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BY ROYSTON BULL

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The proposal is a fraud. The pay laws strip trade unions of the last vestiges of independence and are an even greater attack than the Act. Free negotiation for wages is the most fundamental of all basic democratic rights. Without it there is no real trade unionism.

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The 'Star' reported coyly: 'Clearly the Tories have taken heart from pronouncements by some union leaders which suggested that they would countenance the Act if it was changed.'

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The co-operation was that discussed at the infamous secret talks that were going on between Heath and the TUC leaders; wage controls in return for Act 'amendments'.

The 'Star' won't name Scanlon or pass comment on his role because the Stalinists are part of the conspiracy to hoodwink the working class.

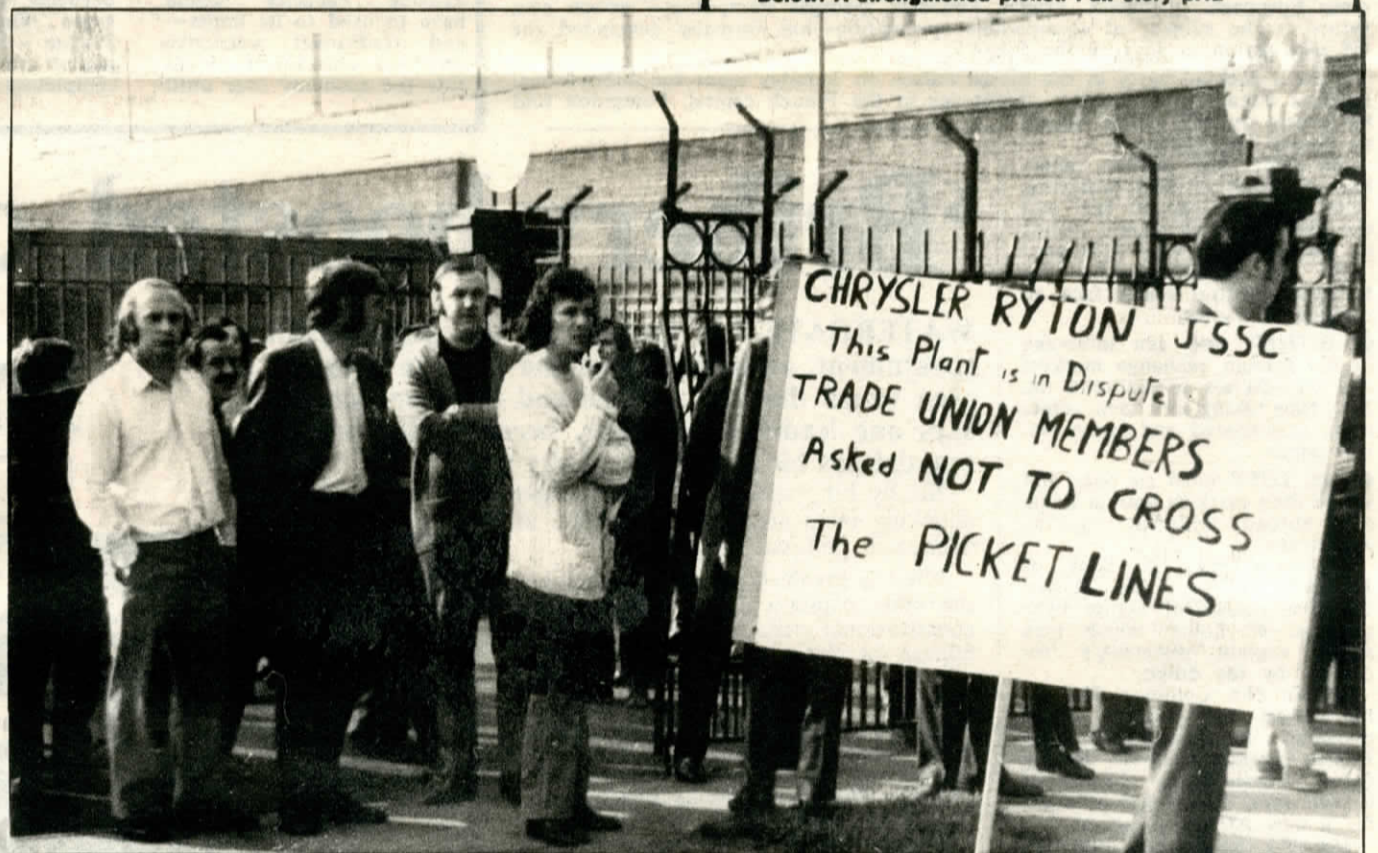
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**TURN TO BACK PAGE**

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Below: A strengthened picket. Full story p.12



BY DAVID MAUDE

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This leaves us with less than £1,500 to raise. Please comrades, have one more whip round so that we complete in good order.

Old Age Pensioners  
Little Sutton, Birkenhead  
£1; Dagenham £3; Croydon  
£50; Newcastle £15; B. T.  
£5.

Post all donations to:  
Party Building Fund  
186a Clapham High Street  
London SW4 7UG

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prolonged shutdown. 'The men are so embittered they won't even talk to us, let alone return to work,' he said.

A 200-strong picket line at the Ryton factory, where 4,500 workers are on strike, stopped supervisors and clerical staff going in. Supplies of body panels for Ryton and Chrysler's other Coventry factory, at Stoke, may be stopped by a 24-hour picket at the Coventry railhead.

Workers say the main issue in the dispute is now whether management have the right to lay them off arbitrarily and at will.

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OFFICIAL trade figures for the first quarter of 1973 show a £360m deficit on visible trade partially offset by an estimated surplus on invisibles such as

insurance and shipping of £170m, leaving an overall foreign trade gap of £190m.

Even these conservative estimates point to an £800m deficit

for Britain in 1973 and make deflation even more inevitable.

Alongside the slow growth of new industrial investment and the sharp fall in retail trade announced earlier this week, the

phoniness of the much-vaunted 'boom' is more clearly revealed than ever as nothing more than the last desperate inflationary throw of the crisis-ridden capitalist system.

# workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY JUNE 7, 1973 ● No 1092 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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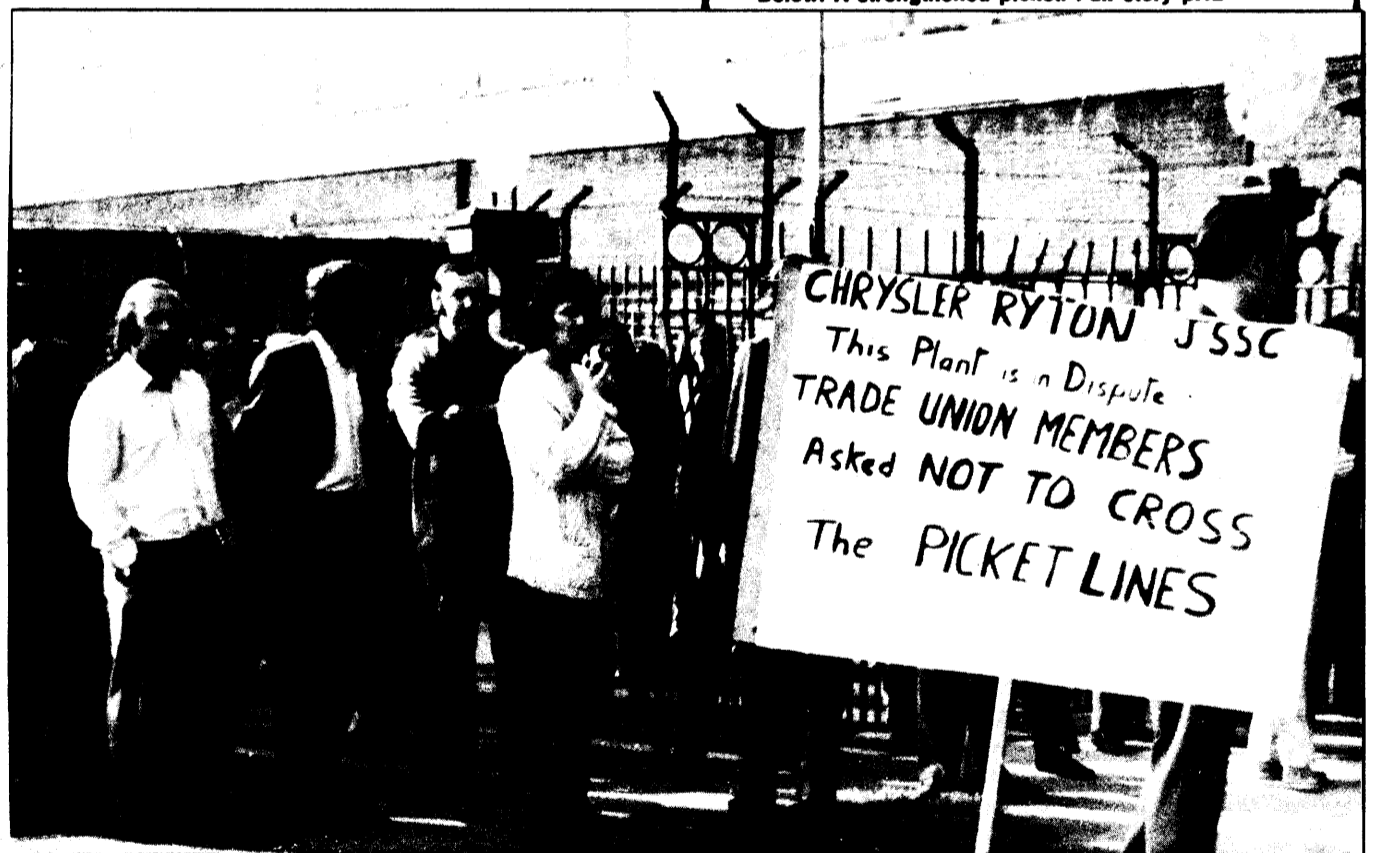
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## Nixon in crisis dollar talks

# Paralysis at the White House

THE UNITED STATES administration is holding a series of meetings this week to prepare anti-inflation measures, including stringent new wage controls.

The meetings involve Nixon's top remaining aides, including Treasury Secretary George Schultz, his predecessor John Connally, central bank chief Arthur Burns, budget director Roy Ash and the director of the cost-of-living council John Dunlop.

According to Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott the President and his aides are actively considering domestic economic measures, including new controls to curb inflation. There is great fear that a third dollar devaluation may be on the cards.

The Nixon administration, however, is completely without authority to impose further controls on the working class and any attempt to do so is certain to produce an explosion of class struggle in the United States.

Nixon and his aides are paralysed and unable to take a firm decision on a single issue. Their paralysis arises from the depth of the objective political and economic crisis facing the world capitalist class.

Their lack of decision on the Watergate affair—epitomized by the White House about-face on the question of producing the records of Nixon's conversations with former counsel John Dean III—spills over into their handling of economic questions.

Absence of any confidence in the dollar and in the Nixon administration is reflected in the gold price (which dropped slightly yesterday to \$121 but is still nearly three times the official price).

This week the dollar has touched record new low levels against all the main European currencies. French President Georges Pompidou—whose own future is the subject of considerable speculation—has formally demanded the US take action to prop up the dollar.

At a cocktail party in the Elysee Palace on Tuesday night for international bankers attending a monetary conference in the French capital, Pompidou told his guests the US should decide to defend the dollar.

He said: 'The present monetary situation is very worrying. This situation cannot last and the United States should decide to defend their own currency.'

As the dollar slumps, the European central banks face an unenviable choice.

- EITHER they can intervene in the foreign exchange markets and buy dollars to maintain the rate, thus taking into their vaults more depreciated and inconvertible paper.

- OR THEY must sit tight and watch their markets both at home and abroad undercut by the Americans.

It seems that the Bank of England, for one, has chosen the first course of action over the last 48 hours, which may partly explain yesterday's 'recovery' by the dollar.

Within the Common Market, the crisis is creating great divisions. In Luxembourg the French Foreign Minister, Michel Jobert, smashed any chances of a joint reply to the US proposal for a new Atlantic Charter.

He told the Foreign Ministers of the other eight EEC member-states that the community did not exist on a foreign-policy level and he challenged the desirability of trying to speak with one voice to the United States.

The joint float of Common Market currencies—from which Britain, Ireland and Italy are excluded—is endangered by the dollar crisis.

In particular, the sharp rise in West German interest rates as part of Chancellor Brandt's anti-inflation package is widening the gap between the mark and the other currencies involved.

On the Frankfurt exchange there is already talk of a separate float for the mark.

No amount of rearrangement of currencies within the EEC can conceal the rapid worsening in the Common Market's terms of trade brought about by the decline of the dollar.

The economic crisis is out of control and all the conditions are rapidly maturing for the transformation of the runaway inflation into a severe slump, putting huge class battles on the order of the day in every capitalist power.

## WHAT WE THINK

# Behind the car strikes

IT IS not 'left-wing extremists' or 'politically-motivated militants' who are behind the present wave of motor industry strikes, but the employers and their political hatchet-men — the Tory government.

At Chrysler's in Coventry, Pressed Steel Fisher in Swindon and Morris Motors in Oxford the issues are clear. The employers, under pressure of their own insoluble and ever-deepening crisis, are attempting to force up the rate of exploitation. The forms of this attack are speed-up, arbitrary lay-offs and rigid discipline.

But the carworkers, whose pay is being held in the ruthless clamp of the Tory pay laws, are fighting back.

For admission that speed-up and cuts in real wages is now the agreed strategy of the capitalist class, we need look no further than the employers and their Press.

Only last week, a leading official of the Engineering Employers' Federation, Edward Marsh, called for a 'relentless' productivity drive.

He was following up the March 28 speech of Michael Clapham, just knighted, president of the Confederation of British Industry, demanding that firms wring more output from each individual worker.

And here are two Fleet Street comments on this week's laggardly investment figures:

'The CBI suggested that existing capacity would have to be used to its limits—and traditional restrictive practices abandoned — to tide the economy over until

present investment plans were realized. — 'Financial Times' (June 5).

'If investment cannot be raised sufficiently in the short term, more output will have to be squeezed out of the existing labour force—hence the emphasis in productivity deals and worker participation during Stage Three.' — 'Guardian' (June 5).

The real agitators in the factories, then, are the employers and the Tories.

At Coventry, Chrysler shop stewards have uncovered a company directive dating from last October instructing management to achieve speed-up and tighter discipline.

And the stewards make the point that throughout the present attempts to lay them off almost at will, management behaviour has been extremely provocative.

Yesterday's threat from Gilbert Hunt, managing director and chief executive, to recommend no new investment until Chrysler workers toe the line, is entirely in line with such behaviour.

British-Leyland has tried, at Swindon, to use the launch of the new Allegro car to establish work-study ('industrial engineers') as a permanent presence on the shop floor and force up production targets.

The issue in the just-ended strike was, once again, speed-up.

Concerted attempts by teams of Fleet Street newshounds to establish a link between the strikers and some kind of shadowy, Prague-based conspiracy against new Leyland models completely failed to turn

up one solitary scrap of evidence.

Leyland's combine-wide drive for speed-up also lurks in the background of the Oxford dispute.

There management originally put forward, but later withdrew, a proposal that all sections in the grade to which 80 striking plant attendants aspired should be work-studied.

And there is still in the wind a management plan to penalize all workers when there is a drop for any reason in quality or production.

The main cause of the Oxford dispute continuing at present is management's refusal even to give a promise of upgrading, not immediately but when the pay laws allow.

Workers in all three centres—and in many other areas, too—are fighting back with unparalleled determination against this Tory-backed employers' offensive.

If the employers thought that with the union leaders' sell-outs to the pay laws, now was the time to whip in with speed-up, they have had a rude shock.

The lesson of all this is obvious; the working class can, and always was strong enough to bring the Tory government crashing down and settle accounts with the employers.

Only the cowardice and treachery of its leaders has prevented it from doing this already.

The developing struggle in the factories gives added urgency to the building of the alternative, revolutionary leadership which will face up to this task.

# 'Bribery boosted confidence in Brandt'

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

WATERGATE has arrived for the Bonn coalition government, according to all the German Press. It is even worse than US scandal and the Lambton affair, says one leading newspaper, because the corruption scandal has hit an already shaky state.

'Bit by bit', said 'Frankfurter Allgemeine', 'astonishing and shocking facts are coming to light. All this must shake confidence in political institutions.'

What is involved, for yet another of the main capitalist governments, is a constitutional crisis, and a lack of confidence in the abilities of the ruling parties to solve the problems facing them.

Newspapers have alleged that Chancellor Willy Brandt's Social Democratic Party offered large sums of money to two former Christian Democratic Union deputies, so they would vote against the CDU in a crucial no-confidence vote against Brandt in April 1972.

The CDU supported by the Christian Social Union has called a for a committee to investigate charges of corruption in the Brandt government. The vote for the committee which the opposition is certain to win, amounts to a no-confidence vote in the Brandt government.

Chancellor Brandt just scraped through by two votes in the secret ballot. One of the former deputies involved in the latest charges, Herr Julius Steiner (48) has admitted casting a blank vote.

In a letter to the Baden-Württemberg Prime Minister, Steiner said: 'I have never received any incentive, either from the Social Democrats, the Free Democrats (junior coalition partners) or the Federal government, of a financial or professional nature.'

Last Tuesday, Steiner approached the 'Spiegel' weekly news magazine and told them that he had also been working as a double agent for East Berlin and Bonn since January 1972.

According to Steiner, the West German government knew and agreed to his activities. But the leadership of his own party, the CDU, had not been informed. Horst Grabert, head of the

German Secret Service, said last Friday: 'I have never seen this man. I only remember him in so far as he was once a parliamentary deputy.'

Minister of the Interior, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, confirmed to 'Spiegel' that Steiner had been in contact with the regional officer of the secret service in Baden-Württemberg, where he had reported on his contacts in East Berlin.

The scandal worsened at the weekend when Helms, former FDP (Brandt's Liberal coalition party) deputy and now a CDU deputy, told another newspaper,

'Bild am Sonntag' that he had been offered DM100,000 in return for voting for Brandt, a day before the decisive confidence vote, and DM200,000 on the day itself.

Karl Wienand, SPD faction leader, who was accused of having offered Steiner a bribe, hotly denied it and called the allegations 'utter nonsense'. He could not remember if he had spoken to Steiner.

It is certain that the CDU-CSU will use this affair to create a red scare and an anti-communist witch-hunt in their fight to discredit and bring down the Brandt government.



CHANCELLOR Willy Brandt (seen above after his confidence vote 'victory') sets out today on a four-day visit to Israel. It is the first visit by a West German Chancellor in office to the Jewish state. Brandt will be paying homage to 6 million Jews killed in Nazi camps during World War II. Brandt has also accepted an invitation to visit Egypt, clearly to placate Arab opinion and try to maintain Germany's 'neutral' position in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

## NCB use 'Victorian records' to excuse disaster

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

COAL BOARD officials attempted yesterday to shift the blame for the Lofthouse colliery disaster in which seven miners died onto Victorian records of old shafts.

Roland Hollis, deputy chief engineer for Yorkshire, said that knowledge of a notebook prepared by geologist Alexander Henry Green would have made a difference in the planning of the South 9B coal face on which the seven men were working on March 21 when water rushed into the mine.

The notebook showed that an old pit shaft near the colliery was 240 feet deeper than the Board believed.

At yesterday's inquiry into the disaster at Wakefield, Hollis told Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire miners' leader: 'I think there is one document which would have made a difference and we did not get it, and that is Green's notebook.'

Lack of knowledge of old pit shafts has been the defence of the NCB since the men were killed at the face.

The opening stages of the inquiry, however, heard reports from eye-witnesses who had expressed concern about the state of the face and a peculiar smell associated with stagnant water.

Local management did little to check out these danger signs.

## Leyland's Spanish plans

BRITISH-LEYLAND is negotiating for the sale of its holding in Spain's state-controlled heavy vehicle manufacturer, ENASA. The move involves a Spanish government-backed deal in which British-Leyland would take over full control of Authi, the Spanish company which manufactures British-Leyland minis.

SCOTTISH Omnibuses of Edinburgh and seven other companies in the Scottish Bus Group have applied to the Traffic Commissioners for permission to put up fares by 10 per cent on single fares and up to 15 per cent on return fares.

# Sir Robert links 'terrorism' with strikes

BY ALEX MITCHELL

THE MESSAGE from Sir Robert Mark's meet-the-Press session yesterday is that the Metropolitan police must recruit swiftly to cope with 'public order'.

And 'public order', according to Mark's all-embracing definition, is handling political or trade disputes and demonstrations and 'counter-terrorist activities'.

In other words Mark echoes the belief of Ulster Secretary William Whitelaw, that trade unionists and terrorists are one and the same thing.

Releasing his annual report, Mark said the force was undermanned by almost 5,000 officers, despite 'the most extensive police publicity campaign ever launched in London'.

In the last six months 688 left the force, thus exceeding the number of recruits by 172. He disclosed that 106 officers left following internal disciplinary action—an average of two a week.

A percentage of these now face criminal action.

Turning to public order Mark said the police now faced the 'new phenomena' of mass picketing and the flying picket.

Asked how the police viewed this development, Mark said: 'It's a question of numbers. Our job is to contain it—but not to side with one side or the other. But there has been an increase in the last two years in the incidence of strikes. There must be no attempt at repression.'

Asked about the emergence of the Special Patrol Groups (SPGs), Mark said: 'It's an emergency reserve. We've got to have them for all kinds of reasons. All sorts of emergencies arise. Any suggestion that it is "an armed body of men" is nonsense. It isn't.'

Mark failed to explain, however, the wide-ranging duties of the SPG.

His report says this secretive squad of plain-clothed officers have the following duties: seeking missing persons, combating soccer hooligans, aiding CID in house-to-house inquiries, aiding Serious Crime Squads, as well as combating reported terrorism. And the Group made 2,244 drug arrests last year.

Asked about the Group's extraordinarily wide-ranging brief, Mark just grinned.

In closing the conference he asked journalists not to emphasize the 106 black sheep officers who had left as a result of public complaints and internal investigations.

He said: 'The standard of conduct of the overwhelming majority of policemen is better than good.'



## Pretoria 6 verdict due next Thursday

THE VERDICT in the 'Pretoria 6' show trial in South Africa will be given next Thursday. The accused—two whites and four Africans—face minimum sentences of five years and a maximum penalty of death.

They have all pleaded not guilty to a total of 19 charges under the notorious Terrorism Act which gives the police dictatorial powers and a brief to torture and intimidate witnesses—in the style of the recent Tory legislation introduced in Northern Ireland. The trial has led to widespread protest all over the world.

SAVAGE sentences of 25 years have been handed down against two coloured (mixed race) Rhodesian men alleged to have brought arms from Zambia into the country.

They pleaded guilty to the arms charges, but not guilty to a further charge involving acts of sabotage of which they were acquitted.

The two men, Thomas Zerf (27) and Cecil Murtagh were trained as soldiers by Rhodesia. The court was told they went to Zambia for guerrilla training.

## Chinese Foreign Minister in talks

THE FIRST visit by a Chinese Foreign Minister since the 1949 revolution began yesterday in Britain.

Chi Peng-fei will be here for the next four days for talks with his British counterpart Sir Alec Douglas-Home. After his talks in London, he is due to fly to Paris on Sunday.

One of the items under discussion will be a move by the Chinese to set up some form of official representation in Hong Kong.

This is opposed by official circles in the colony who fear a Chinese influence would undermine British authority.

Another big talking point will be the proposal to sell China a supply of Harrier jump-jet fighter planes. This deal has been attacked in the Soviet Union.

The Russians are claiming China is opposed to their own aims to establish an alliance with the imperialist powers at the Helsinki conference.

## Ford Euro-stewards

FORD MOTOR shop stewards from Britain, Belgium and West Germany are to establish a permanent joint committee for Europe.

A resolution passed at a meeting of the stewards in Cologne this week also says that in future joint demands should be presented for increased holidays and holiday pay, a 35-hour working week, reduction and control of overtime, and a reduction of stress.

The 'achievement of humanization of work', the stewards say, should include measures for extension of job enlargement in production facilities, co-deter-

mination of production line-speeds and manning, and no reduction in pay for any Ford worker over 50 before retirement.

Pay, however, is to be excluded from the joint claims.

International collaboration between workers is, of course, a step forward: But the key question is the policy and leadership on which it is based.

The British stewards who are participating in this development contain leading Stalinists who recently collaborated to the hilt with the trade union leaders in destroying the Ford wages fight because it involved a conflict with the Tory government and its state pay laws.

As the ruling class of Europe

unites in the Common Market in order to slash the conditions and organizations of the working class—a desperate measure forced on it by intensified trade war, soaring inflation and deep-going monetary crisis—true working-class internationalism can only be based on the political necessity to fight against the capitalist governments of Europe.

Without this, committees of European workers will be a substitute for the real fight against monopoly capitalism.

The Stalinists, in particular, seek to use 'left' phrases and organizational measures to hold back the working class from revolutionary consciousness and internationalism.

## Right wing stirs copper strike

THE CHILEAN government of President Salvador Allende was facing a new crisis yesterday with attacks from the right wing and unrest among the country's most militant workers.

Over 7,000 workers at El Teniente, the world's biggest copper mine, are refusing to back down after 48 days on strike for

a pay increase in line with other workers.

The strike has led to the suspension of copper shipments to Britain and West Germany which earn four-fifths of Chile's national income.

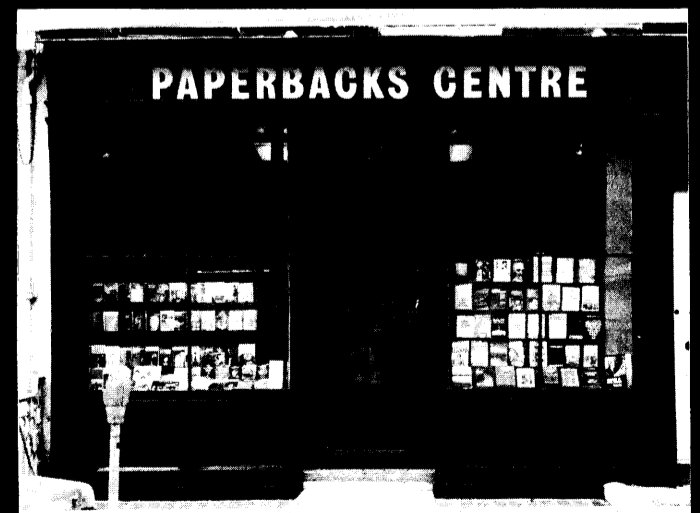
The Allende coalition claims the strike is politically motivated. The strikers have been getting strident support from the opposition Press. The opposition

is demanding the government settle the strike and denationalize the copper mines.

The opposition is also resisting a government move to sack 13 Supreme Court judges.

The court is trying to censure government secretary Anibal Palma for his decision to close down the opposition-controlled radio stations for 'inflammatory' broadcasts.

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## THE DISCUSSION GOES ON

### 'The working class throughout the world are at a crossroads'

Mr Bill Silverthorne (57), is an AUEW member and London maintenance engineer.

What made me take up politics again now? I think it was a more personal reason than most people would have. I shall be 58 next birthday—that gives me seven more years to work.

My father is still alive and he has been a pensioner for a number of years. I could see I'd just be in the same position as him, getting little supplementary bits here and there, scraping the bottom of the barrel and having to do without this and that.

What it amounts to is that it suddenly became crystal clear that I've worked all my life for nothing.

My father was just a working man and as far back as 1936 I became actively interested in the Young Communist League.

But despite all the revolutionary slogans of the Communist Party, after the war I began to find that was all it was. When it came to getting down to the essentials and establishing a leadership of the working class, they just weren't prepared to do that.

They would intervene in little domestic issues in factories and come outside to dish out pamphlets. But when it was something decisive, where it meant leading all the way up the line to establish a socialist government, they just weren't there.

I worked actively in the Communist Party and the trade unions up to about 1954.

I saw what was happening to people in the 1930s and I thought it was necessary to get something done. I joined the YCL because at that time there was no other party which was putting forward a programme even faintly resembling working-class needs.

Another factor was that Mosley's blackshirts were very active at the same time. I could see they were diametrically opposed to what the Communist Party stood for.

I could see they were not for the working class and I

didn't like their methods.

Apart from them, the Communist Party was the only active party.

The Labour Party was there, but that's all you could say about it. It was just there.

They probably had their ward meetings for the same faithful people. They were content to gather a few people about them. They involved themselves in council business,

but nothing that was really going to deal with the major problems.

It's the same today. The policy of the Labour Party, if any, is the same as before. It's evolutionary; it's going to slowly go from capitalism to socialism—but that's an absolute farce.

The Tories and the capitalists behind them are not going to give up what they've got. They

are not going to peacefully give up all their millions.

The difference between the Communist Party today and years ago is that it has become even more 'respectable'.

I didn't rejoin the Communist Party because I didn't think they had anything to offer. If they came out with a policy, it was not the policy of the Communist Party of Great Britain—it was the policy of the Communist Party of Moscow.

The Communist Party is not prepared to lead. Put it this way. If you drop a big stone into a pond, at first there will be waves. But at the end the effect will just die away to nothing.

In the 1950s and 1960s I was active in the trade unions, but they are only the industrial arm—it's not the whole. Trade unions can't take the place of a political party.

Belonging to a trade union is not enough. The trade union only deals with things at factory level, it doesn't change the system. It was the Industrial Relations Act and the Tory pay laws that finally decided me to join the All Trades Unions Alliance and then the League.

I was really heartened by the ATUA conference at Birmingham. The people who spoke were a far greater cross-section of the community than



Mr Bill Silverthorne: 'I saw what was happening to people in the 1930s and I thought it was necessary to get something done . . . Another factor was that Mosley's blackshirts (above) were very active at the time. I could see they were diametrically opposed to what the Communist Party stood for.'

# SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE TORY PARTY



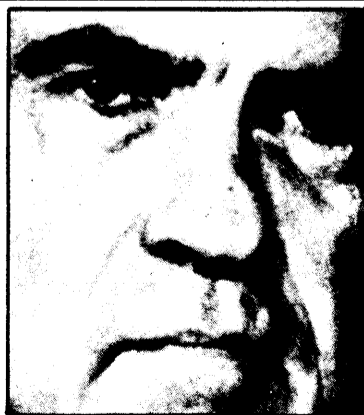
I'd ever come across before. There were some old age pensioners speaking. The fact that they had chosen to speak there at all indicated that even they realized there is only one way to change things—to build a party that would take the interests of workers forward.

The Labour Party won't do that. Look at this question of nationalization. They want to take it out of the election manifesto because they think it will be unpalatable.

I think people are cynical about nationalization because it hasn't worked as they expected. I'd change the name from nationalization to appropriation.

All the time you have a capitalist system, you're either going to be one of them or one of us.

As I understand nationalization, the state takes over everything, lock, stock and barrel.



**'The system is not only full of contradictions. It is corrupt. You've got Nixon and the situation in America . . . Above: 'I have no illusions about the Labour Party leaders. They have no intention of bringing socialism in.'**

The Labour Party have departed so far from socialism that there is practically nothing to choose between them

and the present government.

I have no illusions about the Labour Party leaders. They have become reactionary. They have no intention of bringing in socialism. I voted for the Labour Party in the absence of any other candidates as the lesser of two evils.

When the last Labour government got into office I thought 'Well, this is it, this is the mixture as before. They are just not going to do anything'.

Out of the various parties, the Socialist Labour League are the only people who have produced a policy at all.

How essential is it to build the League into a party? I've looked beyond the situation in this country and I see it's precisely the same in every country of the world. The capitalists have created a system which is so full of contradictions that they are fighting among themselves and

the only result I can see is a third world war.

They've got cut-throat competition between the United States, Europe and Japan and the only solution if they are to have an outlet for their products is a redivision of world markets. The only way to do that is to have a war.

That will be the outcome unless we do away with the present system in this country. Whether it's a Tory government, Labour or Liberal, they are only in office, they are not in power. Behind them stands the capitalist system.

The system is not only full of contradictions. It is corrupt. You've got Nixon and the situation in America and you've got all the scandals here.

The Birmingham ATUA conference showed that the working class is looking for a party with a revolutionary policy and the SLL puts forward a policy like that.

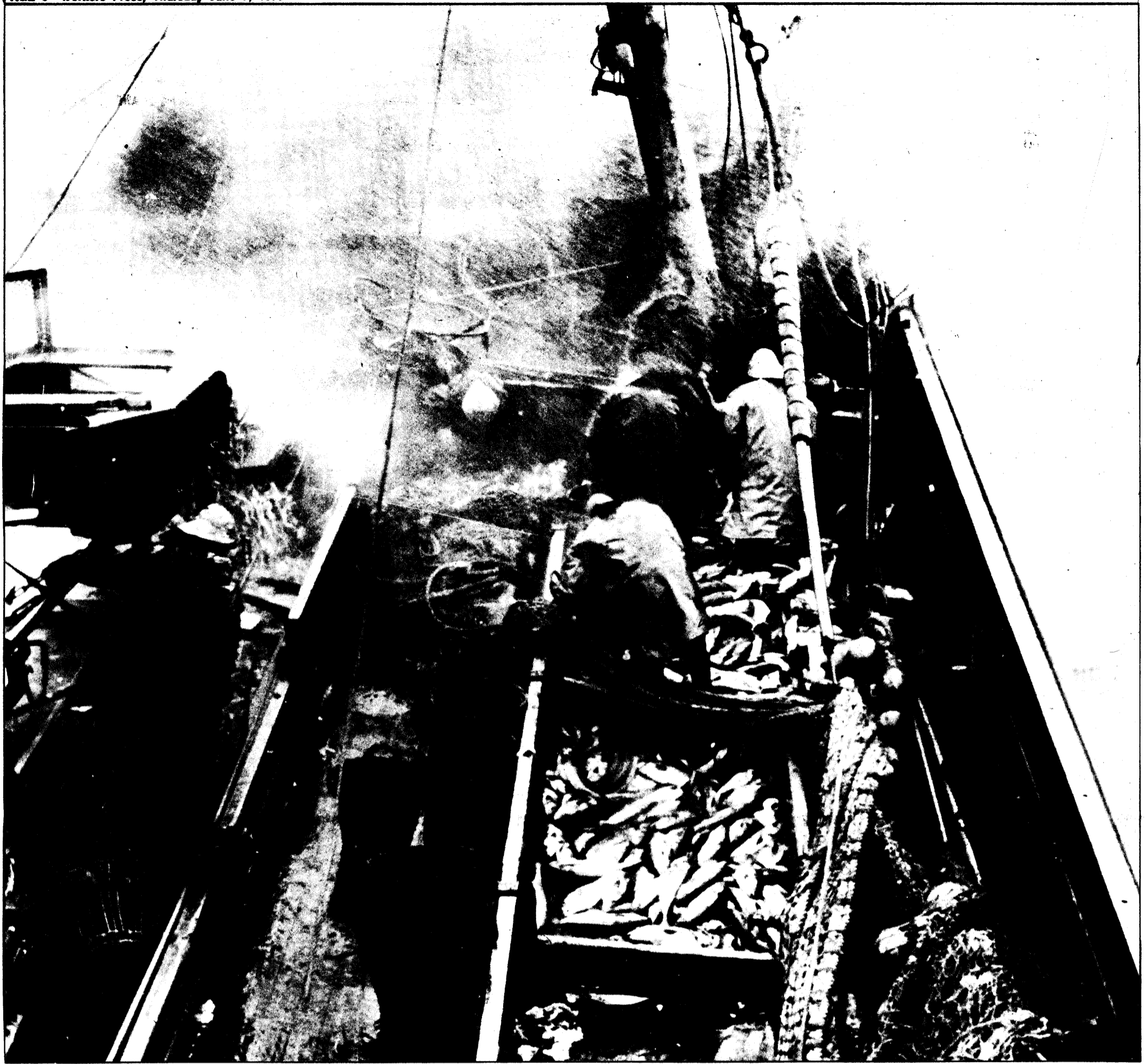
The League is definitely gaining in strength. Its an uphill struggle, but any working-class struggle is uphill.

People are disenchanted with the established parties. They see that something's wrong, but they don't know the answers. That's the great challenge for the League.

We've got to establish a leadership. Educating people in Marxism is basic. It's not even possible to begin analysing the situation without this. Without it you'd just have militancy.

I've got no illusions about the struggle ahead. The ruling class will even resort to turning troops out against people. They'll be like mad dogs. They'll try to drag everybody down with them if necessary.

The working class throughout the world are at a crossroads. They've either got to go forward or get nowhere at all.



# COD WAR: ICELAND IN DANGER

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

**Trawling is a primitive form of hunting. But today it is carried out with the most sophisticated techniques of modern capitalism.**

As always where profit inspires activity, the fishing game is one of plunder with scant regard for future resources or human need.

Of course, everyone agrees with conservation. Meanwhile margins are tight and the fish must be caught. Competition is fierce, both within and between nations. In the northern hemisphere the battleground is the Atlantic and particularly the seas above the Continental Shelf which provide the rich feeding grounds for the main species.

The waters round Iceland, perhaps the most prolific in the Atlantic, have become the centre of this war.

The island's 203,000 people make their living from fish, which accounts for 80 per cent of their exports. They have watched with growing alarm the fleets of trawlers return to feed off the harvest and particularly cod, which

lives in massive shoals in the shallow water 50 miles around the island.

It is this area—some 220 square miles of ocean—that Iceland wants to exploit. Its fishermen say it is theirs by right—just as the UK lays claim to the oil beneath the Continental Shelf around the British Isles.

The other argument is conservation. The Icelanders say the cod and haddock are in danger of becoming overfished, primarily by the British and the Germans, who compete for the catch.

They have already had one harrowing experience due to the greed of their own trawling fleet.

Once Iceland was the world's most important source of herrings (kippers when smoked). But the intensive fishing of the 1950s and 1960s has almost destroyed the species.

In 1966 herring accounted for half the total Icelandic landings and 40 per cent of exports. By 1968 the grounds were fished out and the Icelandic national income dived 17 per cent. There is now a total ban on herring fishing around the island.

The statistics reveal Ice-

land's dependency on fish and the herring trauma lies very much behind the demand that she control all waters above her own Continental Shelf.

The 'cod war' cannot be understood, however, if the focus remains exclusively on Icelandic waters. Why do British trawlers need to fish on her doorstep anyway?

The distant water fleet, some 160 vessels which sail from Hull, Grimsby and Fleetwood have three choices, all of which lie north.

They can fish around the coast of Norway and beyond to Bear Island, Spitzbergen and the Barents Sea.

They can go even farther, 3,000 to 5,000 miles, into the north-west Atlantic to Greenland and the grounds off Labrador and Newfoundland.

Or they can take a relatively short trip north west and sail the 1,700 to 2,000 miles to Iceland.

The pattern of trawling is complicated and affected by many variables, not least of all the state of international relations. But basically since the war Iceland has been the staple of the British catch, accounting now for around two-thirds of the total tonnage landed.

A graph which plots catches since 1957 (see diagram A) shows the predominance of Icelandic fish (overwhelmingly cod). But it also reveals a pattern. Tonnage landed from Iceland tends to move in the opposite direction to the tonnage from the other two fishery areas the north-east Atlantic (Norway, Bear Island, Barents Sea, etc.) and the north west (Greenland, Newfoundland and Labrador).

1969 is an extreme example when, for the first time since the war, and probably the first time ever, Iceland was pushed into second place behind the Barents Sea as the most productive ground for British trawlers.

What happens is that as catches begin to falter in the distant areas, many trawlers play safe and return to the older, more trusted Icelandic grounds. If the catch at Iceland begins to drop, the process swings into reverse.

This is a very crude explanation and there are other important factors that make Iceland the top ground.

Fishing is not all weight of catch. The owners want profit and they don't like long journeys where travelling costs eat deeply into the cash

value of the fish.

The trip to Bear Island takes at least ten days, there and back. To fish the Barents Sea 17 days can be spent to and from port—sailing times to Newfoundland and Labrador are even longer.

Apart from the resulting high fuel costs these journeys reduce trawling time and therefore the possible catch. The costs, in fact, are often prohibitive, especially for the side trawlers which can only stay out three weeks at a time because of the lack of freezing facilities.

Though the freezers can put to sea for 100 days, they are also extremely expensive to run.

The upshot is that for the side trawlers, still the bulk of the fleet, Newfoundland and Greenland are beyond economic reach. Trips to the Barents Sea are also too costly in all, but the most favourable conditions.

Only round Iceland therefore do the side trawlers put in more fishing hours than the larger freezers.

But the general result of this pattern is to concentrate the fishing effort intensely around Iceland. In 1971, for example, 300,000 fishing hours were put

Left: On board a conventional side-trawler. Lack of freezing facilities on these vessels means they can only stay out three weeks at a time. This makes the Iceland waters the only place at present suitable for side-trawler fishing.

in in Iceland's waters compared with 179,440 in all the other grounds combined.

The British trawling interests say Iceland is exaggerating its case. They claim her waters provide enough fish for all, providing agreements on conservation can be reached. They hint further that the conservation argument is a cover for Iceland's own desire to monopolize the catch. Iceland, they point out, has over 30 modern trawlers on order in anticipation of the 50-mile limit.

But history is the real judge. And this shows that successive areas in the north Atlantic have been fished out, some suffering apparently irreparable damage because of the fierce national and international battle for bigger and bigger catches.

Fish come in what the scientists call classes. Each year after spawning a new class is born. As these fish rapidly mature they reach a size bigger than the minimum net diameter and start appearing in the trawl.

Obviously the more intense the trawling effort, the greater proportion of the young fish stock wiped out. With the young fish go the possibility of years of future spawning and new classes of fish. The first danger sign of overfishing is a drop in the average age of the catch.

Time and again the vicious cycle has repeated itself. Rich grounds are discovered. They attract widespread international attention. Catches are large and more boats flock to the area. Over the years the larger fish are snatched from the sea and the nets become filled with the younger fish only a year or two from spawning. Eventually spawning stocks become so depleted that the area becomes barren.

Once Britain had no need of a deep-water fleet. The North Sea and Irish Sea supplied all our fish needs. In 1913, for example, there were 1,650 drifters catching herring and other surface and mid-water species in Britain's waters. In 1965 there were only 66. In 1906 trawlers were taking 800cwt a day from the North Sea. By 1935 this had slumped to 200cwt.

It was the intense fishing of the 1920s and 1930s by British and European fleets that forced the trawling industry to look further north towards the Arctic.

After the war, Hull built a fleet of new boats to sail far into northern waters. Greater attention was paid to the north-east waters around Bear Island and the Barents Sea. Here the British competed with the huge trawler packs which put out to sea from Poland and Russia.

The result has been overfishing. The latest 'Fishing Prospects' from the Ministry of Agriculture fisheries laboratory at Lowestoft comments: 'Competition is a vital component of fishing, but there are now obvious signs that resources will be endangered if it increases any further. In the north-east Arctic (Barents Sea, Spitzbergen, etc.) the performance of United Kingdom trawlers in 1972 reflects just how minute cod stock has become: The spawning stock is particularly small, only one fifth of its 1950-1959 size and becoming smaller still.'

But what about Iceland? This area, above all, provides Britain with the bulk of her catch. There can be up to 100 trawlers fishing Iceland's water—about 60 British and 30 German and the rest from Belgium, Poland, Portugal and the Soviet Union.

Catches have always been high averaging around 150,000 tons a year in terms of UK

landings. But even British trawler skippers will admit there is a danger of overfishing. One, Robert Taylor, the captain of the prize-winning trawler 'Somerset Maugham' warned two years ago:

'Throughout the past few months there have been signs of a big revival in the east Iceland grounds—but the danger is again the foreign trawlers. Operating as they do in hundreds of vessels, concentration around the Icelandic coasts could fish it out in a couple of years.'

The danger signs are already there. 'Fishing Prospects' reports that the haddock stock is now in a 'parlous' state and has been steadily getting smaller for a decade.

Cod landings are still high, but the average age of the fish caught is falling steadily. Over 70 per cent of spawning cod are caught. In 1955, 65 per cent of the catch was aged ten years or over. By 1965 this was down to 10 per cent and now the figure is a tiny 2 per cent.

The decreasing size (and age) of individual fish is revealed by figures that show while the average catch remains fairly steady, the number of fish caught have increased sharply.

Britain catches a high proportion of young cod. 1966 figures showed that while UK tonnage was 30 per cent of the total tonnage landed in all countries from Icelandic waters, the number of fish landed was 52.9 per cent of the total.

It is unquestionably the case that if the present scramble for fish and profit continues off Iceland, the stocks will suffer severely. Indeed the tonnage already dragged from Icelandic waters have severely injured future fishing.

The 50-mile limit would be a fatal blow to the bulk of Britain's 127 long-distance side-trawlers. Many of these boats will be scrapped anyway over the next ten years—30 of them in Hull, for example, are over 20 years old.

Trips to the north-east Atlantic would not be economical. One possible alternative would be to return to the near and middle waters of the North Sea, which have experienced a revival in recent years. But these are already heavily fished by the UK inshore and middle water fleet and its foreign competitors. Extra capacity would revive the prospect of overfishing once more.

The twin evils of overfishing and massive redundancies within the trawling fleet are the hallmarks of the capitalist mode of production applied to sea fishing.

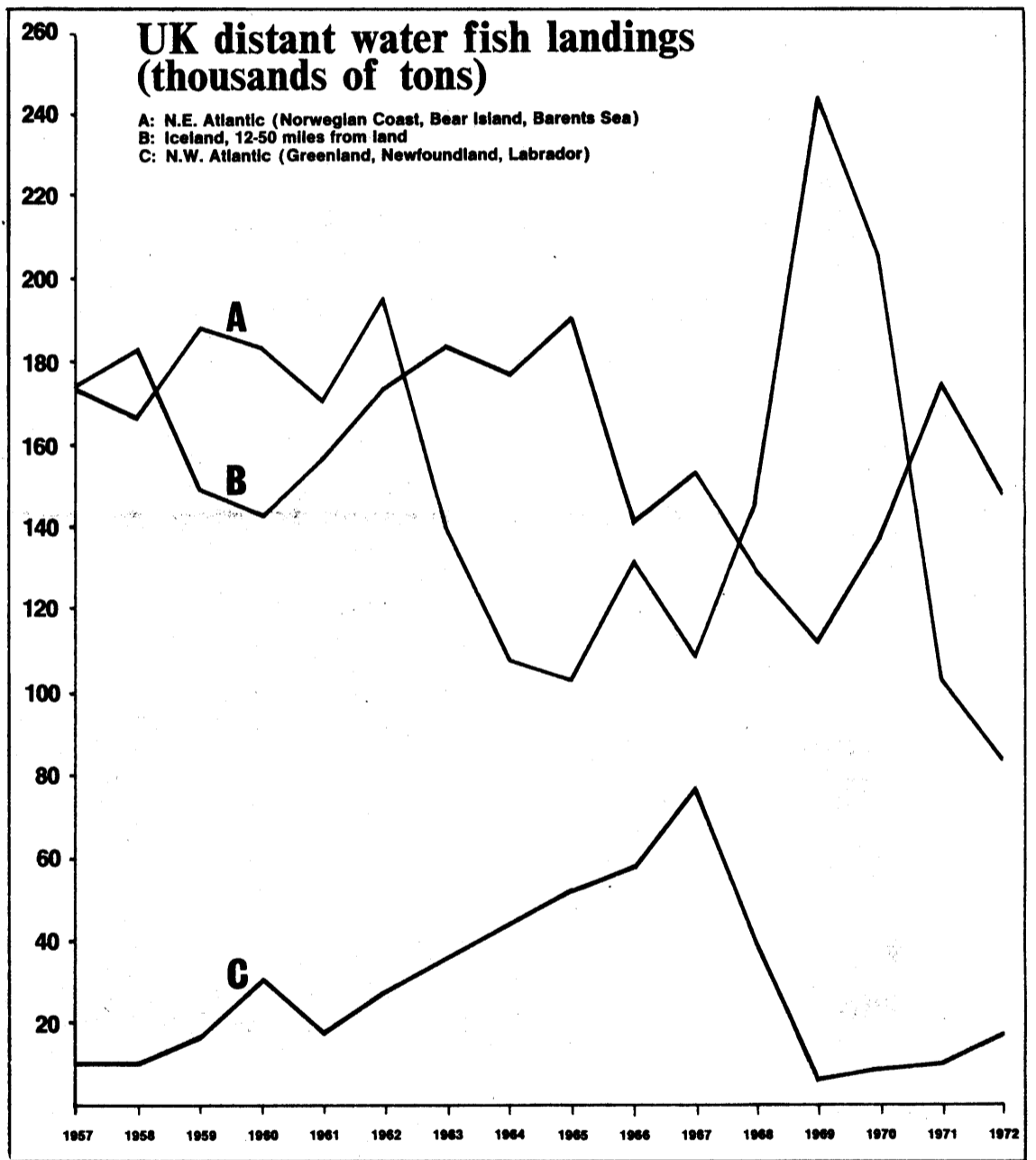
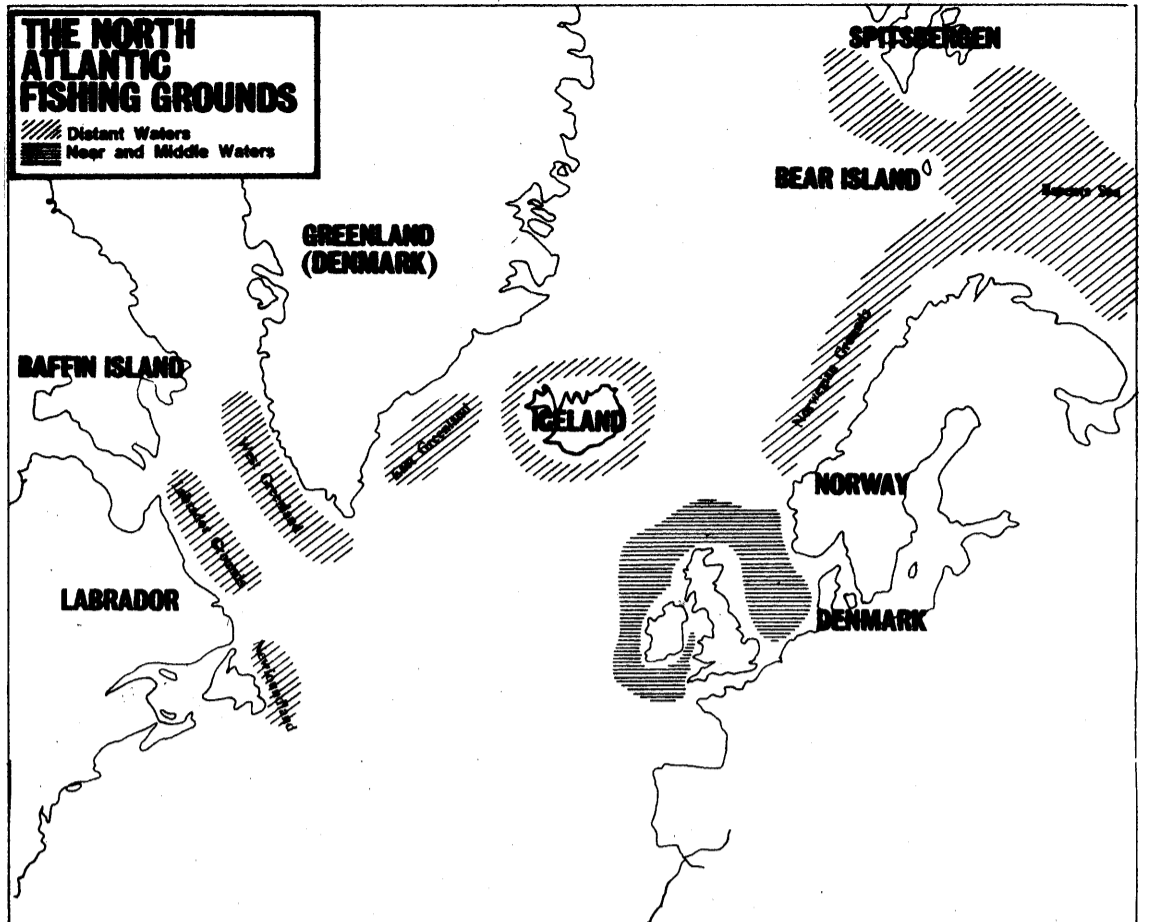
The need to develop fish resources to provide people with the food they need at the cheapest possible price clashes violently with the narrow sectional interests of each big nation and its capitalist trawling industry. This is the root of the antagonism. It means instead of development we get 'cod war'.

In a socialist world, fish stocks would be subject to strict international planning based on agreements between friendly nations.

A probable solution would be to base the main fleets at ports nearest the richest grounds. With the latest freezing methods it would be a simple matter to export fish to nations whose needs outstripped their own resources.

We do not, however, live in an ideal world, but one where capitalist interests maraud ruthlessly for the maximum profit on fish. Socialists are required to answer Iceland's own demand to determine her own future without the fear of economic slavery or ruin.

The principle behind this approach will be elaborated in the last article. But tomorrow we investigate who is behind the 'cod war' in Britain.



# WHEN THE COD WAR BEGAN

Iceland began to consider limits when foreign, and particularly British, fleets started fishing her waters in greater and greater numbers after the war. The depletion of stocks in the North Sea was a major factor in this movement.

Before 1952 Iceland, in common with all other nations, had a three-mile territorial limit. In the same year the Icelandic government announced its intention to declare a four-mile limit. This led to the first 'cod war'. The limit went on in May 1952, after Norway had taken similar action.

Iceland said plaice, halibut and haddock stocks were being overfished. The issue dragged on for four-and-a-half years, with 16 arrests of British crews. Finally

in November 1956, Iceland got her limit and UK ships were allowed to shelter in the fiords without stowing their gear as a concession.

Icelandic claims over conservation were somewhat dubious since she did overfish within her own territorial waters and in 1958 the second 'cod war' began when the government gave notice of a 12-mile limit. This war was more violent.

The British Navy was sent in July 1958. The Transport and General Workers' Union resisted demands that its members should not unload Icelandic fish. In 1960 fishing was suspended during the second International Law of the Sea conference where a motion to allow Iceland a six-mile limit (favoured by Britain) failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority.

The issue was eventually settled in 1961 when Iceland won recognition for her 12-mile demand.

But the Progressive Party opposition (Communist Party-dominated) refused to recognize the agreement and pledged to disregard it if it was elected to office.

In July 1971 the Progressive Party formed a left-coalition government and repudiated the treaty and announced its intention to declare a 50-mile limit, which it did in September 1972.

The first serious incidents began in March this year when a gunboat cut a British trawler's tackle. On March 18 five live shells were fired at the tug 'Statesman' owned by Boston Deep Sea fisheries, a major trawling concern, and deployed by the government at a cost of £1,500 a day to defend trawlers in Icelandic waters.

More recently trawlers have been shelled but without loss of life. Iceland also claims its gunboats have been rammed deliberately.

Most countries now have a 12-mile limit (the Soviet Union declared one in 1955—there was no 'cod war' with Russia!).

The next International Law of the Sea conference is in Santiago in 1974. The trawler owners say that if Iceland gets her 50-miles, Canada, Norway and Denmark (Greenland) and the other nations will follow suit—so blocking Britain from fishing anywhere on the North Atlantic Continental Shelf.



# REVISIONIONISTS EXPOSED BY ECONOMIC CRISIS

## Part one Mandel and Neo- capitalism

BY PETER JEFFRIES

As against every tendency inside the working-class movement, the Socialist Labour League and the International Committee of the Fourth International have sought continually to analyse the nature of the post-war capitalist crisis and to warn the working class of its revolutionary implications.

This task has been an indispensable part of the work, now reaching a climax, to prepare to transform the SLL into a revolutionary party, which alone can provide the working class with the programme and policy to meet this crisis.

Standing against us at every stage of this struggle has been the so-called 'Unified Secretariat'. This is the body which abandoned Marxism when it split from the Fourth International in 1953.

Its leading 'theoretician' is Ernest Mandel. Mandel has been in the forefront in consistently peddling revisionist illusions about the nature of capitalism since 1945.

No doubt stung by the consistent exposures of its revisionism carried out by the SLL, the Unified Secretariat has at last been forced to defend its economic analysis of post-war capitalism. This unfortunate task has fallen to Dick Roberts, leading member of the American Socialist Workers' Party, which is in political solidarity with the Unified Secretariat, although for legal reasons not allowed to affiliate to it.

In a series of articles in 'Intercontinental Press' (May 7, May 14 and May 21) Roberts makes a desperate, though pathetic, attempt to defend his political mentor Mandel.

Before coming to the substance of Roberts' argument, it is necessary to be clear about the relationship between his and Mandel's economic writings and their politics.

For it would be quite wrong to believe that the counter-revolutionary politics of the Unified Secretariat have flowed simply from a 'wrong' analysis of post-war capitalism. On the contrary, it was the abandonment of revolutionary Marxism and a capitulation to Stalinism which long ago forced Mandel and his friends to seek a 'new' analysis of capitalism which would justify these politics.

When M. Pablo and Mandel deserted Trotskyism in 1953 the issues were very clear. The essence of their break was that the analysis of the epoch, as outlined by Trotsky in the Transitional Programme, was now 'out of date'. Pablo saw the drive to socialism after the last war as 'irreversible'; but it would not come for many generations. Meanwhile Trotskyism had to look towards sections of the Stalinist bureaucracy which, under pressure from the masses, would be



Left: The industrial revolution, Marx explained, was not merely a series of technical changes, but a complete breakup of the old social structure, creating thereby the modern working class. Right: Nuclear power, which Mandel tries to portray as a 'Third Industrial Revolution' was developed almost entirely for war and the preparation for war which is inseparable from imperialism.

driven to accept the 'programme' and 'ideas' of Trotskyism. In a word, Pabloism was liquidationism.

And since 1953 the Pabloites have carried their theory into practice.

The Socialist Labour League was established and then built only in continual conflict, at every stage and on every question, against the Pabloite movement in Britain.

It is from the standpoint of these politics that all Mandel's economic writings must be judged.

To take one crucial example which Roberts raises in the first of his three articles. Roberts seeks to defend Mandel's use of the term 'neo-capitalism'. Before setting down what Mandel actually said on this subject, let us look at his general characterization of post-war capitalism.

In his 'Marxist Economic Theory'—which Roberts takes as his authoritative source—Mandel says the following about capitalism after 1940: 'With the 1940s appeared the warning signs of a third industrial revolution. The first industrial revolution had been based on the steam engine, the second on the electric motor and the internal combustion engine. The third is based on the release of nuclear energy and the use of electronic machinery.'

Here, in a single paragraph, is expressed the real content of Mandel's total rejection of Lenin and Trotsky's analysis of imperialism.

For both Lenin and Trotsky, imperialism was the highest stage of capitalist development. It was the highest stage for them, unlike Mandel, because

it represented the period in which capitalism had ceased to be a progressive force, capable of developing the productive forces. It now constituted an enormous fetter on the productive forces which only the working class could remove in the struggle for socialism.

In the period of Stalinism, from 1925 onwards, Trotsky showed that capitalism survived only because of the unresolved crisis of revolutionary leadership in the working class.

The starting point for revolutionary Marxism, therefore, was this conception of the nature of imperialism and the struggle for revolutionary leadership which flowed from it.

Now how does Mandel's conception of a 'Third Industrial Revolution' square with this analysis?

It is, of course, in the most direct opposition to it.

Marx was among the first to understand the implications of the Industrial Revolution which changed completely the nature of economy and society in England after 1750. It was a revolution which saw not merely a series of great technical changes in every leading branch of industry, but a period which broke up completely the old social structure.

For it was a revolution which brought into being the modern working class, the grave-digger of capitalism. In so doing, it reflected and prepared for an enormous expansion of the capitalist system which was soon to dominate the entire world.

It is utterly impermissible, therefore, for Marxists to employ such a term in relation

to capitalism, not in its period of expansion, but in its epoch of decline and disintegration.

The 'technical changes' which occurred in capitalist economy after 1940, of which Mandel wishes to make such a fetish, were possible only because the betrayals of social democracy and Stalinism from the 1920s onwards allowed capitalism to survive.

Of this Mandel says not a single word!

Nor does he inform his readers that these developments were bound up almost entirely with war and the preparation for war which again are inseparable from imperialism.

Of course, Mandel's use of the term 'industrial revolution' was no slip of the pen.

For the politics of Mandel, like all revisionists before him, forces him to cling to the most superficial indications of what he hopes is any strength the capitalist system may have. Because the revisionists long ago wrote off the working class as the only revolutionary force within capitalist society, they must necessarily turn all their economic analysis in this direction.

This was certainly the case with Mandel's 'neo-capitalism', the stage of capitalism which he saw emerging after 1940.

Roberts may squeal that his master has been 'misrepresented'. He fails entirely to tell us why, if capitalism remained gripped by the same basic contradictions which Marx had analysed, was it necessary to employ a new term? What, we ask Roberts, was 'neo' about 'neo-capitalism'?

There is no need to ask

Roberts, however, for Mandel has already told us: 'The capitalist economy of this phase tends to ensure greater stability [Mandel's emphasis] both of consumption and investment than in the era of free competition or than during the first phase of monopoly capitalism; it tends towards a reduction of cyclical fluctuations, resulting above all from the increasing intervention of the state in economic life.' ('Marxist Economic Theory', p. 529.)

And on the same page: 'The whole system evolves not so much towards uninterrupted growth as toward long-term stagnation . . . The practical effect of this increased economic role of the state is precisely a reduction of cyclical fluctuations.' (ibid, p. 53.)

Here we see that Mandel quite consciously counterposes 'neo-capitalism' to the 'first phase of monopoly capitalism', that is to imperialism which Lenin defined as 'monopoly capitalism'.

In other words, imperialism was not the highest stage of capitalism. Imperialism is not the epoch in which the crisis of working-class leadership will be resolved. It has been replaced by the stage of 'neo-capitalism' in which Trotskyists cease independent political activity and prostitute themselves before Stalinism.

Every conclusion which Mandel drew about the more 'stable' post-war capitalism flowed from this abandonment of Marxism and the struggle to build the revolutionary party.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

TV Review by Tom Kemp

## FRANCE 1968: FILM MISSES CP'S ROLE IN SNATCHING POWER FROM THE WORKERS

Europa: May 31 'France... the Events of 1968'.—BBC 2.

No one watching this film record of the events in France in May-June 1968 would have gathered that an opportunity for the working class to take power was deliberately prevented by the Communist Party.

Indeed we were well into the programme before the CP was even mentioned, and even then it was never pointed out that through the Confédération Générale du Travail, the main trade union, it controlled the decisive sections of the French working class.

The film shots were first-class in conveying the atmosphere of the time. Although the compilers obviously wanted to focus as much as possible on the student revolt, it was clear that this was not only a General Strike of unprecedented dimensions, but that the whole of French society was flung into a crisis in which the ruling class and the Gaullist regime were completely paralysed.

The film shows the brutality of the police, kicking and beating demonstrators with unbridled ferocity. What it does not bring out is the way in which from the time when the student revolt began in Nanterre in March until the night of the barricades on May 10 the Stalinist Press was hostile to the students and afraid that its policy of tacit support for General de Gaulle's foreign policy would be prejudiced.

We do not see the General himself fêted as a hero by the Stalinists in Rumania while French workers were calling for his overthrow.

The first big demonstration in which the workers took part was a result of the somersault by the CP, which saw that mass indignation was growing against the government as a result of the brutal repression of the students. It then sought to put itself at the head of the movement in order to stifle it and prevent it from turning in a revolutionary direction.



No one on the programme denounced this move and Alain Krivine, the Pabliste leader of the Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires evaded it in a characteristic way.

The strike only began a couple of days later when workers in Sud-Aviation, Nantes, had taken over the factory and locked the manager in his office. Within a week their example had been followed by millions of workers all over France, not only in factories but in mines, shops, offices, laboratories and by many middle-class people as well.

The extent and depth of this explosion is never explained. We do see peasants joining the movement in Brittany. But it is clear that had there been a firm lead from the working-class organizations, their example (and they are far from being the worst-off peasants in France) would have been followed in many other places.

What should have been said was that the strike erupted outside the control of the Stalinists at first and they strove might and main to bring it under control. As is said in passing, by the third week of May, trade union leaders, employers and the government representatives were meeting behind closed doors to try to find a way out.

The key role in these negotiations was played by the Stalinist CGT leaders and particularly by its secretary

Georges Ségué. One of the best shots in the film shows Ségué taking the first agreement for a wage increase back to the Renault plant, a CP stronghold and a key to the whole development of the strike.

Ségué had obviously come to sell this agreement to the workers massed on the factory floor before him. He quickly sensed the atmosphere of hostility to any settlement and even before announcing the terms hastened to say that nothing had been signed.

The scene ends before the sequel, because a great cry then went up of 'don't sign' and 'for a popular government', which showed that even without leadership the workers knew that more than wages were at stake.

They sensed their own power and were looking for leadership.

Ségué was determined to keep the movement to so-called 'economic demands', but we still see later that the CGT officials had great difficulty in convincing the rank and file that they would have to settle for nothing more than a wage increase.

It is significant that the film is cut off at a critical point and that Ségué is really let off the hook lightly.

The strength and determination of the working class is shown at many points, as is the complete crisis of the government. De Gaulle's first attempt to win support after

his return from Rumania in a TV broadcast on May 24 went entirely disregarded.

At this point the working class had power within its grasp.

The economy was paralysed. The Ministers were turning in small circles not knowing what to do. The army was confined to barracks and discontent was growing amongst the conscript soldiers. Even some of the police were becoming restless as they were bearing the brunt of the unpopularity and contempt which greeted their repressive role.

When de Gaulle came back to Paris he found that he could not even put through a telephone call to his army commander in Germany. The telephone operator simply said that she was on strike and not accepting calls from anyone!

All this time the CGT, i.e. the Stalinists, were in daily contact with Pompidou. Ségué, in an interview in the programme, claims that the strikes were only about economic questions. He lies. The Stalinists tried to confine them to economic questions, as he did himself at Renault. But May-June was more than a General Strike: it posed the question of power and everybody could see that.

The CGT could have closed down the electricity, gas and water supplies, cut off petrol deliveries, shut down the Press. Unions it controlled were in a dominant position in all these industries. To use this

power would have meant revolution, as it well knew.

De Gaulle, reassured by the Soviet Embassy that the Soviet Union had no wish to see a revolution in France, flew to see his generals in Germany to win their support. The middle class, which had largely been keeping indoors for the previous fortnight, was being prepared to come out in support of de Gaulle.

The CGT was wearing down the working class and preparing the way for a negotiated settlement on purely economic demands, as Ségué admits.

But how, without this treacherous role, can we explain that de Gaulle was able to make a radio broadcast on May 30, raising the red spectre, offer elections as a solution and win the assent of the Stalinists to this way of preventing revolution.

The film shows this change in the climate but the commentary fails to explain how it came about because it keeps quiet about the role of the Stalinists.

It does not make clear that the settlement made by the CGT was not acceptable to the workers but had to be imposed by the Stalinist bureaucrats against enormous opposition. In most places the strikes went on for several days or even a week or more.

The situation at the Renault plant at Flins is well depicted, presumably from film made by militants.

This was one of the last redoubts of the strike in which the workers resisted the CGT commands and then had to face an enormous mobilization of the CRS (armed police), which came in in strength to clear the factory.

We see the police chasing workers and students across the fields, in the course of which one young student was driven into a river and drowned.

The presentation and commentary accompanying these fascinating film shots of the May-June events were entirely incapable of conveying their true significance. There was no sense of history, no feel for the working class, no understanding of the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism.

The leaders who were shown, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Jacques Sauvageot, Alain Geismar and Alain Krivine, were revealed as completely at the mercy of events, unable to project any alternative to Gaullism which could break the working class from Stalinism.

Despite all its weaknesses, the programme could not avoid leaving the impression that May-June was a dress rehearsal for the European revolution and not just a passing episode. But that came out from what was seen, not from the commentary.

A new English edition of the 'First Five Years of the Communist International' incorporating hitherto unpublished material from Volume XIII of Trotsky's 'Works'.

## NEW EDITION

**The First Five Years of the Communist International**  
This first volume of Trotsky's writings and speeches for the Communist International covers the period of its first three Congresses when the post-war revolutionary upsurge reached its peak and then began to recede. It establishes, without fear of contradiction, the important role which he played in the foundation of this, the Third workers' International, and in the formation and early development of the French, German and Italian Communist Parties. At this time the theory of 'socialism in one country' had not been invented and Joseph Stalin was still a second-line Bolshevik leader who played no part in the international movement which he was later to pervert and eventually destroy.

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## WORKERS NOTEBOOK

### 'WONDERFUL'

Have the Tories got a new policy for the 1970s. After the revelations about Lambton, Jellicoe and the mysterious 'third man', a senior Tory spokesman has urged church officials that sex is 'exciting and wonderful'.

This doctrine was outlined last week by Mr John Gummer, Tory MP for Lewisham and a vice-president of the Conservative Party.

Addressing the Lewisham Federation of Churches, Gummer said that the sexual act had been described as 'the nearest human counterpart to divine experience'.

The Rev John Swaffield thanked Mr Gummer for his contribution and the meeting ended after some questions.

### NO COMMENT

'At least part of the reason for the Conservative Party's victory in the recent election was the belief that they would promote higher standards of moral behaviour.'—report of speech by Mr Stanbrook, Tory MP for Orpington, 1971.

### PRICES

We reported recently that the Prices Commission had granted an application by Van den Berghs and Jurgens to put up the price of Stork and Echo Margarine and Cookeen fat.

Van den Berghs and Jurgens is an associate of Unilever. The chairman of Van den Berghs and Jurgens is Mr Frederick Kitchen.

Mr Frederick Kitchen is one of the seven members of... the Prices Commission.

The salary of Mr E. G. Woodroffe, chairman of Unilever, is £47,000 a year. That's £940 a week.

THE FIRST  
FIVE YEARS OF THE  
COMMUNIST  
INTERNATIONAL



# Profits-pollution—nuclear power dilemma

**THE NUCLEAR energy lobby is stepping up its campaign for the proliferation of nuclear power stations in Britain.**

This follows the announcement by Shell that it intends launching an £80m nuclear power partnership with the American-owned Gulf Oil.

Shell is to buy a half stake in Gulf's nuclear division, which is building six power stations in the US. The partnership hopes to sell similar systems in western Europe.

The decision by Shell, which is 40 per cent British and 60 per cent Dutch, is a direct result of the world-wide energy crisis. The oil 'majors' are clearly planning to diversify in the energy business.

While the oil companies are stepping up their commercial interest in nuclear energy, American environmentalists have launched a legal fight against the extension of these power systems.

Last week Ralph Nader, the 'consumer king', and the 'Friends of the Earth', started legal action against companies involved in nuclear energy production.

The plaintiffs claim that the power stations have insufficient safety standards and radioactive pollution is a danger to the health of millions of Americans.

These fears were violently opposed yesterday by Professor David Leslie, professor of Nuclear Engineering

at London University. Speaking at the Institute of Petroleum's summer meeting at Harrogate, Leslie said a major accident to a nuclear reactor leading to a massive release of fission products was 'very improbable'.

This is supposed to be a reassurance!

What about a 'minor accident' in which there is a 'medium release' of fission products? Leslie is silent on this.

Leslie said we should compare the risks of nuclear power with those we cheerfully accepted in everyday life.

The risks we accepted 'almost without thinking' when driving a car or the risk of a ceiling fall in were 'probably greater than that of a major accident to a power reactor'.

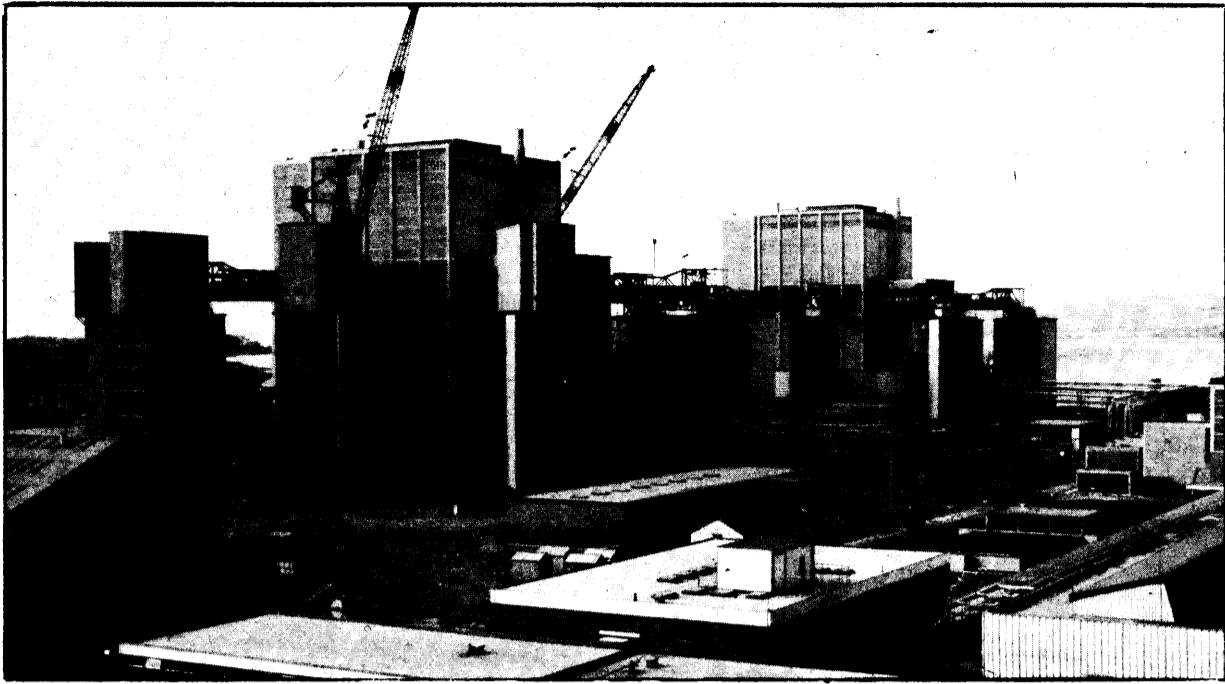
He said that the general viewpoint was that we could not quantify the risk nor define the probable consequences of such an accident.

But one should weigh such a risk against the risks implied by a decision not to have nuclear power. These included cold, starvation and social chaos.

Having presented some of the enormous questions involved in 'going nuclear', Leslie went on:

'The UK must start a new programme of nuclear power station construction soon and we must decide what type to build. To the extent that it falls to any one man to make it, this decision will be made by Sir Arnold Weinstock.'

Premier Edward Heath



recently announced that Weinstock, the head of the GEC-AEI group, would take over a new Tory-created company in charge of the nuclear power programme.

Weinstock is the man responsible for sacking more than 30,000 workers after the big merger of his group five years ago. He is one of British industry's most rapacious capitalists.

But stepping up a nuclear energy programme whose guiding beacon of success is profitability only increases the menace of atomic pollution.

The next Labour government must insist that this industry be removed immediately from the hands of Weinstock and his friends along with the banks and other basic industries.



Ralph Nader (above), America's 'doom-watch' man, last week started court action against companies involved in nuclear energy production. Now Shell have joined up with US firm Gulf with plans for nuclear stations, like the one seen top, for western Europe.

## CPers vote against political prisoners resolution

COMMUNIST Party members in Hounslow, Middlesex, have blocked a resolution demanding the release of jailed Peruvian Trotskyists from being sent to the local trades council and district committee of the engineering union.

The resolution, put to the Hounslow No. 1 branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, demanded the immediate release of the Liga Comunista members who have been jailed by Velasco's military junta and the democratic right to free publication of their Press. This Press must be restored, says the motion.

It also demands the release of all left-wing and political prisoners in Peru.

The branch decided by ten votes to 25 abstentions to send the motion to the Peruvian Ambassador, the CP members being among the abstainers. But the Stalinists voted to defeat a move to send the motion forward to the trades council and district committee.

## Tighter trawler regulations

TIGHTER mesh regulations on trawl nets and closer inspection of catches have been proposed by the United States at an international fishing conference in Copenhagen.

The US delegation to the International Commission for the North West Atlantic Fisheries proposed a ten-point programme to limit fishing off the east American coast.

Later the 150 delegates are expected to discuss Icelandic fishing and the limitations of salmon fishing.

## 'Laundry' murder case dropped

A MURDER charge against IRA man David Wilson (21), over the killing of a British army secret agent has been dropped by the prosecution at Antrim Assizes.

But Wilson, a bricklayer, of Belfast, who admitted possessing arms with intent to endanger life, belonging to the IRA and driving a stolen car, was due to be sentenced on those charges yesterday.

The agent, Sapper Telford Edward Stuart, of Ardstraw, Co Tyrone, was shot five times from close range last October while acting as a van driver for the bogus Four Square Laundry—an organization collecting information about the IRA in Belfast.

# New terror trial as Stalinists greet Shah

THE IRANIAN dictatorship led by Shah Reza Pahlavi has opened up a new terror trial against the left wing. Meanwhile the ruler himself tours eastern Europe.

Seven alleged guerrillas including a girl, are before a military court charged with anti-state activities and attempting to kidnap the former US ambassador Douglas MacArthur II.

One of the defendants, Manouchehr Nahavandi, is reported to have told the court that they had no intention of harming MacArthur or holding him prisoner. The plan, which was foiled by the ambassador's driver, was merely to get publicity for their fight against oppression.

The trial is the latest savage act of oppression against those who oppose the dictatorship. On March 28 eight young leftists were shot by a military firing squad. The Iranian Communist Party claimed they were executed because of their political views.

But the bloody purge has not disturbed relations between Iran and the Stalinist leaders of Russia and eastern Europe.

The Shah has just finished a visit to Rumania where he was feted by the Stalinist President Nicolae Ceausescu. At a state banquet Ceausescu said: 'The experience acquired in the organization and unfolding of Rumanian - Iranian relations



and the common wish to cooperate in the spirit of fully equal rights will ensure a brilliant future for the relations between the two countries, to the benefit of both peoples, and will also serve the general cause of co-operation and peace.'

Ceausescu said Rumania declared solidarity with all people fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism—a principle he does not apparently apply in the case of Iran.

The Shah is now getting similar treatment from the Stalinist head of Bulgaria while the Iranian War Minister General Reza Azimi is in the Soviet Union for talks on topics of mutual interest with Defence Minister Marshal Grechko.

## Equal pay means fighting state pay laws

CLERICAL workers are on strike at Salford Engineering Industries over the right of women to equal pay.

The 120 strikers at the Eccles factory, members of the clerical union APEX, are fighting for TUC policy against the GEC company and the Engineering Employers' Federation, who say that the Tory pay control legislation bars them from granting anything above £1 plus 4 per cent.

APEX area organizer Iain MacLean said that a £5 across-the-board claim had been shelved to allow 'realistic talks'

over the pay laws. But all the company would offer was £2 for men and £1.50 for women. The strike is now official. Barbara Holden (26), a striker from the printing department, said: 'This is my first strike ever, but we're all sticking out together. It's ridiculous prices going up the way they are and wages being held down.'

### SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE LECTURES

#### Barnsley

Given by Gerry Healy  
National Secretary  
of the  
Socialist Labour League

Sunday June 17  
The materialist conception of  
History

Sunday June 24  
Dialectical Materialism—a  
Marxist theory of knowledge

Sunday July 1  
Theory and Practise of  
Marxism

Sunday July 8  
Role of the  
Revolutionary Party

at

The Red Lion  
Worsborough  
Near Barnsley  
7.30 p.m.

### ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETING

#### Central London

'Closures of Theatres and  
Film Studios'

SUNDAY JUNE 10  
7.15 p.m.

London Film School,  
corner Langley and Shelton St  
(opp Covent Garden tube)

Speaker: Yvonne Richards

### Lambeth Council of Action

Sunday June 10 3 p.m.

Clapham Baths  
Clapham Manor Street, SW4

'Break off Phase Three talks.  
No Collaboration with Heath.'

### SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE MEETING

#### BLACKBURN

'The Peel Hotel'

Thursday June 14 8 p.m.  
'Build the Revolutionary Party'

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### NEWSDESK

01-720 2000

### CIRCULATION

01-622 7029

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.

# Benn papers over cracks in Labour Party

'THERE is no split in the Party and no leadership crisis', declared Anthony Wedgwood Benn, Labour's Shadow Minister for Trade and Industry, yesterday.

Benn, speaking at a conference on 'The Future of the City' at London's Hilton Hotel, was making his first major speech since Labour's NEC narrowly approved a 'nationalization' programme.

'It is not the number, but the principle of really substantial extensions of public ownership into manufacturing that matters,' he said.

'Put this way, as it should be,

the case is very powerful indeed. I am sure that the next Labour government will want to move forward on these lines.'

The Lonrho affair, Benn continued, revealed 'patterns of inequality' which were 'not uncommon' and the Hill-Samuel-Slater-Walker merger had been allowed without any reference to the Monopolies Commission.

Both financial groups had 'contributed very substantial sums to the Conservative Party', Benn said.

The Poulson affair and the recent case of a Minister's holdings in oil shares showed the urgency of requiring a full disclosure by all Ministers and MPs

of their business interests and connections of all kinds.

He pointed out that delegates from banks and other financial institutions at the Hilton conference had assets worth about £95,000m—four or five times raised in taxation and spent by the government each year.

'The Labour Party must ask what effect all this power will have on the nature of our democracy,' he pointed out.

However, the Labour 'left' proposed only 'a fundamental change in favour of democratic control'.

This would involve the election of 'say, 50 per cent' of workers onto supervisory boards, and

control over 'key prices and profits'.

And Benn said Labour would 'replace' the Industrial Relations Act—he did not say it would be abolished—and terms of Common Market membership would be 'renegotiated'.

According to him, 'the range of issues on which we are divided (i.e. in the leadership of the Labour Party) was 'a very narrow one'.

'We shall have no difficulty,' he claimed, 'in finding common ground and the debate will help us to do so.'

But Mr Benn was clearly concerned to paper over the cracks in the Labour Party split and not to take up the offensive

against the right wing and the Wilson leadership who want nothing to do with nationalization and socialism.

This is a clear abdication by Benn of the fight against the right wing—which has consistently supported the Tory government over the state pay laws, the Common Market, and every one of its anti-working-class policies.

The way to deal with the right wing—and the fake lefts—is to return a Labour government committed by the mobilization of the working class to socialist policies, which include nationalization without compensation and under workers' control.

# Hard line extends strike

A PROLONGED strike is now inevitable at Chrysler's Ryton car factory, Coventry, union officials fear, because of the hard-line attitude of the company.

Yesterday the company threatened to stop investment if workers failed to keep to procedure and avoid strikes.

The period over which workers would have to do this was fairly substantial, said industrial relations director Peter Griffiths.

'We are not just talking about this particular dispute. We are talking about months rather than weeks.

'We feel that to spend a lot of money without knowing in advance whether we are to use the investment profitably to produce the number of vehicles we want would be the wrong thing to do.'

The US-owned company's statement, which came less than 48 hours after accusations that workers were guilty of deliberately poor workmanship (from American plant manager at Ryton, James Caton), seems certain to inflame the strike situation still further.

Already the strikers are incensed by suggestions that all they are fighting for is 90 minutes' lay-off pay for 600 body shop workers.

Men who turned out on a 200-strong picket line at Ryton early yesterday morning stressed that what was at stake was whether management should have the right to lay them off arbitrarily and at will.

Picket Ted Watson told Workers Press: 'I think the main issue is the the company did not want to pay us our guaranteed week when we were laid off due to the recent strike at Linwood.'

'Chrysler brought us in and had us working on anything just to justify keeping us in the factory.'

'We had inferior body shells to work on in the first place. Therefore for the company to say we were responsible for inferior work is tripe. At first the company blamed the supervision, but then it rounded on the men. We're not standing for this.'

The mass picket at Ryton was successful in turning away all supervision. In addition, no clerical staff went in except wages clerks who the pickets allowed in.

# Leyland grading talks re-open

ADJURED talks on the grading strike which has halted production at British-Leyland's Oxford car plants will resume today.

The 80 attendants from the assembly plant, whose strike has halted all production at the factories, meet tomorrow.

A further 1,000 workers may be sent home today, bringing the total lay-off to 13,000. But so far the company has refused the strikers' demand for a firm promise of upgrading as soon as

the Tory pay laws allow.

In negotiations on Tuesday, Leyland offered, when the law allows, to pay an unspecified increase in excess of the semi-skilled rate which the men now receive.

This was rejected. The men, who are, among other duties, responsible for turning off and on all production lines, want to move into the lower of two skilled grades. Besides a higher basic rate, this would give them increased overtime and premium

payments.

Leyland has dropped an earlier proviso that all workers in the lower skilled grade would have to be subjected to work study before they would even consider the plant attendants' claim.

Press operators at British-Leyland's Swindon car-body factory, whose strike against speed-up halted Allegro production at Birmingham, decided at a mass meeting yesterday to return to work.



## JUNE FUND NOW £93.47

WE ARE now through the first week of this month for raising our Fund. But as you can see from our total, we are a long way from keeping up a pace to raise our £1,750 target by the end of June. We have three more weeks to go—let's go into action immediately and push our total right up.

As the price of gold remains a record high, we can see the enormous crisis facing the capitalist system. Our paper must be used to warn workers everywhere of the deflationary measures ahead.

So—don't sit back. We need everything you can raise for our June Fund. Collect as much as possible. Post all your donations immediately to:

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

## Strike at tourist office

FIFTEEN out of the 18 employees at the Italian State Tourist Office in Regent Street, London, came out on strike yesterday against the treatment and attitude of management towards them.

Trouble started shortly after a new director was appointed a year ago and the strikers claim that since then they have been treated like criminals with fantastic allegations levelled against them, including that of collective insubordination and sabotage of the new director's attempts to run the office efficiently.

Many of the strikers have worked for over five years at the office and say that they are now in danger of being sacked.

All are members of trade unions in Italy.

# A DIRTY DEAL IS UNDER WAY

FROM PAGE ONE

Jones' retreats over the gas-workers and the hospital workers. In fact, they have done the opposite and either confused these issues or misreported them.

The 'Star' is doing the same thing again on this issue.

And what are these 'amendments' which provide the bait in the trap which the Stalinists refuse to discuss?

They too are a fraud. Restoring tax concessions, preventing private prosecutions through the NIRC and permitting the closed shop are, because of the mighty resistance of the working class to the Act, not matters of life and death to the unions.

And these 'amendments' will, of course, leave the essence of the Act, the state control of trade unions, completely unaltered.

The independence of the unions from the state will remain

abolished by law and all the traditional activities of trade unionists potentially illegal as 'unfair industrial practices'.

Moreover, these 'amendments' are nothing more than the Tories offered to discuss when the Bill first came out, and which the TUC correctly refused to have anything to do with on the grounds of their total rejection of any state control of unions. Such is the magnitude of the TUC's retreat.

The 'Star' says nothing of all this either.

It says the Act should be got rid of rather than amended, but it doesn't say that the 'amendments' are a fraud.

The way is being prepared for the Stalinists to cover up for Scanlon and the 'lefts' yet again in the forthcoming moves for a deal with the Tory government on the basis of: 'Well at least

some concessions are better than no concessions.'

This whole 'amendments' stunt is a deception on the working class. What is being prepared is a corporatist trap.

There is nothing to be gained from talks with this bankrupt, discredited Tory government except a further loss of trade union independence and basic rights.

In the midst of their greatest-ever crisis, the capitalist class has nothing to offer the working class except more treachery.

● Demand an end to all talks on Phase Three or the amendments.

● Demand a campaign to bring the Tory government down.

● Start this campaign by bringing thousands of workers to the great All Trades Unions Alliance anti-Tory rally at Belle Vue on July 1.

All Trades Unions Alliance Conference: To discuss defence of democratic rights

# BELLE VUE

Kings Hall: Belle Vue Zoo Park: Manchester—Sunday July 1: 3 p.m.—9 p.m.

Special showing of the Pageant film 'THE ROAD TO WORKERS POWER' and songs and scenes from history

Tickets £1: Available from R. Smith, 60 Wellington Street West, Salford 7, Manchester.

TUC must break off all talks on Phase 3  
Make the Tory government resign!  
Transform the Socialist Labour League into the Revolutionary Party!