

HOOPER  
APR 30 1974  
INSTITUTION

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● WEDNESDAY MARCH 14, 1973 ● No. 1021 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## ANSWER ROY JENKINS NOW

# DEMAND EMERGENCY LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

**KARL  
MARX**  
90th anniversary  
of his death  
1883-1973  
See centre  
pages

**THE BRITISH working class needs one thing before all else: to get rid of the Tory government and replace it with a Labour government which is pledged through the mass action of the working class to carry out socialist policies.**

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

There is no solution under capitalism to the problems of the working class. So long as the Tories remain, they will go on destroying every basic democratic right and try to smash the trade unions. Behind the scenes they are preparing forms of military rule.

At the same time, the Labour Party leaders conduct no fight to get the Tory government out. They have no policy for expropriating the banks and big business.

In other words, they intend to do no more than once again play the game of the employers in imposing the burden of the economic crisis on the working class.

Taking advantage of the paralysis of the Harold Wilson-Barbara Castle leadership and the refusal of the 'left' to fight, Roy Jenkins and the extreme right of the Labour Party have initiated a campaign to break the Party from any connection with the trade unions or with socialist policies of any kind.

Jenkins does this with the full support of the capitalist class and its Press.

Dick Taverne was used to hoist the flag and create the conditions for Jenkins' campaign, a campaign on behalf of the Tories inside the labour movement.

Jenkins is not alone. Sixty eight Labour MPs voted together with him for the Tories on the Common Market, against the Labour Party conference and Parliamentary Labour Party decisions.

On the struggle of workers against the Tories' Industrial Relations Act and state control of wages, Reg Prentice, front-bench spokesman,

### Statement by the Political Committee of the SLL

sided with the Tory government on the ground of maintaining 'law and order'.

All these right-wing careerists want to sever the Labour Party from the struggle of the trade unionists who created the Party.

They must be driven out of the movement. Precious time has been lost by the 'Tribune'-ite 'lefts', who refused categorically to fight for the expulsion of Jenkins, and the other pro-Marketeters.

There must be no split between the Labour Party and the unions!

The right-wing pro-Marketeters want separation from the trade unions in order to be free to serve the capitalist class, either in a Labour government or in a coalition with the Tories.

**An immediate emergency conference of the Labour Party is now absolutely vital!**

Just as the TUC had to call a special conference, so must the Labour Party!

The issues facing the whole working class demand such a conference, the purpose of which would be:

● To mobilize, together with the TUC, the whole working-class movement to bring about the resignation of the Tory government.

● To decide on socialist policies, with the support of the organized workers throughout the country, to dispossess the capitalist class, without compensation, and place their factories, banks, building societies and all big enterprises under workers' control.

These policies are the only ones which can free the working class from the disastrous cuts in living standards resulting from price inflation and the world economic crisis.

The Housing Finance Act,

Fair Trading Act, Industrial Relations Act, Immigration Act, etc, must be repealed immediately.

The base for reaction and military preparation against the working-class movement is the British occupation of Ulster. This base must be removed by immediate withdrawal of all troops from Northern Ireland.

A Labour government must seek ways of assisting the working-class movement in Ireland to resolve the outstanding problems.

Finally the emergency Labour Party conference must clear out every man-jack of the right-wing pro-Marketeter 'MacDonalds'. The longer these men survive in the Party, the greater the dangers to the working class.

Taverne, protégé of Hugh Gaitskell and the Transport House right wing, was tolerated for too long and now works openly to destroy the Party.

George Thomson, ex-Labour Minister in Wilson's Cabinet, is a European Commissioner alongside the Tory Christopher Soames. Jenkins is the darling of the capitalist Press.

The movement will be strengthened, not weakened, by the expulsion of these traitors!

The Socialist Labour League calls upon all trade unionists and Labour Party members to force the Labour Party and TUC to:

● **MOBILIZE** the whole working class to make the Tory government resign!

● **ADOPT** socialist policies to meet the crisis! Clear out Jenkins and the Labour traitors!

● **ORGANIZE** an emergency Labour Party conference now!

March 13, 1973



TUC secretary Victor Feather speaking to City gents yesterday.

### PLEA BY 'AGITATOR' FEATHER

**A DESPERATE plea for co-operation between unions and government was delivered yesterday by TUC chief Victor Feather.**

Speaking to a lunch of City businessmen organized by the Comment Club, Feather called for a 'non-governmental body for conciliation and arbitration', possibly financed out of public funds.

Feather deplored the union-'blasting' statements made by Ministers, but this was not a personal dislike.

Referring to Employ-

ment Secretary Maurice Macmillan and other Tory Ministers he said: 'I like him. I like them all; that's the trouble.'

He said that the unions were ready to enter into a partnership over the economy with the government, but it had to be one based on agreement.

Earlier he revealed that trade union leaders had got many a 'little laugh' out of the Industrial Relations Act.

He said that an appeal to the government not to repeal the Act but to suspend it had

been made. But now Feather claimed the Act was inoperative anyway.

Throughout his speech, which was interrupted several times by laughter from the cigar-smoking City audience, Feather presented the most moderate image possible.

He said that the wife of an American senator had once described him as a 'Labour agitator'.

'I nearly asked her to put it down in writing for me to send to the Workers Press. I am sure it would have pleased them,' he said.

# workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● WEDNESDAY MARCH 14, 1973 ● No. 1021 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## ANSWER ROY JENKINS NOW

# DEMAND EMERGENCY LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

**KARL  
MARX**

90th anniversary  
of his death  
1883-1973  
See centre  
pages

**THE BRITISH working class needs one thing before all else: to get rid of the Tory government and replace it with a Labour government which is pledged through the mass action of the working class to carry out socialist policies.**

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

There is no solution under capitalism to the problems of the working class. So long as the Tories remain, they will go on destroying every basic democratic right and try to smash the trade unions. Behind the scenes they are preparing forms of military rule.

At the same time, the Labour Party leaders conduct no fight to get the Tory government out. They have no policy for expropriating the banks and big business.

In other words, they intend to do no more than once again play the game of the employers in imposing the burden of the economic crisis on the working class.

Taking advantage of the paralysis of the Harold Wilson-Barbara Castle leadership and the refusal of the 'left' to fight, Roy Jenkins and the extreme right of the Labour Party have initiated a campaign to break the Party from any connection with the trade unions or with socialist policies of any kind.

Jenkins does this with the full support of the capitalist class and its Press.

Dick Taverne was used to hoist the flag and create the conditions for Jenkins' campaign, a campaign on behalf of the Tories inside the labour movement.

Jenkins is not alone. Sixty eight Labour MPs voted together with him for the Tories on the Common Market, against the Labour Party conference and Parliamentary Labour Party decisions.

On the struggle of workers against the Tories' Industrial Relations Act and state control of wages, Reg Prentice, front-bench spokesman,

### Statement by the Political Committee of the SLL

sided with the Tory government on the ground of maintaining 'law and order'.

All these right-wing careerists want to sever the Labour Party from the struggle of the trade unionists who created the Party.

They must be driven out of the movement. Precious time has been lost by the 'Tribune'-ite 'lefts', who refused categorically to fight for the expulsion of Jenkins, and the other pro-Marketeters.

There must be no split between the Labour Party and the unions!

The right-wing pro-Marketeters want separation from the trade unions in order to be free to serve the capitalist class, either in a Labour government or in a coalition with the Tories.

**An immediate emergency conference of the Labour Party is now absolutely vital!**

Just as the TUC had to call a special conference, so must the Labour Party!

The issues facing the whole working class demand such a conference, the purpose of which would be:

● To mobilize, together with the TUC, the whole working-class movement to bring about the resignation of the Tory government.

● To decide on socialist policies, with the support of the organized workers throughout the country, to dispossess the capitalist class, without compensation, and place their factories, banks, building societies and all big enterprises under workers' control.

These policies are the only ones which can free the working class from the disastrous cuts in living standards resulting from price inflation and the world economic crisis.

The Housing Finance Act,

Fair Trading Act, Industrial Relations Act, Immigration Act, etc, must be repealed immediately.

The base for reaction and military preparation against the working-class movement is the British occupation of Ulster. This base must be removed by immediate withdrawal of all troops from Northern Ireland.

A Labour government must seek ways of assisting the working-class movement in Ireland to resolve the outstanding problems.

Finally the emergency Labour Party conference must clear out every man-jack of the right-wing pro-Marketeter 'MacDonalds'. The longer these men survive in the Party, the greater the dangers to the working class.

Taverne, protégé of Hugh Gaitskell and the Transport House right wing, was tolerated for too long and now works openly to destroy the Party.

George Thomson, ex-Labour Minister in Wilson's Cabinet, is a European Commissioner alongside the Tory Christopher Soames. Jenkins is the darling of the capitalist Press.

The movement will be strengthened, not weakened, by the expulsion of these traitors!

The Socialist Labour League calls upon all trade unionists and Labour Party members to force the Labour Party and TUC to:

● **MOBILIZE** the whole working class to make the Tory government resign!

● **ADOPT** socialist policies to meet the crisis! Clear out Jenkins and the Labour traitors!

● **ORGANIZE** an emergency Labour Party conference now!

March 13, 1973



TUC secretary Victor Feather speaking to City gents yesterday.

### PLEA BY 'AGITATOR' FEATHER

**A DESPERATE plea for co-operation between unions and government was delivered yesterday by TUC chief Victor Feather.**

Speaking to a lunch of City businessmen organized by the Comment Club, Feather called for a 'non-governmental body for conciliation and arbitration', possibly financed out of public funds.

Feather deplored the union-blasting statements made by Ministers, but this was not a personal dislike.

Referring to Employ-

ment Secretary Maurice Macmillan and other Tory Ministers he said: 'I like him. I like them all; that's the trouble.'

He said that the unions were ready to enter into a partnership over the economy with the government, but it had to be one based on agreement.

Earlier he revealed that trade union leaders had got many a 'little laugh' out of the Industrial Relations Act.

He said that an appeal to the government not to repeal the Act but to suspend it had

been made. But now Feather claimed the Act was inoperative anyway.

Throughout his speech, which was interrupted several times by laughter from the cigar-smoking City audience, Feather presented the most moderate image possible.

He said that the wife of an American senator had once described him as a 'Labour agitator'.

'I nearly asked her to put it down in writing for me to send to the Workers Press. I am sure it would have pleased them,' he said.

Money agreement breaks up before it begins

# The 'floating six' begin to sink

THE SIX-MEMBER float of Common Market currencies is already showing signs of disintegration—before it has even begun—with sharp disagreements between the two main participants on how the float should be managed.

The conflict between France and West Germany makes it likely that the joint float, due to come into operation when foreign exchange markets reopen on March 19, will have only a brief life.

The French government, which lost a big slice of its parliamentary majority at the election last weekend, is now facing intensified conflict on wages questions with the organized working class.

## DIRTY FLOAT

Workers, who for months have been held back by the Stalinist and reformist bureaucrats of the trade unions, are determined to press home the fight now that the election is over.

With the prospect of a new round of class battles in front, the Gaullist government is determined that the EEC joint float must be as 'dirty' as possible, with central banks buying dollars

BY FOREIGN EDITOR JOHN SPENCER

to keep the joint parity down.

The French hope in this way to avoid being totally priced out of their export markets. They do not want the franc to float upwards with the German mark, which has been one of the main targets for revaluation.

The French insisted that the Germans revalue the mark by a further three per cent against the other EEC currencies before entering the common float. But they still say the banks must intervene.

The Bundesbank on the other hand wants to dispose of its large holding of paper dollars, which are a rapidly depreciating asset and pose a real danger of runaway inflation in West Germany.

The West German government was forced to buy some \$2,700m in the week ending March 7. This was on top of the huge sums—at one point as much as \$1,500m a day—that it was forced to buy in February.

## WEAKENED

The total West German reserves now amount to some \$31,000m. It was West Germany's inability to absorb more dollars that forced the closure of the foreign exchange markets on February 13 and again on March 2.

The disagreement between France and Germany reveals that the two countries are floating with radically different ends in

view, an arrangement which cannot be conducive to lasting agreement.

Already gravely weakened by the independent floating of Britain, Eire and Italy, the Common Market is proving unable to muster the cohesion and unity of purpose required to combat the United States.

The EEC is still pleading with Washington for some co-operation in staving off slump in Europe. They are asking the US government to delay its plans for freer capital exports, force US multi-national companies to send more money home and help control the use of funds.

None of these measures will find much sympathy with the US delegation when it meets the EEC Finance Ministers on Friday. The US has made it abundantly clear that Europe is the main target in the next round of trade war.



HELMUT SCHMIDT . . . West German Finance Minister.

West German Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt described the joint float agreement as 'the end of Bretton Woods', pointing out that the two main elements of the post-war monetary system—fixed parities and the dollar as the main reserve currency—were now at an end.

The capitalist crisis has cleared a way for itself through all the obstacles erected by international agreement, opening the road for the most catastrophic and thoroughgoing recession in its entire history.

# South Africa: 'Honest Jim' speaks for capitalism

IN THE City of London Mr James Slater, the head of the Slater Walker financial conglomerate, is known as 'Honest Jim'.

This affectionate nickname has been acquired through a favourable Press and other publicity. Because of this you don't readily associate him with asset-stripping, yet he is one of the biggest strippers in the business.

Slater and his erstwhile partner, Peter Walker, the Secretary for Trade and Industry, remain aloof from this publicity while one of Slater's proteges, John Bentley of Barclay Securities, gets the full blast.

Slater is opposed to 'asset-stripping', he said in a recent interview with 'The Times'. He said he preferred 'industrial rationalization and putting assets to much better use'. Which, of course, is another way of saying . . . asset-stripping!

On Monday this week 'The Guardian' presented a 'scoop' story that British-owned companies in South Africa were underpaying their African workers. This was scarcely sensational 'news'. After all there are more than 500 top British companies with investments in South Africa; they make up 61 per cent of the total foreign investment in the apartheid state; and the total volume of British investment in more than £2,500m.

When informed of these facts the captains of British business threw their arms up in mock horror. 'We did not know about the labour camps,' they exclaimed.

'Honest Jim' took a more penitent line. He said he was 'horrified' to read reports of conditions on wattle farms controlled by his South African subsidiary. 'I wish it had been brought to my attention in a less dramatic way. But I am glad it has happened.'

'We will, of course, now immediately investigate the working and living conditions of all our African employees in South Africa.'

At best, Slater's statement reveals the most astonishing naïveté about how the vicious apartheid system works.

At worst, it is a thorough-going condemnation of capitalism. Slater's statement, taken at face value, demonstrates the utterly impersonal relations under capitalism.

Slater in his skyscraper in the City of London is a highly-trained accountant who is solely interested in balancing the figures in his books.

On making deals Slater once said: 'It's like a knife and butter and we're the knife. As soon as the ink was dry on one bid, we launched another.'

Yet he appears ignorant of the conditions of the workers who make profits

for his worldwide group of companies.

Who they are, how they live, how their families survive, their education and their health—these are not questions that confront Slater and his friends every day.

In that sense Slater's comment is not only a condemnation of what his corporation is doing in South Africa, but how the system is based in Britain and every other capitalist country.

The greatest blow that British workers can make on behalf of their African brothers is to expropriate the Slater Walkers and the other money institutions in the City.

By nationalizing the companies which form the yoke of the apartheid system, the way can be cleared for the exploited African majority to make their own social revolution.

Mr Flemming Heilmann, managing director of Metal Box in South Africa, yesterday denied paying sub-standard wages to his 5,600 'non-whites'.

He admitted that labourers received £46 a month which is the country's poverty line set by the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce.

A former director of Metal Box was the Home Secretary, Mr Robert Carr, who introduced the Industrial Relations Act when he was Employment Secretary.



African workers in the High-flats region of Natal queue for their wages (above). The plantation workers being transported to work mostly receive a monthly wage of between £2.50 and £3 which leaves them on a starvation existence. The child mortality rate is one of the highest in the world.



'Honest Jim' Slater.

## Durban unrest spills over into paper mill

HUNDREDS of African workers armed with sticks rocked vehicles and smashed bus windows at the Sundumbile township at Mandini, 40 miles north of Durban, after stopping work in the Giant Sappi Tugela paper mill.

The men, who are demanding a minimum wage of one rand (55p) an hour, were watched by police as they gathered with their families on a field be-

tween the township and the mill.

Groups of strikers patrolled the road out of the township to prevent vehicles from leaving. The mill manager, A. Rodgers, claimed the stoppage was due to a misunderstanding.

The 2,500 workers had walked out because they expected their pay increase this week, whereas the management had intended to pay it next week, he claimed.

Rodgers refused to give details of current wage rates at the plant, claiming only that the workers were among the best-paid in the area.

The area was cordoned off by 15 lorry-loads of police yesterday.

Durban was the centre of a wave of strikes by the African working class, who are paid in most cases far below the regime's official starvation level.

# Railmen 'terrorists' blamed by Carr for bomb blasts

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

HOME SECRETARY Robert Carr has become the latest Tory Minister to link workers on strike against the government's pay laws with the acts of so-called terrorists.

Carr lashed out at rail drivers in a debate on the London bomb attacks in Parliament on Monday. He said that the train drivers' strike had made the job of police much more difficult because of the increased traffic in London.

The Carr statement follows Ulster Secretary William Whitelaw's comparison of 'terrorists' in Northern Ireland with trade unionists fighting the government in Britain.

Both outbursts are part of the Tory plan to intimidate union leaders and whip up a frenzy of hatred among the middle class against workers striking for a living wage.

The Carr bomb accusation can only be seen as a deliberate provocation.

After all it is an admitted fact that the Old Bailey explosion which killed one man took place because of police ineptitude.

A duty officer failed to hear the location of the car bomb and officers were too late to prevent the blast. This was nothing to do with railways or striking drivers.

There is another fact. Police say they knew of the plans to bomb London as early as last Monday—they had four days to stop the 'terrorists', but they did nothing.

Instead on Thursday the public was treated to a well-timed publicity campaign after the first 'discovery' outside Scotland Yard.

With the aid of their Press the Tories hope to create the atmosphere for repression against trade unionists as well as 'terrorists'.

This policy is deliberate. Carr, Whitelaw and Barber, the last attacked the hospital workers, do not speak out of anger. The Tories are ruthlessly determined to create the conditions where striking workers can be smashed as the preliminary to a wholesale offensive on the working class.

The Tories have bought off the power workers' leaders for a few shillings. Now they hope to drive the gasmen back to work with the aid of the right-wing leadership in the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

This will leave them free to isolate and smash the hospital workers and the civil servants.

With these 'victories' under their belt they hope to proceed to enforce laws which will mean a virtual dictatorship over the working class.

Workers should stand firm against these provocations and demand that the whole trade union movement be united to create the political and industrial conditions to force the Tory conspirators out of office.



CARR BOMB

# Thousands to travel on special trains S Wales steelmen for London jobs lobby

BY IAN YEATS

OVER 2,500 South Wales steel workers will travel to London today to lobby the British Steel Corporation against the closure of the Ebbw Vale works. The mass demonstration, to be followed by a meeting at Central Hall, Westminster, coincides with a one-day strike involving 9,000 men.

Unlike the militant lobby of parliament by Shotton steelworkers last month, today's protest is overshadowed by last Wednesday's decision of the first-ever delegate conference of the TUC steel committee at Sheffield.

Despite a barrage of demands from the floor for industrial action and a General Strike, chairman Sir David Davies refused to put resolutions to the meeting.

Even more sinister, leaders of the 16 steel unions made it clear they accepted the BSC's modernization plans.

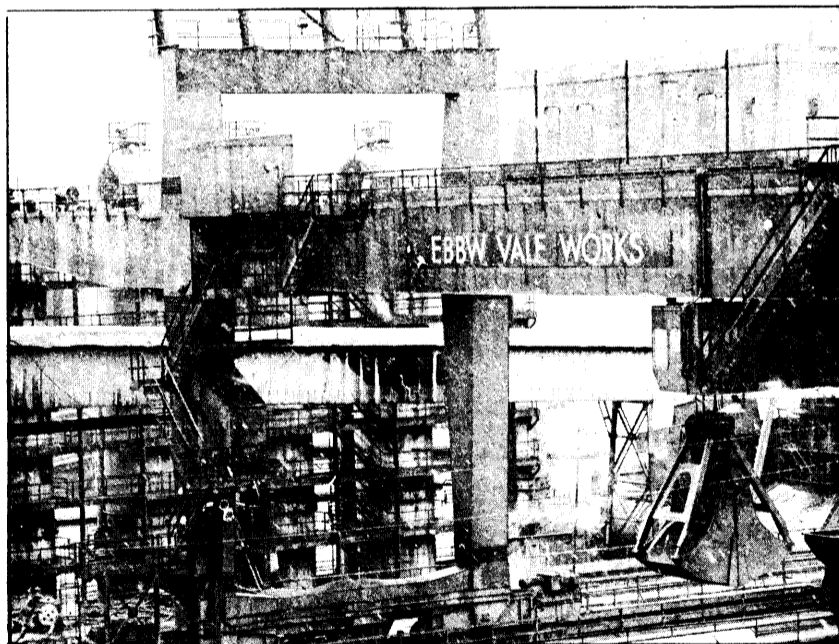
Davies, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation's general secretary, said afterwards: 'We reached common agreement not to oppose modernization and to make sure that new job opportunities must be provided before closures are implemented.'

Yesterday rank-and-file leaders were still reeling from what they regard as the wholesale abandonment of the fight for work by their union chiefs.

Ebbw Vale Action Committee chairman Mr Colin Hudson said on the eve of the mass lobby: 'The failure of the conference to make a decision has left me disgusted.'

I'm still thinking about it. I'm one of those who have battled for years against breaking away from constitutions, but after this even I am having second thoughts.'

Mr Hudson said that he believed the leadership vacuum which would inevitably follow the Sheffield meeting would lead to the setting up and co-ordinating



Below: A section of the British Steel Corporation works at Ebbw Vale, South Wales, to be run down under Tory rationalization plans.



COLIN HUDSON . . . disgusted with Sheffield meeting.

of a rank-and-file leadership.

Today's demonstration means that at some of the major steelworks doomed by the BSC's modernization plans all the traditional reformist protests have been passed through—to no avail.

Now men at Ebbw Vale, Shotton, Flintshire, and Glengarnock, Scotland, and at a dozen other works are beginning to know they face a ruthless Tory government which can be halted only by industrial action aimed at forcing it to resign.

At Sheffield the union leaders pledged to press for alternative employment to counteract the impact of the steel closures.

But, said Mr Hudson: 'There is no chance of alternative work. Even if they extended the closure dates, they'd still have to direct industry here.'

## Ford claim

FORD white-collar workers yesterday submitted their claim for a substantial all-round pay increase, a cut in the working week and longer holidays.

The three unions involved are the clerical section of the Transport and General Workers' Union (ACTS), the technical and supervisory section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (TASS) and the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial staffs.

Ford's offer to the 15,000 staff is almost certain to match that made to the 52,000 manual workers under Phase Two of the Tory pay laws. It is believed that the unions' first move in negotiations will be to press for pension improvements which fall outside the pay limit.

UNION leaders representing 65,000 ICI manual workers have been warned that their claims for increases of £6.80 will not be considered in isolation from the Tory pay laws. The same is certain to apply to a similar claim, to be submitted later this month, on behalf of 60,000 chemical industry workers outside ICI.

CIRCULATION

01-622 7029

NEWS DESK

01-720 2000



## A STALINIST HUMBUG REAPPEARS

By Cliff Slaughter

**The British Communist Party has always been among the most willing, abject and uncritical followers of the counter-revolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.**

At no time have its leaders failed to carry out the required campaigns of vicious lies and slanders against the Trotskyist movement and against Trotsky. This willingness, of course, has been matched by their capitulation to parliamentary reformism, their servile attitude to the trade union bureaucracy and their opposition to any move of the working class towards political independence from the Tory government.

They have always bitterly opposed the demand for the TUC to organize a General Strike to bring about the resignation of the Tory government.

Particularly since the end of the 1950s, the formation and growth of the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists have necessitated that the Stalinists pay particular attention to discrediting Trotskyism.

A special agent has been appointed for this task. This special agent has served a long apprenticeship. He has been released from other leading positions so that he can get more credibility by appearing as some sort of liberal oppositionist. But he actually works directly under the control of the Stalinist leaders in their King Street, London, headquarters.

The name of this agent is Monty Johnstone.

Johnstone was the subject of a statement by the Socialist Labour League's east London sub-committee in the Workers Press of February 17. He was excluded from a public lecture given by Tom Kemp, SLL Central Committee member, after having attended, unrecognized, the first of the series.

The statement made it perfectly clear that Communist Party members wanting to discuss CP and SLL policies and differences are not excluded, but that Johnstone is in a different category. Let us restate the reasons for this and at the same time add some extra details.

Johnstone refuses to clear up a number of vital political questions. Until these are cleared up, the SLL reserves the right to protect itself against the danger of provocation and planned and deliberate distortion. We take this attitude especially because of the nature of the revolutionary period we are now entering.

We take our revolutionary theory, experience and practice seriously. The Trotskyist movement exists on the historical foundation of the October Revolution, the first four Congresses of the Communist International and Trotsky's fight against Stalinism, 'the main counter-revolutionary force on the world arena'.

It is not for nothing that we have fought revisionists (followers of the Pabloite Ernest Mandel) who preached that Stalinism was no longer this counter-revolutionary force. The working class can only win in the coming fierce

struggles if our movement leads a real fight against Stalinist attacks, provocateurs and agents.

Johnstone's record, until he explains it, excludes him from the revolutionary preparations of the SLL. He joined the Young Communist League in 1941 and claims unbroken membership until this day of the YCL, then the Communist Party.

In 1954 he was appointed editor of the YCL paper 'Challenge'. He has also functioned as full-time district organizer of the YCL in the Midlands, chairman of the National Students Committee of the CP and YCL National Education Organizer.

Yet in 1944-1946, when Trotskyism was everywhere denounced by Stalinists as an agent of imperialism and fascism, Johnstone became a member of the Trotskyist RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party), which at that time comprised the Trotskyists in Britain.

So long as Johnstone does not explain on what political basis he joined the RCP as an agent, all the time remaining secretly a member of the Stalinist party, we say what we have said in this newspaper before, that he is suspect, as one who entered our movement as an agent of the Stalinist Party, of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Now this same Johnstone, who has repeatedly refused to answer this question (it was publicly raised in Workers Press, November 12, 1969, and in the Young Socialists then monthly—now weekly—'Keep Left' in February 1969), thinks



Monty Johnstone, the British Communist Party's specialist for discrediting Trotskyism. Above left: Writers Andrei Sinyavski and Yuri Daniel on trial in the Soviet Union. They were both convicted and given harsh prison sentences. Johnstone supported the trial and convictions. Above right: Members of the Young Communist League protest against expulsions which the party carried out against an opposition in the YCL in 1964.

he can appear at an SLL meeting armed—as he certainly was—with a tape recorder in his briefcase.

### OPEN, PUBLIC DEBATE

Johnstone's plan was, if and when excluded from the subsequent meeting, to produce his taped recording as proof that he had not disrupted Comrade Kemp's first lecture. As our readers know, he was

excluded, but on open and stated political grounds. It is on these political grounds that Johnstone and the CP must take up this question.

Johnstone is not excluded on any personal grounds or permanently from SLL meetings. Just as soon as he clears up this and the other questions we asked him, then he can attend and participate.

The SLL, in that case, would welcome an open and public debate with Johnstone (or any other leading Stalinist) on the

subject 'Trotskyism and Stalinism', a debate we offered as long ago as 1968, but which the Stalinists would not entertain.

Does Johnstone object to these questions? If so, why? Is the covering up of his own Stalinist past of more importance than the principled fighting-out of the great historical issues between Trotskyism and Stalinism? Johnstone cannot continue his mealy-mouthed references to the injustices of Stalinism in the past and refuse to account for his own role. The needs of the working class today cannot tolerate that position in relation to the most important question, the building of an alternative revolutionary leadership.

So long as Johnstone does not clarify this question, he continues—as for the last 32 years—faithfully to serve Stalinism and its craven opportunist betrayal of the fight to remove the Tory government.

Johnstone takes pains to offer occasional criticisms of this or that aspect of Stalinist history, but he is actually the principal supporter in Britain of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy and its usurpation of power from the Soviet working class in the name of 'socialism in one country'. He is an enthusiastic defender of this 'theory' of Stalin's, which was the whole basis of the physical liquidation of the Bolsheviks.

Johnstone's brief glances at the history of his own Party find him critical of the ultra-left policies of 1929-1933, but in full approval of the fundamental rightward course of Stalinism. He is an ardent supporter of the 'peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism'.

This political line is perfectly consistent with the fact that, even with a past (joining the RCP) which would normally make him politically suspect to the Pollitt-Gollan leadership, he quickly occupied a succession of responsible Party posts and led delegations to the USSR.

Even after his attempt to masquerade as an oppositionist or liberal in the Communist Party, he has supported the repressive trial and sentence of the writers Daniel and Sinyavsky.

Until he clears up this record, we are obliged responsibly to warn every oppositionist in the CP that Johnstone's specific and approved role is to get close to them and prevent any development towards Marxism, towards Trotskyism. He is posted by the Gollan clique to mix in revisionist circles and perfect the technique of separating 'dissident' Communist Party members from Trotskyism.

He played this role in relation to the YCL and CP opposition in the early 1960s. He repeated it at the CP Congress in November 1969, at which the leadership, deliberately and by prior arrangement with him, kept him off the new executive because he was useful to them as a controlled focus of opposition.

He has fastened on to the groups formed around Jack Lindsay and others who two years ago raised the principled question of Lenin's last struggle against Stalin and his alliance with Trotsky.

We do not hesitate to warn these comrades of Johnstone's real role. His attempt to cause a provocation against the SLL is part of the same work. That he resorts to such methods indicates the seriousness of the struggle we have entered and the determination of the Stalinist leadership to discredit Trotskyism.

Today, as at the 1969 Congress, Johnstone makes verbal attacks on certain aspects of

the Stalinist past, but at the same time **defends** Stalinist politics and attitudes against Trotskyism, which was the struggle of Bolshevism against Stalinist degeneration.

His role is to channel every oppositionist into bourgeois-democratic right-wing politics. He has never answered the Workers Press exposure of his role at the 1969 Congress (letter from 'A Marxist in the CP', Workers Press, November 29, 1969). He knows every word of it was true.

The question is not one of Johnstone's personal character, but of the **impossibility** of a principled approach to the history of the movement without a break from Stalinism and a struggle against it.

Yet the working-class movement today **requires** precisely such a principled approach to history. It is a matter of life and death that Stalinism, a cancer in the workers' movement, be cut out. Any revolutionist who went into action today not armed in this way against Stalinism would be literally inviting a bullet in the back.

## DISTORTIONS CONTINUE

Ever since 1956, when Nikita Khrushchev was compelled to lift the curtain within the Stalinist movement on Stalin's crimes, it has not been possible for Stalinism to conduct its work against Trotskyism in the old way, denouncing Trotskyists as fascist and imperialist agents.

They have had to work towards a position where they could piously 'request' the Soviet bureaucrats to withdraw the frame-up criminal charges against the victims of the purge trials, and at the same time continue the treacherous distortions of Marxist theory begun by Stalin in 1924.

Johnstone is the British exponent of this work.

He has the special task of convincing the militants and the youth that they can accept Stalin's 'socialism in one country' and at the same time reject the assassination and execution of millions of oppositionists in the Soviet CP and the CPs all over the world. Stalin at least knew better!

He knew that his reactionary Utopia of socialism in one country necessitated the physical liquidation of Bolshevism, represented by Trotsky and the Left Opposition (later the Fourth International).

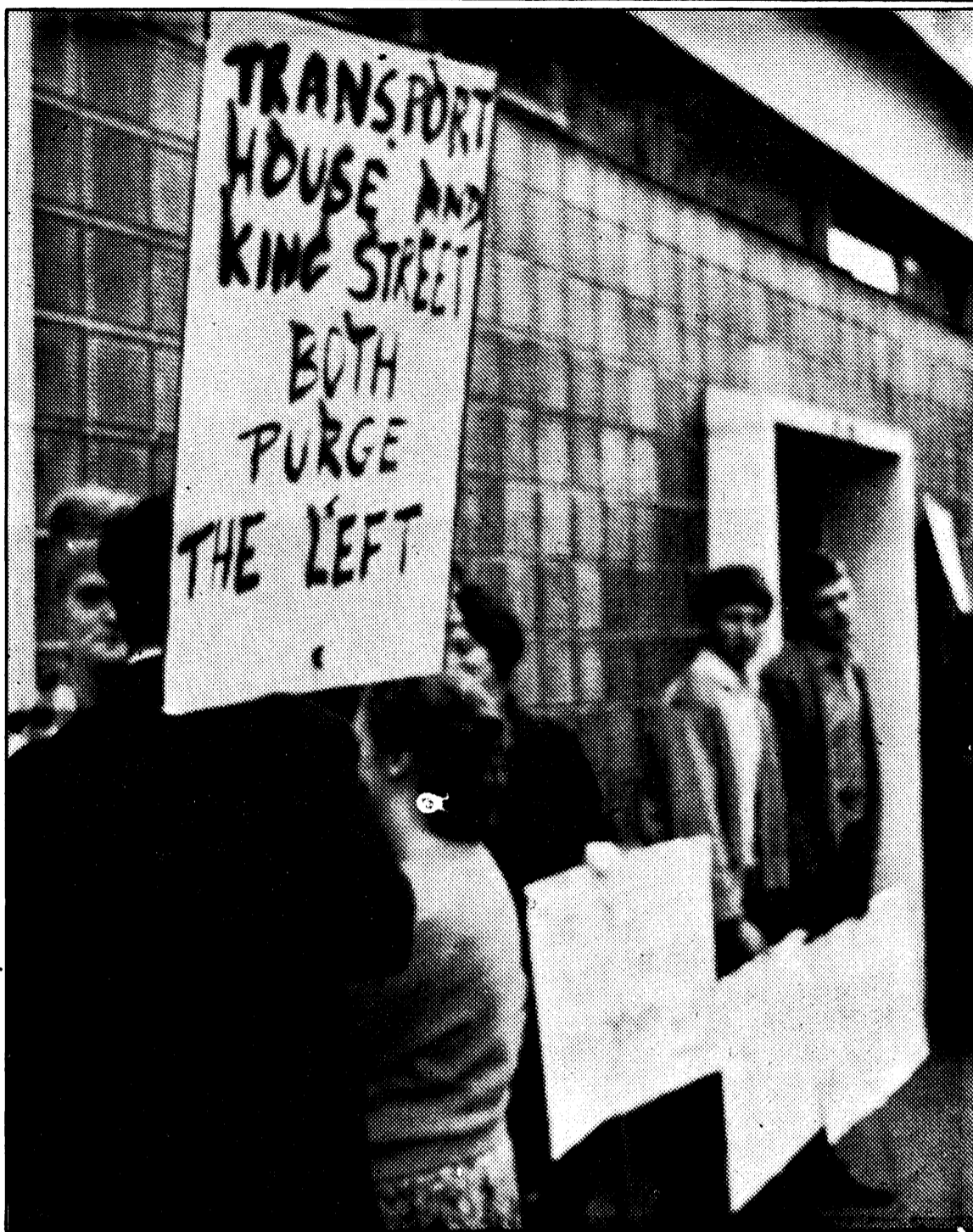
How does Johnstone explain the purges, the mass murder of innocent communists? He cannot. He peddles the lie that Stalin could make a great contribution to the building of socialism and at the same time make his 'mistakes'. This is no better than Khrushchev's nonsensical 'cult of the individual' as an explanation. It comes from the same bureaucratic source.

Johnstone's role is at all costs to continue to serve the Stalinist bureaucracy and its reactionary politics.

Johnstone has been concerned with Trotskyism ever since the growing Young Socialist movement attracted many YCL members in 1962-1964, but he really warmed to his task in 1968 (articles on Trotsky in the YCL's 'Cogito' and in the 'New Left Review').

This was because the international requirements of the Kremlin bureaucracy for an onslaught against Trotskyism became particularly acute in that year—the May-June General Strike in France and the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia.

Johnstone's attack on the revolutionary internationalism of the Trotskyist movement has gone alongside the desperate campaign of the Stalinist bureaucracy, since that time,



for 'European Security' and agreement with the imperialists.

**It is the fact that he is tied in this way to the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy that prevents Johnstone from answering the questions we have posed to him.**

If he denies this, let him answer these questions!

How does he explain his unqualified support for the trials of Trotsky and the other oppositionists condemned in the purge trials and those physically liquidated?

How does he account for his separation of these things, which he now calls 'mistakes', from the politics behind them?

How does he explain his obituary of Stalin in 'Challenge', in which he called his death 'an irreparable loss to the whole world'?

He must say publicly what lessons are to be learned from the fact that he could write this, just as he denounced the invented crimes of the innocent Czechoslovak Slansky and his comrades, before there can be any relations.

We repeat: the Socialist Labour League takes seriously its analysis of Stalinism as the main counter-revolutionary force in the world today.

We cannot and will not separate the following things: Johnstone's failure ever to explain his past support of Stalin's crimes; his entry into the RCP of 1945-1946 and subsequent office in the CP; his consistent advocacy of the counter-revolutionary politics of the Kremlin and of the British CP; his attempt at a provocation in the SLL lectures given by Tom Kemp; and the preparation for revolutionary struggles in which the working class and the Trotskyist movement are now engaged.

We do not forget that Johnstone has never, for all his criticisms of the Stalinist past, condemned the CP's role

in 'fingering' the Trotskyists in the Labour Party in 1954. Nor do we forget his own deliberate distortion of our own movement's struggle in the 1950s inside the Labour Party.

Writing in the 'Morning Star' of April 18, 1972 (once again he was called upon by King Street to do the 'hatchet job' on the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work March), Johnstone said:

'When some of them [Trotskyists in the Labour Party] were expelled from the Labour Party for their factional activity, Healy pleaded to the 1950 Labour Party conference that they were "loyal members of the Labour Party and have nothing to do with the Communist Party or any of its organizations".'

Johnstone is lying, and he must explain why he lied, in the service of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The fact is that the Trotskyists were expelled, not in 1950, but in 1954 and subsequent years (with the CP helping Transport House to do it).

Comrade Healy did speak at the 1950 Conference, but (as Johnstone well knows but prefers to conceal) it was to defend the rights of Stalinist fellow-travellers in the Labour Party against the witch-hunt! In this context Comrade Healy's words look very different! We quote from the Conference minutes:

'Yiewsley and West Drayton LP—suspension. Mr T. G. Healy (Streatham CLP):

'I move the reference back of the section of the Report dealing with the Southern Regional Council on the grounds that there is no mention contained in it of the suspension of Yiewsley and West Drayton LP and the expulsion of some of its leading members from the LP several months ago.

'It is necessary to present

to this conference the facts of the case, because otherwise the delegates at the conference are simply left to rely on rumours and what they read in the Press. My party is extremely perturbed at the atmosphere of witch-hunting and general persecution of people who may express inside the LP opinions which may, from time to time, coincide with those of people who are classed as fellow-travellers.

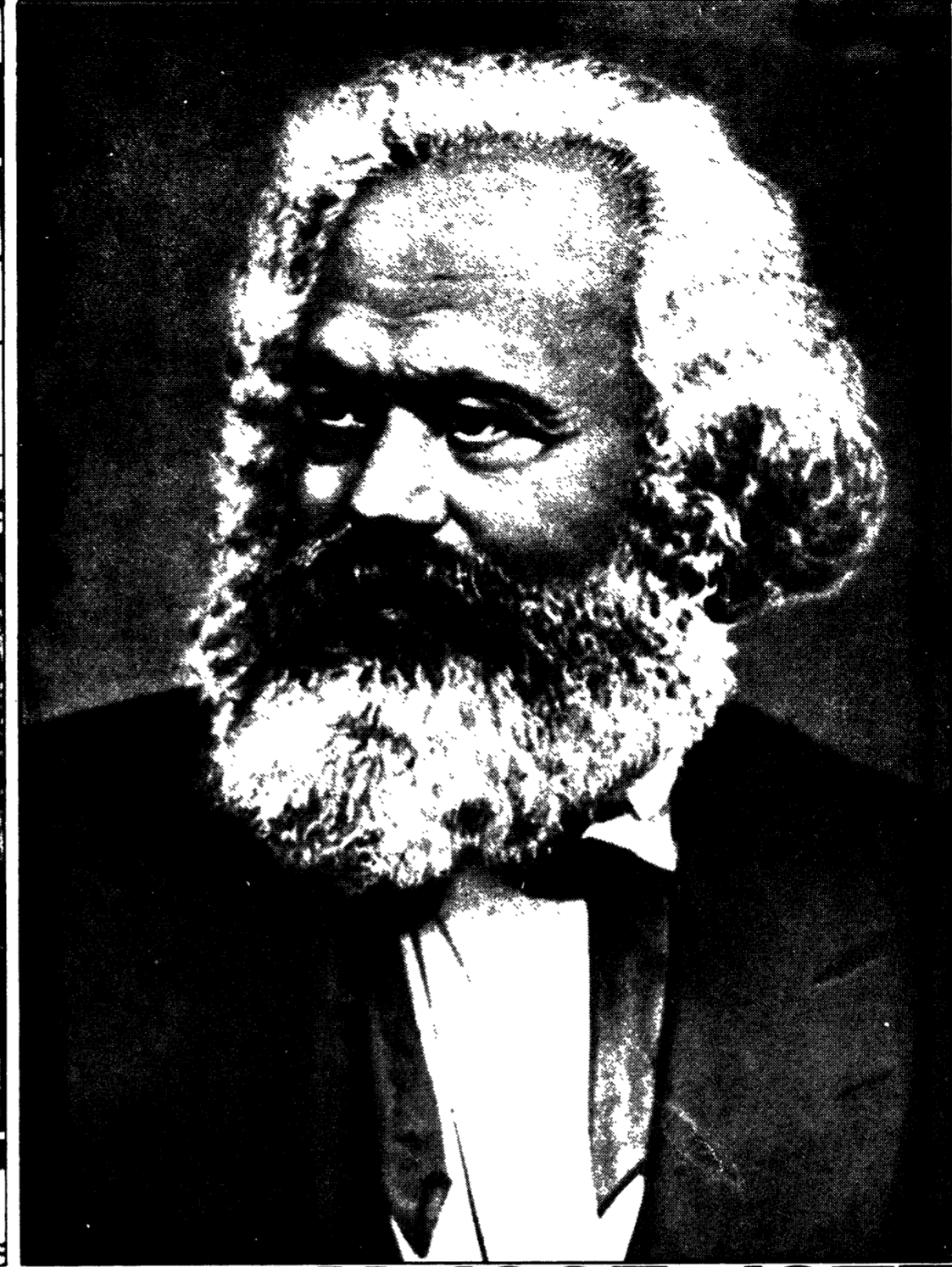
'We feel that it is a scandal to create such an atmosphere, especially since many of these people are loyal members of the LP and have nothing whatsoever to do with the Communist Party or any of its organizations.'

Well, Mr Johnstone? You need to explain here, not just how you came to follow the pack in the days before Khrushchev's 'revelation', but also how and why in 1972 you resorted to the basest methods of distortion and fabrication of evidence inherited from the Stalin school!

Once again! We see this record as absolutely consistent with your attempt to cause a provocation and whip up a campaign against the SLL on the basis of an engineered 'incident'. We are not going to be caught in such a trap.

Take your tape recorder back to King Street and make a clear public statement on how you came to support the counter-revolutionary crimes of Stalinism and how that experience relates to your present politics. And tell the whole movement what you were doing in the Trotskyist RCP in 1945-1946. Do you object to these questions?

As soon as you respond, there is no question of your being permanently barred from our public meetings. And the public debate on Trotskyism and Stalinism, always rejected by your Party, can be held.



# NINETIETH ANNIVERSARY OF KARL MARX 1883-1973

BY PETER JEFFRIES

Ninety years ago today, March 14, 1883, Karl Marx, the greatest fighter and thinker of the modern working-class movement, died. After a long and painful struggle against physical illness and mental exhaustion, he fell asleep peacefully in his armchair at 1, Modena Villas, Maitland Park Road, Hampstead.

In recalling Marx's life, we do so because the battles he fought and the struggles he undertook within the working-class movement have the most direct relevance for the British working class as it faces its greatest-ever crisis in struggle against the Tory government.

For the Fabians, Marxism has always been an 'alien' doctrine in England, unsuited to the native soil, with its parliamentary traditions, its stable trade unions and its alleged 'spirit of compromise'.

What these middle-class gentlemen try to forget is that Marx's greatest single work 'Capital' was written in London and based upon a detailed analysis of British capitalism. What they also seek to overlook is that from 1845 Marx lived almost continually in England and was deeply involved in every important development in this, the first working-class movement in the world.

It is also particularly vital that the revolutionary party today should nail this hoary old Fabian lie. For on one question Marx never wavered: the great power and significance which he saw in the

British trade union movement. His life's work centred upon a persistent and unrelenting struggle to turn this movement in the direction of politics, to break it from its narrowness and parochialism.

How Marx would have saluted the fight of the SLL in 1973 to provide a political leadership for the unions in their life-and-death battle with the Heath government!

How he would have repudiated and roundly denounced the efforts of the revisionist groups to break up this fight and undermine it with their campaign for the crudest form of rank and file-ism!

Marx and his life-long collaborator and comrade Friedrich Engels, both recognized throughout all their work in the British movement the great significance of the trade unions.

At the time of Chartism, it was the entry of the unions into the first revolutionary movement of the British working class which gave it its power and strength.

In the same way, it was the crisis in the unions at the end of Engels' life which led directly to the break from Liberalism and the formation of a distinct working-class party for which both Marx and Engels had always campaigned.

But it was the role which the unions played in the formation of the first stable revolutionary International of the working class, the International Workingmen's Association, (1864) which demonstrated the absolutely crucial role they played in the life of the British working class.

For we must remind every smug revisionist in 1973, that without the great strike wave

which affected key sections of English workers after 1859, there would have been no International founded at that famous meeting in St Martin's Hall, London, on September 28, 1864, a meeting at which Marx was a silent though vital participant.

## CRUCIAL YEARS

It was largely due to the strikes and lock-outs of London building workers following 1859 that workers throughout Europe saw the need for an international body which could counter the employers' persistent attempts to move blackleg labour from the Continent in order to smash the growing strike movement.

In those crucial years, leading up to the decisive turning point in 1864, the developments in the English unions were at the very centre of the European class struggle. Marx was fully aware of the import of these changes; he recognized that this time 'great powers' were at work, laid aside for the moment his work on 'Capital', and threw himself into the International, soon becoming its undisputed political and theoretical leader.

Once more, the British trade unions, for so long dismissed in revisionist circles as 'insular' and 'narrow' are in the vanguard of the European working class, just as their predecessors were over a century ago. For at the attempts of the Heath government to break the British unions spearheads and anticipates the need of the capitalist system in every country to destroy independent trade unionism.

But the experiences of the 1860s and the founding of the First International (as the IWMA became known) held another decisive lesson for Marx, just as it does for the revolutionary party today.

For the forces which spearheaded the campaign for the International and those with which Marx and Engels were to collaborate most closely with during the International's life, came from quite new layers in the working class.

After the collapse of Chartism in 1848, trade unionism in England was largely confined to skilled workers centred on the engineering and metal trades. These were the 'New Model' unions so beloved by the Fabians. They were extremely conservative in outlook, repudiated the strike as a weapon and avoided all contact with politics. It was the economic crisis of 1857-1858 which was to change this position.

The 1850s had seen a great boom in house-building, particularly in London. A growing army of unskilled and semi-skilled workers was recruited from rural areas to provide the labour for this building boom. It was this group, with little experience of trade unionism, which was thrust into the bitter strike struggles against the London employers from which the International sprang.

Today we have seen new groups of workers, previously considered 'conservative' and 'backward'—gasmen, hospital workers, civil servants—leading the fight against the Tory government. Just as Marx turned to the building workers in the 1860s and made them the bed-rock of the International, so the revolutionary

party of today has the great duty, if it is to continue Marx's work, of turning to these new layers and winning them into the ranks of the revolutionary party.

But Marx never accepted the trade unions just as they were. He always recognized their severe limitations. By the 1850s Britain was well on the road to becoming the 'workshop of the world'. Because of its privileged position it was able to create conditions for a layer of workers which were markedly better than on the continent. This tended to breed a certain narrowness amongst the unions. They tended to be concerned with immediate, sectional interests. They were more interested in economic than in political matters.

Marx fought determinedly in every possible way against these limitations. He continually posed before those unions which affiliated to the International the need for political action. 'To conquer political power has become the great duty of the working class', said the famous Address of the International, drafted by Marx.

But just as this struggle for revolutionary politics in the unions today involves the revolutionary party in a constant fight against revisionism, so Marx himself clashed at every decisive stage in the history of the International against the Anarchism of his day.

The Anarchists, led by Bakunin, opposed all political action by the working class. For them politics were the source of corruption in the working-class movement; they preached 'revolutionary will' as the means by which the state would be 'abolished'. Marx's entire energy from

1864 until 1872 (when the centre of the International was transferred to New York) was spent in destroying the Anarchists politically and driving them out of the International, a task in which Marx and his supporters were entirely successful.

It was on two basic points that Marx clashed with Bakunin. The first concerned nationalization. The anarchist leader always opposed this demand as he considered that it merely strengthened the state which, according to his idealist notion, constituted the 'main enemy'.

But it was on the question of the legal eight-hour day that the most profound and historically most important struggle was to take place.

Bakunin favoured the slogan of the eight-hour day as part of the International's programme. But he wanted this to be achieved in struggle with the employer 'at the point of production'.

However, Marx fought bitterly against Bakunin for the slogan of the legal eight-hour day. This was no dispute over a mere word. For here Marx was raising the absolute necessity to unite the working class through its political struggle.

We can see immediately that today's revisionists only repeat the most vulgar of Bakunin's errors. Since 1970, only the SLL has raised consistently the demand for a united campaign in the working class to remove the Tory government and replace it with a Labour government pledged to a socialist programme.

In the same way that every event in the class struggle today confirms the absolute

correctness of our fight and programme against the revisionists, so the developments in the class struggle in the 19th century were to establish the correctness of Marx's fight against Bakunin.

When the First International was re-founded in 1889 as the Second International (the First International had been formally wound up in 1876), it adopted as a major plank in its programme the demand for the legal eight-hour day.

And once more, the British trade union movement was in the very centre of these developments. For the growth of 'New Unionism' took place largely around this demand for the legal eight-hour day. And it was out of the unionism of the unskilled (particularly the gasworkers) that the main forces for the Labour Party, established in 1900, were to come.

## CHARTISTS' HERITAGE

When the first great May Day procession took place in London in 1890, over 100,000 marched under banners demanding the legal eight-hour day and calling for the creation of an independent workers' party. Engels, watching the crowds from a balcony above Hyde Park, observed: 'Once more the grandsons of the Chartists are on the march.'

Here, indeed, was theory 'gripping the masses' and becoming a 'material force'.

One can say that the fight which Marx waged in the 1860s, among relatively small groups of workers, for the legal eight-hour day was a anticipation, in a theoretical

sense, of the creation of the Labour Party. When the revisionists turn away from politics and refuse to demand a Labour government takes office, pledged to socialist policies, they repudiate and turn their backs on everything for which Marx fought in the British working-class movement.

We must also remind these same renegades from revolutionary politics, that Marx never for one moment abandoned the most principled struggle against the trade union leaders with whom he worked in the International. He was only too aware of their 'venal' nature, and their efforts to turn the working class into the 'great tail' of the Liberal Party.

But Marx also knew that a leadership to replace them could never be created by mere will. Its development was for him always a scientific matter. It was only through a persistent political fight against these leaders, that the working class would be able to break free of them.

Once more, how wonderfully was Marx's position vindicated! For when the working class turned to politics under the impact of the crisis which the advent of imperialism brought in the late 1880s, it was to revolutionary politics that its best elements went.

It is no accident that Engels himself, along with Marx's daughter Eleanor, were in the front rank of the developments associated with the New Unionism. And it was out of these great changes, and the preparations for them, which Marx's fight had laid, that the Marxist movement, with all its weaknesses, was able to take a great stride forward.

In these political develop-

Far left: Delegates at the Fourth Congress of the International Workingmen's Association (known as the First International) held in 1869. Left: Karl Marx.

ments the Anarchists were completely isolated. As Engels noted soon after the foundation of the Second International: 'They [the delegates to the 2nd Congress] did well to vote for the exclusion of the Anarchists: with this the old International came to an end, with this the new one begins. It is purely and simply the ratification 19 years later, of the Hague Congress resolutions.' [1872]

It is because in every great crisis which the unions have faced, they have been forced to move forward politically that the revolutionary party today, at a time when the unions are at the crossroads, can be absolutely confident, given correct leadership, of defeating today's revisionists as decisively as Marx and Engels dealt with the Anarchists in Britain in the last century.

In the fight with the Tory government the revisionists seek to excuse their counter-revolutionary activities on the grounds that the leadership of the movement is not yet ready to take on the Tories. 'How can a General Strike be successful', they ask, 'under the present leadership of the reformists?'

## ROAD TO VICTORY

Here, all the fear and cowardice of the revisionists is clearly exposed. For they seek to cover up their capitulation to the Tory government by blaming the reformists, while at the same time refusing to lead any political fight to expose these traitors.

How Marx would have hated such cowardice! He knew that the road to final victory necessarily involved set-backs. He also knew, as against the idealist revisionist, that a new leadership for the working class could only come through a process of struggle against the old.

Presumably, according to the logic of the state capitalists and Pablotites, Marx ought to have repudiated the Paris Commune on the grounds that its leadership was too weak to carry through the occupation of Paris to victory!

Yet this was in no way Marx's position. Marx's followers were only in a tiny minority of the Commune's leaders. 'The International did not raise a finger to initiate the Commune', as Engels later made clear. Marx was also aware of the grave weakness of the French section of the International.

'These ragamuffins are half or two-thirds of them bullies and similar rabble', said Marx to his friend Dr Kugelmann only three years before the Paris uprising.

Yet once the crisis broke and the Commune became the object of hatred and persecution by the capitalists in every European country, Marx became its staunchest and most fearless defender. And it was in the crisis that all the lessons fought out in the International were concretized. Now Marx's insistence upon the need for a strong centralized leadership to take the working class to power was tragically and negatively confirmed in the Commune's defeat.

Second many of the trade union leaders who had hitherto supported the International now deserted its ranks, while the best elements in the working class remained loyal to the Commune and the International.

It is, of course, the height of middle-class rubbish to declare that a General Strike should take place only under a 'correct' leadership. Just as Marx always saw that the Commune was the product of great objective events in the

European class struggle which were independent of will and consciousness, so the confrontation with the Heath government is likewise a product of a great objective crisis of the world capitalist system.

The revisionists of the New Left have always made a fetish of the 'backwardness' of the English working class. They have used it as an excuse to abandon all revolutionary politics.

But for Marx it was always his greatest challenge, his greatest fight. Marxism can only develop in the sharpest conflict with national 'peculiarities' and 'backwardness'. This was as true of Marxism in Russia which started in the days of Plekhanov in a struggle against Narodnik conceptions of peasant revolution as it is in England where Marxism has grown only in conflict against the narrow and limited trade union horizons of the working class.

The determination, resolution and patience with which Marx carried out this fight was his greatest strength. And today it is the greatest strength of the Socialist Labour League and an object of such hatred on the part of all revisionists. The revisionists have never understood, and never will, that theoretical gains, however small, made in a period of relative class peace like that since 1945, are the source of enormous power once the crisis breaks.

The very difficulty of the fight for Marxism against the limited conceptions of the working class over the last 25 years mean that the gains that have been made by the revolutionary party are that much more decisive and important. This lesson is as true today as it was for Marx in his difficult fight throughout the 1860s, a fight which was to reap its full harvest in the years immediately following his death with the formation of the Second International and the expansion of the European workers' movement on a scale far greater than had been possible during the years of the First International.

Marx always knew that the 'English dislike of theory' was a relative, not an absolute question. It was produced and conditioned in a period of capitalist expansion and prosperity.

All great revolutionary turning points and crises are produced by fundamental economic changes. The world capitalist crisis today finds its sharpest expression here in Britain. It is a crisis which is driving the working class along the road to power. Only Marxism can provide any answers to this crisis for the working class.

The English 'dislike of theory' is about to turn into its very opposite in a way which will dismay and shock every revisionist.

Once more all the theoretical conquests which Marx and the movement he founded are becoming of great interest to thousands, and later millions, of workers as they take up the fight against the Tory government.

Once again Marxism lives and grows in Britain the home of the industrial revolution in the last century and today the centre of coming proletarian revolution.

Once, when Marx was asked what his idea of happiness was, his answer was 'to fight'.

It is in this spirit that today we pay tribute to Karl Marx on the 90th anniversary of his death. All those forces now coming forward to found the revolutionary party must dedicate themselves to the supreme task of completing the work which this greatest of all revolutionary fighters and thinkers started. Long live the memory of Karl Marx! Forward to the transformation of the SLL into the revolutionary party!

## WORKERS NOTEBOOK

### AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

While his wife lay slowly dying in a Florida nursing home last week, American steel worker Howard Thomas obtained a divorce in a ten-minute hearing before a Pinella County judge.

Sounds pretty heartless? No. The truth is that, in the circumstances he was in, Mr Thomas' action was the opposite. What is heartless is that much-famed 'American Way of Life' that senators and people like that are always praising; in other words, capitalism, which placed Mr Thomas in the position where, as he explained, his divorce was the only way he could keep his wife alive.

The reason is America's private enterprise-dominated health system — the sort of system which the Tories would like to see replace the Health Service in Britain.

Mr Thomas' wife Ruth (45), is suffering from the advanced stages of multiple sclerosis. The couple have six children. While his wife was receiving treatment, Mr Thomas had been getting state-supported 'Medicaid' to help pay the hospital bills. But his salary was recently found to be \$79 a month over the limit to qualify for aid. So the Florida Division of Family Services cut off the \$117 monthly payment for Mrs Thomas.

After his court hearing, Mr Thomas commented: 'It's final, but I still love her.'

He went on: 'It seems a little unreal to do something like this. I'm a little bit shook up. I'm sorry it had to happen. But it was something that couldn't be avoided.'

Having divorced his wife, he immediately filled in the necessary application form for her to receive 'Medicaid'. By means of the divorce, Mrs Thomas will qualify, as she has no other means of support.

The Thomas' oldest daughter told reporters that the children fully supported their father's decision, and that she was sure Mom would agree if she were aware of what was happening.

We doubt if the 'Voice of America' will get around to mentioning this little item in its broadcasting. Come to that, we would be interested to see if that defender of American capitalism, the Reverend Billy Graham, has any comment on it next time he is talking on some theme such as 'the sanctity of family life'.

### CRIME

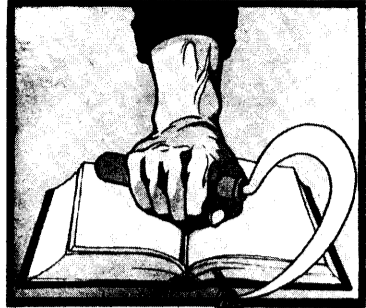
Organized crime in the United States has reaped such rich hauls that the crime syndicates now rival the banks as a source of capital for big business.

The point was made by a former Assistant US Treasury Secretary Eugene Rossides in a speech to the American Bankers' Association's 25 Credit Conference in San Francisco.

He said that organized crime had infiltrated, and in some cases taken over, by extortion and strong arm methods, business in such fields as transport, building, hotels and casinos. The crime bosses were now investing billions of dollars in legitimate business.

Rossides did not go so far as suggesting that bankers should supplement their funds by going into organized crime. But the difference between the Mafia of high finance and the Mafia of organized crime is, in any case, not easy to discern.

## BOOK REVIEW



'The Spanish Revolution' By Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press (New York). Price £4.75 cloth. £1.65 paperback.

BY TOM KEMP

**An important factor in the development of the Spanish working class was the influence acquired by the anarchist movement, tracing its ancestry to the Bakuninist opposition to Marx in the First International.**

The strength of anarchism in Spain was another result of the country's belated economic development. It had drawn its support from workers in small-scale industry, in artisan workshops rather than big factories; once having established itself, however, it spread from the one to the other.

The anarcho-syndicalist CNT was the largest labour organization in Spain and, as Trotsky accepted, 'indisputably embraces the most militant element in the proletariat'.

The doctrines of the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists played a pernicious role because they saw the destruction of the state as the beginning and ending of political wisdom.

By opposing participation in the political struggle, and particularly by opposing the party, they disarmed the working class. The role which the anarchists played after 1936 fully confirmed Trotsky's analysis. Rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat, they ended up as Ministers in a capitalist government.

Trotsky's perspective for Spain offered the guidelines for successful revolutionary practice. That depended, above all, on the small cadres of the Left Opposition, upon their ability to find a path to the working class and establish a position of leadership. It was increasingly clear that the official Communist Party was bound to the needs of the Kremlin bureaucracy and what Trotsky at this stage still called 'the official centrist faction'.

Summing up all the tasks of the Spanish revolution, Trotsky said that their successful solution required three conditions 'a party; once more a party; again a party!'

It was vital to break the working class away from the stranglehold of the anarchist and reformist leaders and harness the magnificent revolutionary energies which they had displayed in the struggle against the monarchy. This was the responsibility facing the Left Opposition.

The Republican government set up in 1931 after the fall of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship rested on an alliance of the bourgeois Republican parties with the socialists. The task of the communists could not be an immediate bid for power because their forces were too small and the working class was not ready.

What was required was agitation, the training of a cadre, patient explanation to break the working class from its illusion in the bourgeois republic and reform—and the putting forward all the time of the most radical democratic

# TROTSKY ON SPAIN



During the Spanish Civil War a train bears the insignias of the UGT (General Workers Union), the CNT (the anarcho-syndicalist National Workers Federation), the FAI ('left' anarchist Iberian Anarchist Federation).

slogans, headed by the demand for workers' soviets.

It was equally important to fight against the 'anti-parliamentary illusions of the anarchists' and to call for a revolutionary constituent Cortes (parliament). It was necessary to use the forum which the Cortes offered to establish a bond with the masses and to put forward a programme of transitional demands. The way had to be prepared for a second revolution of the proletariat leading behind it the poor peasants.

Trotsky's conception of the Spanish revolution, based on the theory of the permanent revolution, the experience of Russia in 1917 and China in 1926-1927, was completely opposed to that of the Stalinists, both in 1931 and later.

In the early 1930s the Stalinists were still pursuing the adventurist course of the 'third period' when they characterized social democrats as 'social fascists'. However, the Communist Party of Spain was too weak to have much influence on the working class, far less to influence the course of events. There was a danger that it would stage some kind of uprising on the lines of the 'July days' in 1917.

But the Stalinist formulation offered the way, also, to an opportunist variant based on the idea of the 'growing over' of the revolution from a democratic to a socialist form.

In fact, the possibility had to be faced that the Stalinists would proclaim the need for some intermediate stage of a separate 'workers' and peasants' revolution' distinct from the bourgeois and the proletarian revolution. It was this theory of an intermediate stage which was taken up after the right turn of the Comintern in 1935 and the adoption of the policy of the Popular Front of support for the bourgeois regime. Trotsky was already clearly warning about this danger in 1931 at the opening of the revolutionary events.

He warned the Spanish communists: 'Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie. There is not, there will not be, and there cannot be "intermediary" revolution more "simple", more "economical", more adapted to your forces. History will not invent for you any transitional dictatorship, a dictatorship of a second order, a dictatorship at a discount.'

Of course, Trotsky maintained at all times that only workers' power could carry through the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The gulf between this correct assessment and the

Stalinist policy of support for the bourgeois-democratic regime necessarily became unbridgeable after 1935.

In 1931-1932 he still thought that there was a possibility of winning support for the position of the Left Opposition in the Communist Party. After the German defeat and Hitler's rise to power, the need was for the building of a new revolutionary party completely independent of the Stalinized Communist Party.

It is necessary to note carefully the date at which Trotsky was writing. In 1931-1932 he was appealing to the Communist Party, as well as the Left Opposition, to work to extend their influence in the masses, to judge accurately the tempo at which the revolution was developing and guard against the danger of adventurism which could lead to a 'miscarriage of the revolution'. This latter danger was, of course, increased by the current ultra-left turn of the Comintern.

Trotsky was impatient with the slowness of the Left Opposition in recognizing the need to establish its own Press already in 1931. He denounced the platform of the so-called 'Workers' and Peasants' Bloc' (later to be one of the constituent elements of the centrist POUM).

The document, he writes, 'produces a painful impression'. It avoided the use of the word 'communism'; it made no class analysis of the situation, nor did it make clear its position towards the main tendencies in the labour movement.

The platform of the new bloc, which was concentrated in Catalonia, alerted Trotsky to the dangers flowing from Maurin.

'We must submit Maurin to pitiless and incessant criticism', he wrote to his supporters after its appearance. The conflict sharpened as Maurin excluded the Left Oppositionists from his organization as a conciliatory gesture towards the Stalinists and adopted the position of the Catalan separatists on the national question.

There are important lessons in a study of Trotsky's writings which can be applied today. For example, the position of Ernest Mandel and the Pablottes towards the Walloon separatists in Belgium in the 1960s resembled that of Maurin. They made every concession to petty-bourgeois nationalists, boosting up and supporting them and only learning too late that they were treacherous friends.

Support for the progressive side of the separatist movements could on no account be support for the economic and political dismemberment of Spain. Recognition of the

right to secede did not at all mean that it was a right policy for the working class.

The Left Oppositionists in Spain regrettably learned very little from Trotsky's writings of 1931-1932. The ebb of the revolution threw them into a deep crisis and they deliberately separated themselves from the life of the international movement. Splits and resignations took place without their political basis being clear.

Trotsky complained that they lost much valuable time: 'They played hide-and-seek with principles during the most critical months of the revolution, first engaging in diplomacy with the petty-bourgeois nationalist and provincial phrasemonger Maurin, and then hanging onto his tail.'

In April 1933, in an open letter to the Spanish Left Opposition, Trotsky was forced to conclude: 'The struggle of leading Spanish comrades against the fundamental views and principles of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) did not begin yesterday. It can be said without exaggeration that during the past three years there was hardly one serious Spanish or international question on which the leading Spanish comrades held a correct position.'

He was particularly indignant at the conduct of Andres Nin whom he accused of indulging in intrigue and petty squabbles while covering up vacillations.

Nin then evolved rapidly into a centrist position. The revolutionary events of 1934 (the miners' rising in the Asturias) found the Spanish Left Opposition unprepared and unable to make any gains. It refused to undertake the entry tactic which Trotsky had proposed for joining the Socialist Party in order to find a bridge to advanced sections of the working class organized in its ranks (a tactic applied with some success in France).

Nin rejected a fusion with the socialist youth, which was moving away from reformism and later merged with the Young Communists, a much smaller organization, thus providing Spanish Stalinism with its first mass base and valuable cadres.

Other opportunities were lost by Nin's refusal to take on the task of serious party building in a difficult milieu and by his personal contacts with Maurin's group in Catalonia. In September 1935 Nin and his faction joined with Maurin's 'Workers and Peasants' Bloc' to form a new party called the Partido Obrero de Unificacion Marxista (POUM).

CONTINUED TOMORROW



'The blokes at the Aldwych shooting behaved quite properly. You don't wait to see if it's a toy gun, you just shoot them. I would have done exactly what they did'—West London policeman.

# 90 per cent of west London policemen are armed



NINETY per cent of policemen in Kensington, west London, are armed. This has been revealed to the 'West London Observer' in an exclusive interview with a police officer.

The policeman's name is not revealed, but he spoke freely to a woman journalist from the paper about the arming of the police.

He told her that the armed police have orders to 'shoot to kill at their own discretion'.

But discontent is high among the local law enforcers because they want 'more guns, more protection, and prisons which are prisons'.

The anonymous officer is quoted as saying:

'At Kensington, at least 90 per cent of the blokes are armed. They carry loaded .38 Webleys in hip holsters.

'No guns at Hammersmith are actually carried, but there are about 25 uniformed marksmen on call. Only authorized shots who have been on the proper course are allowed to use guns.

## STIFFER PENALTIES

'There must be more armed policemen and stiffer penalties for gunnings. A lot of blokes at west London nicks think there should be more armed coppers—they're sick of laying their lives on the line.'

(Workers Press has been unable to find any details of a police officer having been shot in west London for the past seven years.)

The officer admits this when he goes on to say: 'Gunnings in

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

Hammersmith right now are few and far between—but they're going to increase in the near future. Hammersmith is a bad area for bank raids.

'The instructions to these armed coppers are very vague. They are told to shoot to kill—and that's quite right.'

## SILHOUETTE TARGETS

'When they go on the three-day training course the blokes have to shoot at silhouettes of a man. Out of 40 rounds, they have to score 37 in the chest of the figure before they become marksmen.'

'The blokes at the Aldwych shooting behaved quite properly. You don't wait to see if it's a toy gun, you just shoot them. I would have done exactly what they did.'

During part of the interview the officer also divulged the deep tensions which are running through the force at present.

He said that a couple of months ago 27 officers in Kensington put in their resignation 'because they were sick of all the bull coming from a senior officer—clean boots, short haircuts, pressed uniforms—at 5 a.m. inspections.'

The man responsible for the

early morning turn-outs is believed to have been deputy Commissioner James Starritt, Sir Robert Mark's authoritarian second in command.

Starritt was given a high commendation in the New Year's Honours List and is one of the few senior officers keen to clean up the Yard.

'But then, after the Slimon shoot-out [the Kensington bank raid in which PC Peter Slimon shot Robert Hart] some of them withdrew their resignations and only about 12 went.'

The interview fully confirms the results of a recent Workers Press investigation that the police are now fully armed.

The police and the Home Office say that this is to combat bank robbers, etc. They say it is to guard embassies.

## WITHOUT CONSENT

It is nothing of the sort. In secret, and without the consent of parliament or the public, the police have been armed to deal with demonstrators and strikers.

If anyone has any doubts about that, they should recall the killing of two young Pakistanis at India House three weeks ago.

The policeman of 1993 envisaged by James Burke in his new BBC 1 series is outdated even by 1973 standards.

## Hosiery union accepts cut in settlements

THE NATIONAL Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers, the union accused of abetting racial discrimination during a recent dispute in Loughborough, has accepted a settlement revised downwards under Phase

Two. The renegotiated deal, which gives increases of only £1.75-£2.40 a week, involves a cut of 65p a week on a settlement made last November. The cut hits 100,000 workers.

## TODAY'S TV

### BBC 1

9.15 Schools. 12.30 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 In the town. 1.45-2.00 Made in Britain. 2.05 Schools. 2.25 Racing at Cheltenham. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Right Charlie. 5.15 Val meets the VIPs. 5.40 Sir Prancelot. 5.45 News. Weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 ASK THE FAMILY.

7.05 TOMORROW'S WORLD.

7.30 ARE YOU BEING SERVED? New comedy series.

8.00 BARLOW AT LARGE. Informant.

8.50 WEEK BY WEEK.

9.00 NEWS. Weather.

9.25 FRANKIE HOWARD IN ULSTER.

10.10 SPORTSNIGHT. Including Light Heavyweight Championship of Europe. John Conteh v Rudi Schmidtke.

10.45 MIDWEEK. 11.30 NEWS.

11.35 MAN AT WORK. Asians on the Shop Floor. 12.00 Weather.

### ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.35 News. London only. 11.00 Schools. 12.00 Hickory house. 12.25 Rupert Bear. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Sing out with The Settlers. 1.30 Crown Court. 2.00 Harriet's back in town. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Whose baby? 3.25 Saint. 4.20 Get this. 4.50 Jensen code. 5.20 University challenge. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY. 6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 THIS IS YOUR LIFE.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR.

8.30 ALL OUR SATURDAYS. Come Home Stan Maycock.

9.00 LOVE STORY. Kippers and White Wine.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 A PLACE IN THE COUNTRY. Lacock Abbey.

11.00 THEATRE: 'The Net'.

11.30 FILM: 'THE FLOATING DUTCHMAN'. Dermot Walsh, Mary Germaine, Sydney Tafler. Thriller.

12.50 WE SHALL OVERCOME. Theodosios Hambi and Antonios Chrysostomou sing Greek songs.



Former window dresser John Inman plays Mr Humphreys in 'Are You Being Served?' a new BBC 1 comedy series set in a department store.

### BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 4.10-4.35 Play school. 5.25 Open University.

7.05 MAN AT WORK. Beat the Clock.

7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.

7.35 JOHNNY MORRIS IN MEXICO. Mexico City and the Floating Gardens of Xochimilco.

8.00 MAN ALIVE. The Ceremonial

Man—retired. Mauritius independence celebrations.

9.00 FILM: 'PERIOD OF ADJUSTMENT'. Jane Fonda, Jim Hutton, Tony Franciosa. One of Tennessee Williams's rare comedies about two young couples.

10.45 EDITION. 11.15 NEWS. Weather.

## REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-11.55 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Galloping gourmet. 3.00 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Hogan's heroes. 6.35 London. 7.00 Treasure hunt. 7.30 London. 11.33 Angling. 12.00 Epilogue. News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.25 Hammy hamster. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 11.30 News. 12.00 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 3.30 Danger man. 4.25 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Whicker. 7.00 London. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 11.30 News. 11.40 Shirley's world. 12.10 Weather. Guide-line.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart. 7.00 London. 10.30 Time was. 11.00 London. 11.30 Cinema. 12.00 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.20 Miri mawr. 4.35-4.50 Cantamil. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd.

HTV West as above except: 6.15-6.30 Report West.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 3.30 Odd couple. 3.55 Romper room. 4.19 News. 4.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 8.00 Protectors. 8.30 London. 11.30 Spyforce. 12.25 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.00 Guide. 12.05 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35

London. 8.00 Please sir. 8.30 London. 10.30 Odd couple. 11.00 London. 11.30 O'Hara. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.32 News. 1.40 London. 2.45 Romper room. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women. 3.55 Harriet. 4.23 News. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 London. 8.00 Protectors. 8.30 London. 11.30 Golf.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 3.30 Jason King. 4.25 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 London. 8.00 Anna and the king. 8.30 London. 10.30 Protectors. 11.00 London. 11.30 Spyforce. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 12.00 Songs. 12.05 London. 3.25 Yoga. 3.50 Cartoon. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.20 London. 6.00 News. What's on? 6.30 Here's Lucy. 7.00 London. 8.00 Lovers. 8.30 London. 11.30 Kreskin.

TYNE TEES: 9.25 Only a dream. 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 London. 3.30 Champions. 4.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 8.00 Anna and the king. 8.30 London. 10.30 Tor. 11.00 London. 11.30 News. 11.45 FBI. 12.40 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Date-line. 3.00 London. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 10.30 Sound stage. 11.00 London. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Blue light.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.45 Cartoon. 2.52 News. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women. 3.55 Harriet. 4.20 London. 5.20 Wildlife theatre. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Thompson. 6.35 London. 8.00 Adventurer. 8.30 London. 11.30 Police news. 11.35 Kind of living. 11.55 Meditation.

# 500,000 students to join grants strike

**MORE THAN 500,000 university and college students will strike today in support of their demands for grant increases.**

Students in colleges and universities throughout the country will boycott lectures and academic activities during the day.

And trade unionists in the educational establishments have been asked to support the strike. The National Union of Students' leaders hope that their members will refuse to do normal duties and that in all cases trade union members will refuse to attempt to break the strike.

Already the Association of University Teachers, the Technical Teachers' Union, the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions and the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education have expressed their support for the campaign and have advised their members not to participate in any disciplinary proceedings resulting from the strike. The National Union of Public Employees and the white-collar union, ASTMS, have also been approached.

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

Students in each area are organizing local activities. There will be marches and demonstrations in many parts of the country.

In London, college and university student unions have been asked to elect delegates for a lobby of parliament during the afternoon. They will attend a rally at 6 p.m. in Lincoln's Inn Fields, to be addressed by NUS President Digby Jacks, Sheila Brenner from the AUT and Joan Lester MP.

Liverpool students will march from Islington Square at 11 a.m. to a rally at Mountford Hall in the university at 1 p.m.

Throughout the country students will be handing out leaflets at housing estates, factory gates and railway stations.

The strike is in support of four demands which the NUS has made to the Tory government:

- For an end to the discretionary awards system, whereby students in different parts of the country get more or less money depending on the 'discretion' of the local authority. All students, independent of their courses, need the same amount of money.

- For grant increases. Students say that the maximum grant available at the moment is totally inadequate.

- For an end to discrimination against married women in the grant system.

- For an annual review of grants. The present three-year review, they say, can never hope to keep up with the increasingly steep rises in the cost of living. Increases granted at the last review—in 1971—have already been completely eroded by inflation.

Students must realize, however, that these increases can only be won in the most determined struggle to force the Tory government to resign.

Heath and Thatcher have no intention of granting the increases demanded. Their whole policy over the past two-and-a-half years has been continually to attack higher education and the rights of school and university students.

These demands can only be won if the whole working class and students are mobilized on a common policy to create the conditions to make the Tories resign and return a Labour government pledged to legislate socialist policies.

**IRISH** Republic's largest-selling morning newspaper, the 'Irish Independent', did not appear yesterday because of a strike by journalists. The dispute is over the proposed takeover of the 'Independent' group by an undisclosed bidder. Journalists claim they have not been fully briefed on the deal, or given assurances of their futures within the newspaper.

## Independent inquiry for Stirling

**STIRLING** University Court has agreed to an independent inquiry into trouble on the campus and student trials after the Queen's visit last October.

But Lord Wheatley—the Court of Session judge who is the university court's chairman—made it clear the student sit-in would have to end first.

'We are not agreeing to this simply because the students demanded it,' he said.

Wheatley was the judge who recently fined Clydebank Council £5,000 for defying the Tories' Housing Finance Act.

# Gaullist victory exposes the 'peaceful road'

**THE VICTORY** of the Gaullist ruling party in the French elections exposes the 'peaceful road to socialism' policy of the Communist and Socialist Parties as a fraud.

These parties had hoped to come to power with the bourgeois left radicals on the basis of a common programme of mild reforms which had nothing socialist or even particularly radical about them.

To this end they held back the wages struggle of the working class in the factories and did their best to pose as respectable upholders of bourgeois, democracy and the Fifth Republic's constitution.

This constitution is specifically designed to ensure that Gaullism dominates the Assembly indefinitely. It takes less than 60,000 votes to elect the average Gaul-

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

list MP, but Communist Party MPs must get some 120,000 votes to ensure election.

Pompidou made it clear before the poll that he intended to appoint a Gaullist premier regardless of the election result. The constitution empowers him to dissolve parliament if he wishes and rule by decree.

This was nothing less than a threat of civil war if the left should succeed in winning a majority of the National Assembly seats. Against this the CP and SP leaders bleated that they were determined to respect democracy and uphold the constitution.

Pompidou, by contrast with the left leaders, adopted a clear and consistent class position from the start of the campaign. That is precisely what was lacking from any of the working-class parties.

As a result, the middle-class voters attracted towards the common programme in the weeks prior to polling swung back to the right when Pompidou made it clear there could be no trifling with the decision.

The result of the election decides only the form of the forthcoming class conflicts in France. Trade union leaders are already warning that the bitter feelings of the organized workers will erupt in strikes for higher wages.

The rapid development of the international crisis and the subordination of the French capitalism involved in the joint Common Market float must worsen all the class conflicts which have been swept under the carpet since 1968.

The movement of the working class which has been tightly restrained by the bureaucratic leaders for many months must erupt in large-scale struggles against the rising cost of living and the low wages of many sections.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

'Forward to the Revolutionary Party.'

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

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

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

**DAGENHAM:** Tuesday March 20, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue.

**BRIXTON:** Tuesday March 20, 8 p.m. Control Room, Brixton Training Centre.

**EAST LONDON:** Tuesday March 20, 8 p.m. Festival Inn, Crisp Street Market, E14.

**TOTTENHAM:** Wednesday March 21, 8 p.m. Bricklayers Arms, Tottenham High Road, nr. White Hart Lane.

**WOOLWICH:** Wednesday March 21, 8 p.m. Castle, Powis Street, SE18.

**WEMBLEY:** Thursday March 21, 8 p.m. Copeland School, High Road, Wembley.

**HOLLOWAY:** Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road.

**HACKNEY:** Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, opp. Town Hall, Mare Street.

**LEWISHAM:** Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Road.

**SLOUGH:** Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road, Slough.

**STEVENAGE:** Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. 'Red Lion', Stevenage Old Town.

**WILLESDEN:** Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Labour and Trades Hall, High Road, NW10.

**WANDSWORTH:** Monday March 26, 8 p.m. Kings Arms, High Road, SW18. 'The Fight against Stalinism'.

**WATFORD:** Monday March 26, 8 p.m. Trade Union Hall, Woodford Road, nr. Watford Junction Station.

## Subscribe now!



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Name .....

Address .....

.....

.....

.....

Amount enclosed £

## Kosygin to see Iran steel mill opened

**SOVIET** Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin will pay a brief visit to Iran for tomorrow's opening of a giant steel mill at Isfahan, built with Soviet assistance, Tass news agency reported yesterday.

The Soviet leader is expected to have talks with the Shah during his visit, according to Iranian sources in Moscow.

Last October, the Shah visited Moscow for talks with Soviet leaders and the two countries signed an economic and technical co-operation treaty.

However, relations between Moscow and Tehran have been threatened in Iranian eyes by the Soviet Union's deepening links with the militant Ba'athist regime in neighbouring Iraq, which is hostile to the Shah. Iraq and Iran have no diplomatic ties.

The Isfahan steel mill is the Soviet Union's major aid project in Iran. It has been in operation for several months.

Iran supplies its giant northern neighbour with piped natural gas and the Soviet Union has agreed to supply aid in developing other industries, in irrigation and geological prospecting.

**DATSUN** has increased its position in the car importers' league in Britain. The Japanese car group has raced from fifth (1.28 per cent of the market) in February 1972 to second place (3.09 per cent). Top importer was Renault (4.28 per cent), Volkswagen was third and Fiat fourth. Top seller, British-Leyland, dropped its market share from 35.98 per cent in February last year to 32.98 per cent for last month.

**ITALIAN** Communist Party leader Leonilde Iotti won only ten votes out of a total of 167 in the ballot for president of the European Parliament yesterday. She was decisively beaten in a three-cornered fight. The successful candidate was Cornelis Berkhouwer, representing the right-wing Dutch Liberals and backed by French Gaullists and Socialists.

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 .....

.....

# Unions ask TUC to support state pay strikers

TODAY'S TUC economic committee faces demands from hospital workers' and civil servants' leaders for support in their fight against the Tories' state pay control laws.

The unions involved — the National Union of Public Employees and the Civil and Public Servants — will make their demands on the basis of the resolution overwhelmingly carried by the special TUC on March 5.

This said: 'Congress calls upon the General Council to organize and lead co-ordinated action in support of affiliated unions in dispute and who require such support.'

'Congress also calls upon the General Council, as part of a determined campaign, to invite affiliated unions to join in a day of national protest and stoppage against the wage-control policy and increases in food prices. This to be organized as quickly as possible.'

The movers of this motion,

the transport workers' and engineers' unions, failed to specify what they meant by the phrase 'co-ordinated action' in the first paragraph.

And they supported the General Council's own policy statement to Congress, which said that requests for support would be examined 'in the light of the circumstances and merits of the particular case'.

As a consequence, TUC secretary Victor Feather was able to insist in his summing-up that the motion was 'not very

much out of line with what I was saying in my report this morning'.

(Feather had insisted: 'No union would ever expect to be able to wall' about with the movement's cheque book in its own pocket. If support is to be given, it might be conditional on the union accepting advice about its tactics and the terms of the settlement.')  
No one challenged Feather's interpretation of the T&GWU-AUEW motion — a situation which prepares the ground for

today's economic committee meeting to look both ways and do nothing.

But only one kind of 'co-ordinated action' will have any effect on the pay laws. This is the transformation of the call for a one-day strike into an all-out, indefinite General Strike to force the Tories out of office and replace them with a Labour government which will repeal all anti-working-class legislation and nationalize the basic industries under workers' control.

# Medical staff back ancillary workers

BY IAN YEATS

DOCTORS and other medical staff at London's Whittington hospital yesterday pledged full support to striking ancillary workers in their fight for a living wage against the Tory pay laws. They agreed to bolster up the workers' strike fund with cash raised from all departments and to call for backing in their own union branches.

Dr Barbara Jacobs told me afterwards: 'The ancillary workers have suffered by not striking in the past. They are underpaid and they have a right to fight for a living wage.'

She added: 'I also think it is important to counteract the rumour-mongering of influential people which amounts to moral blackmail exerted to persuade the ancillary workers to call off their strike.'

'Inconvenience has been caused, but it is quite wrong to say patients have suffered.' Earlier, strike committee member, G&MWU shop steward Mrs Betty Lazarus, told the meeting:

'We are doing a really filthy job and we think we deserve better pay. To get a decent wage we've got to work all the hours there are and even half our men go home with under £17.'

Majority of the 400 ancillary workers have been on all-out strike for two weeks, but about 40 NUPE laundry staff refused to come out.

Said Mrs Lazarus: 'We asked them today if they would come on strike, but they said even if their own officials asked them they would tear up their cards rather than join us.'

Mrs Lazarus and other shop stewards complained that their strike was in jeopardy because of the milk-and-water policies of hospital unions leaders.

She told the meeting: 'We have had very poor support from the heads of the unions. All the action has been from rank and file people who are fed up with the unions' lack of leadership.'

Workers were due to stage a mass meeting last night at Archway Central Hall.

Three doctors (left) from the Whittington hospital, north London, who are supporting the striking ancillary workers following a joint meeting of strikers and medical staff yesterday.



**RUMOURS** that a number of central banks, including those in America and Germany, are about to sell some of their gold reserves on the free market caused gold to drop from \$82 an ounce to \$76 yesterday.

**LONDON** port employers yesterday threatened to cancel a £2.60

pay award accepted by dockers if union leaders fail to rescind a vote to withdraw from flexible manning arrangements.

**SPECIAL** treatment for the hospital workers would wreck the government's policy for state control of wages, Health Minister Sir Keith Joseph insisted yesterday.

The government would not give way, even though it recognized they were low paid.

**A DEFEAT** for the gas and hospital workers would mean 'the end of trade unionism as we know it', Hugh Scanlon, engineers' union president, warned yesterday.

# Gas union bides its time

**GASWORKERS'** leaders were in no great hurry yesterday to join hospital workers and civil servants in appealing for TUC support in their battle against the Tory pay laws.

David Basnett, general secretary of the majority gas union, the General and Municipal Workers, is a member of the TUC economic committee which meets today.

At the special TUC on March 5 he said he would be first through the door of Congress House to seek backing. But the feeling at Ruxley Towers, G&MWU headquarters, yesterday was that the urgency had gone out of the situation because of the calling of a ballot.

Gas strikers in Sunderland,

Co Durham, yesterday voted to end their four-week stoppage next Monday unless the union calls for further action. They passed a vote of no confidence in the G&MWU executive.

A week-old strike by 30 service and distribution workers in Bridgend and Maesteg has spread to 60 men in south west Wales, hitting Llanelli and Pembroke-shire.

A Wales Gas spokesman said: 'It means that maintenance and repair services are at a standstill over an area of 2,500 square miles and about 70,000 customers could be affected.'

The Llanelli walk-out is indefinite, but the Pembrokeshire stoppage was planned to last 24 hours.

## MARCH FUND NOW £321.01

TODAY is the 90th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. This is an appropriate occasion to recall the enormous contribution made by Marx in his analysis of capitalist society.

His major work, 'Capital', is vital for understanding the nature of the present economic crisis.

His struggle and his life are foundation stones for our movement and today it is Workers Press, our daily paper, that carries forward this struggle.

All those enemies of Marxism who claimed that his analysis of capitalism was now out of date are clearly exposed in this political situation.

We carry this fight forward today, through our daily paper, in the struggle to build the revolutionary party.

On our shoulders, dear readers, is this great task. Fight in every way, therefore, for your paper. Let's have a very special effort for our March Fund and raise a record amount. Post all donations immediately to:

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

# Manchester hospitals at lowest level of operation

**THE FIVE** hospitals in the United Manchester Group yesterday reached their lowest point of operation as almost 1,000 ancillary staff went on strike.

At the Royal Infirmary, with a capacity of 635 beds, the number of patients has been reduced to 360. Other hospitals in the group are working to one third to half capacity.

**ANCILLARY** workers from Salford Royal Hospital are determined to stay out indefinitely to win their demands.

Dave Hadfield (23), mortuary worker, said that he got £16

a week take-home pay if he is lucky.

'All unions should get together and get rid of this freeze so that we can have a decent living wage. Our leaders have done nothing, so the shop stewards are setting up a co-ordinating committee to unite the struggle.'

Bernard Crow, a porter for 12 years, showed Workers Press his wages slip. His last week's take-home pay was £14.60.

'We should get £25 a week minimum. If that means a General Strike to get it, we must have one. Heath and his Minis-

ters have got their increases, but bread costs the same to us as to them.'

'We don't want the patients to suffer. We're all for them. But we have to strike to get a decent living wage.'

**THREE HUNDRED** ancillary workers from Crumpsall and Springfield Hospitals yesterday voted for an overtime ban and non-co-operation with management.

Kevin Donally commented: 'We should be all out. We need a General Strike to get the Tories out.'

Bob Greenwood said: 'We came for a strike. We are disappointed there is no real action.'

One domestic bitterly commented on the union officials: 'We need unity with gasworkers and others to get rid of these Tories. We'll have to shift these officials first though.'

Six NUPE drivers have been out for almost two weeks and intend to stay out indefinitely. Owen Crosby said: 'The meeting was called for one thing — a strike. Every one should be out, but the unions won't call for it.'

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

# 13th ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF YOUNG SOCIALISTS BLACKPOOL APRIL 14/15 1973

SATURDAY AND SUNDAY, APRIL 14 & 15, WINTER GARDENS, BLACKPOOL

Cost approximately £4.75 inc bed/breakfast, fare conference and DANCE ON SATURDAY EVENING TO DUCKS DE LUXE  
Trains and coaches from all areas.

I would like to come to the conference/would like more details

Name .....

Address .....

Send to John Simmance, YS national secretary, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG or Telephone 622 7029.