

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● SATURDAY APRIL 22, 1972 ● No. 746 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

AVENGE BLACK FRIDAY APRIL 21, 1972

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In practice it means that the Tories, through the Industrial Relations Act, have legally taken over control of the trade unions. The democratic right to strike—or even work to rule!—in order to improve wages and working conditions has been abolished.

Not since the Combination Laws (1800-1824), when trade unionism was made illegal, has the working class faced such a serious crisis.

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The Taff Vale judgement against the rail unions in 1901 made it impossible for trade unions to function without their own party. In 1906, therefore, the Labour Party was founded.

But almost immediately the same type of reformist leader emerged to dominate the Labour Party.

There is a case history behind the retreat of the TUC and railway union leaders. Briefly it is this.

Reformism functioned effectively under economic conditions where the Tory employers could economically afford it.

When workers struggled for wages and living standards, they always found their way blocked by these reformist leaders, who in turn were thrown a few crumbs to placate their members.

This performance was always designed to create the impression that it was the negotiating 'skill' of the reformist leaders which got the increases and not the determination of the working class to fight.

Because of the present grave economic crisis of the world capitalist system the era of reformism has ended. The Tory government has decided to try and resolve its crisis by fighting it out with the working class through enforcing low wages, unemployment and the Industrial Relations Act.

There is a good reason why the TUC and rail union leaders cannot fight the government. As

STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

reformists and believers in the 'peaceful road' to socialism they are tied hand and foot to Tory laws and cannot challenge them.

Indeed, the more the Tories use the Act the more the reformist leaders will retreat. They will retreat as they did in 1926 under conditions where the rank and file are left to fight on with their hands tied behind their back.

The struggle for more wages is the basic right of every worker. But immediately a wages struggle begins an application by the government or the employers to the Industrial Relations Court transforms it into a political struggle.

This means the Tory government and the state sets the norm for wages, with the reformist trade union leaders reluctant to proceed because they won't challenge the law.

This rule by decree of a Tory Industrial High Court is contrary to everything the British working class has fought for, throughout its long history. It is a form of dictatorship via the court house door.

No real struggle for more wages is possible today without it involving the mobilization of the working class industrially and politically to make this government resign.

That has been the policy of the Socialist Labour League since the Tories set out to draft the Industrial Relations Bill in the autumn of 1970. The actions of the National Industrial Relations

Court over the past few weeks has proved us completely correct as against all our opponents in the labour movement.

Training new leaders to replace the reformists within the trade union movement means the education of workers to think and act as revolutionary Marxists. Militant left trade unionism as a thing in itself will lead into the same blind alley as reformism.

Building a new trade union leadership is inseparable from building the revolutionary party.

These are dangerous days. Because of the treachery of the reformists the Tories have the advantage of the element of surprise.

In the coming months there will be a procession of employers seeking NIRC injunctions. No trade unionist or shop steward is safe from prosecution.

The main task is to rouse the working class to realize the great dangers which loom ahead. Mass meetings and demonstrations should be organized everywhere. The demands of the hour are: Defend our democratic rights. Make the Tory government resign.

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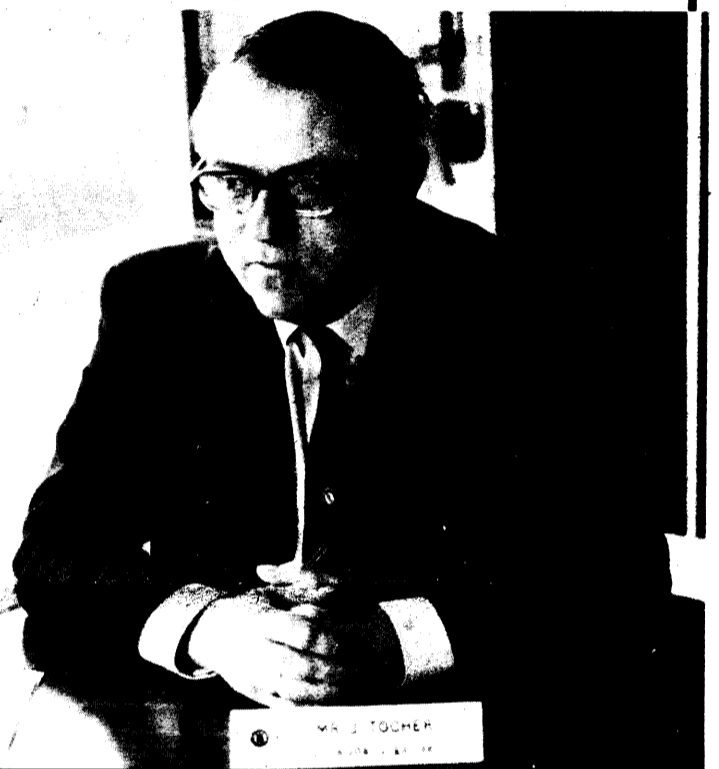
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New cash conference call by China

A NEW world monetary conference in which the less-developed countries would be represented was called for by the Chilean and Chinese delegates to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Industry in Santiago.

Chou Hua-min, for China, accused imperialist countries of plundering small nations and extracting huge profits from them which obstruct their development.

He blamed the US for shifting its financial and monetary crisis onto the developing countries by forcing down the prices of primary products and plundering their resources and wealth.

He accused 'the other super-power'—the Soviet Union—of the same thing. But his proposals accepted the existing division of the world and offered Chinese support to national-bourgeois governments.

In effect he was trying to persuade the richer countries to give more aid on better terms.

Ukrainian trade minister Vladimir Stazunsky said China was 'distorting the policy of the Soviet Union'. He called on China to co-operate in solving the problems under discussion.

Crisis report on eve of poll

FALLING investment, declining industrial production and rising unemployment is revealed in the Italian government's annual economic review, published in the run up to the May 7 General Election.

The review clearly outlines the problems which led directly to the fall of the 'centre-left' coalition government.

The situation is linked directly to the trade war and recession precipitated by President Nixon's decision to suspend the sale of gold for dollars.

Italian capitalism, with a limited home market, has proved particularly vulnerable to the competition for markets and the growth of slump.

Over the last 12 months, according to the official review, industrial production fell by 1.3 per cent—though independent sources have estimated the production decline at more than twice this figure.

Many capitalists have taken their money out of the country illegally. Others are reluctant to invest despite favourable loan terms.

Unemployment is rising, though exact estimates are hard to obtain because many unemployed workers do not register or join the ranks of 'under-employed' working on a part-time basis.

The government puts the wholly unemployed at 613,000 and the underemployed at 312,000 out of a 19.5 million workforce.

Puppets beaten all round

THE military situation of America's puppet forces in Indo-China is deteriorating rapidly under the impact of renewed offensives by the liberation forces.

S Vietnamese troops besieged in An Loc, 56 miles from Saigon, came under heavy attack again yesterday, the 16th day of the siege.

The liberation troops began their latest drive to take the town with a massive bombardment by more than 2,000 rockets and mortars.

Anti-aircraft fire was so fierce that no supply or medical

evacuation aircraft could get through, American pilots said.

Meanwhile, S Vietnamese high command said tanks and a battalion of liberation troops were spotted moving towards the outer eastern flank of the 40-tank government relief column stalled for nearly a week on the road between An Loc and Saigon.

On the other flank of the column there was fighting around Dau Thieng town, where a force of tanks is said to be hidden in rubber plantations.

The 'relief' force itself is in danger of being outflanked and cut off in the same way as were the defenders of An Loc.

The stalled column contains some of S Vietnam's 'crack' re-

serve regiments, including part of the presidential palace guard.

LIBERATION forces have also won major victories across the border in Cambodia, where the battered remnants of two government battalions yesterday limped into the town of Ta Kau after a two-day flight from the big offensive of the liberation forces.

Many of the government troops were barely able to stand, having lost half their number killed or captured during their headlong retreat.

The liberation forces now control almost the whole of Cambodia's two eastern provinces—which have twice in the past

been invaded from S Vietnam in a futile effort to destroy the base areas there.

President Nixon was yesterday holding urgent talks with his military chiefs on the possibility of slowing down or halting the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam.

AMNESTY International marked the 6th anniversary of the Greek military regime yesterday by publishing details of 336 men and women serving sentences for 'communist activities' or other political offences under the colonels' stringent sedition laws. The government officially denies there are any political prisoners in Greece.

Little interest in referendum

PRESIDENT Pompidou's referendum on Britain's Common Market entry has failed to rouse much interest despite a huge government-sponsored publicity campaign.

In reality a test of support for Pompidou, intended to confuse and divide the opposition, it is expected to show a record rate of abstentions. At least a quarter of the 70 per cent expected to vote will say 'No'.

The Communist Party has been unable to mount a real campaign for a no vote.

The Socialist Party, divided on the EEC issue, and most of the 'leftist' groups called for abstention.

This abdication of the fight against Pompidou left the field free for the CP to avoid the real issues.

CP secretary Georges Marchais' ten-minute TV slot emphasized French national independence.

He put forward no perspective of workers' struggle against the Common Market by the working class of Europe.

Contempt jailing

EIGHTEEN union leaders in Quebec have been jailed for six months and fined \$5,000 for defying a court injunction to maintain essential hospital services affected by the two-week-old civil service strike.

Talks broke down on Thursday when trade union leaders failed to get an offer closer to the 8.3 per cent demanded than the 6 per cent proposed by the provincial government.

Maxi formula: No guidance by stewards

A KEY mass meeting at British-Leyland's Cowley, Oxford, car-body plant on Monday may be left without shop stewards' guidance on a 'peace formula' agreed by management and union top brass.

Since March 9, 2,350 workers on Maxi and Marina production-lines at the plant have been operating work restrictions to force 'meaningful negotiations' on a pay claim.

For the last fortnight they have been suspended each day

without pay for refusing to lift the restrictions. Initially they staged a sit-in strike for the duration of their shift.

The men's chief demand is for improved security of employment under the Measured-Day Work system now operating in the factory.

After talks between Leyland's industrial-relations director, Pat Lowry, and Moss Evans of the Transport and General Workers' Union, a formula was drawn up in which the company promises to review the 'pattern' of lay-off guarantees.

It also undertakes to 'make an improved offer in this area in negotiations which will commence not later than 14 days after a return to work'.

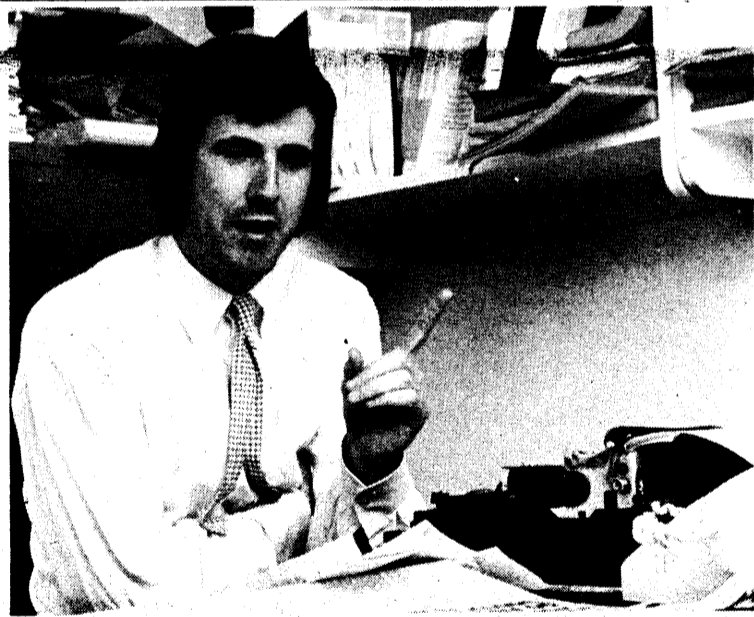
This could mean virtually anything and certainly does not commit the company to increasing the overall size of its offer. Also there is no time-limit on the negotiations.

Yet it is understood that after leading their men this far, T&GWU district secretary David Buckle and his shop stewards will remain neutral on the formula at Monday's mass meeting.

Private Worker with a Socialist Eye

ON DECEMBER 20 last year we wrote in a front page 'What We Think': 'The double life of Paul Foot continues . . . We've previously had occasion to point out the two hats worn by Foot as leading member of the "state capitalist" International Socialists group and joint editor of "Private Eye", the so-called satirical magazine.

'Nobody in the IS group has yet



raised a murmur about Foot's involvement with the "Eye", a magazine noted for its deeply right-wing, anti-working class views.'

Yet he continues to pen by-lined stories for their weekly 'Socialist Worker'.

We speculated about the possible merger of these two journals and concluded: 'Perhaps we can look forward to the launching of an entirely new concept in "radical" publishing—"Private Worker with a Socialist Eye".'

We weren't far wrong.

Three months later, on March 10, 'Private Eye' carried a large advertising leaflet for—yes you've guessed it—"Socialist Worker". The advertisement said:

"'Socialist Worker' is a fighting paper. It is designed to stimulate and organize opposition to the present system of society which is not only corrupt, as "Private Eye" relentlessly proves, but unnecessary.'

This obscene paragraph, apart from revealing the completely liberal and reformist politics of IS, shows the extent to which the publications are drawn together.

This week's issue of 'Private Eye' carries a letter from the editor of 'Socialist Worker', Mr Roger Protz, who, as editor, presumably authorized the advertisements. But Mr Protz is displeased. He writes: 'I have spent most of my time in

politics correcting my mistakes, but I can claim to have been right on one, albeit small, issue. I argued five or six years ago with those of the left who joined in the adulation of "Private Eye" that its attacks on the Establishment had nothing to do with progressive politics but were merely the disgruntled shrieking of a section of the ruling class that had been denied its rightful place at the pig's trough.

'Thank you for proving me right. You have lined up with your masters and chosen your side of the barricades. It is time for your readers to make their choice, too.'

But Mr Protz has made another monumental political mistake. It's not the readers of the 'Eye' he should be appealing to—what about the contributors?

What about Paul Foot, who sits with him on the executive of IS?

Why doesn't he demand that Foot get out of the 'Eye' trough—which he correctly describes for its 'High Tory racist' attitudes.

But Protz, because he and his IS group have not the slightest adherence to any political principles, will not make this demand.

Protz's letter of 'protest' is nothing but a further part of the cover behind which Foot can pursue his double-life. No one is fooled about this.

10,000 off at Ford

ALMOST 10,000 car workers at Ford, Dagenham, are laid off because of the management attempts to cut manning on the production lines.

The dispute broke on Wednesday when management attempted to remove two door setters from an assembly line.

They worked on and were then sent home.

Now both shifts of the whole body shop are off work and the paint, trim and assembly shop has also been closed down.

Models hit by the stoppage include the new Granada and Consul ranges, as well as the Escort. The 80 men on the assembly line involved in the dispute have decided to meet on Monday morning to review the situation.

No axles

ANOTHER 2,500 workers at Triumph Motors, Coventry, were laid off yesterday—bringing the total to 5,500—as a result of a strike by axle builders over pay. A shortage of components has halted all production at the main car assembly plant in Coventry and has hit the company's body plant at Liverpool.

I would like information about

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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

Name

Address

'Lost hours' on Bloody Sunday

The day they waited in vain for Mickey McDaid

Michael McDaid. Age 20. This man was shot when close to Young [another of the youths killed] at the Rossville St barricade. The bullet struck him in the front in the left cheek. The paraffin test disclosed abnormal lead particle density on his jacket and one large particle of lead on the back of his right hand. Any of the soldiers considered in connection with the death of Young might equally well have shot McDaid. Dr Martin (government forensic witness) thought that the lead density was consistent with McDaid having handled a firearm, but I think it more consistent with his having been

in close proximity to someone firing. This paragraph is the Widgery Report's sole pronouncement on the death of McDaid. Yet every other shred of evidence points to the conclusion that he was cold-bloodedly murdered. Of all the 13 killings, McDaid's is the most mysterious. And it reveals the complete cynicism of Widgery's findings.

MICKEY McDAID was a thrifty boy. He worked as a barman, but he never drank or smoked. On the night of January 30, Bloody Sunday, he was planning to go to a dance at Buncrana with a newly-found girlfriend.

Like most of the other youngsters in the Bogside on that afternoon, Mickey joined the massive anti-internment demonstration called by the N Ireland Civil Rights Association.

When the shooting started in front of the Rossville Flats McDaid was one of the hundreds caught in the crossfire and con-



Michael McDaid: some say he was alive when he was taken to an army Saracen car.

fusion. The first independent witness of what happened to McDaid is Father John Irwin of St Eugene's Cathedral, Londonderry. He said:

'I was in a first floor flat in Rossville St after attending a number of the dead and injured. Around about four o'clock a woman came in, very distressed, and said she had seen three men either dead or very seriously injured being thrown into the back of a Saracen.

'I rushed down the back stairs into Rossville St and met a soldier. I asked him where the three bodies were. He said he did not know. I asked for the person in charge and the soldier grunted in the general direction of a sergeant.

'After I told him there were

three dead or very seriously injured people in the Saracen, he replied "We have no dead soldiers here". I told him I was not looking for dead soldiers and he again replied: "We have no dead or injured here".

'I then ran back up the back stairs and after a few minutes the woman asked me again about the three bodies she had seen.

'She was very definite about having seen three bodies and she pointed out the Saracen to me. She had absolutely no doubts about what she had seen.

'I rushed down again and shouted to the sergeant that I was going to a certain Saracen car. Fr Tony Mulvey, of Pennyburn, was in the background and I shouted to him to come on with me as there were three dead in the Saracen.

'The sergeant ran along with me and I opened the door of the Saracen, which the woman had pointed out to me, and saw the three bodies lying on top of each other.

'The bottom body—that of William Nash—was lying in his own blood and was smothered. Mickey McDaid was on top of the pile. I anointed the top two and held them up while Fr Mulvey anointed the man underneath.

Fr Irwin then approached the paratroop sergeant and asked why he 'deliberately lied to me about the bodies in the Saracen.

'His only reply was to give a shrug and turn away,' he said.

Fr Irwin was also present when a leading officer of the Knights of Malta tried to enter the Saracen to see if he could assist the men inside.

'This man had just started to climb into the Saracen when the sergeant shouted at him: "You are not going in there". After further exchanges the Knights of Malta man had to leave without getting in to the men.'

Later in the evening, at 6.15 p.m., after taking an injured person to a medical post, Fr Irwin was in the morgue where eight bodies had already been taken.

'This same Saracen drew up to the morgue door and the three bodies were taken in. Mickey McDaid's body was still warm. He had been shot through the left cheek, a triangular shaped hole. The bullet broke his jaw, went down into his throat, through the top of his right lung and out again under his right arm,' Fr Irwin said.

The evidence now switches to the McDaid family.

—When the army withdrew, two of McDaid's brothers, John and



'He'll come home when he's hungry', said Michael's mother (centre). But he never came. When the priest arrived at the house, his sister, Mrs Margaret Harkin (right) 'knew he was dead'. Brother John (left) went to identify the still-warm body.

'The Saracen drew up to the morgue door and three bodies were taken in. Mickey McDaid's body was still warm' — Father John Irwin (left).



Danny, became worried about their brother's disappearance. The area was rife with rumours about who had been shot and who had been arrested by the brutal snatch squads.

When the rest of the family returned home, the boy's mother, Mrs Kathleen McDaid, was not unduly worried about his absence. 'He'll turn up when he's hungry,' she said and got on with making the evening meal.

When the television news came on at 6 p.m., the family crowded around to watch. Mrs Margaret Harkin, Mickey's sister, said:

'The television news came on and then I saw Michael being taken by a British soldier to a Saracen. He had his hands above his head.

'I was positive it was him. I recognized his sports coat and the back of his head.

'I shouted: "He's alive". We were so relieved.'

About 20 minutes later, how-

ever, a priest called at the house. Mrs Harkin said: "I saw him signal to my brother John and I knew that our Michael was dead."

John McDaid (32) had already been to the morgue at Altnagiven Hospital once. The doctors had told him there was no McDaid among the dead.

He said: "For two hours we were all certain that young Mickey was alive."

John McDaid left home to make a second inquiry at the morgue.

He describes what happened: "There was a register list of the victims. I went straight across to it and this policeman—he's from Derry—roared at me: "Get to hell out of the road. You've no permission to look at that list". I'll never forget his Orange gub to me dying day.

'I was brought over to a corpse with a sheet across him. It was Michael. I felt his body. It was still warm. There was a bullet hole in his cheek. I put a medal between his fingers . . .

After the funeral John went to Victoria St barracks to collect his brother's clothes and belongings. The police handed over a cleaning ticket, two cards, a calendar, a door key and one new penny. He refused to take the penny.

The family say he left home with £10 in a wallet and he was wearing cufflinks. These were never returned.

Who shot McDaid? How was he killed?

The Lord Chief Justice, the Rt Honourable Lord Widgery, OBE, makes no comment whatsoever.

A peaceful demonstrator is shot dead at point-blank range and Widgery commends the British army for its discipline and restraint.

The use of the Paratroop Regiment was 'sincere' and 'there was no general breakdown in discipline'.

Widgery added: 'Each soldier was his own judge of whether he had identified a gunman.'

Yet a breath away in the same report, he says: 'None of the deceased or wounded is proved to have been shot whilst handling a firearm or bomb.'

In that case, why was Mickey McDaid shot in the face?

If nobody was proved to have been shot while holding a gun or a bomb, how do Home Secretary Maudling's statements in the Commons stand today?

The day after Bloody Sunday Maudling told parliament: 'The army returned the fire directed at them with aimed shots and inflicted a number of casualties on those who were attacking them with firearms and with bombs.'

Even Widgery, the government's own Lord Chief Justice, couldn't substantiate Maudling's wild statement in the House. The case of Mickey McDaid is just one of 13 cases which exposes the Widgery report for what it is—the legalization of murder.



Youth crouch by the Rossville St barricade, another stands bewildered, his back to the camera. In front of him, a boy is crumpled on the ground, hit by an army bullet.

The Rossville St barricade — where Widgery says Michael was shot

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Have you read the Draft Manifesto adopted by the All Trades Unions Alliance at the national conference at Birmingham last November? Have you expressed your views on the document in a letter to the Workers Press?

The Manifesto calls for the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party. This historic and vital task must be fully discussed and understood throughout the workers' movement: trade unionists, their families, students, the unemployed and people in the professions are invited to express their views on the Manifesto.

If you want a copy of the Draft Manifesto write to the Workers Press or contact your local ATUA branch. Today we present further correspondence in the Manifesto discussion.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

National Conference

Including the Charter of Basic Rights

DRAFT MANIFESTO



BILLY MCAUSLAN
Glasgow Young Socialists.

With the Right-to-Work campaign, the Young Socialists fought determinedly and principledly in the struggle against the Tory government and the capitalist system to expose all those in the workers' movement who are preparing to sell-out the working class.

Not least of these is the Stalinist leadership at UCS with their conscious, yes, very conscious, attempts to stifle any real struggle against the Tories with their class-collaboration policies of the work-in.

Here they scheme to provide through the funds they've received from the labour movement free labour to the liquidator to enable him to carry on with his butchering of the shipyards.

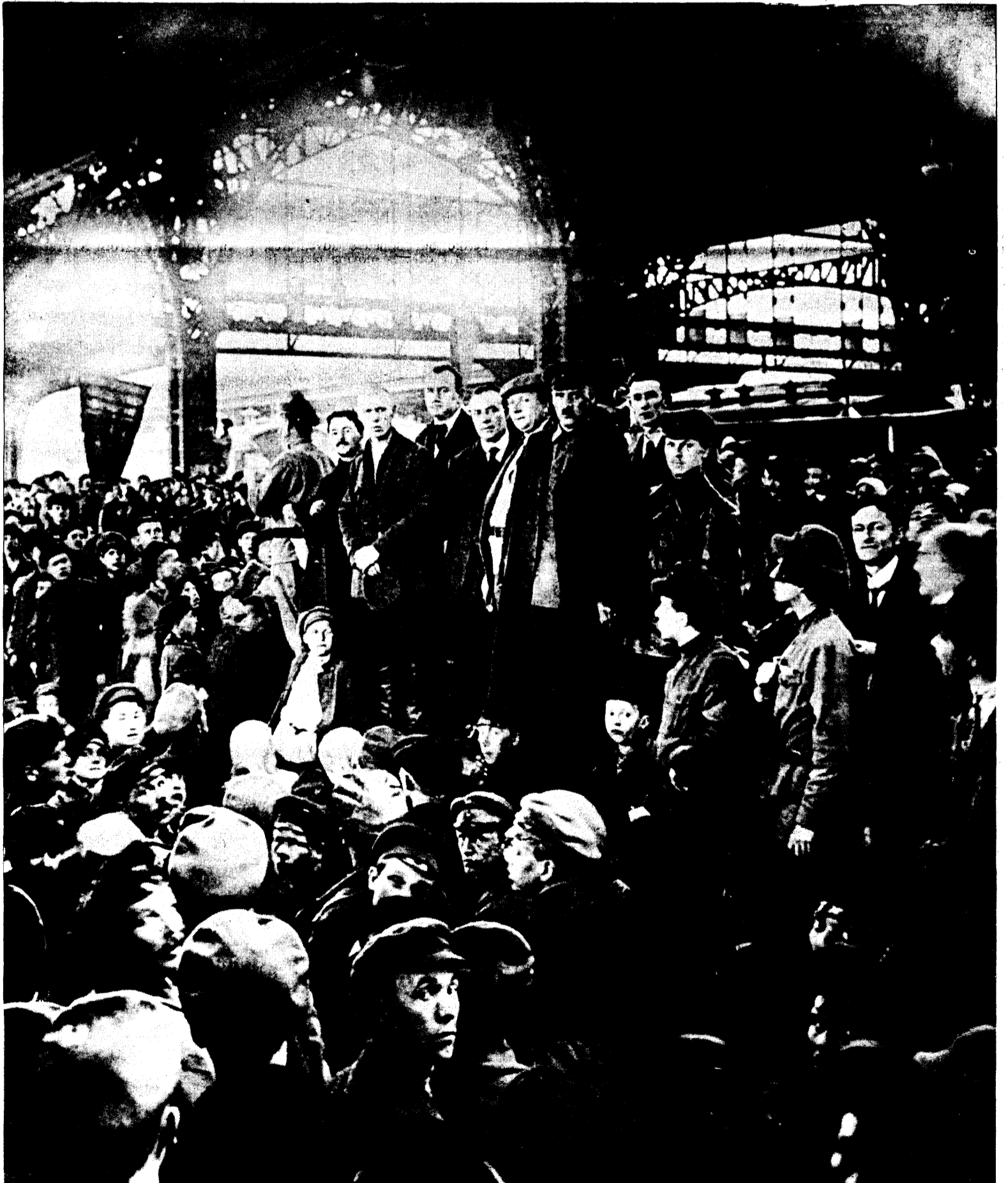
Behind Reid and Airlie lies the whole role of the Stalinist movement internationally. As the crisis of capitalism deepens and the working class moves forward in struggle, these bureaucracies are driven into the open.

The Stalinist movement becomes more and more openly counter-revolutionary. This crisis leads the Stalinists to play a role of international strike-breakers. Poland sent coal to Spain and Britain to break miners' strikes.

The Chinese bureaucracy, after giving aid and support to Yahya Khan in his suppression and slaughter of the Bengali peoples, competes with the Soviet bureaucracy to knife the Vietnamese workers in the back in attempts to defeat the Vietnamese revolution.

The Stalinist bureaucracy opens the way for imperialism to threaten and attack the workers' state and destroy the gains of October 1917 and the Chinese revolution.

In the 1930s Stalin murdered the leadership of the Russian Revolution, but he could not destroy the continuation of Bolshevism in the Left Opposition and the struggle of Trotsky today carried on by the Young Socialists and the fight for the Fourth International to defeat the Stalinist bureaucracy and to defend and extend the October revolution.



Factory meeting in Petrograd 1917: the gains of the Russian revolution could not be destroyed by Stalin and the bureaucracy



ARMY TAKES OVER CAMPUS

The army has taken control of the National Autonomous University of Santo Domingo after disturbances in which more than ten students were seriously injured and 100 to 150 arrested.

Police of the Central American state fired on students after charging onto the campus brandishing batons and with fixed bayonets. The police claimed they were searching for Tacit Mena, whom they accuse of being the most 'dangerous' leader of the Dominican People's Movement.

The invasion came after a secret meeting between the vice-president of the Republic, Rafael Morales, police chief Nivar Seijas and secretary for the armed forces, rear-Admiral Ramon Jimenez.

Seijas and Jimenez were two of the three military leaders who ordered the massacre of six guerrilla fighters two months ago. Seijas is on record as being in favour of exterminating 'all

the elements who put the stability of the country at risk'.

Army and police have also been out in force against students and teachers in Colombia in Latin America as the strike of 120,000 teachers continues.

Many cities have experienced joint demonstrations of teachers, pupils and students, with particularly fierce street-fighting in Bogota and Medellin.

In the town of Villacencio, 14 people were wounded and more than 100 jailed as a result of fights with the police. In Medellin and Bogota, as least 100 have been wounded in clashes. Students on strike in Medellin university are preparing for the troops since their campus has twice been under military occupation within the space of two months.

Meanwhile, in the SW province of Tolima, a guerrilla detachment of FARC, the revolutionary armed forces of Colombia, fought with troops of the regular army. Two guerrillas were killed.

Army pursuit operations are

continuing, trying to find the millionaire engineer Gustavo Bernal who was kidnapped from his ranch on March 31.

While his followers throughout the continent lose their lives in heroic but hopeless adventures, Fidel Castro is moving closer to God.

Cuba is being visited by the International Brigade of Young Christians who believe in the 'anti-imperialist' struggle, as they told the Second Congress of Cuban Young Communists.

The latest OSPAL poster pays tribute to the revolution of Christ: it bears a figure of Christ standing against the white wall, with the black barrel of a gun on his shoulder.

A favourite poster on the walls of Havana, someone recorded the arrival of the Jesus Revolution in Cuba by writing on the wall of the Hubert de Blank theatre in Havana: 'Love for Christ means love for humanity, and that means love for the people, Christ was the first revolutionary.'

THIRD WORLD PLEASURES



President Salvador Allende: occasional socialist outbursts

The 3,000 delegates at the third United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Santiago de Chile—including the delegates from S Vietnam and S Korea—will no doubt forgive President Salvador Allende for his occasional socialist outbursts as they enjoy a luxurious holiday in Chile in the name of the starving masses of the 'third world'.

MASSIVE

The conference centre is a massive prefabricated three-storey building of concrete, plastic, glass and steel. It sports a 22-storey tower block containing private offices for delegations and UN officials, as well as working areas for press, radio and television.

Over 3,000 men worked around the clock to build this highest

building in Chile, spurred on by government wishes to show the world what the new 'socialist' order could achieve.

The first delegates had to make their way over straggling electricity cables and loose tiles as workmen made the finishing touches.

APPROVED

To add to the pleasure of a comfortable conference hall, delegates will not suffer from the food and drink shortages which are afflicting the people of Santiago. Apart from the restaurants and bars in the conference centre, the Chilean authorities have chosen 70 city restaurants as 'UNCTAD approved'.

These cafes for diplomatic gourmets have a reserve of food and wine guaranteed by the state agricultural commerce agency. Cold stores in Santiago and the suburbs are filled with tons of meat, poultry and fish labelled 'For UNCTAD only'.

JAPAN IN NUCLEAR TALKS

A socialist MP has accused the Japanese government of holding secret talks with the United States on deployment of a 'US-Japan naval nuclear strategic unit'.

Yanosuke Narasaki told a committee of the parliament's lower house he had obtained a copy of a secret telegram sent last January to US naval forces, Japan, from Washington.

Premier Eisaku Sato (left) declined to confirm or deny the report immediately, saying the government would reply after studying the telegram. Japanese defence agency sources flatly denied there had been such talks between the two countries.

Narasaki read the full text of

the message, which said a 'special committee' had decided it was necessary to deploy a joint naval nuclear unit as a means to block nuclear threat from a third country.

The secret message cited the strengthening of China's nuclear arsenal and reinforcement of the Soviet Pacific fleet and concluded 'all measures must be taken to let the talks resume and further detailed instructions will follow'.

The Japanese government has repeatedly stated it will not manufacture, possess or allow introduction of nuclear weapons. It is also constitutionally barred from having an army. But the latest military budget is aimed at doubling the country's military strength to make it the second biggest military power in Asia.

PERU TRADE HUNT

Rear Admiral Alberto Jimenez de Lucio, Peruvian Industry and Trade Minister, is at present involved in a market study tour which will take him to nine countries in Asia, Europe and North America.

Jimenez de Lucio and his team of advisers will analyse industrial planning in China, Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary, as well as visiting the United States.

The Peruvian regime hopes to make concrete the agreements concluded with the Stalinist regimes for steel, paper and the cement industries.

The Stalinist traders with the Peruvian military are in good company.

General Marcos Baca, president of the state-oil agency Petro-Peru has just announced that a Spanish-French consortium will invest in the Peruvian Amazon area, operating over an area of 1,000 square kilometres.



MANIFESTO FROM THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Fourth Conference of the International Committee of the Fourth International, meeting on April 10 to 15, 1972, calls upon revolutionaries in all sections of the world movement to take up with every resource they can command the great historic tasks now posed before the Fourth International.

Entirely new conditions have opened up for resolution of the crisis of revolutionary leadership which has held back the working class since the rise of Stalinism.

The struggle for working-class power, for the socialist revolution enters a new and decisive stage with the crisis of world capitalism precipitated by the August 15, 1971 measures of US President Nixon.

With the collapse of the financial agreements of Bretton Woods, the end of dollar convertibility, and the open declaration of trade war, the foundation of all economic and political relations between imperialism and the working class in the metropolitan capitalist countries since World War II is smashed.

In every major capitalist country, the ruling class is forced to set out to destroy all the positions won in the past by the

working class, to destroy it as a class, break up its organizations, and reduce it to mass poverty. Only in this way can the capitalist class of each country hope to survive the world recession and trade war.

Above all, the conditions under which the revolutionary movement works are changed qualitatively. Trotskyism faces its greatest challenge since the formation of the Fourth International in 1938. Having successfully defended the programme of the Fourth International and the theory of Marxism against all the physical repressions and political betrayals of Stalinism and reformism and having defeated the attempts of revisionism to liquidate the Fourth International, the forces of the International Committee and its sections must now take up the challenge of fighting for leadership in the struggle for power.

Beneath the 'liquidity' and currency crises of the late 1960s lay the ever-deepening contradiction between the productive forces—first and foremost among these the working class itself and the system of monopoly capitalism. Concentration of these historical contradictions in the crisis of the dominant world currency—the dollar—gives a universal character to the economic and political character of the effects of the crisis. Trade war is only the foretaste of

international slumps, collapse of great monopolies and banks, even of national economies, revolutions and counter-revolutions, and the ever-growing threat of world war.

As Marx explained: "... capitalist production moves in contradictions which are constantly overcome, only to be, again, constantly re-established. Still more so. The universality towards which it is perpetually driving finds limitations in its own nature, which at a certain stage of its development will make it appear as itself the greatest barrier to this tendency, leading thus to its own self-destruction." (Grundrisse pp. 313-314.)

Mass unemployment; attacks by the state machine and fascist mobs on the organizations of the proletariat; colonial repression and conquest; war with other powers; military attack on the deformed and degenerated workers' states; these are the 'solutions' to which capitalism in decay always turns in crisis.

Nowhere will the working class be able to defend itself except by the building of revolutionary parties for the conquest of power. The final blow was struck against all reformist solutions by the August 15 measures. For the first time since the early 1920s, the working classes of the advanced capitalist countries are driven to confront the ruling class face to face, class against class, in a struggle for power. The most basic needs of the masses can be defended only by revolutionary methods.

When Nixon announced the decisions of August 15, the basic contradictions of capitalism burst asunder the compromise relations established in 1944-1945. For hundreds of millions of workers the basic conditions of life are now thrown into question, and the established relations are suddenly without foundation. Here is the basis for the struggle for revolutionary consciousness, for the development of Marxist theory.

However, the post-war economic settlement was a result not of any strength of capitalism but a decision by a capitalist class weakened by depression and war to attempt to contain the strength of the working class rather than to enter upon a decisive confrontation.

Keynesian inflationary policies were built into the international monetary settlement. The relative stabilization and expansion of capitalism which followed was made possible only by the treacherous class-collaboration of international Stalinism and of the Stalinist and reformist parties all over the world.

The collapse of the gold-dollar standard and the fixed parities of Bretton Woods, and the new stage of class war opened up in each country are therefore blows just as mortal for the Stalinist bureaucracy as they are for the imperialists.

Stalinist and reformist parties still dominate the consciousness and organization of the working class in each country, but the foundation of this domination has now been removed. No longer will capitalism rule through the ability of these apparatuses to impose treacherous partial concessions in response to the strength of the working class; it will require the destruction of that strength.



Opel workers on strike: collapse of German capitalism after Nixon's August 15 measures opens the way for the German working class to find its way back to its revolutionary traditions

This brings the working class, in the essential fight for its political independence, into life and death conflict with the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies. The Trotskyist movement must take up its responsibility of building an alternative leadership, the only alternative to bloody defeat through the class-collaboration of the traditional leaderships.

Only the Fourth International can arm the working class against the Stalinist counter-revolutionary force in the world. The Stalinists work consciously to repair those defences which they built jointly with the imperialists in 1944-1945.

THE CRISIS MAKES ITS IMPACT

They will aim to bloodily suppress the political revolution in the USSR and the deformed workers' states, as well as the revolutionary workers in the capitalist countries. They will strive to repeat in every country the role of the Polish Stalinist strike-breakers in Spain and the Maoist bureaucracy in Bangla Desh.

As the capitalist class moves to impose new totalitarian forms of rule, it does not confront a defeated working class. On the contrary, the first outbreaks of the economic crisis—1967 devaluation of sterling and the 1968 gold crisis—were answered by the action of the French working class in May-June 1968.

Since then, the metal-workers'

strike in Germany, the general strikes and political crisis in Italy, the upsurge of the Spanish working class, and the radicalization of the working class in Britain and Ireland, have shown that the workers of the advanced capitalist countries are undergoing a fundamental development as the crisis makes its impact, and this strength reveals itself as the main source of its extension and development.

Nixon's measures of August 15 were made absolutely unavoidable by the wage settlement in the US steel strike and the other impending wage battles. It became impossible both to contain the strength of the US working class and to continue with the international role of the dollar. This is the very heart of the crisis.

Nixon's international measures were, therefore, linked with new preparations against the US working class.

The institution of the Pay Board, the rejection of the longshoremen's settlement, preparations for anti-strike legislation, combined with Nixon's conscious unemployment policy have brought the trade unions into direct collision with the government.

This crisis is shaking all the old relationships of class collaboration between the trade union bureaucracy, the government and its two parties. This is what forced Meany to walk off the Pay Board.

Every struggle of the American working class for wage increases, against speed-up and unemployment must now be a political struggle, a struggle for power. American workers built the most powerful trade unions in the world but these unions have been tied politically to the Democratic Party through the trade union bureaucracy's collaboration with the aid of Stalinism.

The only way the American working class can defeat the

attacks of the employers and the government is through the break with the Democratic and Republican Parties and the formation of a labour party based on the unions and on socialist policies.

The 1972 elections now take place in an entirely new period since August 15, which places the labour party immediately on the agenda now. The emergence of Wallace raises the greatest dangers to the labour movement. Behind the racist and populist demagoguery of his campaign is Wallace's real programme—the destruction of the unions, the destruction of every right and gain the unions have won.

Wallace is the right-wing spokesman for the capitalist class that now must above all destroy the unions if their system is to be preserved. Behind Wallace are gathering all the racist and fascist forces.

Nixon and the Republican and Democratic Parties stand with him. Wallace is putting forward today what the capitalist class as a whole is preparing for the working class in the future. Wallace cannot be defeated today, as the trade union bureaucracy claims, by supporting politicians in the Democratic Party.

The only way that Wallace can be defeated is through the construction of this labour party, through the break with the two capitalist parties.

The fight for the labour party is the central responsibility of the Workers League. This must be fought for in the unions with the call for a congress of labour to establish this party on a socialist programme. It is to this struggle that the youth and the students must be turned in a fight against the Stalinists, who openly support capitalist parties, and revisionists who seek to sidetrack the struggle for a labour party, proposing Black and Chicano capitalist parties.

Only through the building of the labour party can the American working class be broken from the reformist illusions built up in the past and the road prepared for power.

The Nixon measures have confronted the ruling class of the European capitalist states with the inescapable necessity of going to war on their own working class. By thrusting the burden of the dollar crisis on to these countries, Nixon imposes the need for the break up of the compromise relationships and unstable equilibrium which have prevailed since 1945. This blow comes just at a time when, following the events of 1968 in France, the working class enters the scene, strong and undefeated, in a combative way with its own demand.

The new militancy of the working class passes at first, in a spontaneous way, through its traditional organizations and takes the old forms. The reformist and Stalinist leaderships strive everywhere to prevent it coming forward as an independent force. The task of the Fourth International sections is to establish leadership in the working class and to expose and drive out the treacherous bureaucracies. Only in this way can the working class take the power.

This alternative leadership must be established on the programme and with the perspectives of the International Committee of the Fourth International. There is no other way. Failure to resolve the crisis of leadership in the present period will mean defeats for the working class which will throw mankind back into a new era of barbarism.

The economic situation of European capitalism since August 15 has become truly desperate and the bourgeoisie itself has not fully grasped, even eight months later, the full depths of its crisis. But, in the political as well as in the economic sphere,

it has not been slow to demonstrate its reaction. In every country it shows that it understands that it must defeat its own working class and impose more authoritarian forms of rule. This means that all the democratic rights and conquests of the working class come under intensified attack as the bourgeoisie takes up stations for a decisive round of class battles. A ruling class with its back to the wall, pressed into desperate measures by the weight of US imperialism; a working class staking out claims of its own which challenge the bourgeoisie's right to rule; leaders who combine to break up and betray the struggles of the working class; this has now become the rule in every European country.

First France, where the storm-signals of the European revolution appeared in 1968. In the General Strike of May-June 1968. The mobilization of the entire working class threatened the bourgeois social order. The grip of the Stalinists was weakening by day as workers manifested their determination to go beyond the limits imposed by the bureaucracy and demand a workers' government.

The Trotskyist movement in France, the OCI, at that time a section of the International Committee, was unable to grasp the revolutionary opportunities which presented themselves. The situation in May-June 1968 caught it by surprise and unprepared. This was no accident; nor was it a question merely of numerical strength—the smallness of the vanguard, as the rationalization went.

It was a question of method which left the OCI unarmed and carried it through the events with a series of empirical adaptations which never, at any time, permitted it to call upon the Communist Party to take the power. This demand is the essential path to their exposure

before the working class and the establishment of Trotskyist leadership.

Although the French bourgeoisie was able to retain power with the help of the Stalinists and the reformists, the foundations of its rule were irrevocably shaken by the power of the working class and nothing in the relations between the classes has been the same since. The defeat of de Gaulle in the referendum in 1969 struck a further blow. The French bourgeoisie hangs on grimly behind Pompidou in an atmosphere of scandal and corruption which recalls the worst days of the Third Republic.

The German working class, written off by the revisionists as 'integrated' or 'reformist', emerges as the major factor in the crisis of German capitalism. The 1969 movement could still be contained through formation of the Social-Democratic-Liberal coalition and big concessions in wages. This revived reformist illusions in the working class and in particular the youth but the metal workers' strike of December 1971, after Nixon's measures, spelt the end of reformism, which is now breaking up.

The working class has been able to build up an unprecedented strength within the unions in West Germany and within the framework of the deformed workers' states of the Democratic Republic. It is this strength which the bourgeoisie has now to confront with the help of the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies and all the old relations have to be changed.

German capitalism was rebuilt after the war as the spearhead of imperialism against the Eastern European countries and the October Revolution. Today the role of the Social-Democratic-Liberal coalition is to help the bourgeoisie prepare the reconquest of East Germany and the Eastern European countries and to pave the way in West Germany for a reactionary CDU/CSU government to tie the unions to the state.

This is where the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism comes out most clearly. Within the radicalization of the working class they try to subordinate this movement to the coalition government.

Just as the German working class remained relatively isolated from the world class struggle even after the defeat of fascism and in the period of the post-war boom, so the collapse of German capitalism after the Nixon measures opens the way for the German working class to find its way back to its revolutionary traditions.

time to prepare new attacks which will be struck after the forthcoming elections, whatever their outcome. The panic-stricken petty bourgeoisie are attracted into the orbit of the neo-fascists to whom the monopolists are now turning as an alternative to the increasingly-discredited and impotent parliamentary regime.

The Stalinists are the last line of defence for this rotten political system. It is absolutely necessary to place the demand on the Italian Communist Party: break from all forms of coalition with the bourgeoisie parties; take the power. Along this road, the Stalinist hold on the working class will be broken.

The bonapartist dictatorship in Greece is a regime of crisis which is an expression of the world crisis of the capitalist system. It portrays the future that capitalism has in store for the working class in this period of its death agony, where the bourgeoisie is forced everywhere to pass to the most severe forms of state repression, having no other way to defend its rule.

At the same time the seizure of power by the Colonels was the advance warning of the fact that the class struggle, in the whole capitalist world, has developed to its most crucial point, posing on the agenda the proletarian revolution for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The colonels cannot solve the problems of Greek capitalism. They are unable to gain popular support or to stabilize their power. On the contrary, their regime is constantly undermined by the deepening crisis of imperialism. Particularly since Nixon's measures on the dollar and the declaration of trade war with Europe, an explosive charge has been placed under the foundations of the dictatorial regime.

The closure of a series of basic industries, which employed thousands of workers, and the last big increases on the basic price of food are the first products of the crisis in its new stage.

Similarly, the split inside the junta which came into the open with the sackings of the Regent Zoiatakis and the taking of his post by the arch-dictator Papadopoulos, is the manifestation of this crisis in another sphere.

Intensification of the crisis following the August 15 measures has created conditions for a confrontation between the working class and the dictatorial regime. The Greek Trotskyists fight for independence of the working class, opposing the Stalinists who would drag it behind the liberal bourgeoisie, and to establish the revolutionary party to lead the struggle of the working class for power.

In the epoch of imperialism in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the most elementary demands for national independence and democratic rights can only be granted if the struggle in these countries is carried over into the socialist phase.

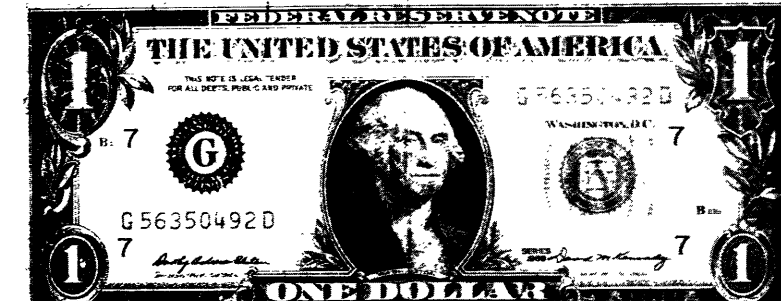
We warn the workers and peasants of these countries not to put any confidence in bourgeois nationalist leaderships. The experience of Bangla Desh demonstrates the danger of such a step. With the suspension of the Constituent Assembly on April 11, the ruling bourgeois nationalist Awami League has demonstrated that it is an obstacle to the granting of full democratic rights, and the voluntary revolutionary reunification of India on a socialist basis.

In Ireland bourgeois nationalism expresses itself through IRA terrorism. Far from leading to real independence and liberation, their exclusive reliance on terror, and opposition to Marxism and the revolutionary party, have now resulted in a compromise with imperialism, reminiscent of the 1921 agreement.

The imposition of direct rule from Westminster, welcomed by a section of the IRA leaders, threatens the rights of Protestant and Catholic workers alike. Partition, religious divisions, low wages and unemployment will remain, through a coalition of Republican and Orange capitalism, backed by the Tory government at Westminster.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, as in all other countries, the only guarantee of success for the masses in their struggles for national independence and democratic rights is the building in these countries of sections of the International Committee, directed by the vanguard of the proletariat, and the establishment of political independence of the working class, and the overthrow of imperialism.

The betrayals of Togliatti's heirs have given the bourgeoisie



Keynes at Bretton Woods, 1944 where the monetary relations for post war capitalism—up to August 15, 1971—were established.

POLITICAL REVOLUTION AGAINST BUREAUCRACY

This requires establishment of the independence of the working class through a consistent struggle against Stalinism and revisionism, through the building of the revolutionary party. This resurgence of the German working class opens the door for a reawakening of the Soviet proletariat's hopes for world revolution and for the political revolution against the parasitic Kremlin bureaucracy.

CONTINUED MONDAY

WHEN HITLER WENT TO WAR

The world economic depression of the 1930s, beginning with the Wall St crash in the autumn of 1929, struck German capitalism with special severity. It plunged it into a social and political crisis which culminated in the defeat of the highly-organized working-class movement and the coming to power of Hitler. This sixth part in Tom Kemp's series deals with Hitler Germany's war economy.

Germany's entry into war in September 1939 brought no essential change in economic organization. This was not because the country was already highly-mobilized for war, as some people considered, but because the attack on Poland was expected to be the first of a series of limited wars for which existing preparations were adequate.

Hitler expected that Britain and France would climb down and sign another Munich agreement. When they declared war, he found himself in a situation for which no real preparation had been made.

In fact, Hitler feared that an Anglo-French attack would deprive Germany of the Ruhr and thus lop off the most important industrial area.

Huge outlays were made during the period of the 'phony war' in strengthening the Siegfried line. Then in the spring of 1940, an attack was launched on Holland and Belgium to forestall such an invasion.

Once again Hitler met bitter opposition from the generals. The rapid occupation of the low countries and the phenomenal success of *blitzkrieg* tactics in France completely changed the war situation.

Germany's rapid military successes came as much as a surprise to Hitler as to the generals. It gave Hitler an inflated idea of his military genius and induced in German ruling circles a confidence in further easy victories which was to prove fatal.

As Hitler's war plans had not assumed that the military machine would get so far so quickly, the next stage had to be improvised. The invasion of Britain had to be called off because Germany did not have the amphibious material and air power necessary to give it a chance of success. The drive to the East seemed to be more within the compass of the German economy at that stage.

The Russian campaign would be independent of sea-power. It was also hoped 'to crush Soviet Russia in a quick campaign before the end of the war against England' according to Hitler's directive for 'Barbarossa', dated December 18, 1940.

The Nazis assumed that the decapitation of the leading cadres of the Red Army by Stalin in 1938 had seriously weakened its capacity for combat and that a *blitzkrieg* would be as successful as it had been in France.

The idea was not so lunatic as it now sounds. If the two finest armies in Europe, the French and the British, had been smashed inside a month, why should the Wehrmacht not be able to finish off the Red Army before winter set in after the attack of June 21, 1941?

Of course, this was a fatal underestimation of Russia's fighting potential and industrial power which led ultimately to the downfall of the Nazis. But

it necessarily conditioned economic planning for the war between the defeat of France and the final calamity of Stalingrad in 1942.

It was hoped that a rapid conquest of Russia would bring Germany vast resources in grain, oil and raw materials and ensure her final victory over Britain.

In the period after the defeat of France, the Nazis were considering a relaxation of the military effort and converting part of war industry to civilian production. Armaments production was actually cut and between September 1940 and February 1941 aircraft production fell by 40 per cent.

Once the Russian campaign had been decided upon, war production was increased, but still at a modest rate, on the assumption that the war with Russia would only last a few months.

But on the eve of the attack on Russia, Britain was producing more planes than Germany. Stocks of infantry and artillery armaments were small. Even the tank force of 4,500 was only 1,000 more than those used in France on a much narrower front.

Conflict between Hitler and the Generals

Even more surprisingly, after the initial victories in Russia Hitler ordered a reduction of armaments production — which fell by 13 per cent from August to December 1941. When the German attack became stalemated during the winter, conflict again broke out between Hitler and the generals who believed that if they had been left alone they would have taken Moscow by Christmas.

The big surprise for the Germans came when the Red Army began to counter-attack using heavy tanks, especially the T-34, which were well in advance of German models. No preparations had been made for a winter campaign and stocks of winter clothing, provisions and even ammunition were inadequate.

From the early stages of the Russian campaign the weaknesses of German military and economic planning began to be revealed. A more serious production effort was undertaken in 1942, but it was hampered at every stage by the belief, mainly Hitler's, that the war with Russia would soon be won and that the food and raw material problems would be solved.

It is clear from the history of the German war economy that Nazi planning was far from being a model of efficiency. Business wanted to keep its civilian markets open. Nazi leaders, and Hitler himself, evidently feared losing middle class support if they imposed severe restrictions on consumption. There was an even greater fear of working-class discontent, conveyed by the



Hitler and Himmler watching Wehrmacht manoeuvres: the plan was to finish off the Red Army before winter

Labour Front, which opposed cuts in living standards or harsher working conditions for this reason.

Ideology also impeded war mobilization. The Nazis believed that a woman's place was in the home, not in industry, so that large reserves of female labour power were not brought into the war factories. The Germans were also the 'Master Race', so that, as far as possible, the burden of the war was passed on to other countries.

Millions of slave workers were brought in to man the production lines. Occupied countries were plundered so that German civilians would not be asked to make sacrifices. The whole extermination programme against the Jews, carried out at the height of the war, not only absorbed scarce resources and handicapped the movement of military supplies, but it deprived the war economy of labour

which might have been put to productive use.

On the other hand, the German economy proved stronger than some had supposed, due largely to the conquest of new territory. High-grade iron ore, indispensable for war industry continued to be supplied by neutral Sweden at the rate of 10 million tons a year. However, stockpiles were never adequate and once the *blitzkrieg* strategy collapsed raw material shortages proved to be the Achilles' heel of the Nazi war economy.

The shock of Stalingrad and the intensified bombing of the German homeland led to a marked stepping up of war production in 1942. The air raids on German towns, far from breaking German morale, as the advocates of bombing assumed, made people more ready to make sacrifices. Moreover, the effect on war production was far less than had been hoped.

The Nazis counted a good deal upon maintaining qualitative weapon superiority over their enemies and making use of more advanced weaponry. While this meant that German arms were often the best, it limited quantitative production. Moreover 90 per cent of new weapons went to equipping new divisions while experienced troops often had to fight with old and less-efficient equipment.

The successful bombing offensive

In the last two years of the war, despite the growing weight of bombs dropped on Germany, production continued to in-



Russian troops at Stalingrad: underestimation of Russia's fighting potential and industrial power was fatal

crease. This reflected the fact that the limited war approach had been abandoned.

The bombing offensive was most successful in its attack on Germany's oil supplies. Most vulnerable were the large synthetic oil plants using the hydrogenation process. Some 90 per cent of aviation fuel came from the hydrogenation process plants which began to come under concentrated air attack from April, 1944.

Although it took less time to restore these plants than the Anglo-American strategists had assumed, production of aviation fuel dropped catastrophically.

According to one historian: 'After June 1944 production of aviation fuel for the rest of the war was only 197,000 tons, not much more than one month's supply before the raids had started.' (A. Milward 'The German Economy at War', p.121.)

While aviation fuel supplies contracted, aircraft production actually continued to go up, owing to complete lack of co-ordination in planning. Consequently, training flights had to be curtailed, the Luftwaffe had to reduce the number of its sorties and many planes stacked on airfields were destroyed by bombing.

Germany never again was able to secure air superiority and Anglo-American amphibious landings could take place in S and W Europe with only ground opposition.

In the closing stages of the war it is true that German industry was able to turn out a huge volume of war equipment of high quality. But it was too late to affect the course of the war. This had been decided by the defeat of the Wehrmacht by the Red Army and by the massive quantitative superiority of Anglo-American industrial production.

The inner history of the German war economy is far from confirming the view that a new non-capitalist system had been built up by the Nazis. Industry remained in private hands and the Nazis were careful to interfere as little as possible with the normal functioning of the civilian market.

Nazi planning was weakened by the diversion of departmental responsibility and the lack of an

overall plan for war production. All kinds of personal and political feuds and jealousies made co-ordination difficult. Each sector tended to go on its own way regardless of what was happening elsewhere. As a result some targets were achieved, others were not.

But there was not much sense in producing planes and tanks if there was no fuel to run them or no spare parts if they broke down.

For most of the war the German economy was able to overcome what appeared initially to be its greatest weakness—the shortage of raw materials. In the last stages, when there was no longer any hope of victory, the strategic air offensive exposed these shortcomings once again, particularly in the case of petrol and oil.

It will be recalled that Hitler recognized from the start of the war the vulnerability of the heavy industry complex in the Ruhr. Germany feared that her enemies could strike hard at this area, knock out a major part of the Nazi war machine and finish off the rest of Germany at their leisure.

In the final stages of the war, air attacks were able to limit coal and other vital supplies finding their way from the Ruhr to other parts of the Reich. But doubtless this did no more than shorten a war which was lost for Germany in any case.

The shortage of manpower

A contributory cause of the collapse of the German economy was shortage of manpower. With no mobilization of women for industry, labour rapidly became scarce as the needs of the armed forces grew.

In the blitzkrieg period factories remained on single-shift working and hours worked were less than in Britain. After the attack on Russia the mounting toll of battle casualties and the need to mobilize more men to the army produced a manpower crisis.

Various kinds of skilled labour became chronically short and men had to be brought back from the forces. Although about 7 million foreign workers and prisoners were brought to Germany during the war, their labour was wastefully used.

Albert Speer, the Minister of Armaments, put forward a plan for a manpower budget, but it was never applied. Instead the manpower situation became increasingly chaotic.

Speer, who took over from Todt as Minister of Armaments after the latter's death in a plane crash in February 1942, has sedulously cultivated the legend that the German economy would have performed better had Hitler taken more note of his suggestions.

After spending 20 years in jail he was even able to emerge and produce a book of memoirs which has had some success.

However interesting Speer's story of the muddle and confusion which reigned in government circles, his Ministry was not able to prevent the decline and final collapse of the German economy under the strain of war. It is possible, of course, that if a more effective system of priorities had been applied from the beginning, or if the German economy had been geared to fight a long war from the 1930s that the outcome might have been different.

Speer's story, like other detailed investigations into the German war economy, shows how little foundation there was for the claim that the Nazis had established a new form of non-capitalist economy.

They only operated a capitalist economy which they gingerly turned towards waging an all-out war when the blitzkrieg strategy to which Hitler was committed had failed. To the end the Nazi state interfered less in business and turned the economy less towards war production than the Churchill government in Britain.

The monopolies and cartels, after surviving some mild 'de-Nazification', rapidly re-emerged in the post-war era in W Germany. Under a different political dispensation, German capitalism pursues the same historic aims as it did under the Kaiser, the Weimar Republic and the Nazi Third Reich.

But that is another story.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

Gun sport

Planning your summer holidays this year? Here's a point from the N Ireland Tourist Board you might like to take into consideration.

'For the first time as a result of our collaboration we are able to make available to visitors, with a love for gun sports, one of the recreational activities which is such a feature of country life in this part of the world.

'For generations, the wide range of shooting in N Ireland has provided all sections of the population with a pastime which, with hunting and fishing, has occupied a great deal of leisure time. Unlike many countries, the outstanding characteristics of the sport has been that it was not confined to one class.'

(From a booklet published for the N Ireland Tourist Board and printed by W. & G. Baird Ltd, Belfast.)

Bans

Having failed to root out capitalism and corruption in Bangla Desh the Awami League government is turning its attention to more easily operated reforms.

Out of the blue last week, prime minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman announced that horse racing had been abolished for ever.

He told members of the Dacca Race Workers' Union that they would be absorbed in factories and plants in the country now that their livelihood has been abolished.

Drinking is also to go: Mujib announced that this evil would not be allowed to continue in Bangla Desh.

'Drinking and racing do not bring any welfare for the

nation,' he said. 'They will not be permitted in an independent Bangla Desh because they are responsible for ruining many families in the country.'

Escape

Sean Bourke, the man who helped master-spy George Blake escape from Wormwood Scrubs, is alive and well and living in Co Limerick. In fact he's so well, he's topping the scales at 17 stone, three stone overweight.

He has just finished his second book for Cassells. It's called 'The Scrubbers' and includes some random observations of his time in the Scrubs. He has sent some letters to the Russian Embassy and asked for them to be forwarded to 'George'.

He feels that parts of his book on the great escape have embarrassed Blake—'hence he ignores my letters'.

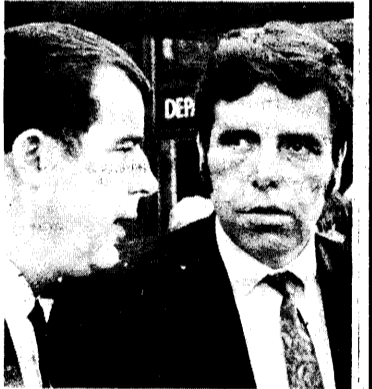
Bourke did not say when he would write the real story about the Blake escape. His first effort begged as many questions as it answered.

Reid for Suez?

A current Clydeside joke: 'Have you heard they're sending Reid and Airlie to Suez.'

'Why?'

'To clear the ships out of the canal.'



Reid and Airlie

Note: On three separate occasions the UCS shop stewards' co-ordinating committee, dominated by the Communist Party, have promised that ships would be held by the UCS workers until the four divisions were safe.

They broke this policy three times and have allowed seven ships to be delivered since the company's liquidation in June last year.



Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

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How the Tories forced a showdown with leading reformists

AT 6 p.m. on Tuesday April 18, 1972, Victor Grayson Keir Hardie Feather, pink faced, pressed and puffing a cigar of Churchillian proportions spoke to reporters at Congress House.

There was the familiar and disarming 'I-know-things-you-don't-know' banter with pressmen who called him 'Vic'.

The sense of crisis and tension which had been building up in reporters' minds throughout the three hours 40 minutes wait while the TUC Finance and General Purposes committee met was quickly dissolved in the hands of the figure who looked as solid as the marble pillars around him and as comfortable as the Bank of England.

Once again, as in so many disputes before, Feather was poised to 'use his good offices' in an 11th-hour bid to get British Rail and the three rail unions round the table.

As a member of the NUR delegation said on his way out of Congress House a few minutes before 6 p.m.: 'We can't get them talking but Vic can.'

Under different conditions Feather's assurance that the gap between the two sides was 'very narrow indeed' might have had the customary calming affect.

But by six o'clock reporters knew that the general secretaries of the NUR, the TSSA and ASLEF had not only not budged from their rejection of the Jarratt proposals and their refusal to call off the work-to-rule, but were holding out absolutely no prospect of budging.

Once Tuesday's TUC meeting ended, lingering doubts turned quickly into concrete certainties that the rail go-slow was not just one more in a long line of disputes.

This was shaping as a unique, even historic, confrontation.

Under irresistible pressure from the rank and file the rail unions were demanding a £20 minimum wage—now!

And for their part, the British Rail Board had made it crystal clear that there would not be a penny more after Jarratt.

As Feather left Congress House in his chauffeur-driven car, London's Tory evening newspapers were carrying front-page horror stories of the nation in peril: women were fainting in trains packed like sardine tins and travel was disrupted from Lands End to John O'Groats.

He hurried into St James's Square—the headquarters of the Department of Employment—to make 'strenuous attempts' to get the broken down and hopelessly deadlocked talks started again.

But even while Feather was upstairs at the Department, supposedly having the usual christian name, soft-shoe chat

For three days this week, there was much to-ing and fro-ing in the rail dispute. TUC secretary Victor Feather was the man in the middle—and the Tories, armed with their own 'law of the land', dealt with him quite contemptuously. This marked a new aggressive phase in their relations with reformism and its arch-proponent whose middle names happen to include Keir Hardie—the father of reformism.

PATIENTLY FOLLOWING THE ROUNDS FOR WORKERS PRESS: IAN YEATS AND JOHN SPENCER



Employment Secretary Macmillan

with Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan, it was becoming clear that what the government wanted was immediate action by either the TUC or the rail unions.

Senior ministers had been meeting throughout the day with Tory leader Edward Heath at 10 Downing St.

At various times these meetings included Solicitor-General Sir Geoffrey Howe and Defence Secretary Lord Carrington, as well as the ministers concerned directly with communications and supplies.

More important than anything else the Tories were letting it be known that they were not prepared to allow a repeat of the miners' dispute. As it was phrased: 'The government could not afford it.'

When Feather emerged at 8 p.m. on Tuesday evening after two rounds of talks with Macmillan, he was visibly shaken

and his first statements were wildly erratic.

'We will be back', he told about 20 reporters who crowded in on him the moment he stepped from the lift with TUC chairman George Smith.

A few seconds later he said: 'I don't really think we will be back tonight unless someone is offering more money. But I don't see anyone offering more.'

With as much nonchalance as he could muster, he said that his next move in what was now clearly a crisis of major proportions was to 'go and have something to eat'.

Asked if the time 10.30 p.m. had any significance for him, Feather replied casually and with a smile: 'No, no. It is not a time that appeals to me very much.'

As soon as Feather's back disappeared out of the door, reporters heard what in fact had transpired upstairs. Macmillan had slapped down a 10.30 ultimatum. He wasn't calling it an ultimatum, but that is what it amounted to and it was widely described as such.

Feather had been told to return to the Department at 10.30 p.m. with the general secretaries of the three rail unions and give replies to three vital questions:

- Would the rail unions suspend their work to rule while discussions continued?
- Would they agree to a secret ballot of their members?
- What did the statement that they were prepared to have discussions on the Jarratt award mean?

It was now clear that the talks with Macmillan—a hard-liner much in favour with Tory backbenchers—had been more a sour confrontation between enemies than a discussion among friends.

NUR leader Sir Sidney Greene had earlier observed that all the old negotiating procedures had been 'reversed' and that while they were trying to be 'helpful', Macmillan had 'belted' them 'across the face'.

Now Feather's face was stinging too. Macmillan told the press that Feather had come to him without answers to any of the points the TUC and the union executives had been considering for 24 hours.

Now he wanted them by 10.30. Meanwhile he would talk to Heath.

The situation was now extremely awkward. The Tories were cracking the whip. Could Feather or the unions be seen to jump to it?

There was a compromise. The rail unions continued their discussions and at 10.30 Feather and George Smith returned to St James's Square—alone.

Nothing had changed, except that Macmillan now had a new brief.

His statement after the new talks ended just after midnight was icy:

'No government can reasonably tolerate a continuation of this state of affairs for anything but a limited period.'

If by midday tomorrow [Wednesday] the government cannot be certain the unions are instructing their members to suspend their industrial action, the government will apply to the National Industrial Relations Court for a restraining order,



Victor Feather, TUC secretary

under the Industrial Relations Act.'

Writing was now appearing fairly decisively on the wall.

When he emerged from the lift for the second time that day, Feather seemed more at sea than ever, dishevelled, hair ruffled and no sign of a cigar.

His tone was curt and more than a little outraged.

'I was hopeful,' he said with inimitable slowness, 'that the

What was Feather going to do now, they-asked. And weren't the long-suffering public entitled to a decision?

What Feather was going to do next was a question which touched a raw nerve. The BBC plunged in with a mike and began a barrage of questions about the public good.

'Sod off', said Feather. He brushed aside the man and the mike. 'You are asking me questions that make me look so ridiculous I really can't comment.'

Anger seemed now to have taken a hold on the usually smiling, jocular Feather. He paused on the pavement long enough to snort:

'There are rocks ahead for the trade union movement, but the government will regret this particular day.'

He added, one might suppose wistfully: 'It would have been better if the government had given the unions the opportunity of continuing discussions without application to the Industrial Relations Court.'

Next day Feather was out and about at 7.30 a.m.; all the well-remembered calm and leisure had disappeared from Congress House. Just to ask a question in the press office was like poking a stick at a bear with a sore head.

The TUC was up against it. Negotiations were definitely not on.

For the Tories it was a case of blood or surrender.

After two and a half hours of discussion Feather declined to meet the press. Instead he sent down a one paragraph statement saying the TUC backed the action of the rail unions in refusing to recognize the Industrial Relations Court to which they had all been summoned.

The TUC Finance and General Purposes Committee went into emergency session at 1.30—with all three rail unions giving the thumbs down to ballot, cooling-off period and Jarratt.

Two very significant events in this microcosmic study of reformism occurred next.

At 4 p.m. on Wednesday Sir John Donaldson and his four lay judges filed into the crowded, windowless No. 1 court.



Sir Sidney Greene

government would give an opportunity for discussion on the proposal of the Finance and General Purposes Committee.'

This proposal had been to carry on talking about Jarratt, even though it was known that to the rail unions this still meant £20 a week now.

Feather said: 'I still hope the unions will agree to more discussions, but reference to the Industrial Relations Court could now stand in the way.'

Things were now getting very difficult. In a matter of hours, it was the future of trade unionism itself that had become the issue.

Weary after awaiting results for 15 hours from discussions which had seemed to stand still, the capitalist press now took the bit between its teeth.

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old Prudential building in Chancery Lane.

By contrast with the panic and confusion at Congress House, the atmosphere was efficient and cold-blooded.

Sir John regretted the absence of the three rail unions—while it was their right to stay away, it might not be in their best interest, he said.

But either way it didn't interfere with the legal process. It took just four hours from the opening of the government's submission by Sir Geoffrey Howe (himself the Act's main architect) to the end of Sir John Donaldson's summing up.

Donaldson's favourite word is 'forthwith'. He defines it as 'with the utmost possible speed in all the circumstances'. And that is just how the National Industrial Relations Court goes about upholding the Industrial Relations Act and destroying trade union rights.

The Tories obtained an order imposing a 14-day cooling off period on the rail unions.

And Feather continued his 'strenuous attempts' to get talks going again.

Late on Wednesday night he appeared to be knocking at a locked and barred door.

Rail chief Richard Marsh told him coldly that they would have to wait and see the outcome of NIRC's judgement before any further discussions could begin.

In other words a trial of strength had begun—and there was no point in talking until it was known who the vanquished were.

The London evening newspaper headlines blared out: 'NO DEAL UNTIL UNIONS OBEY LAW—says Marsh.'

At 9 p.m. on Thursday April 20 leaders of the three rail unions meeting at Unity House, Euston, announced, with great reluctance, that they would call off the work-to-rule.

From Congress House Feather told the press there would not now be another urgent meeting of the Finance and General Purposes Committee. Instead it would meet in three days time—on Monday.

He said: 'Highly responsible and decent working men and their unions have been caught up in the trammels of the law, but nobody is squealing.'

'The unions will now be looking at methods whereby they can safeguard their members lawfully until such time as we can change the law.'

Socialist Labour League LECTURE

'Essential Marxism' given by G. Healy, SLL national secretary Woodside Hall, St George's Cross

GLASGOW Sunday April 23, 2.30 p.m.

Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists Meeting

DUNDEE 'Working class unity and the fight against the Tory government'

AUEW Hall, 26 Southward Rd. Sunday April 23, 8 p.m.

Speakers: G. Healy, SLL national secretary

David Barclay, YS Glasgow-to London Right-to-Work marcher

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

WILLESDEN: Monday April 24, 8 p.m. Labour and Trades Hall, Willesden High Road, NW10. Tory 'fair rents' Bill.

SW London: Tuesday April 25, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4. Tory 'fair rents' Bill.

N KENT: Tuesday April 25, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, Essex Rd, Dartford. The Industrial Relations Act.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday April 25, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue, Barking. The engineers' wage claim.

LEEDS: Tuesday, April 25, 7.30 p.m. Quarry Hill Flats Community Centre. Trade unions and the Revolutionary Party.

SOUTHALL: Wednesday April 26, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Bridge Rd. Fight Tory rents policy.

LUTON: Thursday April 27, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Brigade Hall, Lea Rd. YS May Day rally.

BBC 1

10.00 Wie bitte? 10.30 Zarabanda. 10.55 Apollo 16. 11.55 Weather. 12.00 Double Deckers. 12.25 Pink Panther. 12.45 Grandstand: 1.15 Ice Hockey; 2.05, 3.05 Motor Racing; 2.45, 3.30 Swimming; 3.45 Rugby League; 4.40 Final Score. 5.05 Basil Brush. 5.35 News, weather. 5.50 Dr Who.

6.15 **WONDERFUL WORLD OF DISNEY.**

7.00 **FILM: 'AFRICA — TEXAS STYLE'.** Hugh O'Brian, John Mills. English settler in Kenya hires two Texas cowboys.

8.40 **TARBUCK'S LUCK.** Variety.

9.25 **THE BEFRIENDERS.** Odds Against.

10.15 **NEWS, Weather.**

10.25 **MATCH OF THE DAY.**

11.25 **BRADEN'S WEEK.**

11.55 **APOLLO 16.** 1.00 Weather.

BBC 2

9.05 Open University. 3.00 Film: 'The Best Things in Life are Free'. 4.40 Garden of the Three Glens. 4.50 Tutankhamun's Egypt. 5.10 Animal People. 5.35 Television Doctor. 5.50 Man Alive. 6.40 Westminster.

7.00 **NEWS, Sport, Weather.**

7.10 **APOLLO 16.** Second Moon-drive highlights.

8.00 **RUGBY SPECIAL.** International Championship 1971-1972—review of the season.

8.40 **SIR RALPH RICHARDSON.** Talking about his child-

ITV

10.00 Apollo 16. 11.15 Sesame Street. 12.15 Jackson Five. 12.45 News. 12.50 World of Sport: 1.30, 2.00, 2.40 Racing from Sandown; 1.45, 2.15, 2.55 Racing from Redcar; 3.05 Featherweight Boxing; European Saloon Car Championships; Cycle Race from Belgium; 3.50 Results, Scores, News; 3.58 Wrestling; 4.50 Results. 5.10 Sale of the Century. 5.40 News. 5.45 Ken Dodd.

6.15 **ROLF HARRIS SHOW.** Variety.

7.00 **NEW SCOTLAND YARD.** Point of Impact.

8.00 **SATURDAY VARIETY.** Leslie Crowther.

9.00 **FILM: 'THE NIGHT WALKER'.** Robert Taylor, Barbara Stanwyck. Blind husband's search for wife's lover.

10.30 **NEWS.**

10.45 **THE SCIENTISTS.**

11.30 **WHAT'S A GIRL LIKE YOU.**

12.03 **THIS GREEN AND PLEASANT LAND.**

hood, early days in theatre and love of literature and painting.

9.30 **SOUNDS FOR SATURDAY.** Tom Paxton, Mary Travers, John Denver.

10.15 **THE CRAFTSMEN.** A Master of Silver—Christopher Lawrence.

10.30 **SUNSET SONG.** Part 5: Harvest.

11.15 **NEWS, Weather.**

11.20 **FILM NIGHT.**

11.55 **FILM: 'BLUE DENIM'.** Unmarried teenagers face parenthood.

REGIONAL TV

All regions as BBC 1 except:
Wales: 6.15 Top of the Form. 6.35 Disc a Dawn. 1.00 Weather.
Scotland: 4.55 Sportsreel. 5.45 Sportsreel. 10.25 Sportsreel. 10.50 Ballroom Dancing. 1.00 News, weather.
N Ireland: 5.45 Sports Results. 11.25 Sports Final. 1.00 News, weather.
England: 1.00 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 10.00 Apollo 16. 11.00 Heckle and Jeckle. 11.15 Yesterdays. 11.45 Thunderbirds. 12.42 Weather. 12.45 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 London. 9.00 Film: 'Hysteria'. 10.30 London. 11.30 News. 11.40 UFO. 12.40 Weather. Song.

HTV: 9.30 Tennis. 10.00 Apollo 16. 11.00 Arthur. 11.15 Sesame Street. 12.15 Farming. 12.45 London. 9.00 Film: 'McMillan and Wife'. 10.20 If It Moves. 10.30 London. 11.30 Prisoner. 12.25 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 5.10 Sion a Sian.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 Apollo 16. 12.10 Horoscope. 12.15 Captain Scarlet. 12.45 London. 9.00 Film: 'Murder by Contract'. 10.30 London. 11.30 Dick Van Dyke Show. 12.00 Who Knows? Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 Apollo 16. 12.30 Enchanted House. 12.45 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 News. 5.45 Sportscast. 6.15 London. 9.00 Film: '20 Million Miles to Earth'. 10.30 London. 11.30 Dick Van Dyke Show.

YORKSHIRE: 10.00 Apollo 16. 11.00 Yesterdays. 11.25 Make a Wish. 11.50 Skippy. 12.15 Lidsville. 12.45 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 London. 9.00 Film: 'McMillan and Wife'. 10.23 If It Moves. 10.30 London. 11.30 Edgar Wallace. 12.35 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 Apollo 16. 12.00 Play the Game. 12.30 Comedy Time. 12.45 London. 5.10 On the Buses. 5.40 London. 9.00 Film: 'Five Steps to Danger'. 10.30 London. 11.30 Dangerman.

SCOTTISH: 10.00 Apollo 16. 11.00 Bush boy. 11.25 White throat. 11.40 Beagan Gaidhlig. 11.55 Clapperboard. 12.15 Tom Grattan. 12.45 London. 5.10 Roadrunner. 5.40 London. 9.00 Film: 'Blueprint for Robbery'. 10.30 London. 10.45 Sport. 11.15 Late Call. 11.20 Seaway.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00 Apollo 16. 12.15 Batman. 12.45 London. 5.10 His and Hers. 5.40 London. 9.00 Film: 'McMillan and Wife'. 10.20 If it moves. 10.30 London. 11.30 Strange report.

CHANNEL: 11.00 Apollo 16. 12.45 London. 9.00 Film: 'The Mob'. 10.30 London. 11.30 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 10.35 Lone Ranger. 12.00 Gus Honeybun. 12.05 Rupert Bear. 12.20 Bugaloos. 11.30 Faith for life. 11.35 Weather.

TV

BBC 1

9.00 Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan. 9.30 Wie bitte? 10.00 Zarabanda. 11.00 Seeing and Believing. 11.30 Boomph with Becker. 11.45 Mistress of Hardwick. 12.10 Bellamy on Botany. 12.35 Profit by Control. 1.00 Apollo 16. 1.55 Hammer it Home. 2.20 Made in Britain. 2.30 Going for a Song. 3.00 Shari Lewis. 3.10 Film: 'Nob Hill'. 4.40 Motor Racing. 5.10 British Empire. 6.05 News, weather.

6.15 **HOW CAN YOU BE SO SURE?**

6.45 **APPEAL.**

6.50 **SONGS OF PRAISE.**

7.25 **HOLIDAY ON ICE.** Spectacle on ice featuring Donald McPherson, Hauss and Hafner, Richard Callaghan.

8.10 **FILM: 'THE SUN ALSO RISES'.** Tyrone Power, Ava Gardner, Mel Ferrer. Ernest Hemingway's story of a group of American expatriates drifting through Europe in the 1920s.

10.15 **NEWS, weather.**

10.30 **APOLLO 16.**

10.50 **OMNIBUS.** Le Corbusier, architect.

11.40 **Weather.**

BBC 2

9.35 Open University. 7.00 News Review, weather.

7.25 **APOLLO 16.**

7.30 **MUSIC ON 2.** Beverly Sills—America's 'super star' of the operatic world.

8.55 **SHAKESPEARE'S ISLAND.** Visit to Royal Shakespeare Company at Stratford.

ITV

10.30 Yesterdays. 11.00 Confirmation. 12.05 Apollo 16. 1.00 Out of Town. 1.15 Stingray. 1.45 University Challenge. 2.15 Big Match. 3.15 Jason King. 4.10 Shirley's World. 4.45 Golden Shot. 5.35 Pretenders. 6.05 News.

6.15 **A PLAY FOR SUNDAY.** Why Not?

6.55 **APPEAL.**

7.00 **STARS ON SUNDAY.**

7.25 **DOCTOR IN CHARGE.**

7.55 **FILM: 'SUMMER AND SMOKE'.** Laurence Harvey, Geraldine Page. Tennessee Williams' play set in America's Deep South in the 1920s.

9.50 **POLICE 5.**

10.00 **NEWS.**

10.20 **THE ORGANIZATION.** Ken Grist and Eve.

11.20 **NEWS.** Apollo 16.

11.25 **MUSIC IN THE ROUND.**

11.55 **SHORT STORY.** Three Card Trick.

12.25 **THIS GREEN AND PLEASANT LAND.**

9.55 **TUTANKHAMUN'S EGYPT:** The Temple.

10.15 **THE LOTUS EATERS (new series).** English-speaking expatriates living in Cretan fishing village.

11.05 **News, weather.**

11.10 **UP SUNDAY.** Line-Up takes a last look at the week.



Hugh O'Brian and John Mills are in 'Africa-Texas Style' on BBC 1 on Saturday.

ULSTER: 12.05 Apollo 16. 1.45 London. 3.15 Film: 'Green Grass of Wyoming'. 4.45 London. 7.53 Sports Results. 7.55 Film: 'The Spy with a Cold Nose'. 9.30 Jimmy Stewart. 9.55 London. 11.25 Saint.

YORKSHIRE: 10.45 Talking hands. 11.00 Confirmation. 12.05 Apollo 16. 1.00 Industrial Relations Act. 1.25 Farming. 1.55 Calendar. 2.20 Soccer. 3.15 Film: 'The Gamma People'. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Miniver Story'. 10.00 London. 11.23 Aquarius. 12.23 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 London. 1.00 Mad movies. 1.25 Yesterdays. 1.55 Football. 2.50 Film: 'The Dancing Years'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'A Child is Waiting'. 9.50 Bugs Bunny. 10.00 London. 11.25 Aquarius.

SCOTTISH: 12.05 Apollo 16. 1.22 Zingalong. 1.45 Yesterdays. 2.15 Scientists. 3.00 Film: 'Port

Afrique'. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'None But the Brave'. 10.00 London. 11.23 Late call. 11.27 Randall and Hopkirk.

GRAMPIAN: 12.05 Apollo 16. 1.25 Yesterdays. 1.55 Farm progress. 2.25 Prisoner. 3.20 Film: 'Meet Me After the Show'. 4.45 London. 6.55 News. 7.00 London. 7.55 Film: 'Assault on the Wayne'. 9.30 Odd couple. 10.00 London. 11.25 Yoga. 11.50 A kind of living. 12.05 Job look.

CHANNEL: 11.00 Service. 12.05 Apollo 16. 1.58 Weather. 2.00 Big match. 3.00 Film: 'Zarak'. 4.35 Date with Danton. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'Night People'. 9.30 Cinema. 10.00 London. 11.23 Aquarius. 12.20 'Epilogue. News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.20 Homes of history. 1.35 Farm and country news. 12.20 Faith for life. 12.25 Weather.

REGIONAL TV

All regions as BBC 1 except:
Wales: 3.10, 3.35 Spy Trap. 4.00 Rugby Union. 6.15 Hen Allorau. 6.45 Appeal. 11.42 News.

Scotland: 10.30 Mass. 6.15 Christianity Grounded. 6.45 Appeal. 6.50 Songs of Praise. 11.42 News, weather.

N Ireland: 6.45 Appeal. 11.42 News, weather.

England: 6.45 Appeal. 11.42 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00 Confirmation. 12.00 Weather. 12.05 Apollo 16. 1.00 Farm progress. 1.30 Stingray. 2.00 Soccer. 2.55 Film: 'Portrait of Clare'. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Private War of Major Benson'.

9.50 Film diary. 10.00 London. 11.25 Something to say. 12.25 Weather. Sing me a song.

HTV: 11.00 London. 3.15 Film: 'Tarzan's Savage Fury'. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'Wild Women'. 9.30 Mr and Mrs. 10.00 London. 11.25 Avengers. 12.25 Weather. **HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except:** 1.00 Llusern.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 London. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 Yesterdays. 2.15 Soccer. 3.15 Film: 'Turn the Key Softly'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Forest rangers. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Sands of the Kalahari'. 10.00 London. 11.23 Dangerman. Weather.

10,000 are behind us — docks leader

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

A FORMER Labour Minister yesterday urged in Loughborough that unions should co-operate with the National Industrial Relations Court following its £50,000 fine on the Transport and General Workers' Union.

But on Merseyside, the dockers' message was: 'The "black" stays.' And support for their stand came from the Scottish TUC meeting in Dunoon.

Denis Howell, MP, ex-Minister of Sport, told a meeting of Loughborough Labour Party last night that the NIRC would not 'melt away for the convenience of the trade unions'.

The MP, who is president of the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union, added:

'It cannot help the trade union cause to allow its case to go by default, especially as it has accepted that the rule of law compels the movement to accept the decisions of the Court.'

Mersey T&GWU officials continued attempts to pressure dockers to call off their blacking action against road-haulage firms who have complained to the NIRC.

However, Jimmy Symes, chairman of the port's stewards' committee said the action would continue.

'I think it is a vicious fine,' he said. 'At this stage it is not going to influence our position. We took this action long before the Industrial Relations Act came in.'

'Ten thousand dockers are behind us.'

In Dunoon, an emergency motion welcoming 'the stand taken by the T&GWU against the £55,000 in fines imposed by the NIRC' was carried unanimously by the Scottish TUC.

The motion instructed the General Council to organize 'solidarity action' in support of the transport union.

A further motion calling on all member bodies of the Scottish TUC to initiate immediate action in support of any trade unionist or affiliated body victimized by the Act was carried by an overwhelming majority.

All forms of pressure, including industrial action, should be organized in order to defeat the Industrial Relations Act, and have it removed from the statute book, it said.

Lancs GEC plants begin to link fights

BY PHILIP WADE

MORE than 5,500 workers in two major GEC plants in the Liverpool area are either sitting-in, on strike or are laid-off in a struggle for pay and conditions against the Weinstock empire.

At the Liverpool E Lancashire Rd plant 500 clerks have just ended their fifth week on official strike for a £6-a-

week pay rise. They have been offered between £1.50 and £1.75.

At the heavy diesel plant at Newton-le-Willows, near Warrington, Lancs, 2,000 engineering workers are in the third week of their sit-in.

Letters threatening the Liverpool strikers with the sack have been unceremoniously

dumped in the personnel office.

The 80 per cent vote for the strike ended a year of negotiations. Some 3,500 production workers—all with claims in the pipeline—have been laid off.

Many of the male clerks, in some cases with long service, take home less than £17 a week. Some female

clerks go away with less than £12 a week.

'A lot depends on us,' says strike committee member Gerry Lynn.

'The manual workers all have claims in—so it's up to us. But I must say we've had great support from the shop floor.'

'What amazes me is the declaration of over £80m profit. Clerks throughout the combine have been told each plant is losing money.'

'I remember all the talks we were given when the [GEC-AEI] merger took place in 1968 saying how good it was going to be.'

'But they have tried to force us to accept less labour, a standstill on wages and more work.'

'The only good thing that could come in my opinion is to get the Tory Party out and put back a Labour government. We would like to demand the nationalization of the heavy electrical industry,' said Mr Lynn.

Clerks and production workers meet on Monday to review the situation.

The clerks have also been in touch with the 2,000 Newton-le-Willows engineering workers.

Workers who came to the factory gate with a steward, Marshall Leigh, criticized their union.

'The AUEW formulated the deal and then threw it back at us,' said Mr Leigh.

'The executive backed out—after we gave them support—and sowed the seeds for the confusing situation we're in now.'

'There can be no doubt about it, the employers are organized on a national scale. Our national committee has to take some form of national action to answer it. All the engineers should be out.'



Some of the Lewisham GEC workers in jubilant mood

FUND NOW AT £555.24

AS THE Tories' Industrial Relations Court whips the rallmen's leaders into line, the urgent question of building an alternative revolutionary leadership comes right to the fore.

Workers Press has been the only daily paper to prepare for this political situation and to warn about the dangers from this Tory government. In this, we know that you, our readers, have always given us your fullest support.

This month, therefore, we are appealing for a very special effort to be made for our Fund. We need to raise an extra £500 to help us cover the difficulties in the distribution of our paper during the rail work-to-rule. We have one week left to raise this amount and complete our target of £1,750. Post all donations immediately to:

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

DOUBLE ACTION AT LEWISHAM FACTORY

BY IAN YEATS

ONE HUNDRED workers on strike at GEC (Elliotts), Lewisham, London, were told by union officials at a mass meeting yesterday to keep their action strictly within the law and to try to restart deadlocked negotiations with management.

Twenty AUEW members of the 1,000-strong factory's machine shop have been on official strike for 13 weeks over a £4-a-week wage claim.

Last Monday GEC laid off 31 men in the 100-per-cent unionized wiring section, including two AUEW shop stewards and a deputy, one from the EPTU and an EPTU branch secretary.

About 40 other workers walked out in protest.

Members of the wiring shop have been staging an overtime ban, work-to-rule and half-day strike once a week since January in support of a £6-a-week pay claim, a 35-hour week and equal pay for women.

Management has offered all the workers a £2 rise. Present average earnings are £22 a week.

AUEW wiring shop steward, Danny Speight, told me: 'Everybody in the wiring section turned up for work on Tuesday despite the lay-off and sat in for a couple of hours.'

'Those who were not laid off decided to strike because they considered the trade union officials were being victimized.'

Communist Party AUEW convenor Horace Johnson said there were no plans to call out the entire factory in protest against the alleged victimization of union officials.

Workers are confident that GEC will be forced to concede their pay claim and reinstate the laid-off men.

No components are entering the factory across the picket lines and even supplies of food to the canteen have been halted.

At GEC Osram, Erith, the work force has been locked out after a five-week pay dispute. Convenor J. L. Foley said the fight in the factory was the fight 'for the right to work'.

LATE NEWS WEATHER

NEWS DESK
01-720 2000

CIRCULATION
01-622 7029

● At Coventry more than 2,000 workers at the GEC telecommunications plant were out on strike yesterday. This followed management attempts to allow staff to carry out work normally done by 120 maintenance men who are on strike over a pay dispute.

SIXTY workers at the C. A. Parsons, Heaton, Newcastle-on-Tyne, electrical engineering plant were dismissed yesterday because, their union says, they supported a protest against redundancy plans.

NEARLY half of Lancaster University students were denied their grant cheques yesterday after they refused to comply with a new disciplinary undertaking. They have been on strike over the threatened dismissals of English lecturers.

N SCOTLAND and E England will be mostly cloudy with sunny intervals and perhaps a little light rain or drizzle in places.

The remainder of the British Isles will be mostly dry with sunny spells.

Temperatures will be below normal over England and Wales and near normal over Scotland and N Ireland.

Outlook for Sunday and Monday: Generally dry with sunny periods and temperatures near or a little above normal, but parts of N and E Scotland and North Sea coasts of England may be rather cold and cloudy with scattered light showers at times.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.
Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 186b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists

MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION

Sunday May 7

We demand the Right to Work!

No retreat from the fight against the Industrial Relations Act!

Hands off the trade unions! Defend democratic rights!

Withdraw troops from Ulster! Release all internees!

Victory to the Vietnamese workers and peasants

For the military defeat of US imperialism!

MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN!

ASSEMBLE: 1.30 p.m. The Embankment, Charing Cross

MARCH: via Trafalgar Square, Piccadilly, Regent Street, Oxford Street, Tottenham Court Road, Euston Road

MEETING: 4 p.m. St Pancras Town Hall.

G. Healy (Socialist Labour League National Secretary)

J. Simmance (Young Socialists National Secretary)

M. Banda (Socialist Labour League Central Committee)

(In a personal capacity)

Frank McCabe (NUM)

Roy Battersby

A. Thornett (Deputy Senior Steward Morris Motors)

CHAIRMAN

C. Slaughter (Socialist Labour League Central Committee)

I would like to come to the May Day Demonstration

NAME

ADDRESS

Please send me details of transport arrangements. Complete form and send to J. Simmance, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

● SEE LATE NEWS