

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY MARCH 9, 1973 ● No 1017 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## AS RAILMEN STRIKE

# NEW TORY PROVOCATION

**NEW EVIDENCE** that the government is provoking a General Strike situation on their own terms was revealed yesterday. In a broadcast aimed at striking rail drivers Tory Transport Minister John Peyton made it clear that the government would not abandon its attempt to drive wages down.

He called on the middle class to whip up the campaign against the drivers who are fighting for a living wage and warned that the government would do nothing to avert confrontation.

'Those who have been ready to wield the big stick have won quite enough struggles—I don't think they should win this one,' he warned.

This was a challenge to the ASLEF leaders who yesterday maintained their futile call for talks over a £3 pay claim. It is quite clear, talks or no talks, that the government will allow no pay increases beyond the pittance offered in Phase Two.

The Peyton declaration follows Chancellor Barber's Budget speech which made it quite clear that the Tories were out to destroy all resistance in the trade union movement to government dictatorship over pay.

The provocation is now quite open.

Everyone knows that it is the Tory government which has promoted this situation of unprecedented conflict.

**THE TORIES** drove prices up by devaluing the pound and allowing increases to all the biggest monopolies.

**THEY** have cut wages under the Phase One and Phase Two of their policy of state pay control.

The aim now is to work on sections of the backward working class and the middle classes who waver between Tory and Labour. The government hopes that these forces will provide it with some semblance of support for a pogrom against every working-class family in the land.

Meanwhile the same appalling cowardice is demonstrated every day by the trade union leaders.

Yesterday the gasmen's executive decided against escalating their strike—this is after some of their members have been on strike for over seven weeks. They say they have come to some arrangement with the Gas

Board over supplier.

These are the antics of leaders who are backpedalling away from the fight. Every gas worker in Britain knows that the 'arrangements' are not at the root of their dispute, but the government ban on their £4 claim.

The TUC, too, continues this suicidal game of protest and refuses to engage in battle with the main enemy by launching indefinite General Strike action.

This failure to act decisively to bring the government down, of course, helps the Tories spread more and more confusion among the ranks.

Yet a confrontation at this stage would take place in the most favourable of circumstances for the working class.

In the past workers have been sectioned off into strikes over pay which were seen as battles against individual employers.

But now there is no

illusion. A battle would mobilize all the working class in political action against the main enemy—the Tory government.

Such a step would be an enormous political experience for workers. They would be acting as an independent political force.

The TUC right wing says that such a showdown could lead to the defeat of the Labour Party in an election.

First if the unions brought the government down, it would be to the great advantage of the working class.

Workers would leap forward in confidence and consciousness having witnessed that their action had inflicted a serious political defeat on the class enemy.

Workers always learn ten times more from a political struggle than a wages fight.

Secondly the working class would not suffer a

BY  
STEPHEN JOHNS

decisive defeat if Labour lost an election. The Tories would still have the working class to deal with and it would be a stronger working class with no illusions about its strength and power.

In such a political situation the conditions would be ideal for the building of a mass revolutionary party to defend the basic democratic rights and lead the working class to power.

In this struggle the history of the working class is decisive.

It teaches that rights are not abstract things. They were fought for by millions of working men over 200 years.

Now that same fight demands a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

On Sunday thousands of workers who come to the 'Road to Workers' Power' Pageant at the Empire Pool, Wembley, will have an opportunity to join this historic struggle and deliver a decisive blow against the Tories.

JOE GORMLEY AND THE GENERAL STRIKE  
The miners' leader talks to  
Workers Press — See page 11

## Bomb blasts: Familiar pattern?

**TWO CAR** bombs went off in central London yesterday and four others were defused. The blasts can only serve the interests of the Tory government and its attempt to whip up middle-class hysteria against the unions.

For weeks Workers Press has been the only paper to warn of these impending dangers. Whether they like it or not, those responsible for the blasts are playing into the hands of this reactionary government.

It should be remembered that at the peak of the fight against the Industrial Relations Bill a bomb went off at the home of the then Employment Secretary Robert Carr.



A similar bomb blast in Dublin last December—which showed the hand of British intelligence—was used to stampede through parliament a viciously repressive Bill against Republicans and the working class.

Only two weeks ago Cabinet minister William Whitelaw likened trade unionists who are striking for more pay with 'terrorists' in Northern Ireland.

And this week two other members of the Heath Cabinet, Anthony Barber and John Peyton, also talked sinisterly about 'extremists' in the country.

This time the blasts are being used to intimidate gasmen, hospital ancillary workers, civil servants, nurses and railwaymen who are in the fight against the government's state pay laws.

There are a large number of unexplained questions about the bomb incidents:

● Although the police inferred it was the work of Irish 'terrorists', the Official and Provisional IRA have both denied responsibility.

● After the first bomb was found outside Scotland Yard—a staggering 150lb of gellignite—the Yard issued a statement saying: 'We wish to put out an urgent appeal about the danger of car bombs being found in the central London area.'

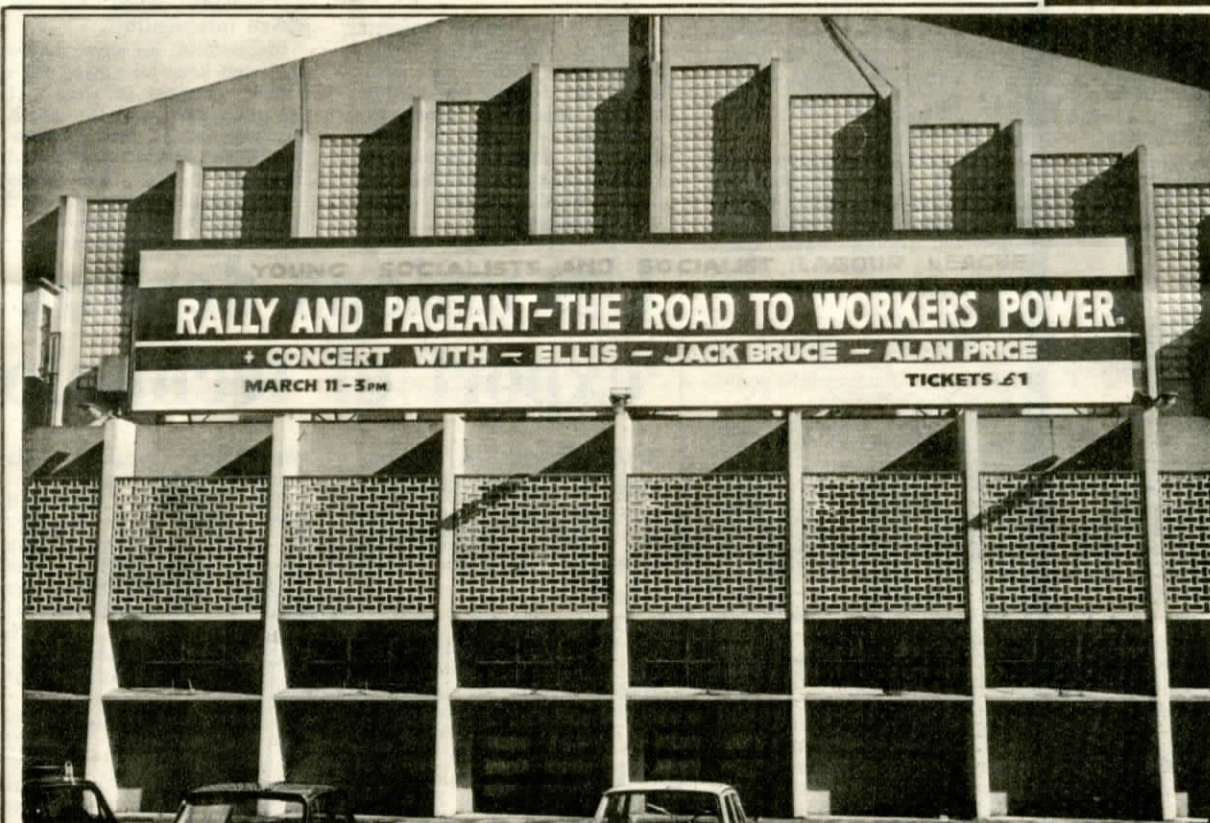
● What made the police think more would be found?

● How did they know that others were still placed in the area?

Workers Press also had a curious exchange with a harassed Press officer at the Yard. We asked if any group had claimed responsibility for the blast. 'We haven't attributed it to anyone yet', he replied.

But Robert Carr, the Home Secretary, wasn't.

He told the House of Commons yesterday afternoon that the police had been working in anticipation of bomb blasts to mark the border poll in Ulster. But he gave no indication at all of how he had reached this conclusion.



The hoarding outside the Empire Pool, Wembley, announcing this Sunday's rally.

**BOOK NOW FOR SUNDAY'S PAGEANT— page 4**



# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY MARCH 9, 1973 ● No 1017 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## AS RAILMEN STRIKE

# NEW TORY PROVOCATION

**NEW EVIDENCE** that the government is provoking a General Strike situation on their own terms was revealed yesterday. In a broadcast aimed at striking rail drivers Tory Transport Minister John Peyton made it clear that the government would not abandon its attempt to drive wages down.

He called on the middle class to whip up the campaign against the drivers who are fighting for a living wage and warned that the government would do nothing to avert confrontation.

'Those who have been ready to wield the big stick have won quite enough struggles—I don't think they should win this one,' he warned.

This was a challenge to the ASLEF leaders who yesterday maintained their futile call for talks over a £3 pay claim. It is quite clear, talks or no talks, that the government will allow no pay increases beyond the pittance offered in Phase Two.

The Peyton declaration follows Chancellor Barber's Budget speech which made it quite clear that the Tories were out to destroy all resistance in the trade union movement to government dictatorship over pay.

The provocation is now quite open.

Everyone knows that it is the Tory government which has promoted this situation of unprecedented conflict.

**THE TORIES** drove prices up by devaluing the pound and allowing increases to all the biggest monopolies.

**THEY** have cut wages under the Phase One and Phase Two of their policy of state pay control.

The aim now is to work on sections of the backward working class and the middle classes who waver between Tory and Labour. The government hopes that these forces will provide it with some semblance of support for a pogrom against every working-class family in the land.

Meanwhile the same appalling cowardice is demonstrated every day by the trade union leaders.

Yesterday the gasmen's executive decided against escalating their strike—this is after some of their members have been on strike for over seven weeks. They say they have come to some arrangement with the Gas

Board over supplies.

These are the antics of leaders who are backpedalling away from the fight. Every gas worker in Britain knows that the 'arrangements' are not at the root of their dispute, but the government ban on their £4 claim.

The TUC, too, continues this suicidal game of protest and refuses to engage in battle with the main enemy by launching indefinite General Strike action.

This failure to act decisively to bring the government down, of course, helps the Tories spread more and more confusion among the ranks.

Yet a confrontation at this stage would take place in the most favourable of circumstances for the working class.

In the past workers have been sectioned off into strikes over pay which were seen as battles against individual employers.

But now there is no

illusion. A battle would mobilize all the working class in political action against the main enemy—the Tory government.

Such a step would be an enormous political experience for workers. They would be acting as an independent political force.

The TUC right wing says that such a showdown could lead to the defeat of the Labour Party in an election.

First if the unions brought the government down, it would be to the great advantage of the working class.

Workers would leap forward in confidence and consciousness having witnessed that their action had inflicted a serious political defeat on the class enemy.

Workers always learn ten times more from a political struggle than a wages fight.

Secondly the working class would not suffer a

BY  
STEPHEN JOHNS

decisive defeat if Labour lost an election. The Tories would still have the working class to deal with and it would be a stronger working class with no illusions about its strength and power.

In such a political situation the conditions would be ideal for the building of a mass revolutionary party to defend the basic democratic rights and lead the working class to power.

In this struggle the history of the working class is decisive.

It teaches that rights are not abstract things. They were fought for by millions of working men over 200 years.

Now that same fight demands a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

On Sunday thousands of workers who come to the 'Road to Workers' Power' Pageant at the Empire Pool, Wembley, will have an opportunity to join this historic struggle and deliver a decisive blow against the Tories.

JOE GORMLEY AND THE GENERAL STRIKE  
The miners' leader talks to  
Workers Press — See page 11

## Bomb blasts: Familiar pattern?

TWO CAR bombs went off in central London yesterday and four others were defused. The blasts can only serve the interests of the Tory government and its attempt to whip up middle-class hysteria against the unions.

For weeks Workers Press has been the only paper to warn of these impending dangers. Whether they like it or not, those responsible for the blasts are playing into the hands of this reactionary government.

It should be remembered that at the peak of the fight against the Industrial Relations Bill a bomb went off at the home of the then Employment Secretary Robert Carr.



A similar bomb blast in Dublin last December—which showed the hand of British intelligence—was used to stampede through parliament a viciously repressive Bill against Republicans and the working class.

Only two weeks ago Cabinet minister William Whitelaw likened trade unionists who are striking for more pay with 'terrorists' in Northern Ireland.

And this week two other members of the Heath Cabinet, Anthony Barber and John Peyton, also talked sinisterly about 'extremists' in the country.

This time the blasts are being used to intimidate gasmen, hospital ancillary workers, civil servants, nurses and railwaymen who are in the fight against the government's state pay laws.

There are a large number of unexplained questions about the bomb incidents:

● Although the police inferred it was the work of Irish 'terrorists', the Official and Provisional IRA have both denied responsibility.

● After the first bomb was found outside Scotland Yard—a staggering 150lb of gellignite—the Yard issued a statement saying: 'We wish to put out an urgent appeal about the danger of car bombs being found in the central London area.'

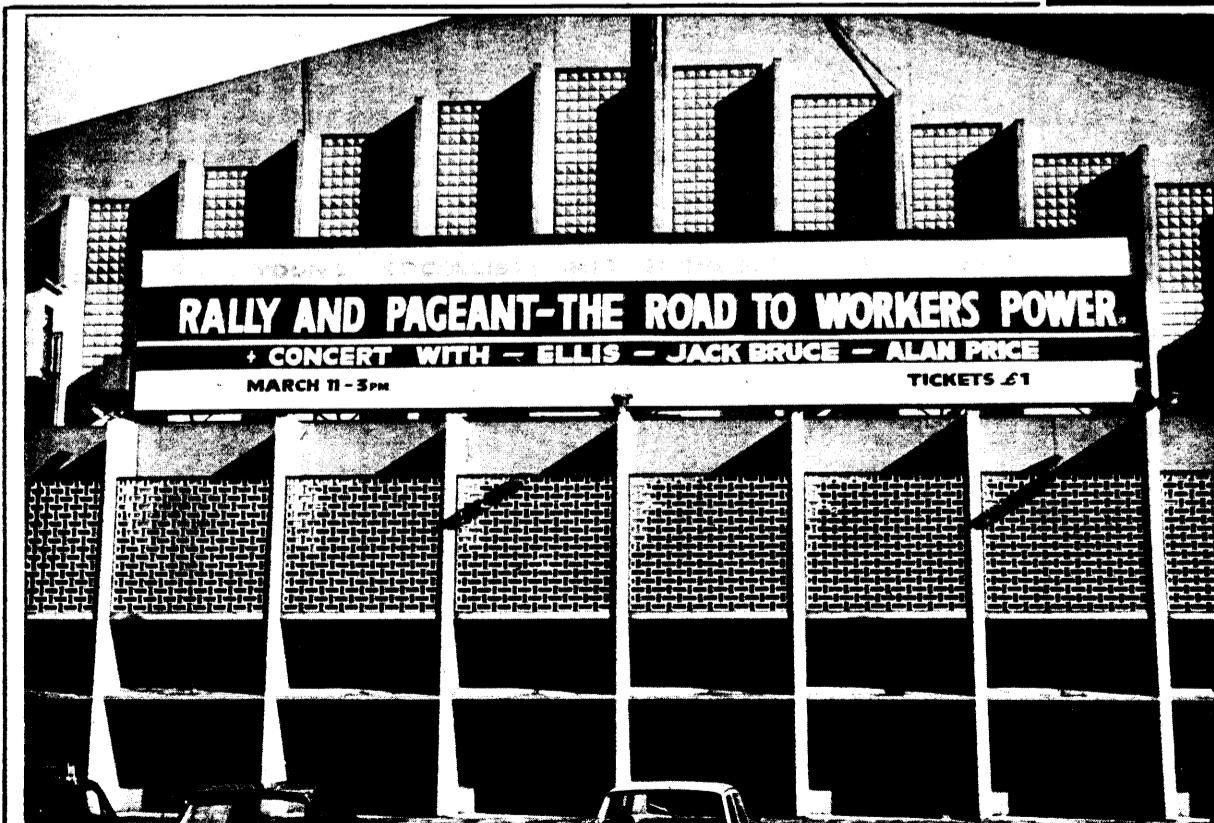
● What made the police think more would be found?

● How did they know that others were still placed in the area?

Workers Press also had a curious exchange with a harassed Press officer at the Yard. We asked if any group had claimed responsibility for the blast. 'We haven't attributed it to anyone yet', he replied.

But Robert Carr, the Home Secretary, wasn't.

He told the House of Commons yesterday afternoon that the police had been working in anticipation of bomb blasts to mark the border poll in Ulster. But he gave no indication at all of how he had reached this conclusion.



The hoarding outside the Empire Pool, Wembley, announcing this Sunday's rally.

**BOOK NOW FOR SUNDAY'S PAGEANT— page 4**

## WHAT WE THINK

# Labour Party Taverne-ites

LABOUR MPs who are demanding the removal of Mr Andrew Faulds from the Opposition Front Bench are not going far enough. Faulds, who was one of the two sponsors of the Labour renegade Dick Taverne when he rejoined the Commons on Wednesday, should be expelled from the Labour Party immediately.

So should Richard Crawshaw OBE, TD, DL, Labour MP for Toxteth, Liverpool, who was Taverne's other sponsor, and who said of him: 'He is a good man. If the Labour Party was comprised of people like him we should not have to worry.'

Both Faulds and Crawshaw are fervent supporters of the Tory Party's Common Market policy. Both voted with the Tories for EEC entry on October 28, 1971, when 69 Labourites trooped into the Tory lobby and a further 20 abstained.

Crawshaw is a barrister, a former Lieutenant-Colonel in the Parachute Regiment and is described in the 'Daily Telegraph' as 'a distinguished Territorial officer and well-known Labour rebel'.

In the 1964-1966 Labour government, when Labour's majority fell to three and Harold Wilson was out of the country, Crawshaw voted with the Tories against Labour's proposal to abolish the Territorial Army and brought the majority down to one.

One Labour MP said yesterday: 'Crawshaw claims to be a man of principle, but unfortunately his principles always seem to conflict with the needs of the working class.'

This MP pointed out that when there was a three-line whip for a series of votes against the Industrial Relations Act, Crawshaw took himself off for a well-publicized walk around Aintree racecourse in aid of charity.

Andrew Faulds, Opposition spokesman on the arts, is a member of Equity, the actors' union. Under the Tory state pay laws, Equity not only had a £5 increase stopped but a further £7 already being paid was taken back. There is over 90 per cent unemployment among Equity members and some earn scarcely more than £200 a year.

Yet Faulds collaborates with the Tories and with renegades in the House of Commons. The Parliamentary Labour Party is becoming more and more remote from Labour voters and Labour Party members who are treated with increasing contempt.

The social composition of the PLP is predominantly middle and upper-middle class. Roy Jenkins, leader of the right wing, was described in the 'Daily Express' as follows:

'In the drawing room of a great foreign embassy, enthroned on a sofa surrounded by members of the post-war jeunesse-dorée (gilded youth) sat a plump and balding figure. In his mouth was a large cigar. This he would frequently wave about with expansive gestures. He looked like a caricature of capitalism. The actor was Roy Jenkins.'

The Labour Party does not belong to such people. It was created by the working class and its trade unions. These right-wingers must be driven out. They are open collaborators with Toryism nestling within the ranks of Labour.

As Alec Dodswell, a T&GWU docks delegate and vice-chairman of the Toxteth Constituency Labour Party, said yesterday, their behaviour is 'an affront to the working class and the Labour Party'.

The right-wing ranks extend beyond the pro-Marketeters. For example, Mr Peter Doig of Dundee West, a T&GWU member spoke up in parliament in support of the introduction of emergency powers by the Tory government in 1972 for use against the miners' strike.

There are about 100 MPs in the PLP who are today prepared to side openly with the Tories on major issues against the working class. Many of them—like Taverne himself—were active in the Campaign for Democratic Socialism, a Gaitskellite fifth column set up in the Labour Party to work for the overthrow of the decision of the 1960 Labour Party Conference which called for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

These people must be driven out of the ranks of Labour. The only way to do this is to expose every act of collaboration and demand that its perpetrator be immediately expelled from the Labour Party as part of an intensified fight against the Tories.

This is urgent now because these collaborators are the conscious standard-bearers for any future coalition government. They would unite with the Tories against the working class if it became necessary to establish a Bonapartist dictatorship.

The right-wing, pro-Tories must be driven out of the Labour Party immediately and new members selected to replace them in parliament on the basis of their pledges to fight for socialist policies.

## Americans spell out trade war intentions

# No end to 'hot money' crisis

**FRENCH and German Ministers stayed away yesterday from the meeting of Common Market Finance Ministers in Brussels to discuss the international monetary crisis.**

The French Finance Minister, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, was supposedly electioneering while Helmut Schmidt, his German counterpart, was 'ill'.

Both will be attending the Paris meeting tomorrow at which all the Common Market Finance Ministers,

together with the Japanese and a strong US delegation, are due to take part.

The French and German attitude to yesterday's meeting demonstrates their contempt for the terms which Tory Chancellor Anthony Barber is seeking from them.

Barber wants to make any British participation in a joint EEC float conditional on acceptance by the other Common Market members of complete and unlimited responsibility for maintaining sterling.

The American delegation to Paris are spelling out in advance their determination to continue the trade war and pauperize European capitalism.

Dr Arthur Burns of the Federal Reserve Board said in reply to questions by the House International Finance Sub-Committee in Washington that he opposed an immediate surcharge on US imports.

But, he added: 'I don't want to rule a surcharge out... three to six months from now I may feel differently.'

Burns warned that confidence in paper money was deteriorating rapidly adding 'some minor central banks' were among those implicated in 'the huge sales of dollars which forced the closure of money markets last week.'

He attacked the European bankers for complacency, saying that when he had toured European capitals in January he had found no sense of urgency about the crisis in the monetary system and a belief in the effectiveness of controls that 'has turned out arrant nonsense'.

The United States tariff commission has issued figures which demonstrate the impossibility of controlling the movements of 'hot' money which violently disrupt the relations between currencies.

The commission estimates that the international private sector as a whole controlled total short-term funds at the end of 1971 worth a total of \$268,000m. This was equal to the total amount of money and credit in circulation at the time in Britain, France, Germany and Belgium.

The sum involved is more than three times the total gold and foreign currency reserves of the industrialized currencies and well over twice the total of world reserves. The Commission's report adds:

'These are very large numbers. They should lay to rest any doubts that the organizations involved are capable of generating (money) flows that could disrupt normal payments relationships among countries...'

'A movement of a mere 1 per cent, or \$2,700m, is quite sufficient to produce a first-class international financial crisis.'

The only thing missing from the report, as from the deliberations of the Group of Ten, is any viable proposal to deal with this situation.

The figures make it abundantly clear that the financial crisis is far beyond the control of any international capitalist authority and whatever measures are taken following this week's round of meetings can settle nothing.

At the most they can buy a little time.

## Sudan plans to wipe out guerrillas--Arafat

**YASSIR ARAFAT, leader of the Palestinian guerrilla movement 'Al Fatah', has accused Sudanese president Jafaar Numelry and Jordan's King Hussein of fuelling a new US campaign to wipe out the Palestinian resistance.**

In wake of the assassination of three western diplomats in Khartoum, the Sudanese dictator has banned all Palestinian commando activity on his territory.

Numelry claimed the Fatah was responsible for

the kidnapping and assassination of the hostages, who included US ambassador Cleo Noel and his deputy Curtis Moore.

The Black September commandos were demanding the release from prison in Jordan of Abu Daud and 16 other Palestinian fighters who were captured by Jordanian forces and summarily condemned to death.

The Sudanese regime has given every indication to its American backers that the eight commandos will be executed.



# PoW speaks out

**ONE of the released American prisoners of war held captive for six years in North Vietnam has spoken out against American involvement in the war.**

Major Flesher, captured when his fighter plane was shot down in 1966, said:

'People like to compare [the Vietnam war] with the 1940s when the US intervened against Germany, but they are entirely different. Adolf Hitler was invading countries with foreign troops. There were no foreign troops in Vietnam other than Americans and the people that were in our camp.'

'Generally speaking,' he said, 'it was a conflict between the Vietnamese people and, whether you like it or not, it should have been theirs to decide. I think more and more people came to realize this.'

'Many of us came to believe that possibly we had inserted our noses into somebody else's business.'

In Paris, Dinh Ba Thi, representative of the Provisional Revolutionary government, accused the Saigon administration of systematic violation of the ceasefire. He said that it was aiming to liquidate physically many of the thousands of political prisoners held in the south.

High-level talks to break the deadlock in negotiations over the political future of Vietnam are not expected to begin until mid-March.

Under the January 27 ceasefire, the Saigon government and the Provisional Revolutionary government were to set up a National Council of Reconciliation and Concord to prepare elections in South Vietnam within 90 days.

No progress has been made along these lines, and heavy fighting is still going on in a number of areas, especially around Quang Tri.

A leading American political commentator, I. F. Stone, predicts a sharpened struggle in the south. In the March 8 issue of the 'New York Review of Books' he writes:

'The signs point toward a third Indo-China war. They have done so ever since we forced the other side to accept the Thieu regime. We are back to 1954, and the tragedy begins its replay, like something out of a Hindu legend about eternal recurrence.'

## Attacks Vietnam policy

Stone exposes the phoney character of the US withdrawal when it continues to maintain 'offshore and on nearby bases a huge air and sea armada ready for renewed intervention'.

Meanwhile, he says, Thieu has been kept in power with a new scenario to wipe out the opposition and the north has been forced into a ceasefire by the Soviet Union and China to further their plans for counter-revolution and co-operation with the US.

# US unions deplore the 'export of technology'

**THE sale of US technology to foreign countries has been sharply criticized by the protectionist-minded AFL-CIO trade unions.**

Their spokesman, Andrew J. Biemiller, attacked the sale of an entire Thor-Delta rocket system to Japan as well as licences to build US-designed warplanes. He said that the sale of the rocket system would mean \$100m in profits for McDonnell-Douglas and its sub-contractors.

He was speaking to a Senate panel which showed sympathy with his case. Senator Ribicoff said: 'I believe that what Mr Biemiller is pointing out is that we are in the process of exporting our high technology

and trade surplus. This would be total disaster.'

The Senator estimated that export of technology could add \$10,000m to the current trade deficit. The Senate panel is robbing the activities of multi-national companies with a view to legislation intended to cut down their investment abroad.

The trade unions claim that the setting up of branch plants in foreign countries by US multi-nationals costs American workers their jobs. The companies deny this and so far the administration seems to support them. The sale of the Thor-Delta system to Japan was negotiated by the government.

The growing dollar crisis now gives the question of the export of technology

and the activity of the multi-nationals urgent importance and reveals basic contradictions in the world role of US capitalism.

As Biemiller pointed out, currency dealings by the multi-nationals weaken the dollar and increase the balance of payments deficit. He quoted a Frankfurt banker who contended that half the speculative funds which poured into West Germany in recent weeks came from US multi-nationals. US firms, he said, are 'putting profits ahead of patriotism'.

He quoted Richard Thompson of Johnson's Wax who said:

'We don't believe in gambling against the dollar, but with assets in Germany and Japan we made a handsome profit.'



NORTH-EAST

# Brass band miners proud of their history

**BOLDON COLLIERY** Band will be at the Empire Pool on Sunday. And when Boldon plays, the whole of the pit is represented, according to band chairman Ned Dine.

Ned and the rest of the boys will be down at Wembley to play during the episode that celebrated their own history as miners — the martyrdom of William Jobling and the building of the first pitmen's union in Durham.

'I think this Pageant is meant to be good,' Ned told me in his miner's cottage just a stone's throw from the colliery where he worked for 46 years.

'I am interested in it because it's from the area we all come from and lived in and struggled in. From the trade union point of view it will be a great occasion—a chance to let all those people in London see how the miners began their struggle.'

Ned has always been careful to preserve what little history is available to the pitmen. He has written out the long list of deaths at the pit, starting with a boy found killed at the bottom of the shaft in 1871 when mines began production.

'No one claimed the body. To this day the lad remains un-named — he was probably a waif,' said Ned.

In all, 114 people were killed at Boldon—not an exceptional number. In 1880 at Seaham 164 lives were lost, 168 at West Stanley in 1909 and 83 at Easington in 1931.

'When I started in 1923 things could only be described as terrible. Wages were 9s 5d for me and the day was eight hours. We had won that before I went down to the pit.

'The seam was very low

—about two to three feet. The coal owners wouldn't spend money on taking the stone out from the top of the seam. After nationalization you got nine and ten feet seams, but in private hands there was just this greed for coal.

'But things were steadily improving. The union was strong—everyone was in the union, there were no questions, it was automatic.

'It was in the days of my father that the union was built, the solidarity was accounted for by the hardness of the times.

'It was either them or us there was no middle road with the pit owners.

'Many a great man came out of the ranks of the movement. Lord Lawson, who became a Labour Mini-

ster, was born in the work house. He was self-educated and brought himself to knowledge through struggle, not like those up there who are born with everything.'

Boldon was the first colliery in Britain to get baths. Another of its records is in striking. In the great strike of 1925 it stayed out 17 months.

'This was the most bitter dispute that I can remember,' said Ned, 'the owners were trying to make conditions and pay worse and the miners came out.

'We lived on soup, the children had no boots and the women were tied to the fireside. We would not give in. We even pawned the Miners' Hall to the Co-operative Society.

'But the General Strike in our favour came and went and we went back. We went back for worse terms than we were offered at the start. It was horrible.

'The unions mean everything. There was a time in my youth when it was just bare existence — little food and very few clothes, nothing like this now.

'Never again should this happen.

'This is why miners take their history very seriously.

'It is always the memory in the speeches to the times past and that we changed them.

'Nationalization helped things forward. The union fought all the time for better wages and conditions.

'But we still get nowhere enough. The fight is never over.'



Ned Dine ex-coller, shows the wage records of Boldon pit. The Boldon miners' brass band will be playing at the Pageant on Sunday. Ned will be taking the part of Hepburn, the miners' leader during the struggles of 1830, when the first union was built.



The Boldon Colliery Band with Ned Dine leading in Boldon village.

## 'Tory grants budget a fraud'—NUS

THE TORY government has been holding back money allocated for student grants and relying on parental contributions to save some money, National Union of Students' president Digby Jacks claimed yesterday.

Jacks claimed that the government's budget for student grants was fraudulent.

'We are told that there is no money available to increase student grants,' said Jacks. 'Yet when a three-year settlement of student grants was made in 1971, a sum of £76m was allocated—and a large proportion of that has not been spent, and the government does not intend to spend it.'

But the £76m has been eroded by the rising yield from the means test—by which parents are forced to pay towards their student sons' and daughters' upkeep in line with their annual income. Thus, said Jacks, parental contributions have become a means for the government to save some budgeted money.

Jacks pointed out that two things were happening to individual students whose grant is means-tested on their parents' income.

Either the parents have made up the grant, finding the extra money from their own pockets—money which the government, according to its own figures, had promised to provide—or the student did not receive the money at all and had to exist on a massively reduced grant or gave up his or her studies.

But Jacks' lamentable conclusion to these revelations was to point out that means-testing should be abolished or, if the government intended to keep it, then it should stop claiming that it has spent the money it is saving by that system!

The result of Jacks' and the Communist Party's mealy-mouthed opposition to the Tory government can only in the end lead to the defeat of the students' grants campaign—based as it is on the assumption that Heath and company can be 'pressurized' into changing their minds.

## Grants occupation by LSE students

BY OUR OWN REPORTERS

THE LONDON School of Economics was under occupation yesterday by students who are fighting the government for higher grants.

About 530 students at the LSE are under threat of eviction from the halls of residence because they are on rent strikes.

The union meets again this afternoon to decide what further action should be taken.

Yesterday pickets were placed at the doors of lecture rooms and the library. A spokesman for the union reported a 'very good response' from the majority of students.

He also said that 'progressive' staff had not come to work as an expression of sympathy with the campaign.

The 530 students have been withholding their rent since the beginning of term. In the middle of last week Sir Walter Adams, the LSE director, sent letters to the rent strikers saying they would not be allowed to stay in their rooms during the holidays and they would not be allowed back next term unless they paid their rent.

In sending the letter, Adams

Rent strike students are being victimized—claim



Students on the LSE steps yesterday.

went over the head of the Rent Strike Committee. The two-day occupation began on Wednesday night to 'show that we will not allow anyone to be victimized'. If necessary the Committee may recommend an occupation of the

halls of residence.

A spokesman for the students' union said the LSE was part of the fight against the government's 'wage freeze' policy. Delegates have been to Briant Colour Printing in the Old Kent Road

and to a group of gasworkers seeking support.

They have sent pickets to Briant Colour and plans have also been laid to help reinforce hospital ancillary workers and London teachers in their pay struggles.

### Stirling sit-in over suspensions

AT STIRLING University students yesterday continued to occupy the administrative building in protest against victimization of union members.

The president, Linda Quinn, and secretary, John Davenport, have been suspended for four months for taking part in a meeting at which plans were discussed for protesting against the Queen's visit last year.

Miss Quinn said: 'We want a public inquiry to be carried out by a person acceptable to both students and university authorities.'

About 500 students are taking part in the occupation and staff were yesterday sent home.



# A POLICY TO MEET THE CRISIS

**THE TORY** government is relentlessly pursuing its plan for a confrontation with the working class. Each day new sections of workers are forced to become criminals — under Tory law — to defend their standard of living against government-inspired soaring cost of living.

Large sections of these workers openly acknowledge that the only answer to their fight to maintain a decent standard of living is a **General Strike**. That is, the creation of the industrial and political conditions which will force the government to resign.

In its place must be elected a Labour government which is pledged by the mass action of the working class to implement socialist policies.

We say 'pledged to socialist policies' knowing that the present leaders of the Labour movement have no intention of introducing such policies. Indeed, in the last analysis some of them will be prepared to join a coalition government with the Tories to head off the working class.

But if the working class is strong enough to force the Tories out, it is strong enough to deal with the traitors in its own midst. This can only be achieved by exposing them in the fight for an alternative socialist policy.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League calls upon the working class to support the following policies to unite the working class against the Tories and the present Wilson-Feather leadership of the labour movement:

Here is the policy which the next Labour government must be forced to carry out.

**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 following lines.

**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 unemployed 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 working class can lead mankind 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 dis-

banded 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 government 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 system.

**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 property.

**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 governments.

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.

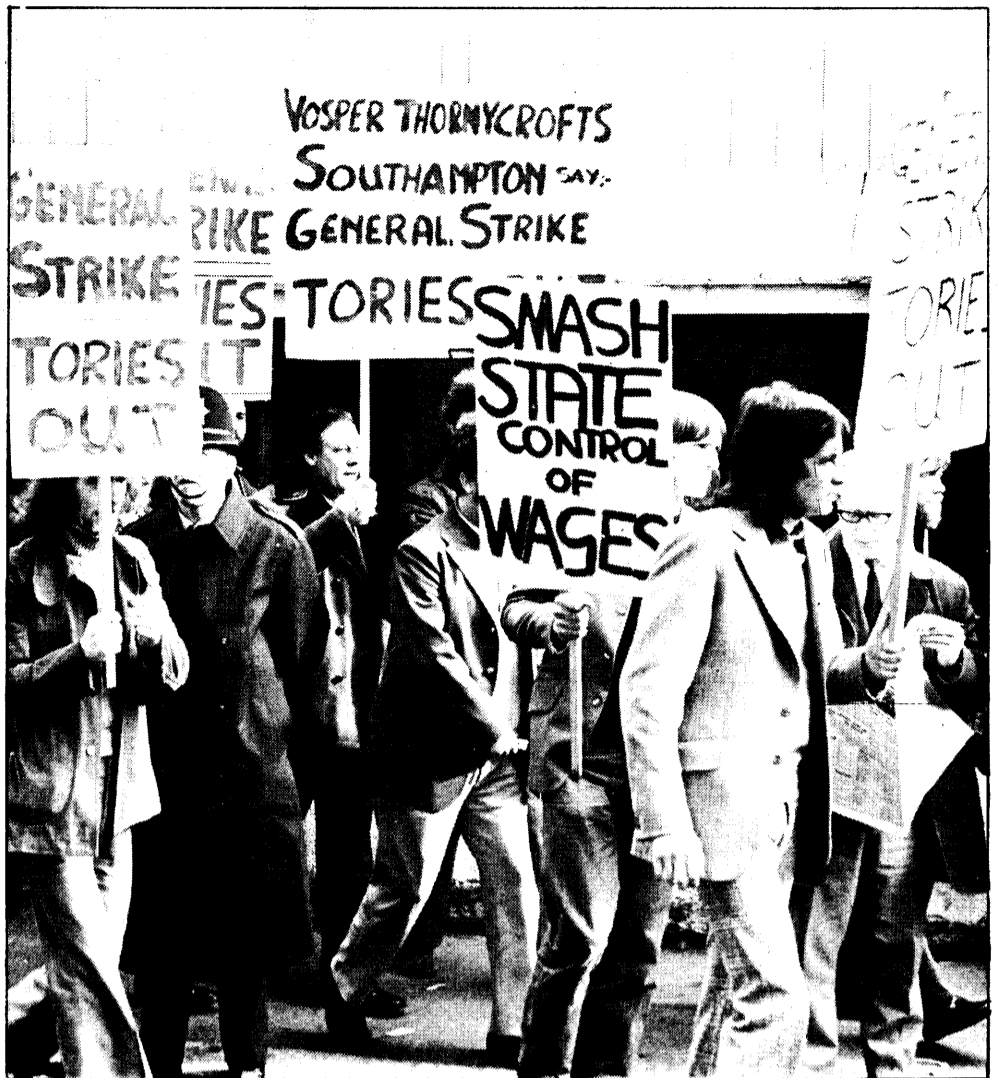
Sign treaties with all ex-colonial countries for programmes of equal trade and mutual assistance.

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 parties 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.

We appeal to all readers of the Workers Press and our supporters to join the SLL and help transform it into a revolutionary party.



## ANTI-TORY RALLY AND PAGEANT OF HISTORY

### "ROAD TO WORKERS POWER"

**DEFEND ALL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS**

Unite in action to make this Tory government resign  
Defend trade unionism and basic living standards

The road to power is through the building of the revolutionary party

**SUNDAY MARCH 11, 3 p.m. AT EMPIRE POOL, WEMBLEY**

**Speakers:**

gasmen, hospital workers, car workers.  
Gary Gurmeet, Editor Keep Left.  
G. Healy, National Secretary, SLL.

Cabaret in the evening featuring:

**ALAN PRICE JACK BRUCE ELLIS**

TICKETS £1. AVAILABLE FROM:  
Pageant Office, 34 Hamilton Gardens, London, NW8 Phone: 286 3332  
COACHES AND TRAINS LEAVING FROM ALL AREAS

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.....

PAGEANT  
SPECIAL

# MARX AND THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

The British working class is now preparing for the most decisive period of struggle in its long history.

The great depth of the crisis facing world and British capitalism means that the employing class can only hope to cling onto power by preparing the most ruthless struggle against the working class.

This will involve an attempt to break up the organizations which it has built up over decades of struggle.

But this crisis, which has developed particularly since the election of the Tory government cannot be resolved within the framework of capitalism.

The struggle against unemployment, speed-up and redundancies and defence of the unions all demand the preparation by the working class to take power.

Great economic changes, changes in the relationship of the classes, always prepare for great changes in thinking. Faced with completely new problems the English working class will increasingly be forced to make a gigantic leap forward in consciousness and go into battle armed with its history.

But, although driven into bitter struggles, many sections of the workers will enter the fight still clinging as a last resort to many of their old conceptions and forms of organization.

And the role of the reformists, Stalinists and revisionists is to try and see that the working class remain burdened with these historically redundant forms of thinking.

## Showdown with government

There is nothing automatic about this development in consciousness. It will have to be fought for tenaciously by the revolutionary party at each stage.

While requiring great determination and sacrifice, this struggle will also demand great patience. For there can be no leaping over stages in the development of the working-class's consciousness.

The first stage of this new turn is a great wages offensive. But while this is the form, the implications of this fight are profoundly political: not only do they involve a direct confrontation with a Tory government now committed to a showdown with the unions and the working class, but the very existence of the unions as independent organs of working-class struggle.

It is for these reasons that the revolutionary movement is now posed with a great theoretical challenge and responsibility. For what is at issue is not merely whether Trotskyism will be able to attract big support from the youth and older layers in the working class—the period since May-June 1968 in France has shown a growing interest in Marxism.

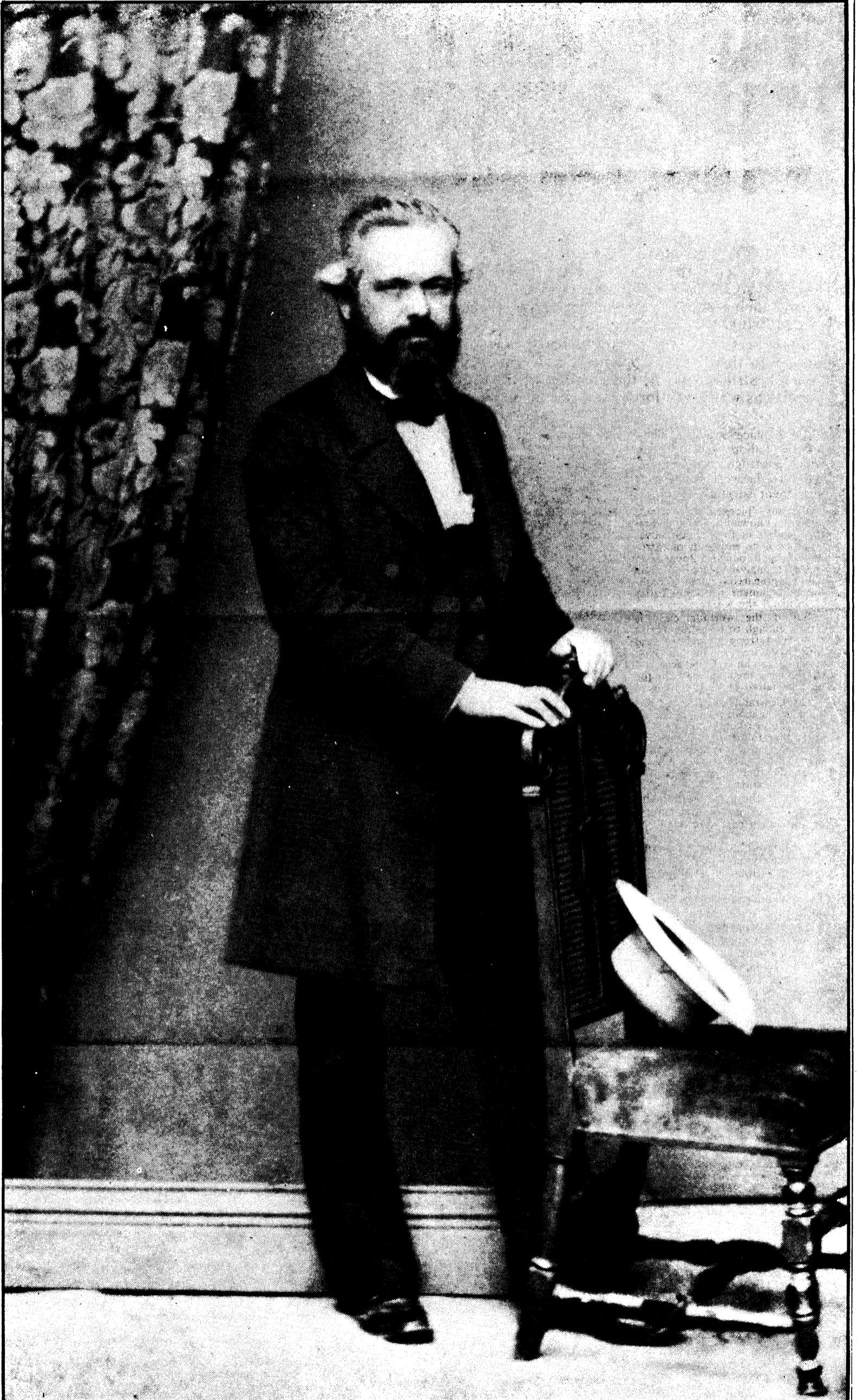
Britain will be no exception. The growth of the Workers Press is an indication of this.

The essential Marxist task is not just winning of support for its programme in the working class, but the training of cadres in theory.

This involves an implacable struggle against the limitations of the working class, against its forms of thinking, a struggle which must bring out the real content and historical implications of the present crisis.

The organic connection between present struggles of class history must be established amongst the most advanced and class-conscious section of workers.

The study of history has to be forged into a weapon to



Karl Marx, who established the First International in 1864. It was the first organization to represent the interests of labour throughout Europe.





First International continued from page 5

crack many of the theoretical and practical questions that now demand solution.

And understanding of the continual fight for Marxism must be instilled into the present generation of workers.

For it is from this history that the Socialist Labour League derives its theory, strategy and tactics.

Capitalism can be overthrown only if the revolutionary movement can bring the lessons of the historical fight for Marxism in Britain to bear, in a real living way, on the tasks which it and the working class face.

The task of tracing this continuity—from the time of Marx's and Engel's struggles in the British working class from the 1840s onwards—involves a break from the insularity which has long dominated the English working class.

But this fight for Marxism, reflecting the international struggle of the working class, is not a national question.

This theoretical conception has profound practical significance at a period when the preparation for the English revolution fuses ever more closely with the European revolution.

Middle-class revisionists have always declared Marxism — or, more strictly, Bolshevism — as something quite 'alien' and 'out of character' with the English working class.

What unites all revisionists—Pabloites of the International Marxist Group, the 'state capitalist' International Socialist group as well as the New Left—is their hatred and fear of the Leninist Party.

They have sought to replace it with brands of 'honest' English Marxism which could combine the worst features of petty-bourgeois dilettantism with trade union opportunism.

Seeking to tailor Marxism to opportunism, to cut out its revolutionary content and its internationalism they have looked to William Morris and John McClean as the 'true' English Marxists.

We have to start from an entirely different theoretical standpoint. There is no 'national' Marxism; it is a science which seeks to draw out the lessons of all the gains, victories and defeats of the international working class and put these at the disposal of the working class in each country.

All those who start from some conception of a Marxism 'peculiar' to the conditions of any one country inevitably end up by adapting to the prevailing, bourgeois ideas in that country.

So the struggle for Marxism, in Britain right from the 1840s, has been centred on the struggle against opportunism, against all those in the working class and middle class who wanted to base themselves on the most privileged and conservative layers.

And the same internationalist struggle was certainly at the centre of the preparations for the Russian Revolution.

Lenin and his followers were able to defeat Menshevism (opportunism) in their own movement only because they sought to establish its international nature and its connection with the development of the imperialist stage of capitalism.

It was because they recognized and understood Menshevism as an international tendency that the Bolsheviks overcame it in struggle; all those, including Kautsky, who did not start from this position ended up either by joining this tendency or cravenly adapting to it.

### Dangers of 'practicalism'

The struggle against opportunism has gone along with a constant struggle against 'practicalism' and a general aversion to theory and ideas.

Marxism can only be developed in the continual fight against the narrowness and parochialism which has dominated large sections of the British working class.

Lenin warned that the Communist Party of Great Britain—formed in 1920—would develop only to the extent that it was able to fight successfully against the opportunism and syndicalism that tended to predominate in

the English working class.

In a negative sense Lenin's warnings were absolutely confirmed.

Stalinism took hold of the British Party perhaps more easily than it did any other Communist Party in the 1920s because the 'theory' and practice of a privileged bureaucracy in the Soviet Union found a ready response to the opportunism which infected many of the cadres, like Gallagher, Murphy and Bell who came together to establish the British Communist Party.

But if Marx, Engels and Lenin were acutely aware of the weaknesses and limitations of the British working class, they were certainly equally well aware of its great strength and potential power.

None of the leading Marxists stood aside from even the slightest and most limited development in the working class.

After the defeat of Chartism in 1848, for example, Marx and Engels sought to understand the real lessons of this movement, its achievements and its limitations.

Those like Ernest Jones and George Julian Harney, who had come nearest to grasping the revolutionary nature of Chartism, were unable to survive the period of reaction which inevitably followed the movement's collapse.

It was only the insistence upon a fight for theory in the difficult years of reaction following 1848 that prepared the way for a renewal and expansion of the

revolutionary movement once the class struggle began to revive towards the end of the 1850s.

This revival, coinciding with the opening of the mid-Victorian boom, took the form of a struggle for trade unionism amongst the most highly-skilled sections of workers — engineers, boilermakers, carpenters, building trade workers.

Limited though this movement was compared with the size and scope of Chartism, Marx recognized its importance and turned his full attention towards it.

The bulk of his supporters on the General Council of the First International (established in 1864) came from these forces.

Marxists have never made a fetish of the 'backwardness' of the English working class. They have always tried to understand it as the product of definite historical forces, which has always been a relative and not an absolute barrier to the development of Marxism.

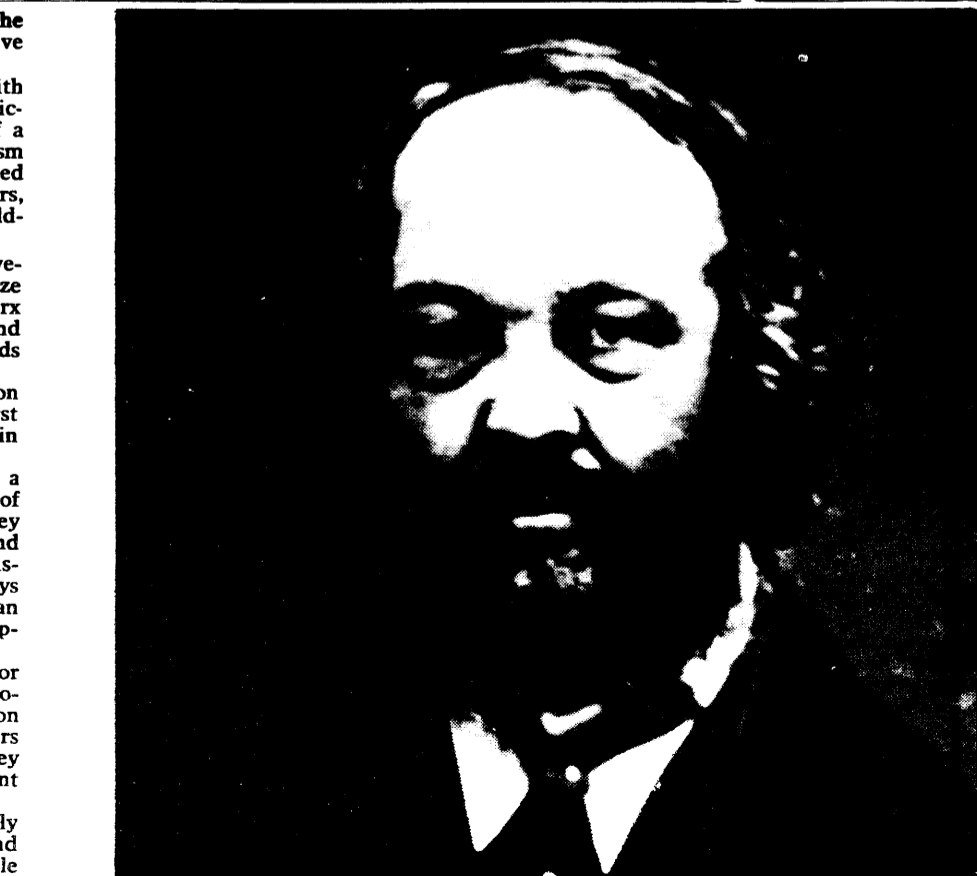
Again this is a vital lesson for the present struggles. The revolutionary party is now called on to intervene in all workers struggles, however limited they may seem from a formal point of view.

If the working class is merely looked at in a formal way, and there is not a relentless struggle to extract all the theoretical lessons from every development, however small, then there can be no development of Marxism.

Marx struggle  
Top left: Council m  
Chartist m







Because both Marx and Engels recognized the great power of the trade union movement in the English working class they were prepared to struggle with great patience and with complete determination against the opportunist elements among the leaders of the skilled workers who were beginning to unionize in the 1850s.

This not only played a vital part in the struggle against the Anarchists in the First International, but it also prepared for the great struggles which the working class was to wage in its hundreds of thousands against these same opportunist leaders with the growth of unskilled trade unionism in the 1880s.

So the fight of Marx and Engels against the conservatism of the English trade union leaders in the 1860s was a theoretical anticipation of the fight of the working class of the 1880s in which Engels was able to play a decisive role.

### Continuity of the movement

In the early stages of a movement, the interest in its theory is inevitably confined to relatively small numbers. But it is precisely in such periods that the struggle to develop and enrich Marxism, no matter how difficult, no matter amongst how few workers, that the vital theoretic-

cal base is laid for the expansion of the movement during the upturn of the class struggle which brings hundreds of thousands and later millions onto the political arena for the first time.

It is only in this theoretical sense that we can speak about the movement's continuity, which is not primarily an organizational question.

If it is conceived as such, then it readily leads to the conclusion that the continuity has been decisively broken on several occasions.

A case in point would certainly be the decision by Marx and Engels to wind up the First International in 1876. If seen as a narrow organizational question, then this could be taken as a victory for the Anarchists. But of course it was nothing of the sort.

It was in the course of the bitter struggle against Bakunin—to which both Marx and Engels gave their detailed and undivided attention—that great theoretical developments were made.

It was in the conflict over the nature of the state, which found its test in practice in the Paris Commune of 1871, that Marxism was able to deepen its understanding of the tasks confronting the working class. It is for this reason that Lenin is able to start 'State and Revolution' with an examination of workers' experiences in relation to the state in 1848 and in 1871, as analysed

by Marx and Engels.

In the same way, the fight which Trotsky and a handful of supporters continued to wage against Stalinism throughout the 1920s and 1930s was an indispensable theoretical preparation for the formation of the Fourth International in 1938.

Without the successful establishment of the International in the last years of Trotsky's life there would have been no successful development of the movement and struggle against Pabloite revisionism.

The continuity in the fight for Marxism in the British working class consists of a continual fight for principles and theory.

This fight has been waged by the Socialist Labour League in the teeth of hatred by all the revisionists of Marxism.

This hostility centres, naturally enough, on Leninism, with its concept of a centralized, disciplined, party to lead the working class to power.

These groups are wrong to think they can attack Leninism with impunity and remain 'true followers' of Marx and Engels.

For all Lenin's theoretical concepts along with his struggle to build the Bolshevik Party and later the Communist International, were direct developments of the teachings of Marx and Engels.

This is above all true of Marx's concept of the vanguard party,

First International continued on page 8

the  
ve  
  
with  
ic-  
a  
sm  
ed  
rs,  
id-  
  
re-  
ze  
rx  
nd  
ds  
  
on  
st  
in  
  
a  
of  
ey  
nd  
s-  
ys  
an  
p-  
  
or  
o-  
on  
rs  
ey  
nt  
  
ly  
nd  
le  
s-  
nt,  
an



First International continued  
from page 7

its relationship to the working class and the critical importance of the fight for theory within it.

Historically, although there was a tradition of international activity in the British labour movement from the French Revolution on, it was only when the International Workingmen's Association (First International) was formed in 1864 that there was a stable and permanent organization to represent the interests of labour throughout Europe.

The possibilities of this new development was closely connected with changes in the British trade union movement.

After the defeat of Chartism in 1848 trade unionism tended to be confined to a narrow layer of privileged workers, the 'labour aristocracy' centred on the engineering trades.

But even in this stratum changes occurred by 1860. The building trade was the centre of these developments.

After a boom in the 1850s, by the end of the decade the industry was in the midst of a recession in which unemployment was growing and employers were attempting to reduce wages.

These changes were significant for the renewed campaign within the industry for a nine-hour day.

A high proportion of English delegates to the International came from the building trade, many of them close collaborators of Marx. The creation of the London Trades Council, in 1860, was of equal importance; its first Secretary, George Odger, was to be the International's only President.

Although Marx knew the limitations of trade unionism he was equally aware of its significance and involved himself in the work of the International even though he was engaged in the preparation of 'Capital'.

He wrote to Engels (November 4, 1864):

'I knew that this time real "powers" were involved both on the London and Paris sides and therefore decided to waive my usual standing rule to decline any such invitations.'

Marx saw that in England and France something new was emerging after the defeats of 1848: the working class, if only in a limited way, was entering politics as an independent force.

The inaugural address of the International, drafted by Marx, was directed, principally, to the new developments taking place among English trade unions.

But he knew that many trade union leaders saw the International merely as an extension of trade unionism onto a European plane to prevent the use of foreign blacklegs in times of strike action.

Marx exercised great patience with leaders such as Odger who tended to look at all things through the narrow eyes of trade unionism: but such patience was vital if the International was to be successfully launched and Marx was to get nearer to the developing movement.

'It was very difficult', he wrote to Engels on November 4, 1864, 'to frame things so that our view should appear in a form acceptable from the present standpoint of the workers' movement. In a few weeks the same people will be holding meetings for the franchise with Bright and Cobden. It will take time before the re-awakened movement allows the old boldness of speech. It will be necessary to be *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*.'

Marx and, later Engels realized that the newly emerging conditions gave an opportunity to destroy politically and theoretically the many semi-socialist sects which, particularly in France, had inevitably dominated the movement in the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution. These had demoralized the European labour movement.

Marx's alliance with the best elements of the English trade union movement was designed to defeat the Proudhonists and Bakuninists in Europe and prepare the ground for working-class parties striving for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

As Marx wrote later to one of his supporters, Bolte, (November 23, 1871):

'The International was founded in order to replace the socialist or semi-socialist sects by a real organization of the working class for struggle. The original Statutes and Inaugural Address show this at a glance. On the other hand, the International could not have maintained itself if the course



Communards in Paris, 1871 surround the fallen statue of Napoleon I which had originally surmounted the Colonne Vendome.

of history had not already smashed sectarianism. The development of socialist sectarianism and that of the real labour movement always stand in inverse ratio to each other.

And again in the same letter: 'Sects are justified (historically) so long as the working class is not yet ripe for an independent historical movement. As soon as it has attained this maturity all sects are essentially reactionary. Nevertheless, what history establishes everywhere was repeated in the history of the International. What is antiquated tries to re-establish itself and maintain its position within the newly acquired form.'

While Marx, in his polemic against the old Owenite Socialist Weston, demonstrated that trade unions were capable of effecting improvements in the workers' living standards (see 'Value Price and Profit' for Marx's refutation of Weston's sectarian position) he also made clear the weakness of the trade unions.

'They fail generally by accepting the present relations of capital and labour as permanent instead of working for their abolition.'

## The future of the unions

In his discussion on the future of the unions Marx said they would have to break out of their narrowness if they were to develop:

'Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centres of the working class in the broad interests of its complete emancipation. They must aid every social and political move tending in that direction.'

This attitude contrasted with that of the Anarchists who were either indifferent or hostile to unions. Proudhon, for example, opposed the 1864 Act which had legalized the French unions:

'I especially object to the new law: association for the purpose of increasing or lowering wages is entirely the same as association for the purpose of increasing the prices of food and other commodities.'

Proudhon and his followers also voted against the adoption of the demand for the eight-hour day as an aim of the International, on the ground that this would only further encourage 'state intervention'.

Yet this slogan anticipated the campaigns of the late 1880s when thousands of unskilled workers took up the demand as part of their struggle to unionize. It also became one of the slogans of the Second International on

its foundation in 1889.

Proudhon was opposed to political action and emphasized the 'free exchange' of products between independent producers as the means of emancipating the independent artisan.

After Proudhon's death in 1865 Bakunin went further with his opposition to all forms of authority and centralism in the international.

It was in this struggle against anarchism that the real theoretical lessons of the new situation were won.

The centre of the theoretical fight against Bakunin was the conception of the state.

Marx insisted that the state arose on the basis of definite social relations of production as the instrument through which the ruling class maintained its power and privilege over the exploited classes.

The state would only disappear when economic conditions had been created through the development of socialism for the disappearance of antagonistic classes.

The aim of the working class had, therefore, to be one of smashing the capitalist state and replacing the old state machine with a new one through which it would maintain its power.

Only after a transitional period and the development of a socialist consciousness would the state begin to wither away.

Bakunin was totally opposed to this theoretical conception. For him, the state was the 'main enemy'. The aim of revolutionaries (basing themselves not on the working class but upon the petty-bourgeoisie and 'lumpen proletariat') had to be the overthrow of the state and thus the abolition of all authority.

It was significant that Marx was to draw the greater part of his support from the most developed capitalist countries, notably England and Germany.

But Bakunin's chief followers came from countries such as Italy and Spain, where the peasantry still predominated, or from groups of highly-skilled and privileged, semi-independent artisans, like the Jura watch-makers of the most conservative and non-revolutionary outlook.

Marx fought a long, often bitter and tenacious battle to destroy Bakunin's ideas in the International. And it was only in the course of this struggle that the nature of the International was established.

The correctness of Marx's position was confirmed by the Paris Commune of 1871. It was only through the fight with the Anarchists in the International that its historical significance for the working class was grasped.

What the Commune showed and made concrete was that the capitalist state could not be peacefully transformed but must be smashed and that once having smashed the old state the working class could only retain power through the exercise of the greatest centralism against the deposed class.

1871 was a landmark in the development of the Marxist theory of the state, a landmark which was an indispensable theoretical prerequisite for Lenin's successful struggle against Kautsky.

The struggle against Bakunin in the years after 1864 were a great theoretical anticipation of the events of 1871, just as the fight against revisionism inside the Trotskyist movement since the Second World War has been an indispensable theoretical preparation for the revolutionary situation now developing throughout Europe.

In other words, the Commune made and broke the International in its old form. Engels explained this in an important letter to Sorge (September 12-17, 1874):

'Actually in 1864 the theoretical character of the movement was still very unclear everywhere in Europe, that is, among the masses. German communism did not yet exist as a workers' party, Proudhonism was too weak to be able to trot out its particular hobby horses, Bakunin's new balderdash had not so much as come into being in his own head, and even the leaders of the English trade unions thought the programme laid down in the preamble to the Rules gave them a basis for entering the movement.'

'The first great success was bound to explode this naïve conjunction of all factions. This success was the Commune, which was, without any doubt, the child of the International, intellectually, although the International did not lift a finger to produce it, and for which the International to a certain extent was quite properly held responsible. When, thanks to the Commune, the International had become a moral force in Europe, the row at once began. . . . Disintegration, which was inevitable, set in.'

Matters came to a head at the Hague Congress of 1872. By this time many of Marx's erstwhile trade union collaborators had deserted the International in the face of the savage witch-hunt that followed in the wake of the Commune's defeat.

It was at the Hague, after a bitter struggle, that Bakunin's followers were thrown out of the International, the powers of the

General Council were increased and its headquarters moved to America from London.

This marked the end of the International's effective life: Marx and Engels insisted that its centre of operations move across the Atlantic only so the Anarchists would be unable to regain control. Four years later the International was formally wound up.

But the deliberations at the Hague show very clearly that the theoretical battles which Marx and Engels had waged had not been in vain. This was recognized by the Bakuninists at the Congress, notably by Guillaume: '... two great ideas run side by side in the movement, that of centralization of power in the hands of a few, and that of the free federation of those whom the homogeneity of the economic conditions in each country has united behind the idea of common interests in all countries.'

'The movement cannot represent the conception of a single brain. For the leadership of the movement there is required no General Council with authority. . . . If it is asked "does the IWA require no head?" we answer "No".'

On the other hand one of Marx's supporters attacked the anti-authoritarian trend in the following terms:

'After the Commune, how can one still speak against authority? We German workers, at least, hold that the Commune was overthrown mainly for want of authority in its usage. . . . Furthermore, the nonsense of the anti-authoritarians shows up glaringly in the charge against the General Council of not having made a revolution.'

'Are these good people so unscientific as to believe that one can make revolutions? Do they still not know that revolutions arise only in a natural way and are stages of historical development? Have these people not even surpassed barricadology?'

So although organizationally the International ceased effectively to function after 1872 and was not revived until 1889 with the formation of the Second International, the theoretical continuity of Marxism had been preserved.

These lessons formed the foundation for the creation of a Second International on a much wider basis at the end of 1887, a creation in which the English trade union movement, to which Marx and Engels gave such close attention, was to play a significant part.

Reprinted from Workers Press, December 15 and December 29, 1970.



## WORKERS NOTEBOOK

### CLEANING UP

Capitalism cleans itself up. The Confederate Investment Holdings Limited is to be wound up by a compulsory order of the High Court. What is behind this firm action by the forces of law and order?

It seems that shortly after the company was formed it began advertising in the 'International Herald Tribune', published in France, for deposits from the public. The 'Tribune' has a substantial readership in Britain and a number of subscribers put their money in.

The company was advertised as having an offshore fund with the attraction to investors of not only tax relief but the protection of the company being registered in England.

Behind the company was a Mr Marcus Wilder of Texas, whose whereabouts are unknown. Apart from Mr Wilder there appears to have been little else holding the show together.

When the firm was investigated it was found to have a paid-up share capital of two cents. That's about enough for a packet of chewing gum.

When subscribers asked for their money back, they were disappointed. Their company had disappeared. 'It is in the public interest that the company be wound up,' said the judges.

But as Companies House will readily inform you, about a dozen or more groups exactly the same as the Confederate are set up each week!

### MUDDLED

Readers may remember that we recently gave an extremely harsh review to J. T. Murphy's 'Preparing for Power', published by the state capitalist International Socialism.

The same cannot be said of the 'Red Mole'. George Cunvin (perhaps better known to some as C. van Gelderen) welcomes its appearance as a 'minor



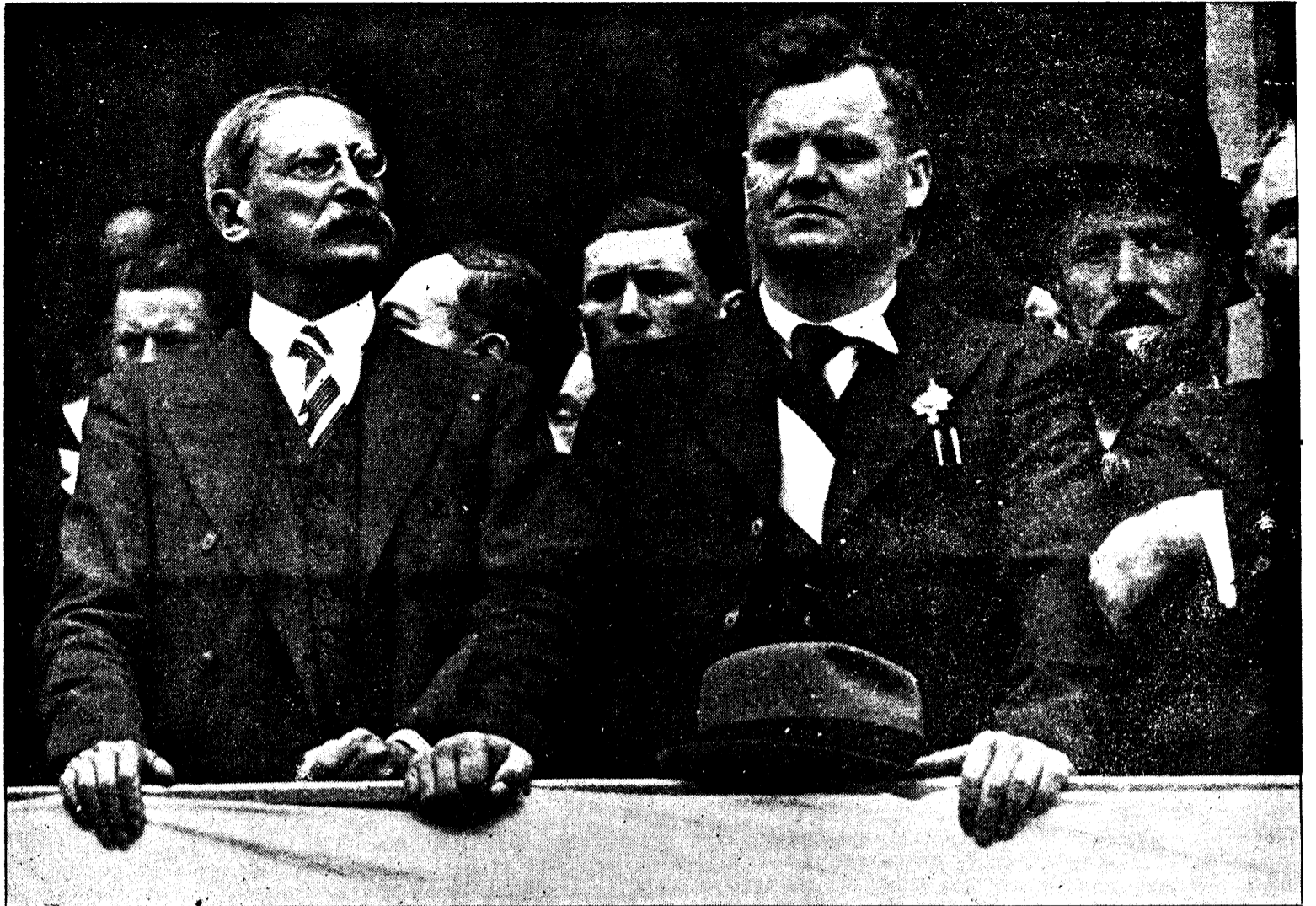
Stalin: Weakened Mr Murphy.

classic' and 'first class history' of the British working-class movement. Murphy, in Cunvin van Gelderen's opinion was a 'Marxist' who showed 'potential' as 'an outstanding theoretician'.

His review makes hilarious reading, however. 'Unfortunately,' he tells us, 'Murphy's theoretical development was to be blunted [sic] against the rock of Stalinism.' Murphy was doing fine, it appears, until he went to Moscow in the early 1920s. Then, contact with Stalin weakened his 'critical faculties' and soon 'he was quite unable to distinguish between Stalinism and the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky'.

Not that we must blame Murphy, because Stalinism, we are told, 'had a particularly disastrous effect on the British Communist Party'.

Quite how the muddled Murphy, with critical faculties 'blunted' and unable to tell the difference between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary politics came to write 'one of the most useful short histories of the labour movement' is left to the imagination.



## THE FRENCH POPULAR FRONT

### July 1936: How Blum depended on the Stalinists

BY TOM KEMP

The Popular Front in France was a political alliance of the leaders of the working-class parties with a section of the ruling class based on defending bourgeois democracy and reforms within capitalism.

In order to preserve this alliance the Communist Party took a leading part in bringing to an end the great strike movement of June 1936 which threatened to lead to a revolutionary confrontation between the working class and Leon Blum's government.

Although the Communist Party leaders had agreed not to enter Blum's government—in order not to frighten the middle class—it depended upon communist votes in the Chamber of Deputies. Moreover, in the government's early months, two members of the Political Bureau, usually Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos, met the Prime Minister each morning at his residence.

They were thus fully informed of Blum's intentions and assisted in putting over to the working class his policy of 'the exercise of power'.

### CONQUEST

Blum drew a distinction between the 'exercise of power' when he could only act as custodian for capitalism from the 'conquest of power' when there was an electoral mandate for socialist measures. The Popular Front fell definitely into the first category, and the Thorez leadership fully agreed.

The Stalinists were the firmest advocates for maintaining the alliance with the Radical Party and its principal leader, Edouard Daladier. Indeed, after the strikes they tried to broaden the basis of the Popular Front—to the right. The aim was to conciliate sections of the middle class and peasantry, who were alarmed by the June events, and make an agreement with the centre and conservative parliamentary groups.

In August Thorez introduced the idea of what he called 'a French Front', which was to be an alliance of all classes barring the big bourgeoisie—the monopolists of the '200 families' said to rule France.

He called for: 'A French Front for the respect of the law, which can only mean, at present, the effective dissolution and disarmament of the fascist leagues, the defence of the Constitution and of the Republic.'

'A French Front, for the defence of the national economy, which can only mean, in present conditions, the protection and assistance of elements in the middle class and the support of peasant demands, by making the rich pay and preventing certain capitalists from sabotaging national production.'

'A French Front for the freedom and independence of our country, which means an active and consistent policy in agreement with those countries which really desire peace and collective security. That means rejecting with indignation any foreign interference in the affairs of the country.'

This piece of open class-collaboration, appealing to nationalism, prostrating itself before the middle class and appealing to all the most backward sentiments in the working class, speaks for itself.

Thorez, or more properly Stalin, had been seriously alarmed by the May-June events and the threat of revolution. It was necessary, once again, to give assurances to the Popular Front partners. The main thing was to ensure a government ready to join in the policy of collective security which the Soviet Union was advocating and not likely to alarm the British government of Neville Chamberlain.

As Gitton (later to be revealed as a police agent in the Party) put it: 'We consider it impossible, in the face of the Hitler menace, to carry out a policy which would imperil the security of France.'

The policy of a broad front of this kind did not appeal to Leon Blum who knew that, partly because he was a Jew, he would not be acceptable as Prime Minister to the parliamentary groups to the right of the Popular Front. Thorez

allowed the slogan of a French Front to drop out of sight after only a short life.

While the strikes were being brought under control—and some lasted well into July—Blum turned to deal with the pressing problems which his government had inherited and which had been intensified by the militancy of the working class. It was necessary, above all, to restore order and stability based upon respect for private property, while avoiding civil war.

### DISARMING

He knew that the responsibility for the disarming of the working class was in the safe hands of the reformist trade union leaders and Thorez and his fellow Stalinists. In June he knew that it had been impossible to use force against the workers occupying the factories. Once they were out, then the forces of repression could be built up while the bourgeoisie was restoring its confidence.

Blum drew what strength he had as a political leader from the backing which the masses gave to the Popular Front. When disillusionment set in, Blum could no longer call upon the masses to support him and his own position collapsed. But he also depended directly on the goodwill of the Stalinists who demanded, above all, that he should pursue a foreign policy in line with the needs of Soviet diplomacy.

With a pistol pointed at his head by the working class, Blum had been forced to rush through a programme of social legislation in the summer of 1936 which went even further than the Popular Front programme had envisaged. Besides the wage increases won by the strikers, which were soon to be absorbed by price increases, Blum agreed at Matignon to implement the 40-hour week, to make collective contracts legally binding and to pass a law for holidays with pay.

No doubt these were important gains wrung from the employing class through struggle. They were not social reforms in the usual sense, but an extension of the concessions

Above: Leon Blum, Socialist Party leader and Prime Minister, with Maurice Thorez, leader of the Communist Party, which backed Blum's government.

made in order to bring the strikes to an end. They meant higher costs for business at a time when employers were struggling to restore profitability.

The nature of these 'conquests', won in struggle, disguised the fact that in the events of 1936 the working class had been cheated of power and pushed back. The employers had not only recovered their factories, but they were determined to win back the concessions and increase the exploitation of the working class.

An important change soon took place in the strategy of the big employers, whose organization had negotiated the Matignon Agreement. A veritable coup d'état replaced its conciliatory leaders with hard-liners determined to fight it out with the working class. To signal the change its name was changed to the Confédération Générale du Patronat Français (the French Employers' Confederation instead of the Confederation for French Production).

From the summer of 1936 employers began to pour money into the coffers of the two extreme right-wing parties, the Parti Social Français of Colonel de la Rocque and the more openly fascist party, the Parti Populaire Français of the communist renegade Jacques Doriot. The capitalists had come to the conclusion that an authoritarian government was absolutely necessary. This was the view, for example, of Louis Renault. He, like many other employers, became pro-Nazi on the basis of better Hitler than the Popular Front.

The two years following the election victory of the Popular Front in 1936 saw the bitterest class battles in French history, which culminated in the demoralization and defeat of the working class.

The responsibility for this lies primarily on the shoulders of the Communist Party as the result of its counter-revolutionary policy during the strikes, which it maintained in the following period.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



# No NUT lead against oversized classes

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE EXECUTIVE of the National Union of Teachers intends to launch no real fight on class sizes. This is clear from a statement to be presented to its Easter conference at Scarborough, which calls only for 'maintained propaganda pressure' and negotiations.

The responsibility for action is thrown back on the membership. The statement says: 'Where there are members in badly-staffed schools ready to refuse to teach under these conditions, the action committee and executive are ready and anxious to support those teachers.'

In other words, the executive itself will give no lead. And the specific proposals to be put to conference limit even this pledge. These say that the executive will support members 'on the recommendation of a local association' and 'under the guidance of the action committee'.

The pupil-teacher ratio has shown little improvement over recent years, as the figures show in the table below.

Actual class sizes are much larger than these ratios, which include headteachers and others



Young teachers on the march in London for a higher London allowance find the same half-hearted union approach to class sizes as the selective strikes strategy over pay.

who, in many cases, are not teaching children full time.

They are also average ratios, thus hiding much worse conditions in some areas. There are many classes of over 35 children, though the NUT's official policy is for a ceiling of 30.

The executive's report of the campaign in the areas to reduce class sizes is full of extremely vague phrases.

They carefully avoid stating exactly what, if anything, has been achieved.

Thus: in Birmingham 'the position has improved'; in Warwickshire, 'progress was reported'; in Blackpool 'progress is being made'; in Wolverhampton 'the Association is maintaining its pressure'; and in Harlow, 'the Association representatives raised local problems and also criticized their County Authority'.

In some areas the position has got worse. In Essex, for example, the executive has to admit that 'during the year the improvement noted in 1971 has not developed' and in Croydon 'the latest reports show a deterioration in the situation'.

It is clear that the leadership of the National Union of Teachers, under its president-elect, Communist Party member Max Morris, is putting up no fight whatsoever on this vexed question.

## Power stations face radiation claims

WORKERS at Windscale Atomic Energy station, Cumberland, plan meetings to decide on action over compensation for men affected by radiation.

They claim that over the years 38 workers have been moved to other jobs after receiving radiation from plutonium.

Mr Harry Banks, divisional organizer of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers,

said: 'The men are worried about the situation and have decided that some kind of action will be taken.'

The UK Atomic Energy Authority has agreed that workers who have to be moved from the 'plutonium line' to 'clear' areas will not be downgraded or lose pay for up to 15 years.

But the workers have rejected as too small a lump sum offer of £200 to cover 'loss of job opportunity'.

## Cosgrave to see Heath

IRISH PREMIER Liam Cosgrave, head of the far right Fine Gael, left Dublin with his Labourite deputy Brendan Corish yesterday for talks with Edward Heath. The talks, which are likely to

continue today, are believed mainly to concern the Tories' forthcoming White Paper on Ulster. The coalition team also hopes to meet British Labour Party leader Harold Wilson.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

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

**WANDSWORTH: Monday March 12, 8 p.m.** 'King's Arms', High Street, S.W.18. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'.

**HARROW: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m.** Labour Hall, Harrow and Wealdstone. 'The fight against Stalinism'.

**TOOTING: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m.** Selkirk Hotel, Selkirk Road, Tooting Broadway. 'Forward to the Revolutionary Party'.

**CLAPHAM: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m.** Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, S.W.4.

**CAMDEN: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m.** 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross.

**ACTON: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m.** Co-op Hall, High Road, W.3.

**PADDINGTON: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m.** 'Prince of Wales', corner of Harrow Road and Great Western Road. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'.

**KINGSTON: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m.** 'Liverpool Arms', corner of Cambridge Road and London Road.

**HOLLOWAY: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m.** Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road.

**WALTHAMSTOW: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m.** Royston Arms, Chingford Road, E.4.

**CROYDON: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m.** Ruskin House, Coombe Road.

**BASILDON: Sunday March 18, 5.30 p.m.** Barnstaple Community Centre.

### PUPIL-TEACHER RATIOS:

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Primary	28.0	27.9	27.9	27.7	27.4	26.9
Secondary	18.4	18.2	18.1	17.9	17.8	17.9

### TODAY'S TV

#### BBC 1

9.38-11.45 Schools. 12.30 Holi hynt. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble mill at one. 1.30 Teddy Edward. 1.35 Ring a ding. 1.45 Television doctor. 2.05 Schools. 2.25 Children talking. 2.35 Parkinson. 3.35 Tomorrow's world. 4.00 Noggin and the flying machine. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Deputy dawg. 5.00 Crackerjack 73. 5.40 Sir Prancelot. 5.45 News. Weather. 6.00 NATIONWIDE. 6.45 TOM AND JERRY. 7.00 THE VIRGINIAN: MEN FROM SHILOH. Wolf Track. 8.15 MORECAMBE AND WISE SHOW. Guests Roy Castle, Pete Murray, Anne Murray, The Pattersons. 9.00 NEWS. Weather. 9.25 THE REGIMENT. Courtship. 10.15 DIMBLEBY TALK-IN. 11.00 LATE NIGHT NEWS. 11.05 FILM: 'THE DA-MURDER ONE'. Robert Conrad, Howard Duff, Diane Baker, J. D. Canon, Scott Brady. Television detective film. 11.35 Weather.

#### BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open University. 7.05 HAMMER IT HOME. 7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather. 7.35 GARDENERS' WORLD. 8.00 MONEY AT WORK. Wealth under the Waves.

#### ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.30 VAT 73 (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Mr. Trimble. 12.25 Happy house. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Time was. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Junkin. 3.25 Marcus Welby MD. 4.20 Elephant Boy. 4.50 Magpie. 5.20 Arnie. 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY. 6.35 CROSSROADS. 7.00 THE PROTECTORS. A Case for the Right. 7.30 HAWAII FIVE-O. Jury of one. 8.30 ON THE BUSES. The Recruitment Poster. 9.00 JUSTICE. One for the Road. 10.00 NEWS. 10.30 POLICE FIVE. 10.40 FILM: 'INSIDE DETROIT'. Dennis O'Keefe, Pat O'Brien. Thriller about a crooked union boss. 12.10 A TIME TO SPEAK. 12.15 JASON KING. As Easy as ABC.

9.00 FILM: 'ALPHAVILLE'. Directed by Jean-Luc Godard. With Eddie Constantine, Anna Karina, Akim Tamiroff. 10.45 FILM NIGHT. 11.15 NEWS. Weather.



Phillip Jenkinson discusses the work of French film director Jean-Luc Godard for ten minutes on BBC 2 tonight before the World Cinema presentation, Godard's 'Alphaville', a science-fiction send up. Above: Godard with his wife Anne, who starred in another of his films 'La Chinoise'. Right: 'The Men From Shiloh' include Stewart Granger as the tiger-shootin' Colonel MacKenzie who decides to hunt a different quarry in the Wild West.



### REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Yoga. 3.00 Film: 'Along Came a Spider'. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Flintstones. 4.50 London. 5.20 Junkin. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Report. 6.35 London. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.30 FBI. 8.30 Who do you do? 9.00 London. 10.35 Societe Jersiaie centenary. 10.55 Film: 'No Love for Johnny'. 12.45 News, weather.

**WESTWARD.** As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 4.20 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports. 10.32 News. 10.35 Summer of the Ash family. 12.45 Faith for life.

**SOUTHERN:** 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 Galloping gourmet. 3.25 Saint. 4.20

Weekend. 4.25 Pebbles and Bamm Bamm. 4.50 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.35 University challenge. 7.05 Sale of the century. 7.35 Madigan. 9.00 London. 10.30 Weekend. 10.35 Film: 'Reach For Glory'. 12.25 News. 12.35 Weather. Guideline.

**HARLECH:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 London. 4.25 Rovers. 4.50 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Doctor in charge. 7.00 Film: 'Ivanhoe'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Upper crusts. 11.00 Press call. 11.30 UFO. 12.30 Weather.

**HTV Cymru/Wales** as above except: 4.25-4.50 Stesion cantamil. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd. 10.30-11.00 Sports arena. 11.00 Six years late. HTV West as above except: 6.15-6.30 Report West.

**ANGLIA:** 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00

London. 3.30 Dick Van Dyke. Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.50 London. 5.20 Elephant boy. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sale of the century. 7.30 O'Hara. 8.30 Upper crusts. 9.00 London. 10.30 Probe. 11.00 Film: 'Where the Bullets Fly'. 12.45 Epilogue.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 9.30 London. 12.00 Guide. 12.05 London. 3.30 Jason King. 4.20 Forest rangers. 4.50 London. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Comedians. 8.00 Protectors. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Mark'. Weather.

**ULSTER:** 11.00 London. 1.32 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women only. 3.55 Yoga. 4.23 News. 4.25 Rainbow country. 4.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Pathfinders. 8.30 Upper crusts. 9.00 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.50 Look up.

**YORKSHIRE:** 9.30 London. 3.30 Danger man. 4.25 Flintstones. 4.50 London. 5.20 Me and the chimp. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 London. 8.30 Upper crusts. 9.00 London. 10.30 Theatre. 10.55 Film: 'The Strangers of Bombay'. 2.25 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 9.30 London. 12.00 Handful of songs. 12.05 London. 3.25 Shirley's world. 3.50 Cartoon. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.20 TV funnies. 4.50 London. 5.15 Please don't eat the daisies. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.30 Upper crusts. 7.00 Film: 'None But the Brave'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Kick off. 10.55 Film: 'Naked Alibi'. 12.35 Spyforce.

**TYNE TEES:** 9.25 Just one word. 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Yoga. 3.00 London. 3.30 Danger man. 4.25 Woodbinda. 4.50 London. 5.20 Me and the chimp. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit.

7.30 London. 8.30 Upper crusts. 9.00 London. 10.30 Life on the roof. 10.55 Film: 'Night Must Fall'. 12.35 News. 12.40 Lectern.

**SCOTTISH:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Date-line. 3.00 London. 3.30 It takes a thief. 4.20 Nanny and the professor. 4.50 London. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Doctor in charge. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Film: 'Belle Starr'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Friday night. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Man in a suitcase. 12.00 Love American style.

**GRAMPIAN:** 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.40 Cartoon. 2.52 News. 3.00 London. 3.25 Good afternoon. 3.25 Shirley's world. 4.20 Dave Cash. 4.50 London. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Grampian week. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Battle Taxi'. 8.00 Upper crusts. 9.00 London. 10.30 Six years later. 11.00 Film: 'Do Not Fold, Spindle or Mutilate'. 12.35 Meditation.

# I don't say one thing and mean another: Joe Gormley



## INTERVIEW BY ROYSTON BULL

JOE GORMLEY usually adopts right-wing positions on the executive of the Labour Party and as president of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Suddenly he has pushed himself right out in front of the trade union movement by challenging his TUC colleagues either to mount a General Strike or accept the pay laws.

TUC leaders, in order to avoid dealing with the question, tried to dismiss the remarks as a piece of internal NUM manoeuvring.

But Gormley put them back on the spot on Monday by successfully challenging the special Congress procedure so that a General Strike emergency resolution could be moved, stating:

'Congress calls on all affiliated organizations to consult their members with a view to taking national industrial action to force

the government either (a) to change its policy on wage restraint; or (b) to call a General Election.'

Later he told Congress that because of lack of support, he had withdrawn the motion 'so as not to give the government anything to crow about', but he denied on television that he was in any way relieved about this.

'I don't say one thing and mean another. I am quite sincere. We must have a General Strike to force a General Election.'

Joe Gormley told me this week: 'If we did lose the General Election, it would only be our own fault. It is up to the labour movement.'

'But if the Tories did get back, I believe we would have to respect the laws.'

'But I can't see that we are going to be any worse off for trying. And if the Tory government was de-

feated, it would mean the end of the Industrial Relations Act as well as the pay laws.

'This Act is beginning to have a big effect behind the scenes, both on our own union and on other unions.'

I asked Mr Gormley why he had switched his politics. He replied that he had not really changed:

'I have always been called a moderate. I have never minded that as long as I have been successful in getting more money for the members I have represented.'

'When you can't get the money, I have always believed in using militancy against the employer.'

'I have been saying for a number of years that the TUC should have more power.'

'I am the same Joe Gormley I have always been. There are plenty of colliery managers and Coal Board officials who will tell

you I am not so moderate as I am sometimes made out.'

'Some of my NUM colleagues will tell you the same.'

He repeated his view stated at Congress that one-day stoppages will have no effect either on the government or the working class.

But he rejected the idea that he should have argued the case for a General Strike in full session at Congress. 'It would not have been good politics to have put up the motion and only get a handful of votes for it.'

Whatever inconsistencies remain in Joe Gormley's political position, the NUM President is for the moment acting as a vehicle for posing important questions to the TUC leadership which have to be answered wherever they originate from.

As Gormley told the special Congress:

'We cannot continue as a responsible organization and submit alternative policies if we are not prepared to do something about it if we are ignored.'

'United action must be declared from Congress if the government ignores us, as they did over the Industrial Relations Act, rents, and prices.'

'The TUC is being asked to defeat the government. There is nothing anarchic about it. All strikes taking place at the moment are against government policy. They can be construed as political strikes.'

'But if there is to be action, let it be under the TUC leadership. The movement is crying out for a political lead.'

'The civil servants, the teachers, the gasmen and the hospital workers are all crying out for a lead.'

'We are not the anarchists. Our claims are modest. Are we to be held respon-

sible for the financial crisis, and for the run on the pound and the currency troubles?'

'The aim to bring to a halt the government's attempts to hinder trade unions will not be achieved by allowing each little section to go it alone. We cannot pussyfoot about on this issue any longer.'

Gormley said the present spate of working-to-rule, one-day strikes and protest strikes would achieve very little.

A seven-week overtime ban by the miners last year had achieved 'sweet nothing'.

It was only when the miners went the whole hog with an all-out strike and showed they meant business that the government recognized their case.

A lot of people had sour memories of 1926, Gormley concluded, but the trade union movement today was a completely different animal.

'United we can stand and succeed, but divided we are guaranteed to fail.'

## Rolls-BAC stewards discuss Concorde jobs

SHOP STEWARDS from Rolls-Royce and British Aircraft Corporation plants want management recognition of a liaison committee set up to safeguard jobs following US airlines cancellation of Concorde options.

Neither company will agree to pay committee members for the time spent in meetings. And so far both have refused to provide facilities for meetings on their premises.

A meeting of the liaison committee in Bristol tonight is expected to discuss the companies' attitude—and what joint chairman John Brackley describes as 'their apparent reluctance to hold any dialogue with workers' representatives on the effect of the cancellations on jobs'.

The fight for recognition of the committee is also to be discussed at a meeting of union officials, convened by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, next Tuesday.

Vic Ryan, Transport and General Workers' Union engineering

officer, says: 'We will be taking this up with the managements at the highest level if they continue with their present policy.'

The cancellations, which are a calculated step in the US trade war with the Common Market, could kill thousands of jobs in the Bristol area and elsewhere.

Bristol is already reeling from the shock announcement, last Friday, of the closure of a long-established city engineering firm, Brecknell, Dorman and Rogers, with the loss of 500 jobs.

The effect of the Concorde cancellation is believed to be under consideration at the moment by senior civil servants.

Both stewards and officials believe it is urgent that the liaison committee's campaign gets under way immediately.

Stresses John Brackley: 'It's not just a question of Concorde. Our priority is jobs. The whole inability of the aerospace industry to provide stable em-

ployment needs looking at.

'Concorde's a symptom of the situation in the industry, not the be all and end all. What's really needed is the nationalization of the whole industry.'

Adds Vic Ryan: 'What's got to be driven home is that the future of the whole of Bristol is bound up in this issue. We've got to get moving very quickly.'

Precisely what the committee will 'get moving' on is as yet unclear, but suggestions under discussion include a council-sponsored public inquiry, and a private 'dispassionate study' of the probable effects of the situation created by the US cancellations.

What is certain is that as the economic crisis gathers pace these formulas will prove totally inadequate to meet the needs of the aerospace workers. The issue, as liaison committee members privately admit, is a political one.

## Guns issued to police double in two years

FIREARMS were issued to qualified police officers 2,237 times last year, an average of six occasions every day.

This was revealed yesterday by Home Secretary Robert Carr in a written reply to a Labour MP.

These official figures are completely at variance with the facts which are publicly known and have appeared in the Press.

Following the shooting of the two Pakistani youths at India House it was revealed that the British police force now has an organization

called the Special Patrol Group (SPG).

The London contingent is known as the Central London Commitment and is responsible to the Special Branch.

The officers often travel in civilian cars wearing civilian clothing. They operate round-the-clock shifts from three operational London depots.

Carr is still trying to claim that the British 'bobby' is not armed and that in 'emergencies' he can draw a service revolver from the armoury and go out and destroy animals

that are in pain!

That era is over. The police are armed and the India House experience proved beyond doubt that they have orders to shoot to kill.

In his letter to Michael Meacher, Labour MP for Oldham, Carr says:

'The numbers of occasions in England and Wales on which one or more firearms were issued in connection with a particular incident involving criminals or other persons known or believed to be armed and dangerous were as fol-

1970, 1,072;  
1971, 1,935;  
1972, 2,237.

'This means that there was an average of about six occasions a day last year on which firearms were issued. The police officers concerned retain the firearms only for the duration of each particular incident.'

'Firearms issued to police officers are rarely fired. There were only three occasions in the years 1970, 1971 and 1972 when police officers used firearms against criminals or other persons.'

## Subscribe now!



Do you get **WORKERS PRESS** regularly? If not, why not take out a subscription now?

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

If you want to take Workers Press twice a week the rates are:

£1.56 for 3 months (24 issues)  
£6.24 for 12 months (96 issues)

Fill in the form below **NOW** and send to:

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

I would like to take out a subscription to Workers Press.

Days required (Please tick) MONDAY THURSDAY  
TUESDAY FRIDAY  
WEDNESDAY SATURDAY

Or Full subscription (six days) for .....months.

Name .....

Address .....

Amount enclosed £



## HOSPITAL WORKERS

# HOSPITAL STRIKES HIT NEW AREAS

AS THE hospital unions' selective strike campaign hit new areas in Yorkshire, Counties yesterday, strikers in Scotland and the north-west refused to return to work as scheduled.

In several areas, there was firm resistance to attempts to undermine the particularly effective action by laundry staff.

Pressure for all-out strike calls both from the hospital unions and the TUC continued to build up.

New strikes in Derby, Chesterfield, Worksop, Airedale, Huddersfield and Cuckfield brought the overall number of hospitals affected by total or partial strikes to 257.

In Dunfermline, strikers who should have returned to work at four hospitals decided to

stay out until Monday. Laundry workers at Whittingham mental hospital, Preston, decided to stay out for a second week.

At one of Europe's biggest hospital complexes, the Heath group in Cardiff, workers came out for their second three-day strike since the campaign began, while Cardiff's Royal Infirmary struck for a week from midnight.

Kitchen workers at the Royal

Infirmary in Hull were given official backing for their strike against management attempts to shift laundry at night in their own cars.

The group laundry at the Whitely Hospital, Coventry, came out on strike yesterday as other sections of ancillary workers went back.

Mr Joseph, a laundry worker at Whitely, said: 'There are too many people working for no-

thing. Wages here are very low and you have to be running about all day.

'The cost of living is too high. Things have gone up in the shops at a faster rate in the freeze than before it.

'We have to abolish the Tory pay laws and we need a General Strike. One day is not enough to get a General Election. All the unions have to work together.

## GASMEN

## Gas union delegates to decide action

BY ROYSTON BULL OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

UNION LEADERS in the gas industry have called off the escalation in industrial action due from midnight Sunday following Wednesday's marathon talks with the Gas Corporation. A national delegate conference meets today to consider the situation.

A G&MWU statement said that the Corporation had put forward certain suggestions which it thought might resolve the dispute and, after discussion, a detailed document will be submitted today to the delegates.

'In these circumstances, the union has instructed its regions to postpone the proposed escalation action on gas production work to provide time for the union's representatives to consider the document.'

The original intention was to cut town gas production further from Monday if the Corporation refused to reduce supplies of natural gas to industrial users.

The union leaders have gone back on this decision apparently because of possible alterations to the Corporation's redundancy programme for 1973-1974.

There is no improvement in the pay offer of £2.20 more a week, which is the limit set by the government, and has already been rejected. The men want £5.50.

But the pay laws allow extra redundancy payments to be made outside the £1 plus 4 per cent wage formula. And the Corporation may also offer to reduce the 1,500 proposed redundancies for the coming year.

None of this affects the pay question, however, and is unlikely to get the industrial action campaign called off. And it is possible the escalation will go ahead next Monday anyway, unofficially.

Meanwhile the effects of the dispute continue to grow.

Another 100 men were off at Vauxhall's Ellesmere Port plant, bringing the total to 2,850.

A spokesman said that production of 2,120 cars, valued at more than £1.5m, had so far been lost.

In Wales, production problems were becoming 'more severe', said a spokesman for Wales Gas.

A warning to industry to be on a two-hour standby for cuts and reduced pressure was renewed.

A total of 508 households in Wales were without gas yesterday because installations could not be repaired.

Sixty service and distribution personnel are now on strike in areas covering 50,000 customers.

A stoppage by 250 men at Croydon (Surrey) gas plant has been called from midnight Sunday. It was not immediately known whether this would go

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG. Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG. Newsdesk: 01-720 2000. Circulation: 01-622 7029.

ahead in view of later developments.

If it does, South Eastern Gas say 400,000 homes in their area will have supplies cut off. But 450,000 other homes will continue to receive low-pressure supplies from East Greenwich, London, and the Isle of Grain, Kent.

John Edmonds, G&MWU official, said he was not optimistic that the delegate conference would lead to an agreement being reached with the Corporation. If the proposals are turned down, it is likely that the union will reinstate the plan to escalate the action.

CORTINA workers in Ford's Dagenham body plant plan to stop work today in protest against the company's £2.40, government-controlled pay offer. The stoppage—in line with the sporadic strikes policy of the Ford national convenors' committee—is expected to involve some 400 men on the day shift and several hundred more on nights. At Halewood, Liverpool, a work-to-rule is cutting production following workers' return from three- and four-day stoppages which started last week.

## 'Nothing will get through'

# Nurses back St James' picket line

BY ALEX MITCHELL

A large contingent of pickets, mainly women workers, gathered at the gates for most of yesterday morning.

Strike committee spokesman Bill Webster said the strike had been called following an overwhelming vote at a mass meeting last Monday. He emphasized that the strike action had the fullest support even to the extent of non-unionists joining in.

'There will be no drift back to work here,' he declared.

Since the fight for the claim

ANCILLARY workers at St James' Hospital in south London yesterday began a week-long official strike.

The 12-man strike committee, comprising all the unions involved in the pay claim—NUPE, the G&MWU and COHSE—issued a statement saying that an emergency cover was being provided.



The picket line at St James' Hospital, South London, yesterday.

began several weeks ago there has been a vigorous increase in union membership at St James's.

Among those groups supporting the strikers are nurses. At a Press conference, Helen Rogalska said that nurses themselves were organizing support for the strike. They were drawing up a letter of support and sending it to the local newspaper.

As a further act of solidarity they are not asking for meals. Individual doctors have also told the committee that they are fully behind the struggle for better wages and conditions.

Mr Webster condemned the capitalist Press for its wildly exaggerated stories about danger to patients. He added:

'We have conceded a whole number of points in relation to emergency cover. Our interests lie with the patients. We don't want to see patients suffer any more than is necessary.'

He singled out the BBC and the London 'Evening Standard' in particular.

'If the government is so concerned about morals and old aged pensioners then let them take steps to put an end to it. If there are any mishaps because of this strike, the responsibility will lie with the government and the health authorities.'

He angrily attacked consultants who 'bleed' off the National Health Service who have suddenly started to show huge concern for the welfare of patients.

He said that these wealthy consultants only used the NHS to make personal profits for themselves.

The strikers are due to go back at midnight next Wednesday at which point the committee is expected to review the position and make another recommendation.

On the picket line the mood was determined and optimistic. 'Too many vehicles are getting through for my liking,' said one young official picket. 'But we'll see to that as we get better organized.'

Most vehicles respected the picket line; those who swept through in their cars contemptuous of the strikers and endangering them with their wild driving were police and certain doctors.

There was a curious moment shortly after lunchtime. A union representative began asking pickets to 'go home' and also asked them to remove two rubbish cans from the roadway which were effectively slowing down any vehicles.

Seems like a odd way to run a picket line . . . .

A HUNDRED COHSE members from Salford Royal Infirmary yesterday voted for a one-week total strike in opposition to union organizer Eddie Lawson. He pleaded with them to respect their co-ordinating committee's selective strike action but was told: 'It needs all out to win'.

On Monday porters will join drivers already on strike from Hope Hospital, Manchester.

Workers  
Press  
MONTHLY  
APPEAL  
FUND

MARCH FUND  
HAS REACHED  
£200.97

IT'S PRESSING ahead, but still not fast enough. We are determined to raise as much as possible this month. Our target is £1,750—so there is not a moment to waste.

More sections of workers are beginning to show their enormous determination to fight back against the Tories and their attacks on living standards. Railwaymen, gasworkers, teachers, civil servants, hospital workers—every day, more and more are joining the fight.

But from the trade union leaders there remains no lead. Workers Press must be used to build an alternative revolutionary leadership to prepare all these

new layers of workers for the battles ahead.

Use our paper to mobilize as much support as possible. Rally thousands over the next few days to our mass anti-Tory rally and Pageant at the Empire Pool, Wembley, this Sunday. Make this the centre of the struggle to build this leadership.

There is no doubt that our Fund is absolutely vital. Raise all you can—where possible, raise more. Post all donations immediately to:

Workers Press  
March Appeal Fund  
186a Clapham High Street,  
London, SW4 7UG