working class

It is the job of every socialist to immediately **change** this second condition, to disrupt the enemy's preparations, and initiate the process of unifying the working class for the struggle for its own power. This means: transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party; take up the leadership of the fight to throw the Tory government out; replace it with a Labour government pledged to a

socialist programme.

Between the Tories' intentions and their achievement stands the greatest problem of all: the working class. Legislation and a few speeches cannot destroy its strength. They prepare the ground, along with the betrayals of the trade union, Labour and Stalinist leadership.

What the Tories need is to defeat a decisive section of the workers' movement in a headon collision. The strength of the workers' resistance, as in the miners' strike, has several times compelled them to tack and turn in their preparation. This has caused strife in the Tory ranks, because they still have no solution for the crisis. De Gaulle had a mass base in the peasantry and small shopkeepers of France. The Tories desperately need such a base, but do not have one.

The greatest crime now would be to allow the Tories all the time they need to complete EEC entry, prepare the necessary laws, cultivate middle-class opinion, scared by inflation, against the trade unions, increase unemployment, and then isolate a section of strikers—all with the intention of a scare election on 'law and order' and the return of a more right-wing government.

Under such conditions, right-wing and fascist forces would mobilize for the next

stage of the attack on the working class.

This is what would happen if the existing trade union and Labour leaders were left in the leadership unchallenged. The most decisive question is to build the alternative to them now, in the present struggle against the Tory government. Those who see these dangers, but do not act to prevent them, will share the incalculable responsibility for the consequences. This is what it means to say the transformation of the SLL into a revolutionary party in 1973 is a historical necessity.

### THEWORKING CLASS MOVEMENT AND THE REVOLUTION-ARY PARTY

The working class has shown from the dustmen's and postmen's strikes, through the dockers', miners' and building workers' struggles, that they will not stand aside while the Tories proceed. Militancy by

one section after another has checked the Tory offensive at each stage. But herein lies the greatest danger!

Every militant struggle which checks the class enemy forces him to prepare fresh attacks. But if the militant struggle remains isolated from the political fight against the government, and fails to challenge the reformist trade union leadership, then it leaves the working class divided against the next stage of Tory attack and preparation of dictatorship.

There must be formed, now, an organization of revolutionaries, trained in Marxist theory, who know how to fight for leadership in every struggle against the government (wages, rents, etc.) always with the aim of uniting the whole class for the fight to make the government resign and preparing for working-class power.

The opportunity exists more than ever before. One essential characteristic of the class struggle in the last two years has been that all sections of workers have been brought into struggle against government policies. Civil servants, teachers, college servants, canteen workers, hospital workers, and many others only just being unionized have followed the engineers, miners, dockers and railwaymen into the fight.

The mobilization of the whole strength of the working-









class movement to force the Tories to resign would leave the government completely isolated in a very short time. Instead, the TUC leaders have constantly gone back and crawled on their bellies for talks with the Tory government.

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The entry on to the scene of all these sections of the working class means all the problems of the class come up for solution. It means also that the ruling class will utilize all the weapons at its disposal to suppress the movement.

The use of 22,000 troops, thousands of armed paramilitary forces, and new laws for imprisonment without trial in Ireland, indicates what is in preparation. The old reformism of the British labour movement is completely and hopelessly inadequate for such a situation. In defending the gains of the movement, its mass organizations, the trade unions, the working class will need a revolutionary party above all else.

Taff Vale in 1901 came at the beginning of modern imperialism, the 'epoch of wars and revolutions', before the formation of the Bolshevik Party, before World War I and before the first successful working-class revolution.

king-class revolution.

It led the trade union leaders, many of them very conservative, to form an independent working-class, parlia-

mentary party, the Labour Party. But now, 70 years after, with the October Revolution, fascism, two world wars and six Labour governments in between, and capitalism back to a crisis more severe even than 1929, the attack on the unions cannot be repelled by reformism. Indeed, the Labour government of Wilson prepared the anti-union laws, and the TUC collaborates with the government!

This time the unions can be defended only by transforming them into organizations of revolutionary struggle against capitalism, for there is no return to the old 'free' trade unions.

Such a transformation can only be carried out by a revolutionary party based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The strength of the working class in economic struggles is not manifested only in the day-to-day success in resisting the employers' attacks or winning wage increases. This same strength, for example, provokes division and crisis within the Tory ranks, and this leads to intensification of their reactionary preparations.

To understand and counter such developments, of which there are many in a period of crisis such as this, requires a party which starts from a scientific view of all the relations between classes and

states, and not only from the immediate impressions of 'victory' or 'setback'. This is why the SLL has fought so bitterly against all those reformists, Stalinists, and revisionists who have held the workers back from struggle to bring down the Tory government.

Instead the revisionists peddle the idea that the economic struggle will 'spontaneously' bring the workers to the point of revolutionary struggle and leadership, and the reformists and Stalinists dismiss political, revolutionary struggles as 'Utopian'. These ideas help the ruling class to keep the working class divided and politically backward, while the ruling class itself prepares the next blow. The struggle of the SLL and the All Trades Unions Alliance against such ideas and practice has been the central theme of our political preparation to transform the League into a revolutionary party. In the experience of the last two and a half years of struggle many workers have been able to learn this lesson in practice and come forward to build the SLL, the ATUA and the Workers Press.

What is actually involved is to answer the basic question, one way or the other: Do the conditions exist in Britain for the successful working-class

struggle for power?

In order to answer this question we must first of all

understand that the capitalists' attack on basic rights comes from their weakness, from their crisis. The crisis makes it impossible to rule any longer in the old ways. To dispense with these old ways means to make their rule extremely precarious, because they are forced to pull away the supports that have always kept them in political power. They are trying to create a new and arbitrary body of law which does not rest solidly on precedent and historically-established and accepted rights and procedures.

They need to transform the large professional and middle class which has 'believed' in the favour English freedom and 'compromise' (which was in fact the product of colonial oppression on the one hand and bitter struggle of the working class on the other) into unquestioning authoritarian state officials acting against the working class. They need, above all, to defeat the working class in battle in order to render them subservient to a life without rights.

To make all these changes, on the basis of an economic system which is not a developing one but one in decline and decay, is a task which exposes them to great dangers.

The dangers take a very concrete form. Through the struggle to defend basic rights, the working class can mobilize

Left: The Right-to-Work marches railled support in every industrial area. Right: 'Bloody Sunday', January 30, 1972. Forces for 'civil war' in Britain are being drilled and turned out on bloody exercises.

to throw out the Tory government, which the capitalist class needs in order to carry out its aims. The conditions for exposing the bankrupt Lahour leaders by fighti hin socialist politics from a Labour government, would exist. Now that the fighting capacity of the working class, in all its sections, has been demonstrated in the last two and a half years, we are in a situation where we must create the one remaining factor for victory, the building of the alternative, revolutionary party.

### DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND THE WORKING CLASS

Unity of the working-class movement on a programme to defend the democratic rights which are under attack can be

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transformed into the mass movement which forces the Tory government to resign. But this means starting from the causes behind the attack on democratic rights.

These basic rights are under attack because this is the only way the capitalist class can hope to survive the acute world economic crisis, characterized by trade war and galloping inflation. Only a programme of socialist measures to put an end to the basic economic crisis can put an end to the attack on democratic rights.

Those who say that sheer militancy, or a limited protest or 'pressure' campaign, can defeat measures like the Industrial Relations Act (the Communist Party, International Socialists, International Marxist Group) have been proved wrong in practice. But a fundamental error is involved, not just a mistaken tactic.

These tendencies cultivate the illusion that present-day capitalism and Toryism can continue to exist without the Industrial Relations Act and all the other attacks. In fact, they mislead the working class into the idea that the capitalist economy will still accept reformist solutions. They have become the most efficient defenders of bankrupt reformism.

The struggle for Marxist theory and practice against all these tendencies has been and will remain central to the building of the revolutionary

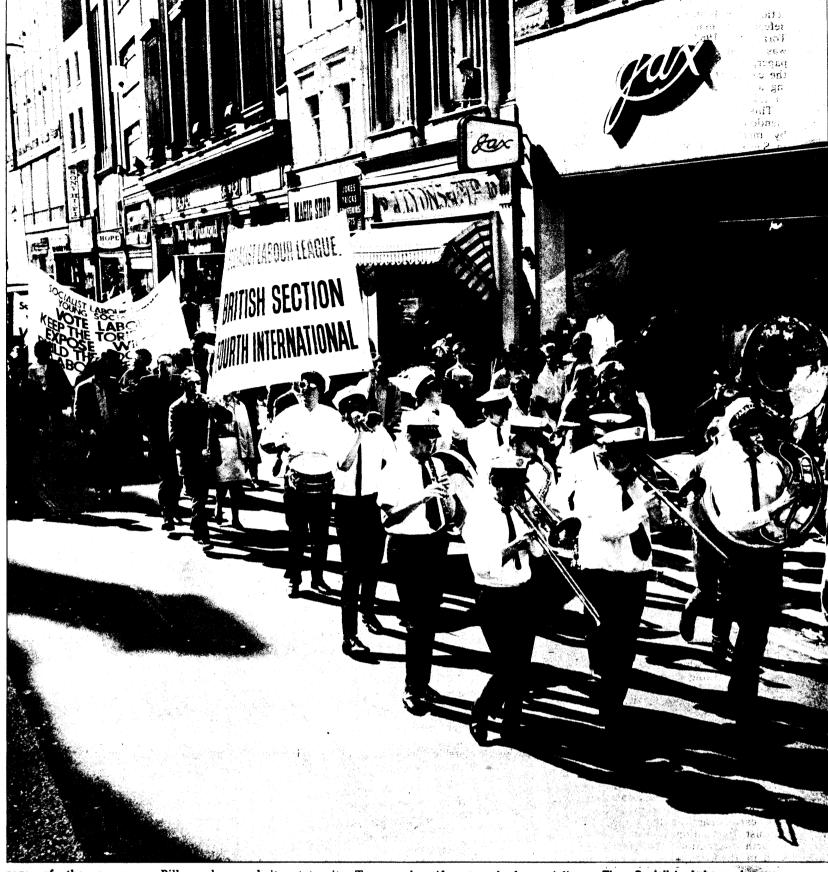
party.
Stalinism, particularly, diverts the working class by campaigning for what it calls unity of the democratic forces, whether working class or not, to defend democracy. The CPs of France and Italy are preparing to enter coalitions with capitalist governments on this programme, a repetition of the 'Popular Fronts' of the 1935-1939 period. It is now part of the 'peaceful road to socialism' theory.

In Britain, just as every-where else, this treacherous policy is belied by the reality. All the basic rights under Tory attack were won in struggle by the working class, and they can only be defended by the independent struggle of the working class. The popular struggle for democratic rights in the period of the bourgeois revolution met with repression from the new capitalist ruling class in England and in Ireland as soon as the monarchy was defeated, and the struggle was effectively taken up again only with the rise of the working class. Any democratic forces in the lower middle class had henceforth to turn in a socialist, working-class direction.

Capitalist democracy no longer serves capitalism's purposes. It is no longer a question of 'preserving' democracy by means of alliances under the banner of bourgeois democracy. Members of the middle class themselves suffer as badly as do the workers from inflation, war, destruction of rights, the power of the trusts and banks, and the decay of culture. They will respond not to calls to defend bourgeois parliamentary democracy, but to the strength and determination of an independent working-class struggle against the monopolies and the state.

Nothing is more calculated to drive the middle class into the arms of reaction than the cowardice and treachery of the TUC and Labour leaders. They put forward not a single consistent or anti-capitalist policy. They arouse anger and contempt by their hypocritical protests against particular issues, which everybody knows rests on their fundamental support of Tory policy, both domestic and foreign.

The Labour leadership has never in fact opposed EEC entry. Only the desertion to the Tory lobby of Jenkins and the right wing ensured pas-



sage of the necessary Bill. Wilson refused to discipline the traitors because he is going exactly the same way. The Labour leadership refuses to mobilize any struggle against the Housing Finance Act and, with a few honourable exceptions, the local parties have capitulated on rent increases. In Ireland, Wilson has gone

In Ireland, Wilson has gone out of his way to support Heath and Whitelaw, and Callaghan actually performed the duties of emissary of the Tory government in Belfast. The trade union leaders follow suit. Not one of them has fought for solidarity with the Irish workers against imperialism.

Having prevented the working class from stopping the Industrial Relations Act, the TUC leaders entered talks with the Tory enemy on wage and price control, and return to the conference table even now, when permanent state control is being enacted.

They are there for everybody to see as participants in the process of laying the foundations for dictatorship. These reformist leaders have always sought to keep their own position in the movement by accepting the 'special' position of British capitalism and its ability to find a compromise way out of struggle because of its heritage of monopoly and Empire. This parasitic structure is crumbling fast. The international crisis forces the classes to confront each other in direct conflict. The working class of Britain in this fight must break out of the reformist, nationalist straitjacket and recognise the main enemy, the British capitalist

class and its state, its Tory government.

This is the historic significance of the need to focus every working-class struggle on the fight to make the Tory government resign, and in the course of this build the alternative revolutionary leadership.

## WHAT IS THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE?

Today, when the Socialist Labour League calls for support to transform itself into a revolutionary party, it does so on the basis of its own record in defence of these basic rights and the struggle for alternative leadership. The daily Workers Press, the Young Socialists, and the ATUA are the resources and forces built up by the Socialist Labour League since its formation in 1959.

In the years of Tory rule before Labour was elected in 1964, SLL members and supporters in the Young Socialists (then in the Labour Party) won the great majority of that organization nationally to our policy. Above all, we fought against the heavy unemployment of 1962-1963 and warned that the Labour government would betray the working

class if a struggle for socialist policies was not successfully carried out.

When, in 1964, for the third successive year, our policies and candidates for the YS National Committee won the majority, the Labour right wing proceeded to mass expulsions. The YS majority then defended itself by holding its conference independently. It has continued to organize, campaign and educate ever since, to build up the biggest and most effective political youth movement in Britain today.

We warned, throughout the term of the Wilson government, that its reactionary policies and refusal to carry out socialist measures would pave the way for the return of the Tories. This government failed in any way to prepare the working class for the economic crisis and the Tory attack.

The present SLL grew out of the whole struggle on basic policies and defence of basic rights like the right to work. We warned that 'In Place of Strife' was opening the door for Tory dictatorship, and we took the first initiative in the fight against Labour's policy and anti-union legislation.

The day after the Tory government was elected in 1970, the Workers Press declared that the working class must be mobilized to force the government to resign. This would mean learning the political lessons of the Labour government and fighting for socialist policies. We campaigned from the very beginning for the TUC to call a General Strike

The Socialist Labour League banner leads the annual May Day march in 1970. On every strigle major issue, the SLL has campaigned within the working class for the policies needed to defeat the main enemy, the Tories.

to defeat the Industrial Relations Act and force the Tory government to resign.

We fought for solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution, and for withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland. Through the ATUA, we conducted the struggle against productivity deals and Measured-Day Work — schemes which amount to everyday class collaboration, and against the anti-union laws. It was in the fight for these policies that the present forces of the SLL and YS were trained, clashing all the time, as they did, with the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists.

The Charter of Basic Rights. passed by the ATUA national conference of 1970, formed the basic programme for unity of all those in struggle against the Tory government. In particular, the Young Socialists rallied support in every industrial area in Britain through their Right-to-Work marches February-March Teams of youth marched from as far away as Glasgow and Liverpool to London, culminating in the anti-Tory rally of 8,500 people in the Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 12, 1972

On every single major issue confronting the working class the SLL, YS and ATUA have struggled to bring before the class, in propaganda and in

action, the policies needed to defeat the main enemy, the Tories. In 1964 the decision was taken to found a daily paper, in the knowledge that the capitalist crisis was maturing and that we must prepare to take our responsibilities.

This was achieved, after tremendous sacrifice and struggle by members and supporters, in September 1969. The paper has since gone from strength to strength. Here was one of the first and decisive requirements for the formation of a revolutionary party; not just to have a daily paper, which is indispensable, but to demonstrate the ability to decide that definite things are necessary and then to tenaciously win in the workers' movement the means to achieve these

things.
The SLL is the British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. From its origins the Trotskyist movement has led the struggle on Marxist foundations against Stalinist bureaucracy. When bureaucracy. Stalin and the bureaucracy in 1923-1924, imposed the programme of 'socialism in one country', they began the process of breaking up the Third (Communist) International of Lenin and Trotsky. Henceforth the Communist Parties of the world were subordinated to the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy. From this fol-lowed the role of the British Communist Party in covering up for the betrayal by the TUC General Council of the 1926 General Strike and the surrender to Chiang Kai-shek resulting in defeat of the Chinese Revolution.

It was the same Stalinist bureaucracy which led the German working class into the defeat by Hitler in 1933 and the Spanish workers to defeat by Franco.

Trotsky and the Left Op-position fought to defend the gains of the October Revolu-tion and the future of the international working class against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy. It was on these principles, those of the early years of the Communist International, that the Fourth International was founded in 1938.

### **TROTSKYISM AND CENTRISM**

The SLL fights for these same principles. We reject the revisionist ideas of the International Socialism group, which denounces the USSR as another 'state capitalist' country and refuses to defend the gains of the Russian and Chinese revolutions against imperialism.

We reject also the betrayal of Marxism by the IMG, part of the international tendency (Pabloism), which has abandoned Trotsky's struggle for revolutionary parties indepen-dent of Stalinism and reformism. Both groups, like the Stalinists, have rejected Lenin's and Trotsky's analysis of modern capitalism as a period whose contradictions necessitate the revolutionary struggle

for working-class power.

The politics of these revisionist groups is centrism: they seek a position in between revolutionary Marxism and bankrupt reformism. If they use Marxist phraseology it is only to remain in this position and divert the working class from its real tasks. They follow in the line of the Independent Labour Party.

Like the ILP, they oppose the independent struggle of the Fourth International against bureaucracy, and always end up tied to the coat-tails of the Stalinists.

The working class itself goes through a process of conflict in moving from reformist illusions to revolutionary Marxism. For the ruling class it is essential that the working class is stopped or diverted along this road; and this is the role of the centrists and revisionists. At critical points, where the reformists are too discredited to hold back the working class, these centrists do their dirty work.

For this reason a constant struggle against the ideas and the practice of centrism is essential to the building of the revolutionary party. Our struggle is to unite in one party and to train in Marxism the determined workers, vouth and revolutionary intellectuals; in order to do this we must fight ceaselessly against the revisionists, whose role is to find every way of placing a question mark over the revolutionary role of the working class and the Marxist

As the working class moves leftward in struggle, these groups constitute a dangerous obstacle in the developement of revolutionary consciousness, an obstacle which must and can be removed only on the basis of the theoretical capital of the Trotskyist movement.

For us, the struggle for Marxist theory, for the revolutionary party and against bureaucracy, has always been conducted by means of turning to the main question confronting the working class in struggle. For the British working class to break from its reformist traditions is the great historical question facing this class. But it cannot come about simply through propaganda.

The SLL and its Trotskyist have always predecessors fought, as did Lenin and Trotsky, on the programme of electing a Labour government, with a struggle in the mass movement for socialist policies and alternative leadership, in order to expose the reformist leaders and break the working class from them.

The fight today to turn every struggle to the bringing down of the Tory government and election of a Labour government with socialist policies is this same fight. But the essence of this policy is the fight for an alternative leadership. What faces the British working class is not a swing of the electoral pendulum or a series of reforms, but working-class power and socialist expropriation of the monopolies. For this, a revolutionary party must be built which wins the support of the working class in

The SLL has fought against all the treacherous leaders of the labour movement and has built up the organization and the daily newspaper to make its programme known in the working class.

The SLL was formed in 1959, and its first major struggle in the early 1960s was to ocialists, then Young win the in the Labour Party, to Marxist policy and principles.
Strengthened by the youth who joined the League in this successful struggle, the League then turned into the trade unions at the same time beginning the fight to establish its daily paper, the Workers

The gains made in this struggle have brought our movement to a new stage, in which all the basic resources have been built to go forward from the League to the Party. This is because the building of the League and the Workers Press has gone forward step by step with the growing crisis of capitalism and the resistance of the working class.

In this historic situation the transformation of the League into the revolutionary party is a necessity. The first requirement for the working class is such a party, concentrating above all on the Marxist training of the decisive vanguard of workers and youth. On this firm foundation we shall eventually go forward to yet an-

other stage, the mass party.
But the League in its present form remains inadequate to the great tasks confronting it. It must be expanded in size with hundreds of new members, and it must be transformed into a real party, which the class can see as a real alternative, able to provide the leadership required on all questions.

To transform the SLL into a party means to unite at a higher level the record of struggle, the revolutionary experiences, the theoretical conquest and the leadership forged in the past. These gains are manifested in the tenacity, the decisiveness and the insistence on principle which more and more workers see in the Socialist Labour League.

These are the qualities, based fundamentally on the struggle for Marxist theory, now most necessary to the British working class. The grip of social democracy and Stalinism will be broken only by a party trained in dialectical materialism and the whole Marx-

The fight for theory and for principled politics, conducted against the opportunism and traditional theoretical backwardness of the British labour movement, can, under the present crisis conditions, lead to development for great Marxism.

## WHY A **LABOUR GOVERNMENT**

The Socialist Labour League, transformed into a revolutionary party, will undertake a specific political task: to unite the working class behind a socialist programme to throw out the Tory government and replace it with a Labour government; to lead the struggle to expose and replace the Labour leaders who serve capitalism; to take the mass anti-Tory movement through the struggle for socialist policies under a Labour government; in this fight, to win many thousands to Marxism and throw out the reformist leaders of the trade union and labour movement.

Such a revolutionary party will work in the factories, the trade unions, youth movement, tenants' movement, among the unemployed, among students—wherever there is struggle against the Tory government—in order to present the real socialist alternative to these

Members of the party will be the most active and leading fighters in every struggle on wages, on jobs, on rents, on the social services and on destruggles they will be fighting first and foremost to build the political movement to throw out the Tories, at the centre of which is the assembling and training of the forces of the revolutionary party itself.

No one else will carry out these tasks. The more the working class fights, the more the reformist and Stalinist leaders run to the Tory enemy. All the time the crisis matures and there is no solution for the working class except the working-class conquest state power and immediate socialist measures to break up capitalist ownership and power. The working class can be united on such a programme of measures to defend basic rights and to go forward to the throwing out of the Tories and the election of a Labour government on socialist policies.

The working class must completely reject the IMG and IS, who oppose the fight to elect a Labour government on socialist policies. They advance the ultra-left and adventurist argument that the Labour Party is already sufficiently discredited in the working class, thus substituting them-selves for the class. At the same time, they refuse to fight to mobilize politically the working class against the Tory government, on the grounds that the consciousness of the workers is confined to the level of economic struggles.

The SLL calls for the throwing out of the Tories and election of a Labour govern-ment in order to provide the real conditions in which millions of workers can see the Labour leaders and break from them in struggle. A Labour government brought in as the result of a mass movement strong enough to bring down the Tories would provide just such conditions. A Labour administration which went out in 1970 having failed to bring in 'In Place of Strife' would be thrust to the top of a movement demanding immediate repeal of the Industrial Relations Act and all anti-working class legislation!

This demand for the election of a Labour government on socialist policies, is the indispensable step in preparing the working class for state power, because it means above all the break from reformism.

## **PROGRAMME** TO UNITE THE WORKING **CLASS**

1) A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act, Housing Finance Act, Immigration Acts, Fair Trading Act and all wage control. After the repeal of all Tory anti-working class measures, there must be legislation to implement the Charter of Basic Rights, along the follow-

2) The right to work! Capitalism demands mass unemployment. The right to a job must be guaranteed. This can only be done by breaking the grip of capitalist ownership on the economy. Employed and un-employed must unite to insist on a Labour government nationalizing the main industries and banks, under workers' control and without compensation.

The struggle must begin now. No closures, no sackings, must be the policy of the trade unions. Occupation of factories threatened with closure, as part of the fight to bring down the Tories.

3) The democratic right to strike and to organize in trade unions. Only the organized lead working class can kind out of the historical crisis. Every right and every gain won by the working class, every democratic right in Britain, has been won because of the organized strength of the unions and the strike weapon.

A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act. This fight must begin now by forcing the TUC to break off all relations with the government and mobilize the working class to destroy state control of wages. 4) The right to defend rights won in the past and change the system. All the changes in legal procedures made by the Tory government must be repealed. All secret police and MI5 organizations must be disbanded and fully exposed. The secrets of the Tory administration in this sphere must be published. All rights to assembly, free speech and the Press must be guaranteed.

5) The right to a higher standard of living. It is not the living standards of trade unionists, but the profit system, which causes the crisis. The first step must be to expropriate all the great fortunes of the rich, close down the Stock Exchange, place a state control over all movements of capital in and out of the country.

Nationalization of the basic industries and of all large companies, banks, building and insurance societies will provide the resources for a unified plan to improve the living standards of the whole people. Workers' control of these, as well as the present nationalized industries, will run them in the interests of the workers and consumers.

Again, the fight must begin now. State control of wages must be answered by the most widespread fight for wage increases to meet price rises and improve standards. This means a fight to remove the Tory government and change the union leadership.

6) The right to health and welfare benefits. Every Tory gov-ernment cut in welfare benefits, in the health service and in all public spending must be revoked. On the basis of nationalization, a crash programme of expansion of services to the unemployed, the low-paid, the sick and the aged must be undertaken as an absolute priority. The working class and the Labour government must take immediate and absolute responsibility for these victims of the capitalist

7) The right to decent housing. Decent housing is not a luxury; it is a necessity. People have the basic right to decent accommodation at rents they can afford. Nationalization of the handful of building monopolies and building societies will provide the basis for a massive programme of new house building. The disgraceful problem of the homeless in the cities must be immediately solved by census and taking-over of all unoccupied pro-

8) The international responsibilities of the working class. The working class is international. We fight for the unrestricted right of any worker of any nationality to move freely through the world.

Withdraw the troops from Ireland. Unite the Irish and British working class to throw out the Lynch and Heath gov-

Unite in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, the only alternative to the Common Market plans for dictatorship.

Withdraw all British troops from abroad and disband the present standing army.

Sign treaties with all excolonial countries for programmes of equal trade and mutual assistance.

Break from NATO and all

imperialist alliances. For the carrying out of such policies the SLL fights for the setting up of Councils of Action to lead the struggle against the Tory government in every area. These Councils unite trade unionists, tenants, unemployed, all political par-ties and tendencies of the working class (Labour Party, Communist Party, SLL, IS, IMG, etc.) to fight against the main enemy, the Tory government.

The SLL calls upon every socialist and class-conscious worker to consider this programme and manifesto very carefully, and to decide now to take up their inescapable responsibilities. The building of the revolutionary party is the burning question now, not in some remote future. The SLL is determined to carry through its transformation into a revolutionary party.

Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League February 1, 1973.

#### **TODAY'S TV**

#### BBC<sub>1</sub>

10.00 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.30 Avventura. 11.00 Croesi'r bont. 11.25 Weather. 11.30 Herbs. 11.45 Motor mouse. 12.05 Desert crusader. 12.30 Grandstand. 12.35 Cup preview. 12.55, 1.25, 1.50 Racing from Wetherby. 1.10, 1.40 Boxing. 2.10, 4.00 Athletics. 2.25 International rugby union. Scotland v Wales. 4.40 Final score. 5.05 Basil Brush show. 5.35 News, sport, weather. 5.50 Dr. Who.

- 6.15 WONDERFUL WORLD OF DISNEY.
- 6.50 FILM: 'DEVIL-SHIP PIRATES'. Christopher Lee, Andrew Keir, John Cairney.
- 8.15 CILLA. Cilla Black. Cliff Richard sings A Song for Europe.
- 9.15 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE. Class of 57.
- 10.05 NEWS. Weather. 10.15 MATCH OF THE DAY.
- 11.20 PARKINSON. Michael Parkinson. 12.20 Weather.

#### ITV

9.00 Jobs around the house. 9.30 Foreign flavours. 9.55 Return to Peyton Place. 10.20 Sesame street: 11.20 Merrie melodies. 11.35 Osmonds. 12.00 Partridge family. 12.30 News. 12.35 World of sport. 12.40 On the ball. 1.05 International sports special. 1.20 ITV seven. 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Racing from Kempton. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Racing from Ayr. 3.10 International sports special. 3.50 Results, scores, news. 4.00 Wrestling. 4.50 Results service. 5.10 News. 5.15 Black Beauty. 5.45 Doctor at large.

- 6.15 SALE OF THE CENTURY.
- 6.45 FILM: 'MAYA'. Clint Walker. A white hunter's son arrives in India from America believing his father is a coward.
- 8.30 THE VAL DOONICAN SHOW. Guests Roy Castle, Suzanne, Fabric, The Norman Maen Dancers.
- 9.30 NEWS. 9.40 MCCLOUD. The Park Avenue Rustlers.
- 11.00 RUSSELL HARTY PLUS.
- 11.50 NO MAN'S LAND. Woman and Marriage.

### **REGIONAL TV**

CHANNEL: 11.40 Bonanza. 12.30 London. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.15 Sale of the century. 6.45 Film: 'After the Fox'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Spyforce. 12.20

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 9.55 Jobs around the house. 10.20 Getting your money's worth. 10.45 Joe 90. 11.10 Cartoon. 11.35 Gus Honeybun. 12.20 Faith for life. 12.25 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 All our yesterdays. 10.35 Stingray. 11.05 Merrie melodies. 11.35 Cowboy in Africa. 12.27 Weather. 12.30 London. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.15 Comedians. 6.45 Film: 'Carry On Nurse'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 News. 10.45 Spyforce. 11.40 No man's land. 12.30 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.00 London. 9.35 All our yesterdays. 10.20 Bugs Bunny. 10.30 Once upon a time. 10.45 Grasshopper island. 11.00 Sesame street. 12.00 Joe 90. 12.30 London. 5.20 Bonanza. 6.15 Comedians. 6.45 Film: 'To Trap A Spy'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Persuaders. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Name of the game. 12.45 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 5.20 It's all in life. 5.45 Tra bo dau.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 A place in the country.

Cilla Black extends her 'acting bit' from a short sketch to a full-length situation comedy in her 'Cilla' series which continues on BBC 1 tonight. Here she is seen with Sam Kelly who plays her boyfriend, Fred.

#### BBC 2

8.55-1.30 Open University. 3.00 Film: 'The Girl Can't Help It'. Tom Ewell, Jayne Mansfield, Edmond O'Brien. Musical. 4.35 Play away. 5.00 Pets and vets. 5.15 Kifaru. Study of the black rhinoceros.

- 6.05 MAN ALIVE. Entente Tropicale. New Hebrides.
- 7.00 WESTMINSTER. 7.20 NEWS, SPORT. Weather.
- 7.30 RUGBY SPECIAL. Scotland v Wales.
- 8.15 WAR AND PEACE. The Road to Life.
- 9.00 FULL HOUSE. Including Black Blast, The Ministry of Deliverance, Poetry and Prose, Going to Sunday School.
- 10.40 FACE THE MUSIC. 11.10 NEWS ON 2. Weather.
- 11.15 FILM: 'WILD IN THE COUNTRY'. Elvis Presley, Hope Lange, Tuesday Weld, Millie Perkins.

10.40 Thunderbirds. 11.35 Jackson five. 12.00 Skippy. 12.30 London. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.15 Doctor at large. 6.45 Film: 'Fantastic Voyage'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 No mar's land. 11.30 Gordon Bailey. 11.35 Film: 'Do Not Fold, Spindle or Mutilate'. Weather.

ULSTER: 10.30 Sesame street, 11.30 Thunderbirds, 12.30 London, 5.10 News, 5.15 Sport, 5.45 Merrie melodies, 6.15 Beverly hillbillies, 6.45 Film: 'Crack in the World', 8.30 London, 9.40 Longstreet, 10.40 No man's land, 11.30 Kreskin.

YORKSHIRE: 9.15 Skilful rugby. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 Osmonds. 10.35 Elephant boy. 11.05 Film 'It's Only Money'. 12.30 London. 5.00 News. 5.20 Riptide. 6.15 Comedians. 6.45 Film: 'The Secret Partner'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 No man's land. 11.25 Place in the country. 11.55 To see ourselves. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.05 You and your golf. 10.40 Sesame street. 11.40 Kick off. 12.05 Arthur. 12.30 London. 5.10 News. 5.20

Huckleberry Finn. 5.45 Man from Uncle. 6.40 Film: 'Hawaii'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Val Doonican. 10.40 Noman's land. 11.30 Boris Karloff presents.

TYNE TEES: 9.15 Wild life theatre. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 Osmonds. 10.35 Joe 90. 11.05 Tarzan and the Trappers. 12.30 London. 5.10 News. 5.15 Riptide. 6.15 Comedians. 6.45 Film: "These Thousands Hills'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 FBI. 12.25 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 9.05 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 Tomfoolery. 10.35 Black Beauty. 11.05 Dave Cash. 11.30 Osmonds. 12.00 Cavalcade. 12.30 London. 5.10 News. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.10 Sky's the limit. 6.40 Film: 'Cheyenne Autumn'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Val Doonican. 10.40 No man's land. 11.25 Late call. 11.30 O'Hara.

GRAMPIAN: 11.15 Jackson five. 11.45 Ron and friends. 12.30 London. 5.10 News. 5.20 UFO. 6.15 Film: 'The Quiller Memorandum'. 8.00 Partners. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 O'Hara.



#### **REGIONAL TV**

CHANNEL: 11.30-1.00 London. 2.13 Weather. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Film: 'Crooks Anonymous'. 4.40 Golden short. 5.35 Black beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Lady L'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Epilogue. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 9.30 London. 10.30 All our yesterdays. 10.55 Gus Honeybun. 11.00 Tomfoolery. 1.00 Talking hands. 1.15 Branded. 1.45 Farm and country news. 1.55 Acres for profit. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 9.15 Talking hands. 9.30 London. 10.30 Farm progress. 10.57 Weather. 11:00 World War I. 11.30 London. 1.00 Superman. 1.20 Primus. 1.50 Jimmy Stewart. 2.15 London. 3.15 Turnbull. 3.45 Cartoon. 3.50 Golden shot. 4.40 Aquarius. 5.30 News. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.25 Love thy neighbour. 7.55 Film: "Tom Jones". 10.10 London. 12.10 Weather. Guideline

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 10.35 Farming diary. 11.00 Place in the country. 11.30 London. 1.00 Survival. 1.30 Drive-in. 2.00 Bugs Bunny. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'It's That Man Again'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Billion Dollar Brain'. 10.00 London. 12.00 Weather.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 10.30 All our yesterdays. 11.00 Citizens' rights. 11.30 London. 1.00 Champions. 2.00 Soccer. 3.00 Film: 'Mysterious Island'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Our Mother's House'. 10.00 London.

vor money's worth. 1.30 jobs around the house. 1.55 Pebbles and bamm bamm. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Border River'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beaty. 6.05 London. 7.53 Sports. 7.55 Film: 'Walt Till the Sun Shines Neilie'. 10.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 You and your golf. 11.00 Hogan's heroes. 11.30 London. 1.00 Farming outlook. 1.25 Calendar. 1.55 Soccer. 2.50 Film: 'Kisses For My President'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Ambushers'. 10.15 London. 12.05 Shirley's world. 12.35 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30-10.30 London. 10.35 Untamed world. 11.00 Time to remember. 11.30 London. 12.55 Saint. 1.50 Jackson five. 2.20 Football. 3.20 Film: 'Second Chance'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Billion Dollar Brain'. 10.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 You and your golf. 11.00 Doctor in charge. 11.30 London. 1.00 Farming outlook. 1.25 World War I. 1.50 Where the jobs are. 1.55 Shoot. 2.50 Film: 'A Patch of Blue'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Modesty Blaise'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Challenge. 12.05 Dr Simon Locke. 12.35 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 10.10 World War I. 10.35 Women only. 11.00 Place in the country. 11.30 London. 1.00 Randall and Hopkirk. 2.00 Sport. 3.25 Theatre. 4.25 Golden shot. 5.15 Aquarius. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Short Cut to Hell'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00 Farm progress. 11.30 London. 1.00 Getting your money's worth. 1.30 Jobs around the house. 2.00 Sport. 3.25 Film: 'Tarzan and the Leopard Woman'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Robbery'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Living and growing.

### SUNDAY

#### BBC<sub>1</sub>

9.00 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 9.30 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.00-10.25 Avventura. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and believing. 11.35 Cut and thrust. 12.00 Handling materials. 12.25 Let's get going. 12.50 Farming. 1.15 Made in Britain. 1.30 Parents and children. 1.55 News headlines. 2.00 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 2.15 Story theatre. 2.40 Ask Aspel. 3.00 Blue Peter special. 3.40 Tom and Jerry. 3.45 Film: 'Warpath'. Edmond O'Brien, Dean Jagger, Forrest Tucker, Harry Carey Jr., Polly Bergen. 5.20 Woodstock.

- 6.05 NEWS. Weather. 6.15 SUNDAY DEBATE.
- 6.50 THE NEW BEGINNING. 7.00 THE CHOICE IS YOURS.
- 7.25 THE BROTHERS. Snakes and Ladders.
- 8.15 FILM: 'THE DAM BUSTERS'. Richard Todd, Michael Redgrave.
  10.15 NEWS. Weather.
- 10.30 OMNIBUS. Andy Warhol: But the People are Beautiful. Exhibition of his paintings at the Tate Gallery.
- 11.20 CROSSTALK. Richard Crossman, MP talks to The Lord Chancellor, Lord Hailsham of St Marylebone about political morality. 12.00 Weather.

#### ITV

9.30 Family worship. 10.30 UFO. 11.30 Weekend world. 1.00 Thunderbirds. 1.50 Skilful rugby. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Persuaders. 4.15 Junior police five. 4.25 Golden shot. 5.15 Aquarius.

- 6.05 NEWS FROM ITN. 6.15 ADAM SMITH.
- 6.40 CHILDREN OF THE VICARAGE. 7.00 APPEAL.
- 7.05 SONGS THAT MATTER. 7.25 THE FENN STREET GANG. How to Handle a Woman.
- 7.55 FILM: 'ELLERY QUEEN: DON'T LOOK BEHIND YOU'. Peter Lawford. Thriller made for television.
- 9.45 POLICE ONE FIVE. 10.00 NEWS FROM ITN.
- 10.15 COUNTRY MATTERS. 11.15 OPEN NIGHT. Mike Scott.
- 12.05 ALL IN THE MIND. 12.10 SCALES OF JUSTICE. Company of Fools.

#### BBC 2

8.55-1.30 Open University. 3.55 Man at work. 4.20 Money at work. 5.20 Horizon.

- 6.15 NEWS REVIEW. 6.50 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.
- 6.55 DOUBTS AND CERTAINTIES.
- 7.25 AMERICA. The More Abundant Life. 8.15 THE GOODIES.
- 8.45 THE GREAT ORCHESTRAS. The Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam.
- 9.40 THE VIEW FROM DANIEL PIKE. Pig in the Middle.
- 10.30 THEY SOLD A MILLION. 11.15 NEWS ON 2. Weather.

## I would like information about THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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

Name....

Address.....

Gerald Croasdell (right), Equity general

secretary, with vice-President Hugh Manning at the Press conference following the

Ianuary 28 strike-vote meeting.

The stench of the

witch-hunter

COMMENT BY JACK GALE

MR GERALD CROASDELL, general secretary of Actors' Equity, has written to 'The Times' denying that he told a Press conference on January 28 that the vote that day on a successful resolution for strike action 'had been politically motivated by members of the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League'.

In his letter yesterday he states: 'I was invited to adhere to a statement on these lines and I refused to do so.' But who created the conditions for such an invitation?

At the Press conference following the January 28 meeting—at which Croasdell, even before the Equity Council had met, told reporters that the decisions of the meeting would be ignored-vice-President

Hugh Manning declared that many of those who spoke in favour of the resolution 'made much of their association with the Socialist Labour League'.

It was after this statement that Croasdell was asked if he 'would care to say' that the movers of the resolution were SLL members. This, he now says, he refused to do.

But he did take the extremely unusual step of in-forming the Press where the seconder of the resolution worked, with the result that this union member was har-assed by reporters at his place of work.

And Andrew Neal, the editor of Equity Journal, who has been acting as Press

officer for the union, informed reporters that the mover of the resolution was working on the Pageant organized by the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League.

Does Croasdell now wish to repudiate Manning and Neal?

It is well known that a political witch-hunt has been launched in Equity under the leadership of a notorious right-winger and his suppor-

These men campaigned actively against what they called 'a group in Council which is politically motivated' and fought for the union to register under the Tory Industrial Relations Act. When it did so, they expressed their 'delight'.

The right wing then contested the 1972 Council elections on the platform that

Equity should be 'a non-political association'.

Last May they attempted to change the union rules to give the President power to veto any Special General Meeting (two had been called to dis-cuss the Industrial Relations Act) and to make members who proposed such a meeting responsible for its cost—which could be up to £2,000.

The right wing wants an 'association' which is registered under the Tory Act, accepts Tory state pay laws, has a President with arbitrary powers over the membership, has its democratic procedures strictly limited and which witch-hunts the left. The Equity leadership has

not stood aside from this campaign.

As long ago as September 1971 the 'Equity Letter' spoke

of elements in the rank and file which used 'every procedural device to ensure that its particular philosophy be advo-

And when the Equity Council accepted less than the West End claim last October, Croasdell told an actors' meetwanted by those who believed that 'any and every strike furthers the cause of revolu-

But while this has been going on, opposition to Tory laws such as the Industrial Relations Act and state con-trol over wages has been growing within Equity, as in every other trade union. This resulted in the January

28 strike decision.

Croasdell is caught in the middle. Unable to fight the wage cuts imposed on his

members, he is forced to repudiate the democratic decisions of a properly constituted union meeting and create the conditions for a Press witch-

He then has to pull back from this witch-hunt because of the opposition it must arouse and because the extreme right wing could extend its activities in a way that could seriously damage the

This is the act of a man totally incapable of fighting against the Tory attacks on the working class, including

It only serves to underline what Workers Press said yesterday. That in fighting the Tory government and its laws, actors must fight to remove such leaders from the head of their union.

## Socialist Labour League Public Meetings UNITE IN ACTION TO DEFEND BASIC RIGHTS

CLAPHAM WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 14, 8pm

South Island Library South Island Place Stockwell, SW9 speaker: MIKE BANDA (SLL Central Cttee)

WATFORD MONDAY FEBRUARY 19, 8pm Trades Union Hall near Watford Junction stn speaker: MIKE BANDA (SLL Central Cttee)

NORTH KENT MONDAY FEBRUARY 19, 8pm The Shakespeare. **Powis Street** Woolwich speaker: G HEALY (SLL National Sec)

**GLASGOW** SUNDAY FEBRUARY 11.

Govan South Town Hall Langland Road nearest underground Govan Cross speaker: G. HEALY (SLL National Sec)

### London

**ACTON** TUESDAY FEBRUARY 20, 8pm Woodlands Hall, Crown Street speaker: G HEALY (SLL National Sec)

WANDSWORTH THURSDAY FEBRUARY 22, Wandsworth Town Hall Wandsworth High Street speaker: MIKE BANDA

MIDDLETON

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 14,

Middleton Baths. Middleton, Manchester

(SLL Central Cttee)

speaker: G HEALY SLL National Sec)

MEDWAY TUESDAY FEBRUARY 27, 8pm Aurora Hotel Brompton Road

Gillingham speaker: MIKE BANDA (SLL Central Cttee) SLOUGH

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 28 Britwell Community Centre Long Furlong Drive Britwell Estate speaker: G HEALY (SLL National Sec)

DAGENHAM THURSDAY MARCH 1, 8pm Manor Park Library Romford Rd/Rabbitts Road opp Rabbitts Pub speaker: G HEALY

**BIRMINGHAM** 

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 25, 7pm

Digbeth, Civic Hall Digbeth, Birmingham

(SLL National Sec)

speaker: MIKE BANDA (SLL Central Cttee)

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## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Fight rising rents and prices Defend basic democratic rights Force the Tories to resign

BARNSLEY: Sunday February 4, 6.30 p.m. 'White Hart Hotel'. 'Miners and the Tory government'. Speakers: R. Roberts and Brian

CORBY: Sunday, February 4, 7.30 p.m. 'Nags Head', Corby Old Village

SWINDON: Sunday February 4, 7.30 p.m. 'The Locomotive'.
WIGAN: Monday February 5,
8 p.m. Market Hotel, Mesmes Street. Speakers: Frank Kelly, UCATT, Bill Lyons, AUEW, Ray Hudson, UCATT. (All in a personal capacity.)

**LONDON TEACHERS' SECTION** Monday February 5, 8 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square London WC1.

SOUTHAMPTON: Tuesday, February 6, 7.30 p.m. 'Star Hotel', Thornhill. 'Build Councils of Action'.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday February 6, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue. 'Inflation and state control of wages'.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday February 6, 8 p.m. 'Festival Inn', Chrisp Street Market, E14. 'Defend basic rights'.

SKELMERSDALE: Wednesday February 7, 8 p.m. Quarry Bank Community Centre. WOOLWICH: Wednesday February

7, 8 p.m. 'The Castle', Powis Street, SE18. 'Defend basic

LEEDS: Thursday February 8, 7.30 p.m. Peel Hotel, Boar Lane.

**HACKNEY: Thursday February 8,** 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall (opposite Town Hall). 'Build Councils of Action.'

WILLESDEN: Thursday February 8, 8 p.m. Labour and Trades Hall, High Road NW10. 'Victory to the NLF. Down with Stalinism and imperialism.

BASILDON: Sunday February 11, 5.30 p.m. Barnstable Community Centre. 'Defend basic rights'.

**WANDSWORTH: Monday February** 12, 8 p.m. 'King's Arms', Wandsworth High Street. 'Fight rising rents and prices'.

CLAPHAM: Tuesday February 13, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4. 'Defend basic rights'.

**CAMDEN: Tuesday February 13** 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross. 'Lessons of the rents fight'.

HARROW: Tuesday February 13, 8 p.m. Labour Hall. 'Defend basic

TOOTING: Tuesday February 13, 8 p.m. 'Selkirk Hotel, Selkirk Road. 'Defend basic rights'.

LIVERPOOL: Tuesday February 20, 7.30 p.m. AEU House, Mount Pleasant.

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## Poulson film ban: **Technicians** plan strike

BY ALEX MITCHELL

and Influence of John L. Poulson'.

On Monday morning Granada's television shop at the Manchester headquarters will decide whether to black the screens between 8.00 and 8.30 p.m.—when the 'World in Action' series normally goes

The industrial action by members of the film technicians' union, the ACTT, follows the arbitrary ban on the Poulson documentary by the Independent Broadcasting Authority. The programme was to have been transmitted last Monday, the day the Wakefield bankruptcy court reopened its public examination of Poulson.

Yesterday Workers Press was among a select group of jour-nalists invited to see the film at the Golden Square offices of Granada in London.

As the producers readily admit, it does not contain an enormous amount of new material on the

Poulson affair.

But its success lies in the fact that it brings together in a comprehensive way the whole of the Poulson network.

The film traces his origins in Pontefract and his connections at a local level; it then reveals his web of contacts on the West Riding County Council and finally examines Poulson as the national and international construction entrepreneur.

It is interesting to note that the IBA has changed its grounds

the IBA has changed its grounds for objection on two occasions. Originally the authority said its objections were 'legal' ones. When these proved to have no substance, the authority said the film represented 'trial by television' which did not give those pamed a change to reply or denamed a chance to reply or defend themselves.

At yesterday's Press conference following the private screening it was stated that all the parti-cipants, excluding Reginald Maudling, chairman of one of Poulson's companies, were invited to put their point of view.

Those who agreed to take part were Alderman Roy Hadwin,
Labour leader on Newcastle
Council, and Albert Roberts,
miners' MP for Normanton.
An ex-miner, Roberts is filmed

in the most opulent surroundings; his replies are couched in the most diplomatic language and there is a strong sense he is desperately trying to hide his broad Yorkshire accent.

Roberts, who received £11,000 from Poulson and enjoys the friendliest relations with the Spanish and Portuguese regimes, defends to the hilt his business activities on behalf of the Poulson empire.
Now that the 'trial-by-television'

argument has been exploded, the IBA is banning the film under Section 42 of its charter.

This is an arbitrary clause which says that the IBA can ban any film if it wants to. And that's that. There is no appeal and no reason is required.

During the Press conference the executive producer, Mr Gus MacDonald, complained that the MacDonald, complained that the IBA ruling meant that the investigative style of 'World in Action' journalism was threatened. 'We don't know where we stand now,' he said.

I should have thought the

position was crystal clear. The IBA, a stooge body for the ruling class, is not going to continue to permit programmes which in way expose the activities of the 'top people'.

THE GRANADA ACTT union shop in London will stage a 24-hour strike on Monday against the political ban on the World in Action film, 'The Friends

WESTMINSTER politicians have been warned of pub gossip naming distinguished men of various parties and vocations in connection with the Poulson affair

the Poulson affair.
Senior Labour MPs have said privately they have clear evidence that solicitors and solicitors' clerks have been bandycitors cierks have been bandying names to local journalists in a bar in Wakefield, Yorks—where the Poulson bankruptcy inquiry resumes on March 5.

The MPs do not think there is a deliberate leak, and

no action is planned.

But it is understood that sources are reliable and if necessary MPs have said they will present a dossier to the Society.

There have been rumours of a 'parliamentary file' which could involve more MPs in the Poulson case, but many Labour MPs do not believe such a document exists.

The Attorney-General Sir Peter Rawlinson is not ex-pected to announce government moves to change bank-ruptcy hearings when he answers Commons questions on Monday.

This must be a sobering moment for the 'grope squads' of current affairs television. This is the second time in a year that 'World in Action' has had one of its programmes banned from the screen by the IBA without any explanation.

The ban is all the more sinister because the programme is not overtly a political one.

The Liberals who made it are concerned about the 'integrity' of politicians and people in public

They want a 'code of conduct' for employees of nationalized industries so that backhanders are not thrust around with such wild abandon.

This is good moralist stuff which, in any other period, would have received the approval of everyone from the Methodist Church to Desirich Leductry.

British Industry.

But this is 1973. British capitalism is gripped with a deep-going economic crisis. The brunt of this crisis is being foisted on the backs of the working class.

Heath is demanding in his state pay laws that the working class should earn less—and thus eat less—in order that 'the nation' (read capitalism) should

survive.

The 'World in Action' programme in this situation is highly inflammatory.

But the ban is not simply to protect the Tories who make ignominious appearances in this film; it is the Labourites who are also caught with their pants

The working class knows about the hi-jinks of the Tory Party. But when it is their trade union and Labour Party representatives who are unmasked, this becomes the most serious question.

Mr Denis Forman, joint managing director of Granada, told the Press conference he was determined to press for the screening of the film.

'We have not lost our interest in the Poulson story and we will come again, IBA permitting, he

### Councillors face court action

## Clydebank marches to defend rent rebels

A DEMONSTRATION will be staged in Clydebank today against the Tory government's Housing Finance Act. Thirteen rent rebels on the local council are risking iail by failing to implement the Act.

Earlier this week the council voted 13 to eight to defy a Court of Sessions order demanding that the Act and its rent increases be imposed immediately.

The vote against implementa-

tion brings the council into direct legal confrontation with the government.

Defiance of the court order means that councillors are automatically in contempt of court and this could lead to unlimited fines and imprisonment.

Councillors who voted against implementation are: Baillie Mrs
Betty Brown, Baillie Edward McGeachy; Cllrs Patrick Foley,
Joseph Bauld, John Taylor, William Melville, Patrick Boyle and
James Malcolm (all Labour); Cllrs James Malcolli (all Labour); Chis James Reid, John Smith and Arnold Henderson (Communist Party); and Cllrs Iain Smith and John Hamilton (Scottish National

Mrs Brown said: 'This could be the culmination of the con-frontation the Conservative government appears to be seeking with the working class.

'I will not give in, even to the threat of jail.'

Her statement was markedly different from Cllr Reid's, the man who led the UCS work-in and member of the CP's National

'The law we are defying is not a divine law. It is a law devised by politicians.

'We may be beaten eventually, but we would rather face it as principled men and women than give in on an unprincipled basis.'

A special committee headed by Mrs Brown has asked for the trade unions, the local trades council, tenants' associations and 'the whole labour movement' to back today's march.



Ancillary workers on picket duty yesterday during the 24-hour strike at St George's hospital, London

## **Civil** servants to strike

FROM PAGE 1

the service. A complete ban on overtime has been imposed and members are being asked to follow a policy of non-cooperation.

A Gas Corporation spokesman

in Manchester said yesterday that 1,514 workers were still on strike, mainly in the Merseyside and south Lancashire areas.

East Midlands Gas said workers in the Betherham area were

kers in the Rotherham area were on strike. Overtime bans and working-to-rule continued in

many areas.
About 220 kitchen and other ancillary workers at Pontefract started a three-day strike over the pay as staff on strike at five Bristol hospitals since Monday

returned to work.

In London, workers at St
George's Hospital, Hyde Park
Corner, began a 24-hour unofficial strike.

A specially-convened meeting of the National Union of Public Employees' executive will consider the situation today.

### **FEBRUARY FUND STARTS** WITH £17.80

NOT A day must be wasted this month in the campaign to raise our monthly Appeal Fund. It is a short month (28 days) and therefore only gives us four weeks to complete our £1,750 target. Let's go all out and make

It has been a great beginning to 1973 so far. Last month was a magnificent effort where you, dear readers, raised over £400 above our monthly target. We are confident that with the growing feeling inside the working class for a showdown with the Tory government, our paper will provide the leadership.

It is a great challenge. Let's grasp it and show all those enemies of the labour movement that the struggle for principles will go from strength to strength. Keep Workers Press out in front. Make a special effort for February. Post all donations for this month's Fund to:

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SPECIAL LECTURE: Given by G. Healy, SLL national secretary

Marxism and the Road to Workers' Power **SUNDAY FEBRUARY 4, 7p.m.** 

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