

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY MARCH 27, 1972 ● No 724 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

THE ULSTER CRISIS—FOR A GENERAL ELECTION

DOWN WITH DIRECT RULE

STATEMENT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

THE INTERNATIONAL Committee of the Fourth International condemns the imposition of direct rule by the Tory government over N Ireland.

This reactionary measure — supported by almost every left-wing Labour, Republican, Nationalist and Independent MP, as well as by a section of the Provisional IRA leaders—threatens the democratic rights of Protestant and Catholic worker alike.

We urgently warn British and Irish workers that the slightest support for direct rule is a vote of confidence in a regime that has tortured, interned and murdered hundreds of Irish workers in the last 20 months.

Support for direct rule has an inexorable and sinister logic. If the Tory government decides to suppress Protestant workers with the same means that were used in Derry by the paras, what will the Republicans, Nationalists, revisionists and Stalinists do then?

To ask the question is to answer it. It was not an accident that these opportunists supported the despatch of British troops to Ulster in 1969!

What the imperialists could not preserve with baton, bullet, CS gas and noise machines they now hope to keep by a negotiated political solution, conducted under the mantle of 'direct rule'.

Under the convenient subterfuge of replacing the hated Stormont regime the Heath-Wilson gang are preparing an even more sinister attack against Irish workers' rights, through a coalition of Republican and Orange capitalists, backed by the armed forces of the S and Britain.

Partition will stay, sectarian divisions will be exacerbated and the hated system of low wages, unemployment and speed-up will continue—if direct rule is effected.

The major burden of 'direct rule' will fall on the backs of the Protestant workers who have been led by their clerical and Tory-Unionist leaders into the blind alley of sectarian politics.

The unity of Protestant and Catholic workers—a precondition for a successful struggle against British imperialism—demands an uncompromising struggle to tear this section of workers from the reactionary influence of Orangeism. This can be done only by revolutionary policies which stress the essential unity of the Irish working class in a common struggle to defend basic democratic rights, preserve the independence of the unions, defeat Toryism and establish a socialist government throughout Ireland.

The nationalization of land, banks and industry under workers' control and without compensation is the only way forward for the Irish working class.

We categorically denounce the Wilson leadership's collaboration in this macabre Heath plan.

In the same way as the miners' leaders saved the Tory government from a political defeat at the hands of the mineworkers so, too, the Labour traitors obligingly help the Tories in their moment of greatest weakness.

In the meantime the Tory press cover up, or play down, the sinister conspiracy, by exaggerated and speculative reports of a possible 'Protestant backlash'.

Without Wilson and the Labour 'lefts' 'direct rule' would be impossible, or at least ineffective. Wilson's support for direct rule is in line with his support for internment and the ghoulish techniques of the army and police interrogation.

The International Committee of the Fourth International calls on all 'left' MPs, as well as the Irish opposition MPs, to vote against this reactionary and dictatorial Act.

The silence of these MPs, or their equivocal attitude to 'direct rule', will only provide testimony to their political bankruptcy, their fear of the Irish workers and their failure and refusal to face up to the alternative to direct rule.

We say that there is an alternative to direct rule and that it can and will be achieved. It is the joint struggle of the British and Irish workers to force the Tory government to resign and to elect a Labour government which will withdraw all troops from Ulster and help secure self-determination and unity for Ireland.

The struggle for such a Labour government can be secured only through the defeat and expulsion of the right-wing Labour traitors. These men, in their own way have already betrayed the British workers to the monopolists in the Common Market.

Acceptance of direct rule by Labour will inevitably strengthen the extreme right wing in Ulster and in Britain.

At the same time it has thoroughly exposed and refuted the middle-class fallacy of the Republican Provisionals that terror is the most effective route to self-determination.

Far from leading to real independence and liberation their exclusive reliance on terror and their opposition to Marxism and the revolutionary party have now resulted in a



rotten compromise; a belated echo of the wretched 1922 Agreement.

For the second time in 50 years Republicanism has revealed the bankruptcy of bourgeois nationalism and the utter weakness of the Irish middle class.

The revisionist and Stalinist civil rights protestors also bear a responsibility for the confusion and division in the working class because their policies of reform offered no way out for the Protestant workers and strengthened Paisleyism.

The present opposition of the Civil Rights Association to Westminster's 'initiative' is totally unprincipled and recognizes the power of Britain to dictate policies to Ulster.

The opposition of the International Socialism revisionists, the International Marxist Group and the Stalinists to a campaign to force the Tories out of power and their tail-ending of Republican-nationalism have strengthened sectarian divisions in the working class and alienated the Protestant workers.

By separating the struggle against internment and for democratic rights from the struggle against the Tory government these reformists act as a political rearguard for imperialism.

The present crisis in Ulster demonstrates again the absolute necessity to expose and smash

revisionism and build the Marxist revolutionary Party in Ireland.

Similarly those who rely on emotion and radical phrasemongering are singularly silent when the Tory trap of direct rule is sprung.

What unites all these groups is their desire to keep the working class from participating as an independent and conscious force in the national liberation struggle. The International Committee of the Fourth International calls on the class conscious militants in Ulster and in the Republic to learn the lessons of the last four years' struggle, to reject the bankrupt and treacherous labour and nationalists leadership and build the revolutionary Marxist leadership in Ireland, League for a Workers' Vanguard, the Irish section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

- Long live the Irish workers!
- Down with imperialism and its Labourite and nationalist agencies!
- Withdraw the troops immediately!
- Force the Tories to resign!
- Release all internees!
- For a General Election!

March 25, 1972

SLL joins Ulster demo

SOCIALIST Labour League and Young Socialist contingents — 750 strong — marched as a body on Sunday's Anti-Internment League mass mobilization.

Assembling at Clapham Common, one of the five assembly points for the day's marches, the SLL and YS marchers were headed by a banner demanding the withdrawal of British troops from Ulster, defence of the right to assembly, against internment and for forcing the Tory government to resign.

Loudly chanting slogans the SLL contingents marched as far as Whitehall Place where they turned off to hold a short meeting. Speakers were Gary Gurmeet, editor of the Young Socialists' paper 'Keep Left'; Mike Banda, SLL Central Committee member, and Sarah Hanigan, London secretary of the Young Socialists.

● See meeting report p.12 and LATE NEWS

workers press

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Allende raids right wing

CHILE'S capital, Santiago, is still tense following President Salvador Allende's ban on a street demonstration by middle-class women against the Popular Unity government's policies.

The women, who were to protest against nationalization, called off their march alleging possible provocation by 'armed Marxist groups'.

Interior Minister Del Canto had warned that the government was prepared to apply the full rigour of the law against any attempt to defy its orders. Police reinforcements were stationed in the city's trouble spots.

The government claims to have unearthed a right-wing plot to provoke armed street-fighting. Police raids on three branches of the

right-wing 'Country and Freedom' movement produced an impressive array of weapons, including sulphuric acid bombs and Molotov cocktails.

Eight people have been arrested and one of the movement's leaders, Pablo Rodriguez Grez, has been detained on charges of acting against state security.

Chile's Socialist Party has issued a statement

on allegations that the CIA was involved in a plot to prevent Allende taking office in October 1970, describing it as part of a 'typical counter-revolutionary combination aimed at overthrowing the people's government'.

The party said that another part of the plan was the formation of armed groups and the creation of 'a climate of violence and chaos'.

AROUND THE WORLD

EL FERROL: POLICE ARREST THREE MORE

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

FASCIST police have arrested three more workers at the Spanish port of El Ferrol for questioning about the shipyard strike in which two workers were shot by police a fortnight ago.

This brings to 48 the number arrested since workers at the state-owned Bazan shipyards brought General Franco's home town to a standstill with a mass strike and demonstrations for a wage increase and trade union rights.

Twenty-seven of those detained have been fined between 50,000 and 250,000 pesetas (£300 and £1,500). Five have been released after paying the fines and police said at the weekend that six others have been jailed for refusing to pay.

The Spanish authorities recently took powers to levy summary fines for political offences. The fines can be imposed without trial.

In Santander, six students—three of them girls—have been arrested on charges of subversion as suspected members of the youth division of the outlawed Communist Party. According to the police, the arrests followed investigations into 'subversive' student activities in Santander.

Students and workers demon-

strated through the city last week following the El Ferrol shootings. The young men suspects have been jailed pending filing formal charges, while the girls, aged 18 to 20, have been released on conditional liberty. All six are students at the Santander teachers' college.

The Dutch metalworkers' union has called a week's boycott of repairs to Spanish ships in response to an appeal from the International Metalworkers'

Federation against the El Ferrol repression.

Although there are no Spanish ships in Dutch ports at the moment, some may be due. It is possible that the boycott will be extended to dockers so that no Spanish ships will be handled in Rotterdam next week.

A similar boycott is under way in Finland, where shipyard workers have declared they will not repair any Spanish ships until the end of March.

Bombs: Fascist suspects

THE FUNERAL of Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, the left-wing publisher whose mangled body was found at the foot of an electricity pylon near Milan, may be the occasion for a big political demonstration in the emotionally-charged atmosphere preceding Italy's general election.

The Milan Public Prosecutor has given permission for the body to be buried, but the funeral date has not yet been fixed. The post mortem cast little light on the mystery surrounding his death, which is widely believed to have been a right-wing frame-up intended to discredit the left.

Proceedings are being pressed against three extreme right-wingers suspected of organizing a series of bomb outrages in 1969.

Judge Giancero Stiz, of Treviso, near Venice, suspects three neo-fascists of having organized the December 12, 1969, Milan bomb explosion, for which the anarchist Valpreda is on trial.

Judge Stiz has handed all his evidence to the Milan Public Prosecutor and a further inquiry will be opened by an investigating magistrate.

The three new suspects include a parliamentary candidate for the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI), which hopes to score big successes in the election.

Definite implication of the MSI in bomb attacks could damage its electoral prospects. The right and moderate forces have been hoping that fear of left-wing violence, to which the bomb attacks lent colour, would stampede many undecided electors to vote for them.

This is also the fear of the Italian Communist Party which, at its recent Congress, was full of denunciation of 'leftists'. Under its new secretary, Enrico Berlinguer, it took a further step to the right and is striving to look as moderate as possible with a view to joining a coalition with bourgeois politicians after the election.

Berlinguer's policy offers nothing to the working class.

It continues the policy of betrayal which began directly after the return of CP secretary Palmiro Togliatti to Italy in 1944 to take in hand the growing revolutionary upsurge which followed the downfall of Mussolini.

Now the fascists, in the shape of the MSI, which has concluded an alliance with the Monarchists, are hoping to make a come-back as Italy slides into economic

depression and social chaos. Their latest recruit is ex-NATO naval boss Admiral Birindelli, who has ambitions to be Italy's next strong-man.

Some observers expect the new combination to get over 12 per cent of the votes, which would enable it to play an important parliamentary role. With the old coalition between the Christian Democrats and Socialists in ruins, the post-election period is bound to see a lengthy horse-trading in which the neo-fascists hope to strengthen their position.

The growing contempt for parliamentary methods and the betrayals of the Socialist and Communist Party leaderships has meanwhile thrown many youth, intellectuals and some workers into support for groups which call for direct action through urban guerrilla and terrorist activities. Feltrinelli was among those who backed such movements instead of turning to the working class and the building of a revolutionary party.

The need in Italy today is for revolutionary leadership which can wrest the working class from the grasp of the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies and use its strength to win over hesitant members of the middle class to defeat the fascist threat and establish a workers' republic.

WHAT WE THINK

LIVING IN TIME OF GREAT DANGER

THIS HAS been a week of great confusion amongst radicals of all shades, reformists, Irish nationalists and Stalinists.

The Tory Budget is designed to create a feeling of inflationary 'well being' so that the traitors of the TUC and the Labour Party can temporarily confuse sections of the working class and middle class.

After the defeat of the government at the hands of the miners, Heath and company urgently need a little time to re-organize their forces for a renewed and even more vicious counter-attack against the working class.

Thus, the inflationary side of the Budget is a smoke-screen behind which capital investment will flow into W Europe so that the monopolists can gang up with their reactionary European counterparts in a fresh offensive against the working class.

The Tories are out to trap the small medium-sized businessman in a round of speculative investment whose potential will be completely wiped out as soon as entry into the Common Market becomes effective.

In a world economic crisis which each day drifts ever more deeply into the quagmire of trade war and recession, the Tories know very well that thousands of such small businesses will be bankrupted and taken over lock stock and barrel by the more powerful monopolies.

The Budget is a double-bladed axe wielded by the Tory monopolists which hits simultaneously at the working class and the middle class.

Likewise, the proposal of 'direct rule' for Ulster will solve nothing. It simply reimposes Tory rule under conditions in which Heath can appear as a 'peacemaker'.

The confusion over the Budget and direct rule could, if the situation worsens for the Tories, become the medium for providing a background for a snap General Election.

With the capitalist economic crisis steadily deteriorating, it becomes more than ever absolutely vital to assist the working class in Britain and Ulster in the achievement of their political independence through the building of revolutionary parties in Ireland and England.

These are times of great danger, they must not be wasted with reformist clap-trap.

Santo Domingo: Pressman barred

A DOMINICAN journalist who attended a trade union conference in Moscow has been prevented from returning home by the government of Santo Domingo. Miguel Frajul attended the conference as a representative of the Christian Trades Union. A union spokesman expressed astonishment at the government's decision.

Numeiry wants Hussein talks

PRESIDENT Numeiry of the Sudan has called for an Arab summit to discuss King Hussein's plan for a Federal Kingdom of Jordan to span both sides of the Jordan.

Without backing the plan completely, he said that it contained the possibility of ending the war with Israel and should be studied by Arab governments in a unified manner.

No one has yet had a breathing space to evaluate the proposals. Without an Arab summit an unacceptable solution might be imposed.

Referendum confounds the left in France



PRESIDENT POMPIDOU

PRESIDENT Pompidou's April 23 referendum on the enlargement of the Common Market has left his opponents divided and confused.

Lengthy discussions between Socialist and Communist Party leaders failed to produce agreement on a vote. CP secretary George Marchais said the Party would campaign for a 'No'. He called Pompidou's move a 'plebiscite manoeuvre' intended to clear the way for a Gaullist majority at the next elections.

Leader of the pro-EEC Socialist Party, Francois Mitterand, called for abstention. His Party could not 'vote yes because we are fighting the government and cannot endorse the rest of M. Pompidou's policies'.

This split seems to ruin any immediate electoral coalition for which the CP had been working

for some time. It clarifies divisions that had become acute since Mitterand became Socialist Party secretary.

For some time Pompidou has been aiming to win a position closer to that held by de Gaulle at the height of his power.

He seized on the Common Market issue—basically the question of whether Frenchmen want to see Britain a member—to whip up a substantial majority in what amounted to a plebiscite.

A call for a united 'No' vote would have met Pompidou squarely with the weight of opposition to his regime and might have forced him out of power, like de Gaulle's 1969 referendum.

Nine left groups, headed by the centrist Unified Socialist Party (PSU) and the Ligue Communiste (Pabloite) and including anarchists and Maoists, had

called for a boycott of the referendum before the CP-SP split.

Alain Krivine of the Ligue Communiste called for 'a massive boycott on the part of all workers in order to show their contempt for the operation'.

Speaking of the possibility of a left coalition victory at the next elections he said:

'The unity of the left corresponds to a desire for change and for unity in the absence of a credible revolutionary alternative. If the left union won the next elections, the Ligue Communiste would carry on a campaign of wariness regarding the new government while implanting itself at the heart of the struggles to strengthen it, but the Ligue would support governmental measures directed against the right.'

This is the same type of policy which proved disastrous

in Bolivia and prepares the way for a situation similar to that which exists in Chile. It is, in essence, a centrist policy, denounced by Trotsky many times.

The call for abstention or boycott is really part of this centrist policy which abandons the struggle to build a revolutionary party to lead the working class to power. It actually strengthens the CP's hand. It will be able to appear before the working class as the main champion of opposition to Pompidou, and thus the only credible alternative.

In fact it lets Marchais off the hook. He does not intend to lead a serious struggle against the Common Market—now accepted as a reality by Soviet bureaucracy.

Pompidou, of course, will make big gains from this disarray of the left.



When the first settlers came to Australia they stole the aborigines' tribal land. Today the big mining monopolies like Rio Tinto still treat the black population with little regard.

FACTS BEHIND RIO TINTO'S GOLD DIG

BY ALEX MITCHELL

The capitalist press has been lavishing praise on the giant Rio Tinto-Zinc Mining Corporation for its decision to abandon gold-mining in the Mawddach Estuary in Wales.

DAMAGE

In announcing the winding up of the project, RTZ chairman Sir Val Duncan said mining operations in the estuary would damage the environment.

'We cannot win it [gold] in that estuary, which is one of the most beautiful that I know in the world, without such disturbance of its natural amenity as would be unreasonable.' He said the company was concerned about upsetting the 'ecological balance' in the area.

On the face of it RTZ are putting 'quality of life' before profit. This is certainly how the financial press reacted to the statement as adjectives like 'statesmanlike' poured from the pens of City writers.

But the facts about RTZ's Welsh mining developments present a completely different picture.

For RTZ never had any intention of mining Mawddach. The company's only interest in that locality is a £60m open-cast copper ore body on the mountains behind the estuary.

Why all the fuss about the estuary? you might ask.

In November 1970 Jon Tinker, writing in the 'New Scientist',

completely exposed RTZ's true intentions in Wales in a major article headed: 'Snowdonia cops it.' Tinker wrote:

'While it might be crediting RTZ with too Machiavellian a plan to suggest that they put up the Mawddach gold dredging only to abandon it later, it is hard not to see the advantages of such a ploy. RTZ would be able to pose as the magnanimous corporation refraining from ruining a beautiful and popular estuary and the county council would be able to take the credit for persuading it to do so. In the self-congratulatory conservationist haze which would envelope the subject, open-cast copper mining could then be given a go-ahead.'

The man in charge of the Snowdonia project, Lord Byers, the leader of the Liberal peers in the House of Lords, was incensed by the article and a series of angry correspondence began. But today, in view of the chairman's statement, it seems that Tinker's analysis was right on the button.

Another RTZ project in the SW, the Avonmouth lead smelter, is already the subject of a government inquiry following the revelation last month that workers were suffering from lead poisoning.

The huge smelter, one of the largest of its kind in the world, has been shut down while contamination is tightened up.

In Namibia (SW Africa) RTZ is also in the glare of international attention where workers at its uranium mine are becoming increasingly restless.

Although Namibia was illegally annexed by the neighbouring S African regime, the Wilson government agreed to purchase

uranium ore from the RTZ prospect in that country. With this huge order in the bag, RTZ went full speed ahead to develop the mine, taking advantage of the cheap labour.

RTZ has a controversial history in Australia too.

Two years ago Bougainville islanders formed a picket line on the beach to prevent the landing of equipment to start the exploitation of copper resources. Police using tear gas and clubs attacked the local inhabitants to commence operations.

With chairman Duncan talking about conservation and saving beautiful tracts of Wales, it is interesting to note a 'Financial Times' story of two days ago.

The item, revealed that the Australian Mining Industry Council has launched a campaign to combat conservationist groups.

PLUNDER

The campaign seeks to ensure the 'ill-informed, emotional or capricious criticism does not inhibit Australia's economic progress'.

AMIC's intentions are clearcut; it wants to allow the unbridled plunder of Australia's mineral resources to continue without complaints about the devastation of the countryside or the displacement of aboriginal tribes.

Interestingly, the chairman of AMIC and leading sponsor of the campaign is Mr D. J. Hibberd. He is chief of Comalco, an RTZ subsidiary in Australia.



Lord Cobbold



James Callaghan

TOP BANKERS IN BIG EURO-LINK

Britain's banking community is preparing itself for Common Market entry. The International Italian Bank is to set up a subsidiary in London with Lord Cobbold as chairman.

Cobbold, who has been connected with banking since the 1930s, was governor of the Bank of England from 1949 to 1961.

The board also includes Mr James Callaghan, the former Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer. A pro-Marketeer in office, Callaghan has now been converted to 'opposition' to the Market. But it is significant that when the Labour rebels voted with the Tories for entry, Callaghan did not call for their expulsion from the Labour Party.

The other directors are Dr Ciro de Martino, chairman of

Banco di Sicilia and for many years chief banking controller of the Bank of Italy; Sir Charles Forte, president of the Italian Chamber of Commerce for Great Britain; Professor Luciano Jona, chairman, Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino; Professor Paolo Pagliuzzi, chief general manager, Monte dei Paschi di Siena; and Mr R. G. Raw, adviser to the Governor of the Bank of England.

Mr Raw, who is shortly leaving the Bank of England, will not formally join the Board until July 1.

The bank, which has a capital of £5m, is a subsidiary of the Luxembourg holding company, Anciennes Institutions de Credit Italiennes. This is jointly owned by Banco di Napoli, Banco di Sicilia, Istituto Bancario San Paolo di Torino, and Monte dei Paschi di Siena, four of the largest and oldest Italian banks, with total deposits of £7,000m.

FOUNDRY TO SHUT

Birmid Qualcast is to close its Swan Gardens foundry in Wolverhampton on June 23, throwing 360 men out of work.

The company blames the closure of the foundry, which produces ferrous castings, on the slump in the truck and tractor industries. Among Birmid Qualcast's major buyers are Massey Ferguson, David Brown and Ford.

Mr Don Groves, Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs' divisional officer, said the shut-down would be 'opposed by every means. Nothing can be ruled out at this stage'.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

WILLESDEN: Monday March 27, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Rd., NW1. 'Right-to-Work Campaign and the fight to force the Tories out'.

LEEDS: Tuesday March 28, 7.30 p.m. Quarry Hill Flats Community Centre. 'The engineers' play claim'.

W LONDON: Tuesday, March 28, 8 p.m. Prince Albert, Wharfedale Road, off York Way, Kings Cross, N1. 'Report back from Wembley Pool'.

SOUTHALL: Wednesday, March 29, 8 p.m. Southall Community Centre, Bridge Road. 'Report back from Wembley Pool'.

N LONDON: Thursday March 30, 8 p.m. Bricklayers Arms, Tottenham High Rd., N17 (off White Hart Lane). 'Report back meeting from Wembley and the Scarborough conference'.

BOOKS



Moscow Trials Anthology
Paperback, 62½p
MAX SHACHTMAN:
Behind The Moscow Trial
Paperback 75p
ROBERT BLACK:
Stalinism In Britain
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £2
LEON TROTSKY:
Death Agony of Capitalism
(The Transitional Programme)
Pamphlet 5p
Class Nature of the Soviet State
Pamphlet 20p
In Defence of the October
Revolution Pamphlet 15p
The Theory and Practice of
Revisionism Pamphlet 15p
Postage 10p per book, 3p per
pamphlet. Order from:
NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS
186a Clapham High Street,
London SW4 7UG.

A NEW GENERATION OF REVOLUTIONARIES JOINED RIGHT TO WORK MARCHES

By Cliff Slaughter
SLL Central Committee member

The success of the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work marches is something which will prove decisive in the building of a Marxist party in Britain.

One year after the resolution carried at the Alexandra Palace anti-Tory rally (February 14, 1971), it was being practically implemented throughout the country. The resolution called for the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.

Already in the autumn of 1970, the All Trades Unions Alliance and the Socialist Labour League had put forward the Charter of Basic Rights, with the right to work asserted against the growing mass unemployment.

Then, in October 1971, the Right-to-Work campaign began in earnest and the marches from Glasgow, Liverpool and Swansea were planned.

Indeed, the first lesson of the campaign and the marches is that only those who had grasped the depth of capitalism's crisis could prepare for the great increase in unemployment, reaching the million mark in January 1972. Every other tendency on the left was either asking the government for 'reflationary' measures or had doubts that the capital boom would soon reassert its upward course.

For the same reasons, all the tendencies except the Socialist Labour League completely underestimated the strength and fighting capacity of the working class. Consequently, when the miners' strike developed as an open challenge to the Tory government's staying in office and the Birmingham engineers joined the struggle, the Right-to-Work marchers were able to fight their way through all these experiences, to learn from them and to be sustained along the way by a working class which was undergoing profound changes.

While every other 'left' grouping remained utterly unprepared and isolated from these changes, the Young Socialists and the Socialist Labour League were able, through the Right-to-Work marches and the daily Workers Press, to provide the political vehicle for learning the lessons and preparing the next stage of the struggles of the British working class against the Tory government.

This is very clear if we trace the rapid political developments in the very same month as the Right-to-Work marches. The young Glasgow marchers set off in the middle of the miners' strike. Liverpool and Swansea began right at the point where the NUM leaders accepted the Wilberforce Report.

Thousands of workers understood that the miners had brought the government to its knees. The trade union leaders, in accepting the 21 per cent forced by the miners' determined struggle, gave Heath the breathing space to get to his feet again.

The feelings of these workers, as they sensed the political meaning of the miners' settlement, found their expression and necessary development in the Right-to-Work marches. If the

existing trade union and Labour leadership could not bring down the Tories, even when the strength of the ranks had brought them to the point of collapse, then it was necessary to look for a new leadership. And here, in the Right-to-Work marches, were Young Socialists not just talking about building an alternative leadership, but actually fighting for it in the teeth of all the betrayals of the reformists and their Stalinist aides.

As the marches gathered strength, raised massive financial support from the factories, and received the aid of the rank and file of the working class in every town, so the Labour and union leaders ran in the opposite direction.

The ordinary workers recognized in the marchers the need of their future, opened up for them by the miners' strike. But the leaders set out on their own course.

Reeling from the miners' strike, Heath and the Tories were forced to retreat, publicly, from their intention to smash the working class at one blow. They had to advance £100m to the nationalized coal industry, in clear breach of their declared policy; and they voted £34m to the 'lame duck' of the Clydeside. They approached the union leaders for a programme of co-operation.

The message was clear: the strength of the working class threatens the union leaders as much as it threatens us, the Tory government; therefore let us join together!

WORKERS

TUC general secretary Victor Feather and the General Council responded positively. Every marcher, like thousands of workers, recalled that these gentlemen had been unable to find the time to call together the transport unions to support the miners, but now they ran to 10 Downing St at the drop of a hat. The meeting, according to the capitalist press, began with tea and ended with whisky and soda.

Jack Jones, darling of the 'left' and boss of the Transport and General Workers, Britain's largest union, pleaded with the Tories to introduce state-regulated industrial bargaining, and told an assembly of businessmen that class-collaboration was necessary to save the 'British way of life'. He meant the way of life of businessmen and trade union bureaucrats, threatened by the working class.

All this went on as the Industrial Relations Act came fully into operation on February 28. When the Right-to-Work marchers posed the question of an alternative leadership, they were doing so in a context every class-conscious worker could understand. The Tories, smarting from the miners' strike, had set about using their 'borrowed time' to prepare the counter-attack, and, with one or two concessions, they were enlisting the support of the union leaders.

The fight against sackings, the fight to force the Tory government to resign, the fight for living standards and the fight for the right to organize, all now came up as a fight for alternative leadership against the class-collaboration of the Labour and trade union leaders.

By the end of the marches, the

right wing of the Labour Party, led by Roy Jenkins, was making its bid for leadership. Their aim is to abolish any socialist content from the Labour Party's programme, and to use the Labour Party as nothing more than a middle-class reform movement. Behind this declared aim is the sinister face of collaboration with the capitalists in a coalition programme to destroy the working-class movement.

Why does the right wing make this open bid at this time? Here again the lessons of the Right-to-Work marches are indispensable.

The right-wing moves because every basic question facing the working class, and especially unemployment, is forcing the workers to demand socialist solutions of nationalization. This demand is certain to be reflected in the trade unions and the Labour Party itself. All the middle-class instincts of Jenkins and his friends make them react and prepare in advance against this.

It was, therefore, essential that at the end of the marches, the participants should come face-to-face with the crisis right inside the Labour Party and especially the Parliamentary Party.

At the lobby of Labour MPs on March 13, one question predominated: how to fight the right wing. Any Labour MP who puts 'unity' with the right above these basic class needs is historically doomed to betray.

Stanley Orme defended Jenkins' 'rights' on the grounds that the Labour Party is 'a coalition'. This coalition, with the spokesmen for monopoly inside the Party, is undoubtedly the sure road to coalition with the Tory Party, the party of the monopolists. At this point, then, all the political and theoretical lessons learned along the march were brought together in a rich experience.

All along the hundreds of miles travelled, the old bans and proscriptions against the Young Socialists had been brought out by the right wing, but had been brushed aside. For example, the Harrow Trades Council received the TUC circular instructing them to give no assistance to the marchers and pointing out the Young Socialists was a proscribed organization. The circular was torn up, and the Trades Council provided accommodation as well as laying on a welcoming meeting.

CONTRAST

Certainly the bureaucracy at Transport House will try to stem the tide. The moves to expel Phil Bond, Labour chairman of the Skelmersdale Town Council, show this very well. But many, many workers, through the intervention of the marchers, have understood the contrast between these witch-hunts and the treatment of Jenkins and the right wing.

Very straightforward and apparently simple lessons are now the most important ones, just because the issues are so basic. The Labour Party—right as well as left—and the Communist Party have no policies on unemployment, because such policies require inroads into capitalist ownership, and their resort to lies and witch-hunting only

exposed this the more.

Many Communist Party as well as Labour Party members defied their leadership and helped the Right-to-Work marches.

Capitalist crisis forces these bureaucracies to the right, and at this point the intervention of the revolutionary party is decisive. From the crisis of reformism and Stalinism must come not disintegration and defeat, but the building of a new leadership, the ability to learn from setbacks as well as victories. This is what the marches have begun to do.

The crisis inside the existing organizations of the working class is caused by the conflict between, on the one hand, the needs of the capitalist class, and on the other, the striving of the working class for political independence. The building of the revolutionary party, implemented in the Right-to-Work marches, proceeds only through this material contradiction.

The marchers insisted over and over again, as they met the labour movement in every area, that the only way to defend the right to work was to prepare politically to force the Tory government out of office. It was not a question of asking for measures which would bring more jobs, or of improving the lot of the unemployed.

Time and again supporters of the marchers compared and contrasted them to the Hunger Marchers of the 1930s. They recognized first of all the youth of the marchers, secondly the aggressive nature of their demands, and thirdly their completely different political quality.

Besides this change, there was another transformation. In the 1963 period of unemployment, the Trotskyists in the Young Socialists movement (then in the Labour Party) had organized the unemployed youth, intervened in the trade union lobbies of parliament on the question, and won the majority leadership in the YS at the Easter Conference of that year. At that stage, however, Wilson and the right wing were able to carry out wholesale expulsions in 1964 and temporarily cut the YS off from the adult movement: it was necessary to set up the YS independently of the Labour Party and then turn it into the trade unions.

The struggle to do this has now made possible our Right-to-Work campaign under conditions where the working class is quickly changing, and the youth are recognized by many older workers as the core of the new and necessary alternative revolutionary leadership. This is the meaning of the breach made by the young marchers in the regime of bans and proscriptions.

The demand for the right to work has been criticized by some self-proclaimed Marxists (in the International Socialism and Militant groups) as a reformist demand. But what reforms are possible under capitalism in 1972 which could guarantee this right?

It is a transitional demand. To fight for the right to work today means to pose the question of state power and revolutionary inroads into capitalist property. And this takes a very concrete political form, a definite path determined by our historical conditions: the young unemployed fight to bring the organized, the employed, into the struggle to make the Tory government resign and return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

In the course of this the new revolutionary leadership is being built.

This was the political essence of the Right-to-Work marches. Without the fight to bring down the Tory government and return a Labour government, without the fight to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party, the slogan 'right to work' would be reformist, and in this period meaningless. It would represent nothing more than the right to be exploited.

But today this demand flows together with the growing tendency of workers to answer closures and redundancies by factory occupations and sit-ins. The demand for workers' control and the challenge to private property in the means of production are now the only answer to the basic need of the working class to keep their jobs.

Because the question of power is posed in this way the success of the Right-to-Work marches must be seen as the first step in a new and accelerated political process. As the Tories take advantage of the breathing-space offered them by the TUC after the miners' strike, in order to prepare yet more savage attacks, the building of the alternative revolutionary leadership is now the No 1 question for all those who participated in, supported and understood the Right-to-Work marches.

CONFRONTED

The campaign has been a mortal blow to the false, middle-class professional 'revolutionary' groups. After all, their frantic condemnations of the SLL as 'sectarian' and 'dogmatic'—condemnations gratefully echoed by the capitalist press—they find themselves completely isolated and confronted by a Trotskyist movement able to intervene on the decisive issues.

The 'state capitalist' manoeuvre requesting that their banners be carried on our marches was exposed as a blatant and pathetic attempt to jump on on the bandwagon and transform a revolutionary movement into a reformist protest.

The Right-to-Work marches were, literally, a new generation on the march: a new generation, confidently challenging the old reformist and Stalinist leaders.

This generation learned one thing above all. This was that it can come forward and take its rightful place only on the basis of the past conquests of the working class and of Marxist theory. At every stage, it was necessary to study Marxist theory, to learn through the Marxist method from every experience, to understand where our movement had come from in the struggle against reformism, Stalinism and revisionism.

What marched in this campaign was the Fourth International, founded by Trotsky in 1938 as the continuation of the teaching of Marx and Engels, of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, of the October Revolution and the early years of the Communist International.

This is what frightened the reformists and the Stalinists: the banner at the head of the Right-to-Work marches, fighting on the transitional demands of the Charter of Basic Rights, was the banner of the Fourth International.





King Faisal of Saudi Arabia is one of the world's most oppressive and reactionary rulers.

FAISAL RULES BY KORAN AND GUN

Islam, oil, and the CIA are the basic ingredients of Saudi Arabia, whose Royal family enjoys perhaps the most lavish standard of living ever known amid some of the worst poverty in the world.

Backed by the big US oil corporations, the regime of King Faisal is also one of the most oppressive and reactionary governments in the world.

MEDIEVAL

It has a paranoid fear of revolution and goes to medieval lengths to suppress the slightest sign of dissent.

In the past few years, according to reports from Saudis who have fled the country, the repression has reached unprecedented heights.

King Faisal operates a rigid Koranic code of laws, backed up by a modern US-trained force of secret police.

Execution (or just plain murder), amputation of limbs, public flogging and torture in the many prisons are commonplace punishments in Saudi Arabia.

In the past five years at least 50 men women and young people were publicly beheaded. Their heads were displayed in public for 24 hours to deter imitators.

Every week about 100 people are flogged in public. These are mainly men and youths. The female victims are flogged in the

privacy of prison cells. Saudi Arabia is about the only country in the world that continues to use this barbaric punishment.

The so-called 'crimes' for which these punishments are meted out can include such offences as belonging to a trade union, petitioning a minister, asking for an increase in wages or simply reading a 'prohibited' publication.

Arrests are frequently quite arbitrary. In some cases the victims are simply kidnapped. Many are never even charged, let alone brought to trial.

Al-Abeed prison has earned the nickname, the 'Bastille'. In fact it puts the Bastille in the shade.

Among its inmates are Abdul-Azeez Mo'amer a former minister and ambassador to Geneva; Yousof Ya'koub, a lawyer who published the now-banned 'New Fajre' newspaper; Saleh Az-Zeed, a trade union leader; Azdul Rahman Mansour, ex-director-general of the Ministry of Labour, and many others.

Most of the detainees were imprisoned on an 'order' from the Minister of the Interior. Such orders supersede the few laws with which the Royal Family rule the 4 million Saudi Arabs.

The imprisonment of members of the Workers Committee at the Aramco Oil Company was made under an order of this sort in 1953.

By a stroke of his pen the minister has since renewed the order for another 20 years.

Since 1969 the repression has

been stepped up and the secret police strengthened. This has intensified the terror. The victims include oil workers like Abdul Rahman Khreiyf, students like Noura al-Aisa and farmers like Ahmad al-Baqui.

Many academics have also been flung into jail, like Prof Nuri Keshmiri of the faculty of engineering science at the University of Riyadh and Dr Salh Anba, a petroleum technologist from Al-Dhahran College.

TERROR

Other victims include military leaders and government officials.

To escape the terror, many Saudis have fled the country and the regime has now adopted a system of hostages to prevent this exodus. It is now customary to jail a brother for the escape of his brothers and a wife for the departure of her husband.

Saudi Arabia is not simply a benighted and backward part of the world. Its absolute monarchy was established in 1925 when King Saud, Faisal's father was installed on the throne. It is kept in being to suit the book of the big oil companies, who completely dominated the Saudi economy.

Trained and financed by the Central Intelligence Agency, the Saudi secret police is in business to protect the profits of the oil magnates and keep Saudi Arabia free from revolution so that shareholders in London and Washington can sleep soundly in their feather beds.

ITALIAN NEO-FASCISTS SET UP IN VORSTERLAND

It would seem that Italy's neo-fascist party, the MSI, recently brought into the news by its involvement in violence and by the announcement that a NATO admiral is to stand as one of its election candidates, is not confining its activities to Italy.

The MSI—Movimiento Sociale Italiano — has recently opened a branch in S Africa, which is reported to have recruited several hundred members. Most of them, apparently, are Italian ex-prisoners of war who decided to stay in S Africa after the last war.

Leader of the S African section, which calls itself the Tricolor Committee for Italians all over the World, is Roberto

Ascani (42), a laboratory technician at the Atlas Aircraft Corporation, near Johannesburg.

He says the purpose of the party branch in S Africa is to recruit support for the parent party in Italy, to undertake welfare work among Italian immigrants, to help counter communist influence in Africa and to explain apartheid to Italians settling in S Africa.

He told reporters that fascists did not bully people. 'We try to persuade them. . . . Mind you, if we had another Hitler today, I think the world would be a better place.'

Fascists like this must feel they have found a real second home with the other admirers of the Fuehrer in the apartheid state.



OH SACRILEGE!

S African Prime Minister John Vorster (above) has expressed his strongest disapproval of a proposed pop festival to be held near Johannesburg on Good Friday and Easter Sunday. Vorster said in a statement that it was unheard of for such an event to be held on Good Friday or a Sunday and complaints had reached him.

'I wish to express my strongest disapproval and I trust that the organizers of the festival will not proceed with it,' he said.

The Prime Minister said he had instructed investigations whether such an event could be held on a Good Friday or a Sunday. If it appeared legal, there would be consultations with provincial and local authorities with a view to putting an end to disturbances of this kind, he said.

TITO'S POLICY THREATENS YUGOSLAV REVOLUTION

A letter from Yugoslavia by our own correspondent

Two months without pay was long enough. The workers at Elektronska Industrija refused to work any longer.

We will never know how many of the firm's 20,000 employees actually stayed out, how many went to work and did nothing and how many actually worked. The press has not published one word about the strike.

For the casual observer there was no sign of the strike except the unusual delay of the firm's bus. Workers start their first shift early in the morning at 7 a.m. and buses pick them up at different points in the city at 6 a.m.

During the six-day strike the bus waited for the workers 30 minutes or an hour instead of the usual few minutes.

I succeeded in discussing with a worker in the factory, a pregnant woman doing semi-skilled work. Her husband, a student of law in Belgrade University, proudly wearing a badge with Lenin's silhouette on his jacket, has a small grant which hardly supplements the £20 she brings home every month.

We have not been paid since Christmas. Not one dinar. The factory has no money. From the end of February we have refused to continue working until we get paid.

I did not ask any questions then because I recalled the remark of an older woman working in another factory who said: 'When there is trouble in my factory I don't like to talk. I don't like scandal.'

Later I learned this older woman had been refused work in an electronics firm because her hands sweat out of fear she might not get the job.

But as the strike went on I had new opportunities to talk and get a better feeling of what a strike is in Yugoslavia.

'There is nothing published in the newspapers because nobody knows what is happening. The strike has no organization. There is no strike committee, the union has nothing to do. By ourselves we don't want to go to the newspapers; we might lose our job after that.'

I asked about a provision of the law in Yugoslavia which states that if a factory is in financial trouble, the 'Commune' (local council) is obliged to cover up to 60 per cent of the wages. The answer was simple. The Commune has no information about the factory's troubles either.

Yugoslav firms are very independent administratively and the workers' income depends directly on the firm. In this way, workers are not only 'stimulated' to work harder, but can also be black-mailed that any 'scandal' may hurt the firm and thus their income.

I learned that the strike was not 100-per-cent successful—'there are some people that like to lick the Tito's ass'—but the strike was strong and involved a growing majority of workers.

This strike is not an isolated event. Recently in Portorosso, a gathering of 'sociologists' from all over Yugoslavia and from foreign countries, including the USA, discussed the strike problem in Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav sociology is heavily impregnated with American functionalism and pragmatism. There is no hint of the con-

cepts of class struggle left. For this reason the 'causes' of the strike were understood mainly as 'unrealistic demands', as 'dissatisfaction', but with no reference to the world crisis which is hitting the 'open' Yugoslav economy so badly.

Officially there are over 300,000 unemployed in Yugoslavia. The figure refers only to those that are actually asking for work.

Nobody knows the real number, but it could easily be twice as large.

In addition more than a million Yugoslavs are working abroad.

The crisis in W Europe is now throwing thousands of these migrant workers back to Yugoslavia every month looking for jobs. Everybody tries to explain the crisis in Yugoslavia as due to 'lack of liquidity'. Nobody seems to be able to explain why there is no money in the firms. All firms are heavily in debt, but nobody seems to know why.

The chaotic situation into which Yugoslavia has fallen

To explain why would involve a severe condemnation of the chaotic situation into which Yugoslavia has fallen thanks to the bureaucracy's catastrophic policies. The laws of 'Market Socialism' are just as severe as those of 'Market Capitalism'.

As competition between Yugoslav firms and with foreign firms was increased, making Yugoslavia one of the most 'open' of economies, to the same extent the precarious economy was made more vulnerable, while only some firms and some regions developed.

Privileges of bureaucracy and high income differentials were increased, all with a rationalization frequently phrased as: 'The alternative is sharing poverty. But what is the benefit? We might as well allow some regions, some firms, some people to get richer, we shall get some progress this way.'

So, for the sake of 'progress', workers are made scapegoats for the 'reality' of the world market in crisis.

On the sixth day of the Elektronska strike the workers delivered an ultimatum. The strike would be made public if they were not paid. The director and the administration were quick to respond—with demagogic promises. The workers were promised payment at least for the month of January.

In addition every worker was given a box of tea, and two tickets for the theatre or cinema. The workers were furious, but the desperate situation drove the majority to call for a return to work.

This sort of problem underlines the importance of the tasks of revolutionary cadres in the degenerated workers' states. The level of political consciousness of the working class is in one very fundamental aspect far beyond that of W Europe.

Through the revolutionary process of overthrowing capitalism, the working class has taken an irreversible step forward as a class. Social property can only be overthrown by violent counter-



The privileges of the bureaucracy have been steadily increased. 'The alternative' they say is 'sharing poverty'. And for many Yugoslav workers and peasants who live in conditions such as these shown above, poverty is a stark reality.

revolution or by imperialist intervention.

The ceaseless efforts of bureaucracy to undermine the institutions

But the ceaseless efforts of bureaucracy to undermine the institutions set up by the social revolution do have an effect on the working class, especially since this class has been deprived of revolutionary leadership.

It is obvious that no spontaneous class development can lead to any definitive confrontation with bureaucracy and not even raise the level of present conflicts to a high political understanding. One can even say that, in the absence of the revolutionary leadership, the negative lessons of this confrontation may outweigh the positive ones.

The strength of bureaucratic rationalizations cannot be underestimated. In Yugoslavia in particular, the bureaucratic leadership has developed a relatively sophisticated ideology to disguise its counter-revolution-

ary role. The official ideology has directly confronted the issue of bureaucracy even more efficiently than in the USSR.

For the Yugoslav theoreticians, such as Kardjeli, bureaucracy is the inevitable consequence of centralism. State control of all means of production is denounced as 'statism', which in the end means simply 'state capitalism' as they explicitly write.

So even if they are careful not to use the expression 'state capitalism' in official documents, one can find this term in their political and economic literature.

In this way the workers' councils become more and more an obstacle for managers of the firms. I witnessed a discussion between an American adviser and a Yugoslav management specialist on a report on management organization of a large firm.

Their enthusiasm had no limits when they saw a realistic possibility of establishing a management committee in the factory composed half of delegates from the workers' council and half of appointed experts from a British firm of management consultants.

The workers' councils have been further weakened by a complex variety of mergers. Big consortia are formed either by direct integration, which implies the integration of the workers' councils, or what is more satis-

factory for managers as a temporary measure, by the 'association' of enterprises, or 'union' of enterprises where no workers' councils have to be set up at a higher level.

But these are only means to overcome the obstacle of the workers' councils. Bureaucracy needs to weaken workers' councils because they are an obstacle to 'rationalization', i.e. to increased unemployment and wage control by management.

No amount of bureaucratic rationalization will bring back private property

The main advantage of the workers' councils for bureaucracy, as the councils are presently organized, is to keep a fiction of workers' control while at national level the working class is deprived of any possible institutional or legal form to express its power. The power of the working class consists only in the irreversibility of social

property. No amount of bureaucratic rationalization will bring back private property. The only means is counter-revolution or war.

But counter-revolution is not a weak or distant threat. As bureaucracy feeds chaos and breeds a vast and privileged caste of professionals, shopkeepers, managers and other parasites, the ideology of fascism finds increasing support.

The 'Ustashi', the fascist underground organization born with the war, is active and working on a broad front.

Their terrorist attacks, such as the blowing up of a 'Jat' aircraft and the derailment of trains, are widely publicized. Ustashi has friends within the Croat Communist Party and within sections of the Croat youth.

A significant detail about this was shown in a film made in Yugoslavia about this matter. The film depicts a man who returned to Yugoslavia after 25 years in exile in Australia. People in the town know his relatives were killed by the Nazis but not him. So, despite his denials, he is suspected as an Ustashi cadre.

He is depicted as a very sympathetic fellow, sensitive, Christian and so on. On the other hand we are introduced to two men with unshaven, hostile faces, whose political identity is not given, but one clearly suspects them of being old partisans. Their hostility to the Ustashi suspect is the main subject of the film. They end up knifing him though not killing him.

Under the cover of Christian tolerance, one is asked by the film makers to be pardoning and non-vindictive towards the Ustashi. The irony is that the film is shown in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia. It went on show only one week after a Ustashi bomb had killed all but one of the passengers of a Yugoslav airliner over Czechoslovak territory.

They do take care though. I was asked to open my briefcase when I entered the cinema.

Only a few weeks before the film opened Croat separatists, supported by the Ustashi underground, gathered large numbers of students, small proprietors, shopkeepers, lumpen elements, professionals and privileged

parasites in a demonstration through the centre of Zagreb. The army suppressed the demonstration, causing an unknown number of deaths, injuries and arrests. The Belgrade press carried little information about the demonstration but witnesses in Zagreb told me they had seen dead bodies.

In suppressing the Zagreb march, the bureaucracy was defending itself from the consequences of its own disintegrating policies. Leaders of the Croatian Communist League were arrested or thrown out of their posts. The bureaucracy knows that the fascist counter-revolution also threatens their position unless they themselves form part of the fascist conspiracy.

One should add that this process, under such historical conditions, cannot be described as a simple degeneration.

'Bureaucracy satisfies certain essential needs of the revolution itself. Bureaucracy is the only social force which in the given situation, can radically eliminate the feudal leftovers, assure economic, social and cultural accelerated development, regulate all production and substitute the free play of market forces, coordinate and integrate all elements of society in the name of general social interest, without leaving aside at the same time their own particular interests.'

Bureaucracy is thus not seen as a parasitic caste, constantly undermining the development of productive forces made possible by the social revolution, but as the 'only social force' capable of developing productive forces.

But the secret police quickly suppress any attempt to organize by revolutionary intellectuals or workers. Just two weeks ago the newspapers announced that 'Trotskyist elements' had been arrested.

They have been charged with 'disturbing the public' and 'attempting to overthrow the established order'. No information is available about what they actually did.

This new crime of bureaucracy must be condemned. By suppressing revolutionary thought, the bureaucracy will only hasten its own crisis.

Important among the left-wing critics of the Yugoslav bureaucracy is Mihailo Markovich, professor of philosophy at Belgrade University.

His long and sustained work against bureaucratic degeneration cannot and should not limit the sharpness of our criticism. Markovich's writings have not unfortunately been translated into English and the little information we have limits the scope of our criticism.

The French magazine 'L'Homme et la Société', published in its October-December 1968 edition a short article by Markovich which provides some useful material.

The first surprising fact in the whole article, entitled 'The possibilities of superseding bureaucracy in post-capitalist society', is that not a single reference is made to the international context, therefore the phenomena of bureaucracy is understood exclusively on a national basis.

This, in my view, determines the whole thinking of Markovich.

As the forces of the international class struggle and the 'period of wars and revolutions' referred to by Lenin are left aside, the categories of the analysis become rigid and mechanistic.

This occurs despite its un-doubted proximity to a correct formulation.

When the world process of the capitalist crisis is left aside, categories such as material base, war and immature social development become absolute and invincible forces.

In that context, according to Markovich, the reactionary role of bureaucracy can even be transformed into its opposite, into a relatively progressive force. Let us quote him carefully:

'In an underdeveloped society, disintegrated and divided, in which a sharp struggle takes place between individual interests, and in which the cul-

ture of the masses is at such a low level that any democratic institution takes a perverted form and becomes a mystification of real social relations; in such society it is almost impossible to avoid bureaucratic degeneration of the victorious movement'.

Markovich was careful to use the word 'almost', but it is clear that if a correct analysis of the complex process of the international crisis and class struggle had been taken as a framework—as the most concrete form of analysis—then the conclusion would have been entirely different and devoid of any 'near inevitability'.

But Markovich has made such abstraction and the conclusion is inevitable.

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Half of the population is composed of peasants

The source of Markovich's de facto apology for bureaucracy lies in his understanding of the revolutionary party itself.

In an earlier paragraph, he makes this very clear:

'In fact, in an underdeveloped and non-integrated country with large industrialization and carbonization projects (which are tasks of the bourgeois society), when half of the population is composed of peasants, and when the working class is half illiterate, almost with democratic traditions, in such conditions it is the victorious revolutionary party which creates bureaucracy...'

'While the abolition of the private property of the bourgeoisie as a class implied a real dialectical negation, the development following the break was presented by the new dominant social group as a harmonious growth, as a construction, as an extension and increase of productivity, of the quality of merchandize, of the increase in the number of economic and cultural institutions, etc.'

'Dialectical thought was replaced by a quasi-Marxist thought, but in fact essentially positivist and functionalist thought.'

Quite. But Markovich completely avoids the struggle for Marxism within the leadership of the revolutionary party and does not link development of revisionism into positivism or functionalism to the struggle of Stalin himself.

The struggle for Marxism, for dialectical materialism, did not succumb in a simple process reflecting the presence of hostile material and social-historical forces.

Trotsky maintained to his death the struggle for Marxism, for the continuity of Bolshevism. No inevitable process was implied.

Not to recognize the struggle that took place and which we ourselves are continuing in theory and in practice under the leadership of the International Committee of the Fourth International, implies inevitably a worship of the 'process', the fetishism of 'objective factors', the 'irreversibilities' or 'near inevitabilities'.

From such a standpoint, one arrives inescapably, as does Markovich, at finding the sources of bureaucracy in the party itself, and finally at finding a progressive role for bureaucracy itself.

Pablo and the Unified Secretariat, as well as numerous revisionist elements of the so-called 'new left' have similar views and in such a way provide a useful cover for bureaucracy everywhere.

THE REAL MEANING OF DE GAULLE'S DEAL WITH ALGERIA

BY TOM KEMP

Ten years ago, on March 18, 1962, the national liberation war in Algeria was brought to an end when a French government delegation and the Algerian provisional government signed the Evian agreement.

The war, which had begun with the uprising of November, 1954, had imposed tremendous sacrifices on the Algerian people; scarcely a family did not have a member killed, wounded or tortured by the forces of French imperialism. The masses fought with a courage derived from the fact that theirs was an elemental struggle for land and bread against a cruel exploiter prepared to resort to mass killing and torture.

SAFEGUARD

In the closing stages of the war the French 'colons' redoubled their efforts to cling on to their privileges with the aid of the gangsters of the OAS (Organization Armee Secrete). They had become enraged as a result of President de Gaulle's evident intention to do a deal with the FLN (Front National de Liberation) in order to safeguard French investments in the petroleum and other resources in N Africa.

From its inception the war aggravated the crisis in French society during the 1950s. It was the uprising of the settlers in May 1958, with its threat of a military dictatorship in France, which decided the panic-stricken politicians of the Third Republic to hand over power to the strong man, General de Gaulle.

With the efforts to end the war by a military victory failing completely, with the growing unpopularity of the war in France and its mounting costs burdening the economy, de Gaulle decided, in 1962, to seek a settlement with the FLN leadership.

De Gaulle had to face opposition from the settlers in Algeria and from a section of the army which twice tried to overthrow his regime. However, assured

that the Communist Party and the CGT union would fight might and main to prevent any link-up between the French working class and the Algerian revolution, de Gaulle was able to open negotiations.

The Communist Party's record during the Algerian war is a complete confirmation of its counter-revolutionary character. On one famous occasion when conscripts took matters into their own hands and tried to prevent trains carrying soldiers for embarkation, the Party opposed the movement with its usual cry of 'provocation'.

CP policy, besides opening the way for de Gaulle coming to power, strengthened the control of the FLN's petty-bourgeois leadership over the forces of the Algerian revolution. Despite the adoption of the 'socialist' Tripoli programme, this leadership had no intention of overthrowing capitalist property relations in Algeria.

One thing is clear about the Evian agreements. The FLN leadership, whatever it may have said subsequently, was happy to reach a compromise with French imperialism. When de Gaulle made it clear what he wanted, it was more than ready to meet him halfway.

At the time of the Evian agreement 'The Newsletter', forerunner of Workers Press, said:

'This settlement is the most cynical deal which a nationalist leadership has ever made with a colonial power.'

The Evian agreement followed two years of contacts and negotiations between the French government and the FLN. In February 1962, in a telephone conversation with Louis Joxe, leader of the French delegation, de Gaulle defined his aims as follows:

'The essential thing is to reach an agreement, including a ceasefire and then self-determination, once such an agreement no longer means sudden upheavals in the present conditions relative to the material and political interests of the Europeans, the French military presence in Algeria, the practical conditions



Top: The FLN in Algeria. Bottom: French army murdering an Algerian nationalist in 1956

under which the exploitation of petroleum and gas is taking place, lastly, the economic, technical and cultural relations between Algeria and the metropolis.'

Nothing could be clearer. The FLN accepted these terms. What followed was not entirely of its making, but arose out of the last-ditch stand of the colons, backed up by the OAS. As a result of this final confrontation, most of the Europeans in Algeria took fright and fled to France.

TRANSFER

Taking advantage of the situation the new Algerian regime, whose head at the time was Ben Bella, was able to take over the colons' property and thus acquire a revolutionary colouration for what was essentially a transfer of power to the Algerian bourgeoisie by arrangement with the French.

In the ten years which have elapsed since the conclusion of the Evian agreement, it is apparent that while some of its clauses were soon breached or have since become inoperative, it carried out in a way broadly satisfactory to both sides what it was intended to do.

In historical retrospect the importance of the Evian agreement was that it enabled French imperialism to extricate itself from a difficult situation. If the war had continued, its revolutionary impact was bound, sooner or later, to make itself felt in France.

Opposition to the war was growing.

Attempts by the Communist Party to prevent a link-up between the working class and the colonial revolution were becoming increasingly ineffective.

With the Evian agreement de Gaulle bought some valuable time, postponing the explosion until 1968. In the meantime the European settlers' interests were sacrificed and those of the petroleum companies safeguarded.

Once the national bourgeoisie in Algeria had used French financial and economic aid to consolidate its position, it was able to bargain for better terms than Evian offered or simply take action contrary to the agreement. This was the case with the petroleum reserves which were nationalized in 1970.

If French imperialism had to meet a heavier bill than it would have liked to pay to end the Algerian war and postpone the threat of revolution, that does not mean that the FLN and the Algerian national bourgeoisie were justified in signing the accords. Like the French imperialists, they had had enough of war and recognized its revolutionary implications. Evian was, therefore, an opportunity not to be missed.

The new balance of forces which emerged after 1962 following the departure of 1 million European settlers—whose continued presence in the country had been assumed by the Evian agreement—enabled the national bourgeoisie to win further concessions.

It made a clean sweep of administrative positions and repidly ensconced itself in the dependent

capitalist economy of Algeria.

The Algerian leadership's rhetoric about the popular and socialist revolution cannot disguise the fact that Algeria remains dependent on imperialism. Its institutions and economy are consistent with the rule of a bourgeois class and the continued exploitation of the masses.

PRAISE

The revisionist supporters of Michel Pablo, who had been wholehearted supporters of the FLN leadership, greeted the new regime with fulsome praise. Pablo himself hastened to Algiers to become an adviser to the Ben Bella government. The proclamation of Algeria as a new workers' state appeared to be imminent.

Unfortunately, things did not work out as the revisionists had anticipated. The regime moved to the right. Ben Bella was removed. Under Boumedienne the regime's essentially bourgeois character has been amply confirmed.

While the Algerian bourgeoisie has moved into the settlers' jobs and houses, the masses have little to show for the enormous sacrifices of the national liberation struggle. 'Self-management' and agrarian reform proved equally deceptive.

Most workers and peasants have lapsed into indifference after the revolutionary enthusiasm which had greeted the victors in 1962.

The carrying through of the Algerian revolution as part of the world-wide struggle against imperialism is the task of the Fourth International.



Charles de Gaulle



Houari Boumedienne

WHAT IS THE NEW MARKET LINE?

BY JOHN SPENCER

Workers Press has long warned about the opportunist and thoroughly unprincipled character of the British Communist Party's 'opposition' to the Common Market.

Their opposition is based entirely on the bureaucratic interests of the Kremlin ruling clique. It has nothing to do with the requirements of the working class in its combat with monopoly capitalism.

Leonid Brezhnev's Moscow speech last Monday indicates that the Soviet Union is prepared to recognize the Common Market in return for agreement from the W to its counter-revolutionary plans for a European Security Conference.

This marks a major turn in Soviet policy, which has previously refused to have any dealings with the EEC. The Stalinist rulers of the Soviet Union have clearly come to the conclusion that collaboration with an enlarged Common Market against the revolutionary workers of Europe will be more profitable than continued opposition.

It is the price they must pay in trying to achieve ratification of their detente with German capitalism and their goal of 'collective security' in Europe.

Brezhnev told the Moscow meeting that 'certain forces' in the W were opposing the detente and inventing 'various pretexts' to avoid it.

In other words the bureaucracy has met various obstacles in its pursuit of the Security Conference. Brezhnev slammed the 'absurd idea that the proposal to hold the conference and our policy in Europe in general are directed at laying a mine under the European economic community or as it is usually called the Common Market'.

This idea, he said, evidently required a certain clarification. 'The Soviet Union is far from ignoring the actually existing situation in W Europe, including the existence of such an economic grouping of capitalist countries and its evolution.'

'Our relations with participants in this grouping, naturally will depend on the extent to which they, on their part, recognize the realities existing in the socialist part of Europe, specifically the interests of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon). We are for equality in economic relations and against discrimination.'

The European monopolists who dominate the Common Market would have to be blind as well as deaf not to recognize the elements of the deal Brezhnev is proposing in this key passage of his speech.

He is saying: we are quite prepared to conspire with you against the workers of W Europe so long as you agree to recognize our arrangements over here.

This is the authentic voice of Stalinist counter-revolution. Having spent gallons of ink and tons of paper denouncing the EEC in the most virulent terms, Brezhnev suddenly discovers the virtues of collaboration with the Common Market monopolists.

At a stroke, the Kremlin has made the British Stalinists' hysterical anti-EEC campaign a back number.

But from the point of view of the British CP leadership, the turn will make little difference. For them, it was always a question of which section of the bourgeoisie to support.

The character of the CP's 'opposition' to British entry was well shown on October 24 last, when the Stalinists marched through London alongside the National Front and extreme right-wing Tories. Workers Press carried the following story the day after the demonstration:



STALINIST CRISIS



Top: Brezhnev. Above: Gollan. What will they say next?

... Communist Party and the extreme right-wing National Front marched through London yesterday shouting "No to the Common Market". Forty trade union delegations, more than a score of trades councils and dozens of Communist Party and Young Communist League branches swung down Oxford St under a flutter of Union Jacks.'

The march was later described by the Anti-Fascist Research Group as showing 'a TOTAL FAILURE to oppose the National Front even though the first real signs of resentment at their presence would certainly have warned them off, given their tiny turn-out compared to the hundreds of members of anti-fascist political organizations around them'.

This experience exposed for all who cared to notice the reactionary and jingoistic character of the

Stalinists' position on the EEC. It was rubbed in by Party secretary John Gollan at an anti-Market rally a few days after the London march.

'Drive out the Tory cabinet of saboteurs', he said, in a speech which nowhere even hinted at a campaign to make the Tories resign.

From the same platform as other European Stalinist leaders, Gollan produced the CP's chief reason for opposition to British entry into the EEC. He called, according to the 'Morning Star', for 'a Europe, E and W, united in mutual co-operation' and declared that 'This, not the cold war Common Market, is the way forward for Britain and Europe'.

Now it appears that the 'Cold War Common Market' has its place in the Stalinist scheme of reaction after all. King St can be expected to fall into line.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

RAIDERS

Worried about crime in New York and London? Well they won't even let me rest in peace in Warsaw!

It seems a well-organized gang, operating under cover of darkness, is specializing in thefts of tombstones from the cemeteries there. The stones fetch high prices on Poland's thriving black market.

A particular target for the tombstone snatchers is the Warsaw Jewish cemetery, which contains some 800,000 graves, and covers an area of ten square miles. It is looked after by one caretaker, 81-year-old Pinhas Sznicer, known affectionately as 'Pinie'.

According to a correspondent of the Dutch Jewish newspaper 'Nieuw Israelitisch Weekblad', the cemetery is also being raided by individual operators who desecrate graves to look for gold teeth, or for money and jewellery which they think might have been hidden during the wartime occupation.

Meanwhile, because of a shortage of marble, the gangs can get between 20,000 and 40,000 zloty (about £1,900 to £3,800) for a tombstone load, from the black market operators.

Tombstone raiders generally operate in the newer parts of the cemetery, where the stones are in better condition.

SPECULATING

We are hesitant to publicize this, in case it sparks off a panic in the stock market.

The Department of Financial Control, at Lancaster University is part of the university's Business School, and has been assumed until recently to be a breeding ground for loyal pillars of the capitalist establishment.

The Department is closely associated with the International Centre of Research in Accounting, which it launched last year with the help of financial backing from big business sources. (Among the backers was the Rank Group, which promised to cough up some £100,000.) The ICRA has a board of trustees which includes, besides Lancaster's vice-chancellor, Mr C. F. Carter, such figures as Sir Basil Smallpiece, who is on the board of Barclays Bank, and was best known in the City for his handling of Cunards; Lord Kearton, of the Courtauld textile empire; Sir Frederick

Catherwood, former boss of NEDDY, now managing director of John Laing; Lord Shawcross, one-time Attorney-General, now a director of companies including BSA, EMI, Shell, and Thames Television; and the Hon Angus Ogilvy, of Lonrho, Bank of London and S America, and the Rank Organization. (His missus, Princess Alexandria is Chancellor of Lancaster University.)

As reported in last Saturday's Workers Press, students at Lancaster University have taken strike action to demonstrate their backing for some staff in the English department, who they feel have been unfairly treated.

Starting in the English department, the strike has spread right across the university. To make it really effective, the students did not rely on a general union meeting, but held a series of meetings, department by department, for students and staff to discuss and vote on strike action.

The result was a resounding 'yes'. By last Friday, the majority of university departments had come out, ranging from classics, and sociology through to chemistry and physics. And, as the students' radio station, 'Radio Bailrigg', in an atmosphere reminiscent of a General Election, gave out the results from each departmental 'constituency', in between discs, whoops of amazed jubilation went up at the news that the 'Financial Control Department has come out.'

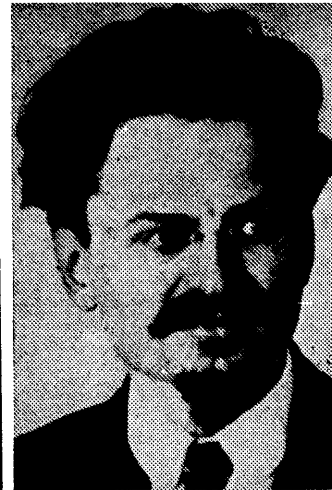
Keen observers in the university are now eagerly awaiting any remarks which vice-Chancellor Carter might have to offer about the strike being the handiwork of a 'small group of militants'.

To make matters worse, the striking Financial Controllers are joining in efforts to run an 'alternative university' during the strike. Their contribution is to hold a seminar on the possibilities of 'financial control without the profit making'.

It remains to be seen whether such a concept would commend itself to the directors of Ranks and Courtaulds!

The historically-minded are now speculating on the wide-ranging effects which might reverberate from news of a strike in the business school, making allusions to the way nervous investors reacted in 1931 to the news of mutiny in another trusted institution of stability, the Royal Navy. The effect on the pound was devastating!

BOOKS



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THE INTERNATIONAL ROLE OF THE DOCKERS

Dockers can play a key part in international affairs at times; and there have been times when, at various ports around the world, the dockers have taken action to be proud of, in the finest traditions of socialist internationalism.

It was the men on London docks who came to the aid of the Russian Revolution in 1920 by refusing to load arms on the munitions ship the 'Jolly George'. It was due to sail for Poland, whose reactionary forces were fighting, with British and French backing, against the Soviets. The dockers' action launched a movement in the British working class which forced the government of the day to abandon its plans for military intervention.

Perhaps not so well known was the action of dockworkers at two E coast ports in the United States during the 1930s, who refused to load strategic goods, such as scrap metal, for Japan, because of the Japanese aggression against China.

In February 1941, under German Occupation, the dockers of Amsterdam started the magnificent General Strike which spread through the Dutch city, in opposition to the Nazi deportation of the Jews.

In recent years we have seen the 'wharfies' — Australian dockers—refusing to load American ships, in protest at the war in Vietnam.

In Chittagong, the Bengali dockers defied the machine guns of the Pakistani army, rather than unload supplies for the forces of repression.

And dockers at an American port have refused to unload chromium ore coming from Rhodesia.

An action which has to be seen in a very different category was taken by American dockers during their long strike last year. Members of the International Longshoremen's Association took action which, instead of helping those fighting against oppression actually helped those maintaining it. Yet it would seem that this resulted not from backward chauvinism or reactionary sentiments on the part of the US dockers, but from a misplaced internationally-minded idealism being exploited and abused by their union leaders.

SOLD OUT

In his recent articles in Workers Press, Jack Gale showed, among other things, how the ILA's right-wing leadership had sold out the dockers on more than one occasion.

To its industrial record must be added the reactionary and international record of the leadership of this union. Not only has there been instances of connections with the gangsterism of the Mafia, but also evidence of connections with the far bigger gangsterism of US imperialism and the CIA. This sort of influence has been reflected more than once.

For example, it was through the ILA that the US boycott of Cuba was first launched.

During the strike last year, the US military authorities became concerned that military equipment was piling up in the ports.

So did the Israeli authorities; because, in particular, US military equipment being supplied to Israel was being held up by the strike.

The purpose of this equipment was to maintain Israeli occupation of the conquered Arab territories; to maintain the oppression of the Palestinian Arabs; to strengthen aggressive, reactionary, chauvinist state, in alliance with US imperialism.

How was the strike broken to shift the arms for Israel?

CLOSE TIES

The Histadrut—Israel's trade union and co-operative organization—has always been closely integrated with the Zionist leadership of the state, and helped to further its policies; as well as having close ties between its own bureaucratic leadership and the right-wing leaders of the American unions.

In America, there is a Zionist body called the National Committee for Labour Israel, which raises money for the Histadrut, and assists in other ways. It was through the National Committee for Labour Israel that an approach was made to the ILA leadership.

We will let the 'Jewish Chronicle' tell the rest:

'Its president, Mr Ted Gleason, then pleaded Israel's case before the strike committee, having realized the country's needs on a visit there. Mr Gleason told the committee: "You cannot treat Israel like any other country. For them it is a matter of life or death. This request should not be considered as one coming from a foreign government, but from a sister labour organization."

'Shortly thereafter, the ship sailed to Haifa with its cargo and the Minister of Defence, Mr Moshe Dayan, afterwards sent a personal message of thanks to the Committee.'

So, thanks to their confusion—due to the pro-Zionist propaganda in the American press, and to their misplaced idealism—exploited and abused by the supporters of imperialism and Zionism, but above all, thanks to their rotten union leadership, the dockers had not only broken their own strike, but had unwittingly contributed to the repression of the Palestinian Arabs.

We shudder to think what Arab trade unionists must think of this example of 'solidarity'.

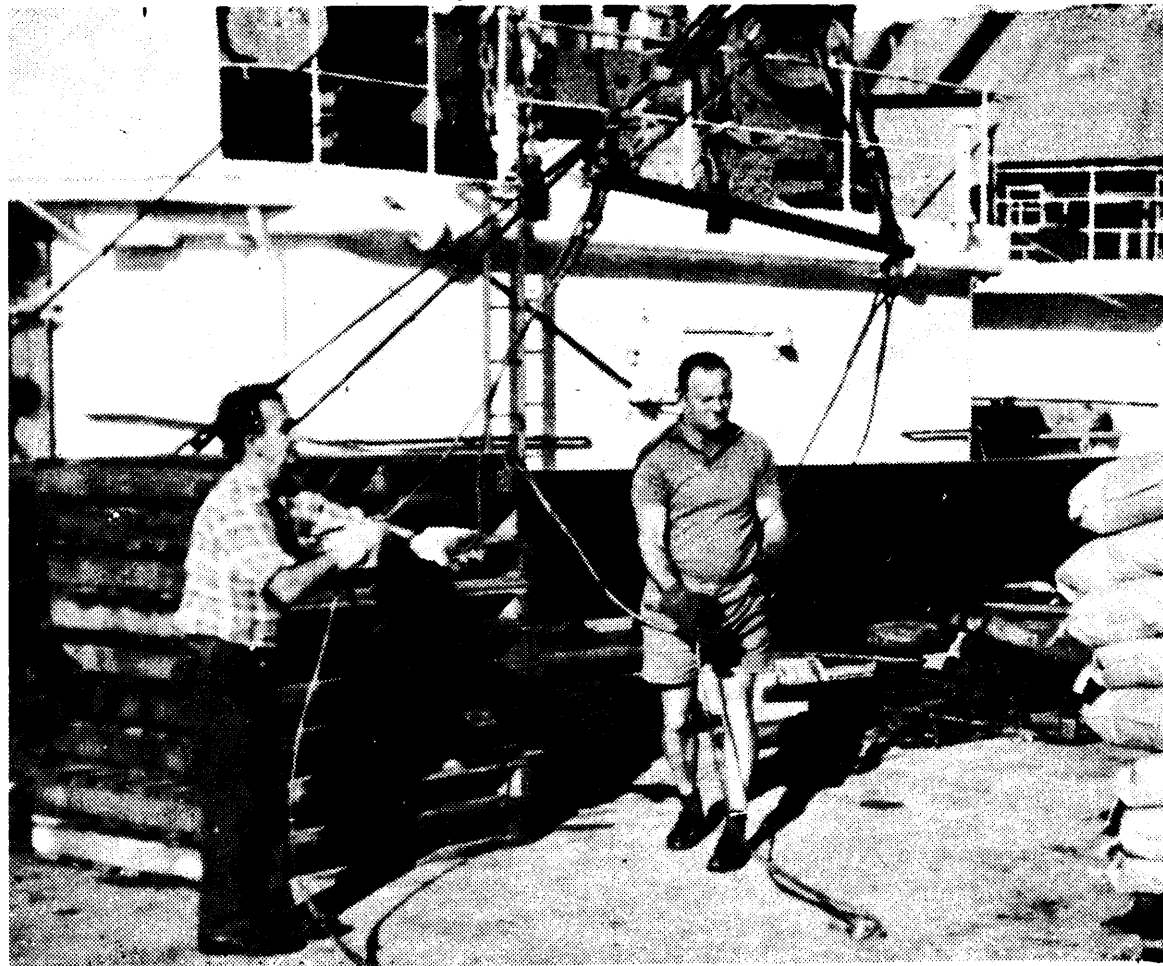
However, we must also say something else about this incident.

It does demonstrate the crucial position that workers like these American dockers can have in world affairs. And they are not always going to be misled by right-wing leaders like Gleason.

In fact, as the crisis of US capitalism undermines the class-collaborationist policies of the union bureaucracy, and the news comes that the Longshoremen are once again entering a struggle, this time directly against the Nixon Administration, we can say with every confidence that the time is rapidly approaching when, with a different leadership, the Longshoremen will play a decisive part in the struggles not only of the American working class but of the working class of the world.



Top: US dockers leaving the Waterfront Commission of New York during a dispute over crewing last year. Above: Rogers, US Secretary of State with Moshe Dayan, Israeli Minister of Defence, who sent a personal message of thanks after the US dockers' strike was broken. Below: Australian wharfies who since 1965 have refused to load war materials on ships bound for Vietnam.





'Force the Tories to resign!'—the cards go up in Saturday's ACTT conference vote

Force the Tories to resign—ACTT conference

BY DAVID MAUDE

TRADE UNION action to force the Tories to resign is now official policy of the 17,000-strong Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians.

With only three of the 223 delegates voting against, the union's annual conference at the weekend condemned the present government's attempts to use unemployment as a weapon against wage demands. It called on the TUC to 'take any necessary action' to combat joblessness.

This, a composite motion said, should include 'mobilizing the trade union movement to action—to force this government to resign—and replace it with a Labour government committed to socialist policies'.

Earlier on Saturday, the conference issued a warning to the TUC about its talks with the Labour leaders about a substitute Industrial Relations Act.

An overwhelmingly-supported motion reaffirmed total ACTT opposition to the Act, called on the TUC to expel unions who have defied its instruction to deregister and demanded a pledge of immediate repeal from the Labour Party.

The first day ended with the union changing its financial arrangements to provide it with funds protected from the Tory law.



Roy Battersby, Freelance shop: 'Firm and unyielding' on anti-union Act.

Yesterday the conference called on all film-industry unions to insist on a continuing role for the National Film Finance Corporation, which is threatened with virtual extinction by the Tories.

In opening the conference, ACTT president George Elvin said that all the union's rights were now at risk under the Industrial Relations Act.

'We must press for a General Election and the defeat of the present government, responsible for this most vindictive class legislation,' he said. 'What we need is the return of a Labour government pledged to repeal the Act.'

Freelance shop steward Roy Battersby moved the motion demanding repeal.

The class who owned and controlled the means of production had made perfectly clear its intention to wage 'war to the end' against organized workers, he said. 'No compromise is pos-



Dennis Claridge, from Technicolor: 'A socialist economy' sible in this irreconcilable conflict.'

He went on: 'The TUC policy is to recommend unions to skate around the Act; to avoid confrontation with it, not fight to defeat it.'

'But our position, if we are to fight for our rights and win better conditions for our members, has to be absolutely firm, absolutely unyielding.'

In seconding the motion, freelance shop delegate Yvonne Richards said that the union had a duty to stand by members who had to take strike action or imposed overtime bans.

'The ruling class has its police, its law, its capital and its army,' she said. 'We have only our industrial strength.'

London Weekend Television delegate Gavin Waddell called for rejection of the motion. He claimed that throughout the machinery of the Act a prerequisite of every stage of the process was compromise and conciliation.

The campaign of opposition, he declared, was led by a powerful group of 'armchair revolutionaries, BBC Bolsheviks, the Ludites of the new left and the well-heeled proletarians from the working-class ghettos of Hampstead and Muswell Hill'.

Four votes were cast against the motion.

Dennis Claridge, from the Technicolor shop, said, in moving the composite on unemployment that it was more than a coincidence that joblessness and the 'Financial Times' share index reached their highest levels on virtually the same day.

'The private-enterprise system has totally failed to deal with unemployment', he said. 'We must have a planned, socialist economy.'

Freelance shop delegate Roger Smith moved an amendment demanding TUC-led action against the Tories, which was accepted by the movers.

Unless trade unionists grappled with the nature of the present crisis, he said, they would go into the fight 'disarmed and unprepared'. Since Nixon had ended the dollar's convertibility with gold last August, the period of inflation and compromise had come to an end.

Peter Ellis, from Kodak's of Harrow, said in supporting both motion and amendment that it was 'obvious we've got to fight for a socialist government'.

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- 9.45 Trumpton. 10.00 The White Horses. 10.25 Deputy Dawg. 10.30 Swim. 10.55 Magic Roundabout. 1.00 Paul. 1.30 Fingerbobs. 1.45 News. 2.40 Sights and Sounds of Britain. 3.10 Seven Weeks of a Summer Season. 4.00 Boomph with Becker. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 The Aeronauts. 5.44 Crystal Tips. 5.50 News, Weather. 6.00 Magazine.
- 6.20 **YOUNG SCIENTISTS OF THE YEAR.** The Final.
- 6.45 **A QUESTION OF SPORT.** Quiz with sporting personalities.
- 7.05 **SPY TRAP. 1: Package Deal.**
- 7.30 **COMEDY PLAYHOUSE.** The Dirtiest Soldier in the World.
- 8.00 **PANORAMA.**
- 9.00 **NEWS, Weather.**
- 9.20 **STEPTOE AND SON.**
- 9.50 **THE REGIMENT.**
- 10.40 **24 HOURS.**
- 11.15 **THE SKY AT NIGHT.**
- 11.35 **THE DAY OF THE LORD.**

BBC 2

- 11.00 Play School. 11.35 Open University.
- 7.30 **NEWSROOM, Weather.**
- 8.00 **FILM: 'THE KING AND FOUR QUEENS.'** Clark Gable, Eleanor Parker, Jo Van Fleet. Western.
- 9.20 **FACE THE MUSIC.** Game of musical wits.
- 9.50 **HORIZON.** Survival in the Sahara.
- 10.35 **NEWS, Weather.**
- 10.40 **THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE.** Bypass.
- 11.10 **LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.**

ITV

- 1.30 Why Do They Do It? 2.30 This Week. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.10 Tea Break. 3.45 Danger Man. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.50 Land of the Giants. 5.50 News.
- 6.00 **TODAY.**
- 6.20 **CROSSROADS.**
- 6.40 **OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS.**
- 7.30 **CORONATION STREET.**
- 8.00 **WORLD IN ACTION.**
- 8.30 **BLESS THIS HOUSE.**
- 9.00 **HOME AND AWAY.** Snowdrops are Showing.
- 10.00 **NEWS.**
- 10.30 **THE ROYAL FILM PERFORMANCE 1972.** Including excerpts from 'Mary, Queen of Scots'.
- 11.15 **LATE NIGHT THRILLER: 'CROSSROADS TO CRIME.'** Anthony Oliver, Miriam Karlin.
- 12.15 **IT MATTERS TO ME.**

REGIONAL TV

- All regions as BBC 1 except:
- Wales: 1.30 Ar Lin Mam. 6.00 Today. 6.45 Heddiw. 11.15 Croesi'r Bont. 11.42 Sky at Night.
 - Scotland: 6.00 Reporting Scotland. 6.20 Se Ur Beatha. 11.15 Scope. 11.45 Day of the Lord. 11.50 News, weather.
 - N Ireland: 6.00 Around Six. 11.42 News, weather.
 - England: 6.00 Look North, Today, Look East, Points West, Today, Spotlight, Weather. 11.42 News, weather.
- CHANNEL:** 3.00 Edgar Wallace. 4.05 Once upon a time. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Yoga. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 Bright's Boffins. 5.50 News, weather. What's on Where? 6.15 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 11.18 University challenge. 11.45 News, weather.
- WESTWARD.** As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.20 Sports Desk. 11.15 News. 11.48 Weather.
- SOUTHERN:** 2.00 The Discoverers. 2.30 Coast Guard. 2.50 Fashion. 2.55 Cartoon. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Tea break. 4.05 Houseparty. 4.15 Teddy Bear. 4.20 Best of Lucy. 4.50 The Lionheart. 5.20 Bright's Boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Beloved Enemy. 11.00 Royal Film: 11.45 News. 11.50 Weather. Discovery.
- HTV:** 3.45 Women. 4.15 Tinker-tainment. 4.30 Superman. 4.50 Tom Grattan. 5.20 Bright's Boffins. 5.50 News. 6.01 Report. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Trunk'. 11.45 Royal Film: 12.30 Weather.
- HTV West as above except:** 6.22-6.45 This Week.
- HTV Wales as above except:** 4.15 Cantamil. 6.01 Y Dydd.
- HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus:** 8.00 Yr Wythnos. 10.30 The other half. 11.15 Promised land.
- ANGLIA:** 3.55 Newsroom. 4.00 Tea break. 4.25 Romper room. 4.55 Felix. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Probe. 11.10 Royal film.
- ATV MIDLANDS:** 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Nanny. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 Skippy.
- 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 ATV. 6.45 London. 11.15 University challenge.
- ULSTER:** 4.00 Yoga. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Joe 90. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.15 Funny face. 6.45 London. 11.15 Holy week. 11.20 Film: 'The Young and the Guilty'.
- YORKSHIRE:** 3.00 Pied Piper. 3.05 Yoga. 3.35 News. 3.45 Farm-house kitchen. 4.15 Dick Van Dyke. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 HR Puffnstuf. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Weather. 6.25 Calendar. 6.45 London. 11.15 Untouchables. 12.10 Yesterdays. 12.40 Weather.
- TYNE TEES:** 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Newsroom. 3.45 Ponies. 4.15 Dick Van Dyke. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Rainbow country. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Love American style. 6.45 London. 11.15 Calum's ceilidh. 11.45 News. 12.00 Power and Glory.
- SCOTTISH:** 2.33 Another way. 3.30 Origami. 3.45 Dr Simon Locke. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. 6.00 Dateline: Monday. 6.15 Smith family. 6.45 London. 11.15 Late call.
- GRAMPIAN:** 3.37 News. 3.40 Junkin. 4.10 Beloved enemy. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.55 HR Puffnstuf. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News. Weather. 6.10 Country focus. 6.35 Cartoon time. 6.45 London. 11.15 University challenge. 11.45 Epilogue.

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.

Name

Address

Third NW plant occupied

FIVE HUNDRED workers at the Lawrence Scott factory, Openshaw, near Manchester, have become the latest group of workers to occupy their plant in support of a demand for more pay and shorter hours.

Like the Bredbury steelworkers who are occupying a Stockport

plant, the men at Scotts are not noted for their militancy.

'I don't suppose we have had real trouble for seven years,' Gordon Conquest, chairman of shop stewards, said at the weekend.

'But the lads are just fed up. We have had a very rough deal in the last two engineering claims and with their

latest offer of £1.50, 90 per cent of our workers would get nothing.'

The men are guarding the factory in shifts, but unlike workers at Bredbury Steel and Davies and Metcalfe, Stockport, they have not been denied normal factory facilities.

Management has refused firmly to negotiate on hours and

longer holidays. Works manager Edward Smailes has said these issues are a matter of principle on which the Manchester bosses will not bend.

Smailes is on the executive of the local employers' federation which has threatened one boss who did bend—Scragg's of Macclesfield—with expulsion.

TRIAL OF STRENGTH ON ENGINEERS' PAY

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS

THE ENORMOUS trial of strength between 200,000 engineering workers and their bosses opens today in the greater Manchester area.

Output of a total of 1,000 factories is expected to slump by as much as 50 per cent when workers ban piecework and overtime in support of the demand for £4, a 35-hour week, more holidays and special rights for women.

Employers are expected to hit back with lockouts and in retaliation more workers will join the 1,600 already occupying three engineering plants.

The mood in the boardrooms was summed up by Edward Morton, president of the Engineering Employers' Association in the NW, when he paid tribute this weekend to firms who have tried to suspend their employees.

He said employers everywhere, 'owe a great debt to those managements for their fight is our fight'.

Firms expected to react immediately against the bans are AEI in Openshaw and Linotype on the massive Trafford Park industrial estate near Salford docks.

In Stockport, where 5,000 workers are already working-to-rule, 2,000 employees at Mirrlees have been warned that they will face action if output falls below a certain minimum established under their productivity scheme.

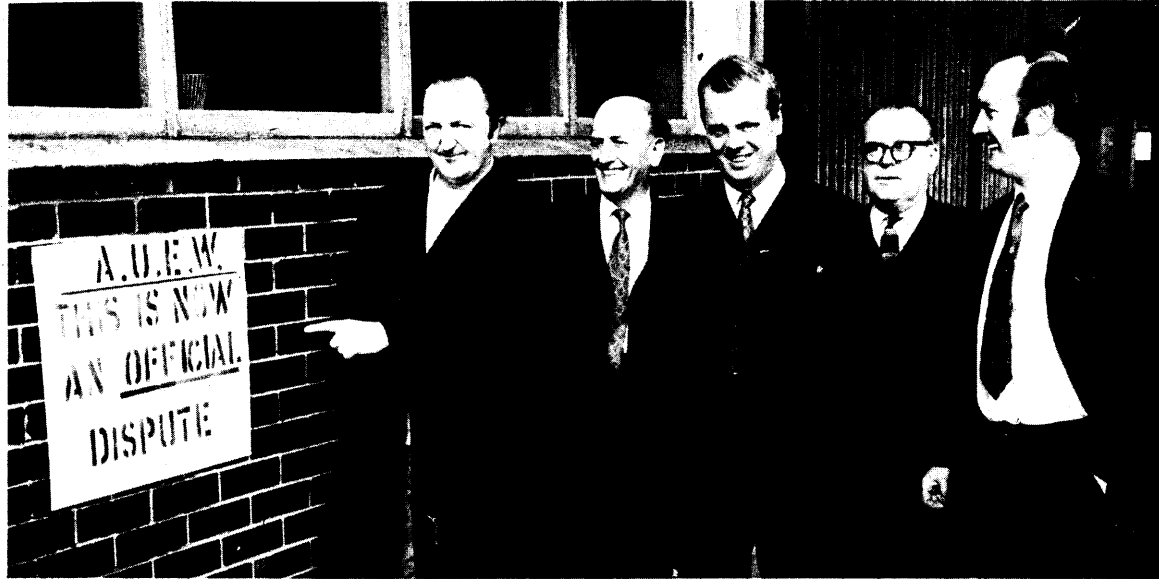
The occupations express a determination by workers that they are ready to meet united action by the employers and not be driven onto the streets.

The union tactic so far has been to pick off weaker employers and get them to agree to a deal.

There has been one notable success at the textile engineering firm of Scragg's, who have agreed to pay £3 and introduced a phased shorter working week.

But the plant-by-plant battles—forced on the engineering workers when the AUEW abandoned the national claim—have led to grave weaknesses.

In some factories managements have done deals behind the backs of local union officials. At Simon's Engineering and Oil Wells Engineering Stockport, agreements have been reached and workers there will not be joining in today's district-wide action.



The AUEW has recognized the Bredbury occupation

The full terms are not yet known, but I understand that at least one plant the agreement provides for a phased wage increase which runs specifically against union instructions.

The Manchester employers have been backed strongly by their national federation. In particular, they have been urged not to make concessions on hours and holidays since this would set a precedent throughout the country.

SHEFFIELD district committee of the AUEW meets tomorrow to discuss action against firms which have refused to negotiate on the claim.

The Stalinist-dominated committee has already rejected joint action with Manchester—the casting vote against coming from leading Communist Party member Herbert Howarth.

Trade talks in Moscow

SENIOR executives from some of Britain's biggest firms were among a 20-man delegation which has just visited Moscow to boost trade.

Describing the week's talks as most successful, Lord Errol, former President of the Board of Trade, who led the mission, said that businessmen would have to change their methods if they wanted to increase sales in the Soviet Union.

BRIEFLY

ROLLS-ROYCE workers from three Scottish plants will be asked tomorrow to accept a new wage offer. On Saturday 250 shop stewards of 4,500 workers from Hillington, Blantyre and E Kilbride voted to accept rises, back-dated to January 1, of between £3.25 and £4.75 a week, with improved holiday pay and shift and overtime allowances.

LABOUR Party chairman Anthony Wedgwood Benn has promised the party's election proposals will have 'a radical outlook' when published in July. He was addressing the Scottish Labour Party conference at the weekend.

He said the industrial front had been left for too long to the Conservatives and the Communists. The trade unions should play a larger part in the constituencies and there should be more trade union MPs.

Of the Tory Ulster 'initiative', he said: 'We must all hope that it succeeds in ending the violence, restoring confidence and beginning the real war in N Ireland against poverty, unemployment and discrimination.'

MARCH FUND
£513.54
NEEDED IN
FIVE DAYS

IT CERTAINLY is a tough battle this month. Our total so far stands at £736.46 with only five days left to go. We are sure that you, our readers, will do everything possible to help us raise our £1,250 target in time.

This month it is more vital than ever that we develop the Workers Press. On every issue—Ulster, unemployment, anti-union laws—Workers Press must continue to give a clear lead. As the working class everywhere fights back even harder against the Tory attacks, the reformist and Stalinist union leaders crawl before this government.

Workers Press must be used to build a revolutionary alternative. Go all out today with your biggest effort so far and make sure this month's Fund is raised. We know you will never let us down so let's push ahead immediately. Rush all your donations to:

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

END TORY GOVERNMENT TO SOLVE ULSTER CRISIS

AT A MEETING after yesterday's anti-internment demonstration, Socialist Labour League and Young Socialist speakers warned of the dangers involved in the Tory government's direct Westminster rule over N Ireland.

London Young Socialists' Regional Secretary Sarah Hannigan said that direct rule 'is nothing more than a dangerous trap which will permit the

imperialists to maintain their stranglehold over the Irish working class—Protestant and Catholic'.

And she added: 'The fact that it has the support of Harold Wilson, Gerry Fitt and the other reformists demonstrates how close we are to coalition between the Labourites and the Tories.'

While the Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists had marched with the Anti-Internment League, because they felt that the ban on their using Trafalgar Square was a blow against the English working class, they still considered that the AIL had seriously disorientated the working class as to the real enemy, she said.

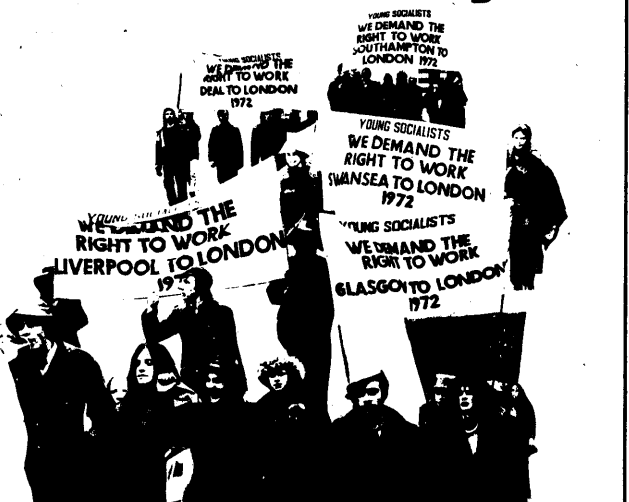
By not calling for the resignation of the Tory government, they 'have participated in confusing the Catholic and Protestant working class just as they did in 1969 when they welcomed the British troops in Ulster'.

'Both the Civil Rights movement and the Provisional IRA, like the reformists, have never called for joint working-class action to make the Tories resign because they believe that the Tory government can provide a satisfactory solution to the class struggle in Ulster,' said Comrade Hannigan.

And she concluded: 'To collaborate or to support in any way direct rule in Ulster today would be the greatest treachery to the English and Irish working class.'

'We say that only the mobilization of this working class to make the Tory government resign can create the conditions for a real settlement in Ulster.'

We demand the right to work!
Make the Tories resign!



YOUNG SOCIALISTS 12th ANNUAL CONFERENCE
SCARBOROUGH
Saturday & Sunday April 8/9 Grand Hall, The Spa

Dance to 'BRAVE NEW WORLD' Saturday night 8 pm
also see a star-studded show
Cost approximately £4.50. For tickets apply to John Simmance, National Secretary,
186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG

Please send me details/tickets of the Scarborough Conference.

I enclose
NAME
ADDRESS

LATE NEWS WEATHER

SECURITY measures on an unprecedented scale for yesterday's anti-internment demonstration suggested the government expected a major battle over its ban on Irish assemblies in Trafalgar Square.

Thousands of extra police drafted in from London suburbs in special buses were at their posts an hour in advance waiting in side streets around the Square for the five columns to arrive.

Fifty mounted police were standing by in Great Scotland Yard, squads of motorcycle police patrolled Whitehall and the approaches to the Square and two mobile ambulance units had been brought in anticipation of casualties.

Reinforcements had been sent to 10 Downing St and the Houses of Parliament.

2,000 demonstrators from N London led by a contingent of bereted Provisional IRA marched peacefully past double police

lines at Trafalgar Square to a rally on the Embankment. Shouting 'Victory to the IRA' the march was not supported by the trades unions and there was only one Communist Party banner.

S DISTRICTS will have showers or longer periods of rain and sunny intervals.

In N districts, squally showers are likely, with snow over hills and perhaps thunder in places.

Winds will be generally strong, westerly, with gales in N districts.

Temperatures will be near normal in the S, but rather cold in the N.

Outlook for Tuesday and Wednesday: Rain or showers at times and some snow in the N. Becoming colder.

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