

N Vietnamese offensive rolls on

NIXON'S PUPPET QUAKES

SOUTH Vietnamese troops fled in confusion yesterday as 40,000 North Vietnamese poured over the border into the American puppet state.

Tanks and heavy artillery took part in the attack, which was preceded by a day-long bombardment of the chain of bases south of the demilitarized zone.

Outnumbered two to one, the South Vietnamese fled in disorder from many of the border fortresses.

Challenge

Yesterday morning they were reported to have fallen back on the second line of defences, abandoning at least ten bases.

Roads were reported choked with refugees fleeing towards the provincial capital of Hue and hampering South Vietnamese efforts to bring in reinforcements.

Many of the troops supposedly defending Qung Tri, the next major town on the North Vietnamese line of march, had already evacuated the town yesterday and taken the road for Hue.

Their retreat was described by one Saigon source as 'fairly orderly in some places and completely disorderly in others'.

American aircraft were unable to cover the retreat because the entire area is obscured by low cloud.

In addition to the attack across the northern border, Saigon reported increased military activity in the tri-border region where the frontiers of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam meet.

They fear the North Vietnamese may try and cut off the puppet state's northern provinces by a drive to the sea across the vulnerable central provinces.

The attack is a direct challenge to President Nixon's much-vaunted 'Vietnamization' policy—building up the puppet army under an umbrella of US air support.

Coming just over a month after Nixon's visit to China it is also aimed at ensuring the Maoist bureaucracy does not sell out the Vietnamese revolution by an underhand deal with Nixon.

BY JOHN SPENCER

It completely cuts across the Chinese leaders' treacherous efforts to do a deal with Nixon under the slogan of 'peaceful co-existence with imperialism'.

In recent days, the intransigence of the Vietnamese has forced Peking to step up its rhetorical war of words with the US over Vietnam.

The long struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants is the high point of the colonial revolution, which now fuses with the international crisis of imperialism and the movement to the left of the oppressed people throughout the world.

The imperatives of the dollar crisis and the mounting combativity of the working class at home have forced Nixon to withdraw most of his forces from Vietnam. They became thoroughly demoralized and mutinous when faced with the revolutionary struggle of the Indo-Chinese workers and peasants.

The Vietnamization programme, substituting equally disaffected South Vietnamese for US troops, is a sign of weakness, not a position of strength.

On Saturday, as the North Vietnamese swung into the attack, the puppet Saigon defence minister, General Nguyen Van Vy, asked prime minister Tran Thien Khiem for permission to take a holiday while the government investigated corruption charges again him.

Rotten

General Vy is the head of the Military Savings Fund, made up from small monthly payments stopped from soldiers' wages. Under him, it has grown into a highly lucrative business worth several million pounds—to the great profit of Vy and his associates.

South Vietnamese capitalism is rotten-ripe for overthrow. Without the massive American military technology and air support, the Saigon government is powerless to withstand the military implications of the powerful blows from the North.



S VIETNAM'S ARMY IS ON THE RUN AGAIN

Young Socialists plan most important conference yet

BY ALEX MITCHELL

MORE than 1,500 delegates, trade unionists and supporters are expected at the annual conference of the Young Socialists at Scarborough next weekend, April 8 and 9.

All the Right-to-Work marchers have received a special invitation to take part in the conference, the most important in the history of the Young Socialists.

There will be a packed and lively agenda with 157 resolutions.

Predominating the discussion will be the fight against the Tory government and the building of the revolutionary party in Britain this year.

The Mitcham YS motion says: 'We, the Young Socialists, say that we must construct a party

which, through its principles, can lead the working class in a fight against the Tories and which will carry the working class to power.'

Other resolutions cover the Common Market, Ulster, Vietnam, rising prices, the attacks on the NHS and the social services, racialism, the Industrial Relations Act, Bangla Desh, Angela Davis and George Jackson, Black Power and the police.

World crisis

The main resolution sets the background to the conference—the world crisis of capitalism. The resolution's opening paragraph reads: 'President Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971 removing the US government's pledge to exchange gold for dollars, and ending existing exchange rates, was a declaration

of trade war.

'It was followed on December 15, 1971, by a devaluation of the dollar. Both these events marked the end of an era for world capitalism.'

The main resolution stresses the fight for Marxism: 'To build the Young Socialists into a mass revolutionary youth movement is to lay the foundations of the greatest transformation of society in human history. This task is impossible without the corresponding development of consciousness to the highest level yet achieved—in the Marxist method of dialectical materialism and its application to a scientific study of society.'

'The Young Socialists must be the arena for introducing the basic principles of Marxism to young workers. This theory is further developed only in the revolutionary party which is the Socialist Labour League.'

workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY APRIL 3, 1972 ● No. 729 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

N Vietnamese offensive rolls on

NIXON'S PUPPET QUAKES

SOUTH Vietnamese troops fled in confusion yesterday as 40,000 North Vietnamese poured over the border into the American puppet state.

Tanks and heavy artillery took part in the attack, which was preceded by a day-long bombardment of the chain of bases south of the demilitarized zone.

Outnumbered two to one, the South Vietnamese fled in disorder from many of the border fortresses.

Challenge

Yesterday morning they were reported to have fallen back on the second line of defences, abandoning at least ten bases.

Roads were reported choked with refugees fleeing towards the provincial capital of Hue and hampering South Vietnamese efforts to bring in reinforcements.

Many of the troops supposedly defending Qung Tri, the next major town on the North Vietnamese line of march, had already evacuated the town yesterday and taken the road for Hue.

Their retreat was described by one Saigon source as 'fairly orderly in some places and completely disorderly in others'.

American aircraft were unable to cover the retreat because the entire area is obscured by low cloud.

In addition to the attack across the northern border, Saigon reported increased military activity in the tri-border region where the frontiers of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam meet.

They fear the North Vietnamese may try and cut off the puppet state's northern provinces by a drive to the sea across the vulnerable central provinces.

The attack is a direct challenge to President Nixon's much-vaunted 'Vietnamization' policy—building up the puppet army under an umbrella of US air support.

Coming just over a month after Nixon's visit to China it is also aimed at ensuring the Maoist bureaucracy does not sell out the Vietnamese revolution by an underhand deal with Nixon.

BY JOHN SPENCER

It completely cuts across the Chinese leaders' treacherous efforts to do a deal with Nixon under the slogan of 'peaceful co-existence with imperialism'.

In recent days, the intransigence of the Vietnamese has forced Peking to step up its rhetorical war of words with the US over Vietnam.

The long struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants is the high point of the colonial revolution, which now fuses with the international crisis of imperialism and the movement to the left of the oppressed people throughout the world.

The imperatives of the dollar crisis and the mounting combativity of the working class at home have forced Nixon to withdraw most of his forces from Vietnam. They became thoroughly demoralized and mutinous when faced with the revolutionary struggle of the Indo-Chinese workers and peasants.

The Vietnamization programme, substituting equally disaffected South Vietnamese for US troops, is a sign of weakness, not a position of strength.

On Saturday, as the North Vietnamese swung into the attack, the puppet Saigon defence minister, General Nguyen Van Vy, asked prime minister Tran Thien Khiem for permission to take a holiday while the government investigated corruption charges again him.

Rotten

General Vy is the head of the Military Savings Fund, made up from small monthly payments stopped from soldiers' wages. Under him, it has grown into a highly lucrative business worth several million pounds—to the great profit of Vy and his associates.

South Vietnamese capitalism is rotten-ripe for overthrow. Without the massive American military technology and air support, the Saigon government is powerless to withstand the military implications of the powerful blows from the North.



S VIETNAM'S ARMY IS ON THE RUN AGAIN

Young Socialists plan most important conference yet

BY ALEX MITCHELL

MORE than 1,500 delegates, trade unionists and supporters are expected at the annual conference of the Young Socialists at Scarborough next weekend, April 8 and 9.

All the Right-to-Work marchers have received a special invitation to take part in the conference, the most important in the history of the Young Socialists.

There will be a packed and lively agenda with 157 resolutions.

Predominating the discussion will be the fight against the Tory government and the building of the revolutionary party in Britain this year.

The Mitcham YS motion says: 'We, the Young Socialists, say that we must construct a party

which, through its principles, can lead the working class in a fight against the Tories and which will carry the working class to power.'

Other resolutions cover the Common Market, Ulster, Vietnam, rising prices, the attacks on the NHS and the social services, racialism, the Industrial Relations Act, Bangla Desh, Angela Davis and George Jackson, Black Power and the police.

World crisis

The main resolution sets the background to the conference—the world crisis of capitalism. The resolution's opening paragraph reads: 'President Nixon's decision on August 15, 1971 removing the US government's pledge to exchange gold for dollars, and ending existing exchange rates, was a declaration

of trade war.

'It was followed on December 15, 1971, by a devaluation of the dollar. Both these events marked the end of an era for world capitalism.'

The main resolution stresses the fight for Marxism: 'To build the Young Socialists into a mass revolutionary youth movement is to lay the foundations of the greatest transformation of society in human history. This task is impossible without the corresponding development of consciousness to the highest level yet achieved—in the Marxist method of dialectical materialism and its application to a scientific study of society.'

'The Young Socialists must be the arena for introducing the basic principles of Marxism to young workers. This theory is further developed only in the revolutionary party which is the Socialist Labour League.'

AND THE WORLD

Miners' leader is convicted

MINERS' union president W. A. 'Tony' Boyle was convicted in Washington at the weekend on 13 charges arising from union fund contributions to federal election campaigns between 1966 and 1969.

Two other officials, secretary-treasurer John Owens and John Kametz, head of the mineworkers' political section, were acquitted.

Boyle (67), who has headed the 190,000-strong United Mine Workers union since 1963, faces a maximum of 32 years in prison and fines of up to \$120,000 (£45,400).

The verdict followed a two-week trial in the first prosecution of a union official for making illegal campaign contributions in federal elections.

The government alleged that \$49,250 (£18,825) in UMW money was passed to the Democratic and Republican parties in defiance of a federal law prohibiting direct union contributions to political campaigns.

It said the largest sum \$30,000 (£11,530), went to a 'Salute to Hubert Humphrey' dinner during the 1968 presidential campaign.

Boyle was convicted of conspiracy, consenting to 11 specific illegal campaign contributions and another charge of converting \$5,000 (£1,920) in union funds to the use of others.

The money was drawn from the union's political arm, Labour's Non-Partisan League, of which Kametz was the head.

Boyle's conviction is the most serious blow to the UMW since he was elected its president in 1963.

It is under legal attack not only from the government but also from Boyle's opponents within the 80-year-old union.

The Labour Department is seeking to have his re-election in 1969 ruled invalid on the grounds that it was won by fraudulent tactics.

In 1969 Boyle defeated Joseph Yablonski, who three weeks later was found murdered along with his wife and daughter in their beds at their Clarksville, Pennsylvania, home.

Yablonski had accused Boyle of irregularities in the election. But the government later said there was no evidence linking the murders with the union election.

This attack against the UMW is by far the most serious and, in its political implications, the most far-reaching decision to be handed down by a US federal court.

Ostensibly aimed at 'corruption' and 'fraud', the real purpose of the court verdict is to uphold federal law prohibiting

'Final' war decision—Sadat

PRESIDENT Sadat of Egypt said that there was no prospect of a peaceful settlement with Egypt in a speech to troops at an air base. 'Our decision to go to war is final and irrevocable—we will not discuss it any more', they were told.

He called King Hussein's plan for a federal kingdom to include Israeli-occupied territory 'an American move to liquidate the Palestinian question'.

The plan would require the agreement of Israel and the next step would be bargaining for the annexation of occupied areas in Sinai or Sharm El-Shekh.

Sadat said that Egypt would not give up an inch of the occupied territories, nor would it bargain on the rights of the Palestinian people like King Hussein who is trying to sell them out. He denounced US arms deliveries to Israel.

BY MICHAEL BANDA

unions from contributing directly to political campaigns.

This law, now enforced for the first time, is aimed directly at the demand for a Labour Party in the United States based on the trade unions and breaking from the two capitalist parties.

If Boyle or any other union leader had contributed financially to the formation of such a party instead of Humphrey's gastronomic needs, there is little doubt that the federal government would have proceeded against him.

Unlike the prosecution and jailing of Jimmy Hoffa, the Teamsters' Union leader, this decision is taken against a background of growing political discussion in labour's ranks, reflected in the walkout of George Meany and other union chiefs from the Pay Board and a tidal wave of opposition to Nixon's home and foreign policies.

US workers are becoming increasingly sceptical of the whole two-party set-up and the subordination of the unions to the wage-freeze policies of Democrats and Republicans alike.

It is in order to contain this growing political restlessness that the federal government has decided to move sharply against the UMW leadership.

Bengali workers shot down

CRISIS in Bangla Desh reached a new point on Friday when police opened fire on striking hotel workers in the capital, Dacca, wounding at least seven.

All hotels, restaurants and other eating places in Dacca remained closed following a strike call to demand the reopening of a city hotel which was converted into a hospital nine months ago.

Workers were shot when demonstrating in front of the Intercontinental Hotel demanding the men inside join them.

As famine stares the country in the face, food and relief materials sent from India are mysteriously spirited away.

The peasant leader Maulana Bhashani has attacked the corruption of the government, accusing the men around the Sheikh of being opportunistic fixers. When efforts to send Bhashani abroad for 'medical treatment' failed he was accused of being in the pay of both the CIA and China.

Since Mujib returned to Dacca it has been very much a case of jobs for the boys. His principal secretary, sacked by Yahya Khan for corruption, has just been appointed head of an anti-corruption council.

There is now a big movement of workers and peasants against the government. Workers demanding nine months' back pay were told they would only get one month and a wage freeze.

The mood of the peasantry was summed up by the editor of one of the newspapers critical of the government's performance.

'The fight (for independence) has made all the difference,' he said. 'Now people not only have higher expectations, they have arms too. And when the government fails to satisfy them, the arms will come out again.'

Craig calls Ulster rent strikes

THE Ulster Vanguard movement, headed by right-winger William Craig, has agreed 'in principle' to introduce rent and rate strikes throughout N Ireland towards the end of this week.

They are to be in protest against introduction of direct rule.

Sub-committees have already been set up to deal with such strikes, the boycott of Republican goods and currency and the possible withdrawal of the services of local councillors.

Regret

A Vanguard fighting fund was launched on Good Friday in a full-page advertisement in a local Belfast newspaper.

The advertisement referred to the Vanguard rally at Stormont earlier last week.

'It should be clearly understood that it was without the consent of the organizers of the rally that Mr Faulkner addressed the meeting.'

It adds: 'It is regretted by us that Mr Faulkner or any member of his government has not responded to Vanguard's call.'

This means that practically the entire community in N Ireland will now be taking part in rent and rate strikes.

At the Anti-Internment League demonstration through London, just over a week ago Miss Bernadette Devlin MP, stated that no rent or rates should be paid by Republican sympathizers until every internee is released.



CRAIG

Scots backing for Lancaster lecturers

TECHNICIANS in Aberdeen have passed a resolution in support of victimized lecturers at Lancaster University.

Dr David Craig, a senior English department lecturer at Lancaster, has now been suspended from duty pending a May meeting of the University Council, when a motion proposing his dismissal will be discussed.

Craig has been charged with 'disruption', including violations of the university charter and statutes and breach of contract. Allegations that he had incited a boycott of lectures have also been made.

The Aberdeen branch of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs congratulates Lancaster University staff and students 'on the action

Mersey ship works to close

HARLAND and Wolff announced at the weekend it is to cease operations at its Liverpool works on May 31.

Premises and plant in Liverpool were being taken over by Mounstuart Dry Docks and Bristol Channel Ship Repairers who were proposing to operate a ship repair service.

'They have agreed to interview all our present employees in Liverpool—about 450—with a view to their being considered for employment', the company said.

WHAT WE THINK

LAW AND POLITICS

RAILWAY workers' leaders meet on Wednesday amid a storm of speculation in the Tory press about whether, if they decide to strike, they will be the first victims of a 60-day cooling-off period or a secret ballot under the terms of the Industrial Relations Act. But the fundamental question is not which parts of the Act might or might not be applied, so much as what will happen if a strike goes ahead in open defiance of the law.

Last week, on March 29, president of the National Industrial Relations Court Sir John Donaldson slapped a £5,000 fine on the Transport and General Workers' Union for contempt of court—and implicitly of the law. He told the court anyone could try and change the law but warned 'any overstepping of change by lawful and proper constitutional means must and would be regarded as a serious defiance of the law'. Almost to a man, observers in the Sunday capitalist press pointed out that the Trades Union Congress' policy of no co-operation with the Act—that is, the law of the land—was a course of resistance unprecedented in British history.

It is this policy which lay behind last week's decision of the T&GWU to ignore the court and it is this policy which may influence the decision of the railwaymen's leaders when they meet on Wednesday. As Jack Jones, T&GWU secretary, has already found out and Sir Sidney Greene of the railwaymen may soon discover, the whole concept of no co-operation with the law hits at the heart of reformism. It is a by-product of the deepest confusion about the revolutionary character of the present period, stamped indelibly as it is with the brutal uncompromising lines of class war mirrored in the policies of a Tory government. Today, this government is more ruthless than any since the days of Stanley Baldwin.

The use of the law against the trade unions in this period is no accident. Economic recession is leaving the Tories and the employers no room to manoeuvre. They are obliged to try to smash the organized power of the working class with the most certain and irrevocable weapon at their disposal—the law.

An even more dangerous and disarming strand of reformist thinking is that a Labour government could repay all the fines levied by the Tories and turn the clock back to the good old days of collective bargaining. It could not. Bourgeois law prevents and forbids it. A Labour government could change the law (though it is fairly certain it would not) but it could not undo what has been legally done, and remain a reformist government in the epoch of what Trotsky described as the 'death agony of capitalism'.

Every schoolboy knows that Britain's capitalist constitution is unwritten and that therefore the sovereignty of bourgeois law (above politics) upon which all the institutions and power of the bourgeoisie are based is absolutely paramount. Nothing has more quickly revealed the dangerous absurdity of reformist answers to class war questions and the burning necessity for a sharp turn to revolutionary politics through the building of a revolutionary party than the mounting Tory recourse to law.

'Nationalize', urge medics

THE next Labour government must nationalize the means of production as a step towards abolishing poverty—this demand will be made at the Socialist Medical Association's 42nd annual conference in London on May 21 and 22.

The resolution on nationalization comes from the SMA's London and Home Counties branch and says:

'This annual conference urges the next Labour government to make the socialist nationalization of the means of production one of its major objectives to abolish poverty.'

The same branch has another resolution 'calling upon the next Labour government to implement speedily its declared policy of abolishing all charges in the NHS and to pledge itself never to re-impose them again'.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

ABERDEEN: Monday April 3, 8 p.m. Trades Hall, 24 Adelphi. 'Right-to-Work march'.

ACTON: Tuesday April 4, 8 p.m. Mechanics Arms, Churchfield Road. 'Empire Pool and building the revolutionary party'.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday April 4, 8 p.m. Aberfeldy Pub, Aberfeldy Street, nr. Blackwall Tunnel.

'Building the revolutionary party and the fight for docks jobs'.

GLASGOW: Tuesday April 4, 7.30 p.m. Partick Burgh Hall. 'Right-to-Work march; building the revolutionary party'.

SOUTH LONDON: Tuesday April 4, 8 p.m. 'The White Lion', Streatham High Rd, SW16. 'Scarborough YS conference'.

LIVERPOOL: Wednesday April 5, 8 p.m. 'The Swan', London Road. 'Tory attack on unions; engineers' struggle'.

'We should have defeated Act at birth'—Mersey dockers

TWO big questions will face dockers in the port of Liverpool when they hold a mass meeting next Sunday, and behind both of these looms an even bigger one: what to do about the Tory government.

Immediately the employers plan to slash the present dock labour force by just over 7 per cent nationally this year and there is the local containers row which erupted into the National Industrial Relations Court last week.

On Merseyside this weekend, a frequently-expressed opinion among militants was that neither would be a threat had their union leaders fought the Tories correctly.

It would be 'poetic justice' if the dockers now found themselves in the front line of a struggle to destroy the Act, said Transport and General Workers' Union member Frank Hughes.

'After all, we should have done it in the first place. We could have done it. But when you think back over what happened, what action did our so-called leaders lead? Two one-day strikes . . . I ask you.

'What's happening now is

Handcuffs

proving wrong all those people who said we shouldn't fight the Act while it was going through; that we'd be better placed when it was in, when the handcuffs were on.

'Now it's got to be faced, however. We can't stop them breaking up the union without getting rid of the Tories.'

Docker-checker Frank, who works towards the North end of the port's seven miles of docks, is a Labour Party activist standing for the city council next time round.

Looking out over the ward from his council-flat home, he lists the burning problems facing workers there: mice have now reached the top floor of a nearby 20-storey block, and, of course, the rents are going up. For him the struggle on the docks and the fight against the Tory Housing Finance Bill are interlinked.

He has no time for those who refuse to tell the truth to the working class: Labour leaders both nationally and locally, his union leaders—and even some of the stewards on the docks.

'Containerization's a big thing', he says of the issue which sparked the court action by Heaton's Transport (St Helens) Ltd.

Redundancy

'For the stewards to spoon feed people and say these new methods won't mean a big redundancy problem is a lot of nonsense. After all half the docks are going to close in the near future [the South end of the port is due to shut down in August].

'To say that voluntary redundancy will take care of the position is ridiculous. It ignores the effect on the national unemployment figures. And it's this high unemployment these haulage firms are taking advantage of: employing people at starvation wages to stuff and strip containers.'

It was Jake Abbott, a T&GWU steward working for Smith Coggins Ltd, who first raised the latter issue.

The unemployment threat was not so serious on Liverpool docks as in London, he told me, because 400 older dockers had recently taken voluntary severance payments of £2,000 each. A second list of those prepared to go out of the industry was already being compiled.

MERSEYSIDE dockers face an anxious ten-day wait for the final verdict of the National Industrial Relations Court on their 'black' against two haulage and warehousing firms. If their action is ruled an unfair industrial practice by the NIRC, the union to which most of the port's 10,000 men belong could face a substantial fine under the Industrial Relations Act.

The court has already imposed a £5,000 fine on the Transport and General Workers' Union for contempt of an interim order to stop the blacking. It has until April 12—the same day as the full hearing of the case—to show why it should not pay. After that the union will have just three weeks' grace before the bailiffs move in to seize its entire assets and take the money by court order.

At the root of this row is the fear of redundancy. A joint committee of T&GWU road-transport and docks' stewards on Merseyside have been fighting for an agreement which would give drivers a guaranteed £21-£24 weekly minimum and make the stuff-

Jack and other stewards I spoke to also defended a decision of the national stewards' committee—taken in Southampton just over two weeks ago—to shelve their demand for nationalization of the ports under workers' control.

'Men who are fighting redundancy are not going to be too interested if you start talking to them about the importance of workers' control', he said.

But Jack went on: 'Containerization is building up rapidly, and if we're going to avoid problems in the future we've got to get a grip of it now.'

'You've got haulage firms buying up odd bits of land and spending out £30,000-odd to build sheds for stuffing containers. To get that back they have to keep their rates low.'

'That's why the road-transport stewards and the docks lads had to get together to decide a common policy: containers are dockers' work, drivers must all be union members on a minimum of £21-£24 a week.'

'But of course this isn't what's being argued in court. The Act's

in, so what happened at Gladstone is an unfair industrial practice. The union couldn't turn up at court because of the TUC policy so it's in contempt.'

'Some of these firms should be told the Tory government won't be in for ever.'

Both the union leadership and the shop stewards came in for criticism from John McGinnes, a T&GWU member from the South end of Liverpool docks.

'Dockers could have defeated the Industrial Relations Bill', he said. 'But the leadership wasn't there.'

'Then we've had stewards telling us at mass meetings that the Tory government couldn't be allowed to run its full term of office, but never lifting a finger to help the miners. If anything was an issue which could have kicked the Act in the head, that was.'

'I don't think the importance of what's happening now has hit people yet.'

'You see, it's not just containerization on its own. If there was a trade boom that wouldn't cause redundancy.'

ing of cargo-containers dockers' work.

Containerization is one of the biggest factors behind the employers' drive to slash the 42,000-strong national register of dockers by 3,000 this year.

In London, the employers have been using the present trade slump in attempts to push men into the unattached labour pool, where they receive only £20 a week from the Dock Labour Board. An appeal by 20 men employed by the stevedoring firm T. Wallis Smith Coggins has been made a test case by the national port stewards' committee. Dockers in most big ports are committed to strike from the end of this week—April 7—if these men are returned to the pool.

Into an already tense situation on Britain's docks, therefore, the NIRC tossed the legal implications of the Industrial Relations Act.

Our industrial correspondent DAVID MAUDE has been in Liverpool talking to the men from the seven miles of Mersey docks about the questions facing them.



JACK ABBOTT



JOHN MCGINNES

There are definite pointers to which path they will take however.

Some 24 hours after Sir John Donaldson fined the T&GWU £5,000 for contempt last Wednesday morning, two red lorries from Heaton's fleet stood outside the gates of Gladstone dock. One carried a load of Pilkington glass.

At 4 p.m.—as dockers began drifting home for the holiday weekend—they were still there. Perhaps as a company spokesman suggested the port was too busy. We shall see tomorrow.

Labourites split on rents

BY PHILIP WADE

MANY Labour councils, under massive pressure from tenants, have said they will not implement the Tory 'fair rents' Bill if it becomes law.

Now, as tenants themselves begin to take action against the Tories, some councillors are backtracking on their declared aims.

One Labour council having second thoughts is Wandsworth in South London. The Labour group is now split on whether to defy the Bill or not.

'Democracy and law come before party politics,' Cllr. Dr Brian Prichard was reported as saying last week.

He added: 'The move to refuse to implement the Bill will not get through council. The Tories will vote in favour of implementing it and so will we. Refusing to implement it is the wrong way to govern at local level.'

Another prominent member of the Labour majority backing Cllr Dr Prichard is Cllr Fred Shaw, deputy mayor:

'I feel a strong obligation to the citizens of Wandsworth. I have always said I shall vote to implement the Bill when it becomes law. I shall never vote to break the law. I think the others will come round to our way of thinking,' he said.

The fact that the Labour leadership in Wandsworth has offered no real lead in the fight against the Housing Finance Bill has led to some confusion among its 23,000 tenants.

'There is no point in them having meetings about the Bill so they can tell us it will go through,' Bruce Forbes, chairman of the housing committee of the Arndale Tenants Association in Wandsworth, said.

The council have called another meeting for April 10 to provide an opportunity for our



Bruce Forbes at home with his family

tenants to find out how they may be affected and to have their say on this vital issue.'

Bruce was also critical of the Labour Party national leadership performance on the issue.

'Harold Wilson spoke for a quarter of an hour on television the other week and never mentioned rents once I don't think. He seemed to spend most of his time making fun of Heath.'

'But the only person who's going to come off good from this Bill is the private landlord. No more new houses will be built with the money the Tories get from us.'

'What you could finish up with is the rich living in houses like these with perhaps the councils selling off blocks of flats to private owners.'

'If they double the rents it's going to push people out of their homes. Talk about the homeless now, it'll get a lot

worse the way things are going.'

'And most elderly people won't be able to afford to live in nice flats. They gave them 75p in the Budget but it won't be worth anything with the rent increases.'

'As for the means test, many people will consider them to be charity and I'm sure won't apply for them. Anyway, you could fill in a means test when you're on plenty of overtime.'

'Then it could drop back and you'd be left with that rent until the end of six months. It seems diabolical to have to fill in a form declaring your income every six months.'

Bruce already pays £6.50 a week—including rates—for his flat on a new estate built above a shopping centre. He has just had a 24p rate increase.

'Everyone is given the impression that council tenants don't pay rates. Well, mine come to £1.52 a week,' he said, showing

me a form he had just received asking if he would like a rate rebate.

You virtually have to be a pauper to claim a rate rebate. Under the government scheme a single man has to be earning less than £12 a week before he can apply for a rebate. For a married man it is £14.75 a week plus £2.50 for each child.

'I should think there is only one way to fight this Bill and that is for the unions to back us up and for the Labour Party to fight instead of saying the Bill is going through.'

'If you could get a situation where the country comes to a standstill you might see the Tories call another election. But you can't seem to get any real answers from the Labour Party on what their housing policies would be after the election.'

'Harold Wilson said there should be a General Election on the Common Market but he should also start talking about the rents question and he would soon get the support.'

'But I can't see us refusing to pay the rent increases. That could only be successful if it was 100 per cent and had backing from elsewhere,' said Bruce.

'Another thing that has to be done, though, is to organize private tenants whose rents will go up 250 per cent. No one seems to be doing much about them.'

'All I can say is that if this Bill goes through we will be tenants of the government,' added Bruce.

Flat/house	Rents now		'Fair' rents	
	Net £	Gross £	Net £	Gross £
3-bedrm hse, Daleside Rd, SW16	3.46	4.47	6.75	7.76
2-bedrm flat, Gaitskell Ct, SW11	3.98	5.73	7.01	8.76
5-bedrm flat, Henry Prince Estate, SW18	3.60	4.67	6.50	7.57
2-bedrm flat, Jean Hse, SW17	3.03	3.89	5.45	6.31
Bed-sitting-room flat, McKiernan Ct, SW11	2.30	3.20	4.08	4.98
2-bedrm flat, Ritherdon Rd, SW17	3.31	4.28	4.75	5.72



Left: Leon Trotsky. Top: J. R. Clynes. Above: Morrison. Below: Baldwin.



TROTSKY ON THE LABOUR PARTY

Part I

This interview by an Independent Labour Party member with Leon Trotsky dates from November 1935, at a time when the Stalinists had emerged from the 'Third Period' (when they called reformist socialists 'social fascists') and were pursuing the new line of 'People's Front'.

In Britain, this involved a turn towards the Independent Labour Party, which at that time wielded considerable influence amongst workers repelled by both social democracy and the treachery of Stalinism. (The ILP broke organizationally from the Labour Party in 1931.)

In discussions with leaders of the left wing in the ILP, Trotsky insisted that orientation of the party must be towards the Labour Party as the mass party of the British working class.

In this excerpt from the pamphlet 'Once Again: The ILP', Trotsky is dealing with the objectors to a vote for Labour, who argued that only those candidates who stood for a consistent internationalist policy against the Italian invasion of Abyssinia should win the support of workers at the ballot box.

The vote for Labour, Trotsky explains (as Lenin explained in his 'Left-Wing Communism' 15 years before) is not a vote of confidence in the Labour leaders, any more than it denotes moral approval of the individual candidate's personal qualities.

Whether individual Labour candidates were for revolutionary action against the invasion of Abyssinia, or supported the imperialist League of Nations

'economic sanctions' made not a scrap of difference to the class nature and roots of the British Labour Party.

At the height of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, middle-class pacifists argued that Labour candidates who refused to oppose British possession of the H-bomb should be boycotted at elections.

One group even ran independent candidates on the issue of the bomb alone where the Labour candidate was a right-winger.

Like supporters of 'anti-sanction' candidates in the ILP 35 years ago, this tactic betrayed a middle-class, subjective approach to the Labour Party, and ignored the struggle of the working class to break free from the grip of reformism.

Trotsky's polemic against the ILP abstentionists applies with equal force today.

Blackburn, Jordan and the rest of the blind 'Red Moles' of the International Marxist Group now advance the same argument—only now in a far more degenerate form.

They are for total abstention on June 18—with the wrecking of Labour Party election meetings thrown in for good measure.

Trotsky's analysis of the Labour Party, despite its being written nearly 35 years ago, is an excellent counterblast to these revisionists.

As Trotsky once said of the ultra left: 'A sectarian is a frightened opportunist.'

That sums up the political evolution of Blackburn and Jordan perfectly.

QUESTION: Was the ILP correct in refusing critical support to the Labour Party candidates who advocated military sanctions?

ANSWER: No. Economic sanctions, if real, lead to military sanctions, to war. The ILP itself has been saying this. It should have given critical support to all Labour Party candidates, i.e. where the ILP itself was not contesting. In the 'New Leader' I read that your London Division agreed to support only anti-sanctionist Labour Party candidates. This too is incorrect. The Labour Party should have been critically supported not because it was for or against sanction but because it represented the working-class masses.

The basic error which was made by some ILPers who withdrew critical support was to assume that the war danger necessitated a change in our appreciation of reformism. But as Clausewitz said, and Lenin often repeated, war is the continuation of politics by other means. If this is true, it applies not only to capitalist parties but to social-democratic parties.

The war crisis does not alter the fact that the Labour Party is a workers' party, which the governmental party is not. Nor does it alter the fact that the Labour Party leadership cannot fulfil their promises, that they will betray the confidence which the masses place in them.

In peace-time the workers

will, if they trust in social democracy, die of hunger; in war, for the same reason, they will die from bullets.

Revolutionists never give critical support to reformism on the assumption that reformism, in power could satisfy the fundamental needs of the workers.

It is possible, of course, that a Labour government could introduce a few mild temporary reforms. It is also possible that the League of Nations could postpone a military conflict about secondary issues—just as a cartel can eliminate secondary economic crises only to reproduce them on a larger scale. So the League can eliminate small episodic conflicts only to generalize them into world war.

Thus, both economic and military crises will only return with an added explosive force so long as capitalism remains. And we know that social democracy cannot abolish capitalism.

No, in war as in peace, the ILP must say to the workers: 'The Labour Party will deceive you and betray you, but you do not believe us. Very well, we will go through your experiences with you but in no case do we identify ourselves with the Labour Party programme.'

Morrison, Clynes, etc., represent certain prejudices of the workers. When the ILP seeks to boycott Clynes it helps not only Baldwin, but Clynes himself. If successful in its tactic, the ILP prevents the election of Clynes, of the Labour gov-

ernment, and so prevents their exposure before the masses. The workers will say: 'If only we had Clynes and Morrison in power, things would have been better.'

It is true, of course, that the mental content of Clynes and Baldwin is much the same except, perhaps, that Baldwin is a little more 'progressive' and courageous. But the class content of the support for Clynes is very different.

It is urged that the Labour Party already stands exposed by its past deeds in power and its present reactionary platform. For example, by its decision at Brighton.

For us—yes! But not for the masses, the eight millions who voted Labour. It is a great danger for revolutionists to attach too much importance to conference decisions. We use such evidence as our propaganda—but it cannot be presented beyond the power in our own press. One cannot shout louder than the strength of his own throat.

Let us suppose that the ILP had been successful in a boycott tactic, had won a million workers to follow it, and that it was the absence of this million votes which lost the election for the Labour Party.

What would happen when the war came? The masses would in their disillusionment turn to the Labour Party, not to us.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

BANKRUPTCY OF TITO'S SELF- MANAGEMENT

The economic and political crisis in Yugoslavia was top of the agenda at the two-day conference of the Federation of Trade Unions, held in Belgrade last month.

Yugoslavia has been badly hit by the effects of the world capitalist recession. Hundreds of thousands of workers who had emigrated to work in the Common Market countries are now threatened with unemployment and are returning to Yugoslavia in search of work.

Yugoslav industry has no facilities to absorb them, despite desperate efforts by the Tito government to provide more favourable terms for foreign investment and raise capital overseas.

In order to encourage foreign investors to put their money into Yugoslav industry the dinar is in the process of being made fully convertible with the main capitalist currencies.

This will make Yugoslavia even more susceptible to the effects of the economic crisis in the W. In addition, foreign investors have been given the unprecedented right to invest as majority shareholders in Yugoslav companies.

These investors can buy their way onto the workers' councils which are supposed to manage the factories.

In theory, the Yugoslav economy consists of a multitude of autonomous 'self-managing enterprises' each governed by workers' councils.

In practice, because the working class is deprived of any independent means of political expression by the bureaucracy, these councils are dominated by representatives of the bureaucracy itself.

In cases where the foreign investors have seats on the councils, theirs is frequently the last word.

DECLINE

Over the past decade, the proportion of workers actually sitting on the workers' councils has declined substantially—an indication that many workers have turned away in frustration because of the impossibility of achieving real advance through the bureaucratized organizations.

Whereas in 1960 workers accounted for 76.2 per cent of the workers' councils membership, this had dropped by 1970 to 67.6 per cent.

Yugoslav industry is increasingly dependent on the combination of foreign investment and loans raised on the western stock markets. According to Milan Vukasovic, the Federation's secretary: 'About two-thirds of the total investments were still financed from the assets of the banks and socio-political communities (i.e. state corporations).'

He went on: 'The monetary accumulation of the economic organizations amounted in 1965 to 63 per cent of total accumulation, while in 1970 it dropped to 45.2 per cent. The commitments of work organizations arising from loans exceeded, in many branches and even in some fields of activity, the assets left in their funds.'

In other words, the 'self-managing enterprises' are increasingly mortgaged to the banks, which are themselves getting deeper into debt with overseas corporations.

One delegate at the conference, Vid Kranzelic from the Zagreb Prvomajska factory, said his enterprise now lacked money and was virtually unable to run its business. Yet it was exporting 60-70 per cent of output to convertible markets.

This situation goes under the name of 'illiquidity'. It means, in practical terms, that many sections of Yugoslav industry are effectively bankrupt and cannot even pay their workers' wages.

Under these conditions, Vukasovic said, it was 'easy to understand that the influence of the working class on the economic and thereby political decisions in society could not become more decisive'.

In fact the workers are paying a heavy penalty for the bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy and the increasing turn towards world imperialism in Yugoslav economic policy.

UNCERTAIN

In September last year, one worker in six was not receiving his wages on time and a large number were 'constantly uncertain about whether they would receive their wages at all', Vukasovic told the conference.

He went on: 'We must make sure this state of affairs is overcome and that the workers, once they have earned their wages, are guaranteed payment of them regularly.'

'The trade unions have demanded appropriate solutions from the federal organs in this respect. It is necessary to formulate a united attitude on this and to implement it throughout the country.'

'It is also necessary to strive to see that lasting priority is secured for the payment of wages in comparison with all the other obligations of the work organizations.'

'We cannot accept that production workers alone should bear the burden of illiquidity, even when they are successful in their work.'

This situation is rendered doubly unacceptable as a result of the flagrant growth of privileged layers in society. As Vukasovic put it, 'domination and inequalities in decision-making spells domination and inequality in the economic and material sphere'.

In other words, the bureaucrats and the managers have the opportunity to enrich themselves at the workers' expense. Vukasovic cited 'vast differences between individual sections of the working class in the different conditions of employment, between those who worked and those who could not realize their right to work, and between those who were finishing a university course and those who could not acquire that kind of education.'

But none of these sections of society 'dominates' another in the sense in which the bureaucracy controlling the state machine dominates the working class. Vukasovic, whose function at the head of the trade unions is to divert workers' anger away



Top: Tito desperate efforts to raise capital overseas. Above: Belgrade, where the conference was held

from the bureaucratic rulers, did not mention the bureaucracy itself as a 'dominant' layer of society.

But he did refer to the differences between those 'who live only on wages arising from regular employment and those who live off property and property speculation'. These people are objects of hatred for the Yugoslav workers because,

as Vukasovic put it in his bureaucratic jargon:

'The present policy of building apartments, unless a radical change is made, will give workers with relatively low personal income and minimum family earnings no realistic prospect of solving their housing problems.' Housing policy and land speculation are placing new housing out of reach even of those workers

who get their pay on time.

The Yugoslav workers will not wait patiently for some bureaucratic saviour to solve these burning problems, as is shown by the wave of strikes over non-payment of wages. The union federation conference reflects the growing anger and militancy of the workers as they begin to feel the impact of the economic crisis in Yugoslavia.

DISCUSSION ON INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

In preparation for the Fourth Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International, the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League are publishing the four main documents of the International Committee covering the split with the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.



DOCUMENT 3 CONTINUED

Declaration of the Central Committee of the International Communist Organization (For the Reconstruction of the Fourth International)

Split at Essen?

'Split at Essen': this is the dramatic title of the second chapter of the October 24 document. A split which is supposedly expressed by the fact that 'the delegates of the OCI, the Hungarian section, and the LOM of Mexico voted with the centrists and even right-wing organizations (they refer here to the National Students Association of the USA) against an amendment proposed by the majority of the sections of the IC (Ceylon, Ireland, SLL, USA, Greece). We have already explained what this 'majority' is. What then happened at Essen? First, we must remember, because some seem to forget it, that it was an international gathering of revolutionary youth which brought together 5,000 participants and representatives of 32 countries. This gathering was called on the basis of an appeal written by the AIS and taken up by the Young Socialists at their January, 1971 Conference at Scarborough. This call, initiated by youth organizations working together with the International Committee was also signed from the beginning by youth organizations which did not consider themselves Trotskyist (like the JCI, youth organization of the POUM).

The incontestable success of the Essen meeting was a political success in which the International Committee and its organizations raised the level of the fight for the construction of a Revolutionary Youth International. In this sense, Cliff Slaughter, speaking in the name of the Central Committee of the SLL, correctly hailed this gathering as 'a step forward in proletarian internationalism'.

The international meeting was preceded by a conference of delegates where a resolution was presented and adopted unanimously (including by the Young Socialists delegation) and ratified the next day by the 5,000 youth present.

Right at Essen, the International Committee met to deter-

mine its political intervention. Amendments were proposed — moreover, several by the SLL were accepted.

But during the conference, the delegates of the SLL and the Young Socialists, breaking with the agreement passed by the IC, presented a new amendment that the OCI delegates considered deeply false.

The chairman, Comrade Berg, proposed to consider this amendment and to refer it to the Liaison Committee established at Essen, in order to prevent the SLL and YS delegates from being politically crushed. This solution would allow the question to be taken up within the sections of the IC without a public battle before making a final decision. The YS delegation refused. The majority of the Conference adopted the proposal of the AIS. We must point out, in the interests of historical truth, that the NSA delegates who were only observers, did not take part in the vote.

In any case, this is not the essential point. There was not the shadow of a political concession by the OCI, the LSRH or by the POR to centrist elements. Nonetheless the amendment was inadmissible for the OCI.

'There can be no revolutionary party without revolutionary theory. Behind each opportunist development in the history of the workers' movement, and especially Stalinism, stands revisionism. The continuity of the struggle for revolutionary Marxist theory in the past, the struggle of the Fourth International and the International Committee, was the only basis for the initiatives which led to this gathering and for the struggle to construct a revolutionary youth international.

'Everywhere, revolutionary youth must devote themselves above all to the task of developing Marxist theory in the fight against bourgeois ideology and all the forms that it takes in the workers' movement. This is the only basis for combating the dangers of adventurism, of "pure" activism and militancy with which the revisionists and the Maoists misled the youth and which can only lead to historic defeats for the working class.

Why? Above all, because of the section expressing the idealist position, the abandonment of Marxism, in the name of an ideology which it baptizes as 'Marxist philosophy'.

'When the French delegation opposed the SLL amendment on the struggle for Marxist theory,

it sealed an opposition to dialectical materialism which is not in the least new,' explains the October 24 document. 'One year earlier, in June 1970 at the pre-conference of the IC these differences had become explicit.

At the 1970 pre-conference, the OCI and LSRH delegations had warned the SLL of the serious political risks of any tendency which transforms dialectical materialism into an ideology (philosophy), a system of ideas developing within itself which breaks with the very essence of dialectical materialism: the unity of method, of form and content. They emphasized that a discussion on the Marxist method was a serious vital discussion for it concerns the foundations of the programme and it should thus be approached with caution.

The correctness of this warning has been revealed by the Essen amendment. The babbling about 'Marxist philosophy' has led, we repeat, to a fall into ideology.

No, behind each development of opportunism in the workers' movement, there is not 'ideology', in the form of a revision (abandonment) of Marxism, there is the reality of social forces in struggle, the class struggle expressed within the workers' movement itself which is the arena and outcome of this fight, and which gives rise to justifications in the form of a revision of Marxism.

It was not Bernstein's 'misunderstanding' of Marxism which lay behind reformism, it is the class collaborationist practice, resting on the situation of the workers' aristocracy in the period of the development of imperialism, which creates the necessity of ideologically justifying this practice. This doesn't mean that Bernstein is only a 'reflection'. In his political activity, he is an expression and at the same time an integral element of the struggle within the workers' movement. The defence of the proletariat's class interests imply a 'defence of Marxism' through an implacable theoretical criticism of revisionist ideology, a criticism which itself is an integral element of the proletariat's class consciousness in his organized struggle for emancipation.

Marx explains that we must go from the arms of criticism to the criticism of arms: but the arms of criticism is itself a moment in the development of the class struggle and in this sense is a criticism of arms. Also, the theoretical struggle is always an expression of the class struggle; it does not exist outside of it.

Neither does the limited character of Stalin lie 'behind' the theory of 'socialism in one country'. This expresses the interests of the bureaucratic caste which took hold of political power. Does this mean that the theoretical struggle is 'secondary'? No, on the contrary, Marxist theory is the concentration and generalization of all the determinations of the class struggle, of its historical movement, and in this sense the class struggle 'does not permit a single theoretical mistake'. But theory, Marxist method, is not an abstract system of ideas of social reality, existing in and of itself and which only needs to be 'applied'. The Marxist method only exists through its content which integrates all the moments in the proletariat's struggle for his emancipation. In this sense, the programme of socialist revolution concentrates Marxism and the defence of Marxist-theory can only be the defence of the programme, that is, the struggle to resolve the crisis of leadership.

It is not by fighting against 'bourgeois ideology' in isolation, on the level of ideology, that the International, revolutionary parties, and of course a revolutionary youth organization will be built. It is by organizing the youth in a political fight for the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat.

The formulation of the astonishing Essen amendment means that the youth organization is a substitute for the party and not a part of the struggle to construct it. Theoretical elaboration comes from the programme, and thus from the party and the necessary relationship between the theory and the construction of the youth organization is the formation of young communist cadres, a task which unites the assimilation of the programme to the political fight.

Programme, Consciousness, Revolutionary Party.

But the Essen amendment goes further. In a fraudulent way

—since it only deals with youth organizations—it makes the ideological struggle the basis of the construction of revolutionary parties.

'Revolutionary youth,' we are told, must devote themselves above all to the development of Marxist theory.'

At this point, we have the right to ask a question: is or is not the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International the highest expression of Marxism, that is, the theoretical generalization, on the basis of the Marxist method, of the experiences, struggles and gains of the world proletariat, of the whole movement?

On this point, at least the October 24 text is absolutely clear. The answer is no and thus the content of the Essen amendment is perfectly revealed.

What became the most important thing in the preparation of sections was to develop dialectical materialism in a fight to understand and the working class under objectively changing conditions. This means the assimilation and development of dialectical materialism as the theory of Marxist knowledge. Reflecting the attacks on dialectical materialism by the petty bourgeois intelligentsia in the advanced countries, particularly in France and Germany and in the Eastern European countries; the French and Hungarian delegations declared that dialectical materialism was not a theory of knowledge and defended the position that only the programme forms the basis of building revolutionary parties.

This is the very essence of revisionism which opens the way to liquidation of the party into centrism.

So you say!

We are so naive that we thought that the method of the Transitional Programme was the revolutionary mobilization of the working class, beginning with its present level of consciousness, against the bourgeois state, a mobilization indissolubly connected to its organization, whose movement towards accomplishing its tasks was its consciousness, or as Marx and Engels said in 'German Ideology'.

'A massive transformation of men is necessary for the mass creation of this communist consciousness as well as being a prerequisite for its success; but such a transformation can only take place by a practical movement, by a revolution; this revolution is necessary not only because it is the only way to overthrow the dominant class; it is equally necessary because only a revolution will enable the class which overthrows the other to sweep away all the garbage of the old system which hangs on to it and enable it to build a society of new foundations.'

But no, to 'transform' the consciousness of the working class is a specific task, possible when one 'undertands' this consciousness, an understanding which is gained on the condition that one wants to 'develop' dialectical materialism (which means precisely what? If one understands how a muscle is developed with exercises it is difficult to conceive the 'development' of dialectical materialism.)

What that means in any case, is that the programme is not enough. There is more, above that, in actuality up in the sky, as an independent factor, whose 'development' undoubtedly depends on the intellectual gymnastics of the thinkers of the SLL, Marxist philosophy as a 'theory of the knowledge of Marxism'. But what then is the programme if not the most complete expression of dialectical materialism in our epoch? A recipe book?

It will be necessary to carry this discussion through to its end and no preventive 'splits' sanctioned by trumped up majorities will prevent it.

Profound disagreements were revealed at Essen. By themselves do they make a split? Proof of the contrary was demonstrated by the leadership of the SLL who after Essen, invited Comrade Lambert to give the last presentation at the SLL's educational camp... on dialectical materialism!

CONTINUED TOMORROW



Right: the Essen rally of July 1971 where the French delegation opposed the SLL amendment on the struggle for Marxist theory.

We are reprinting here articles by Cliff Slaughter which appeared in Workers Press on October 7 and 8, 1969. They explain the political background to the Labour government's dispatch of troops to the province in the summer of that year. They have a particular relevance today to the events surrounding Heath's declaration of Direct Rule.

CLASS STRUGGLE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

IRELAND, after hundreds of years of imperialist oppression, was partitioned following the workers' uprising of Easter 1916 in Dublin and the 1918 Civil War.

The present state of Northern Ireland consists of six counties in the north-east of Ireland, the remaining 26 constituting Eire, the Republic.

From 1912 onwards, the landlords and capitalists of what is now Northern Ireland, particularly in Belfast, organized open military resistance against the proposed 'Home Rule', in which the Liberal government of the day at Westminster proposed to grant limited independence to Ireland.

Led by Sir Edward Carson, this reactionary group, supported by the Tories and by elements of the military General Staff in Britain, forced a situation where 'Ulster', or the six counties of the North-East,

remained attached directly to the Westminster government.

These 'Unionists' have had to base their politics ever since on the supposed advantages of this union to the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland.

Whereas the Catholic religion predominates in Ireland as a whole, the six counties contain a majority of those professing Protestantism.

This arises from historical processes beginning in the 16th and 17th centuries, in which the English ruling class settled Protestant farmers, mostly Scots, in these counties, giving them the best land, in order to consolidate their rule.

Now, of course, the vast majority of their descendants who remain in Ireland are propertyless wage-workers in Belfast and the smaller towns.

In order to keep the working class of the North divided, to keep the Protestant workers in the political grip of the Unionist (Conservative) Party, it has been necessary above all to convince them that the connection with Britain and the continuance of Unionist rule is an advantage to them as workers.

Thus the Catholic worker is discriminated against by the capitalists and the state: his votes are worthless through 'gerrymandering' or the arrangement of constituencies; he has less chance of a house; he is excluded from many



jobs; his children will be worse educated in inferior schools.

In addition, welfare services of the type won through struggle in Britain apply to the North, and contrast with the Republic.

It is now a desperate matter for the capitalists of Ireland and Britain that this division be preserved. The international crisis of capitalism has reached the stage where a conflict with the working class in every capitalist country cannot be avoided.

This is the lesson of France, Italy and Germany, as well as Northern Ireland, Eire and Britain.

It will be fatal for the capitalists once the workers who are crowded into Belfast slums are drawn, united, into this struggle against their real enemies, the employer, the landlord, and the government, instead of being led, as the agents of the capitalist class are deliberately leading them, into clashes on a religious basis.

There have been no barricades in the upper-class and middle-class areas of Belfast, no clashes between rich Catholics fighting for civil rights and rich Protestants fighting as 'Loyalists'!

The attention of the ruling class is turned instead to perpetuating these divisions in the working class.

But the game is up! Because capitalism can provide no future for either the Protestant or the Catholic worker; and because these workers sense the strength and offensive power of their class throughout the world, their need to fight will not and cannot be contained within the old re-

ligious 'sectarian' framework.

Within only a week or two of the clashes between the forces of the state and groups of Catholic workers in August this year, a remarkable change took place in the situation.

Protestant workers, for half a century used as a pillar of support for the 'British connection', found themselves in street battles against the occupying British Army!

For a few extreme right-wing Unionists to raise the idea of breaking from Westminster was one thing: it was only a warning of the tensions which were coming to the surface as the old equilibrium became uneasy.

But for the poor Protestant workers of Belfast, deluded for generations into voting Unionist (i.e. for all that went with union with Britain) to fight British troops was quite another thing!

Simon-pure reformers and so-called socialists of course will object that those Protestant workers clashed with the troops only because the troops prevented them from fighting the Catholic workers.

That is, of course, what happened.

But the objective logic of events is here of decisive importance. These workers have been led to express their bitterness and frustration as victims of exploitation, unemployment and bad housing by taking it out on their class brothers, the Catholics.

The clash with the troops signifies precisely that the maintenance of capitalist rule in Northern Ireland can no longer depend on this device, together with the Special

Above and below left: Early trouble in Ireland during the 1920s.

Powers Act that goes with it.

These same workers will find the troops, forces of the state, supported by the 'Protestant' Constabulary and B-Specials (now policing the 'Protestant' slums), attempting to batter them down in strike struggles.

Also they have Wilson attempting to introduce anti-union legislation and face increased unemployment, wage-cuts and 'productivity' speed-up.

The Catholic worker is coming into the same overall struggle against capitalism and the Wilson government.

Because of the reformist and reactionary control of his unions and political parties from the Republicans and the Stalinists, he has been led by the middle-class 'civil rights' advocates to believe that pressure on Wilson will bring positive reforms on jobs, housing, education, votes and protection against arbitrary arrest.

Many Catholic workers saw the Civil Rights movement as a way of expressing that willingness to struggle which has been steadily building up against capitalism in every country.

They thought that by giving their support to 'civil rights' they could bring pressure to bear on the Unionists for substantial reforms.

Their middle-class leaders peddled the argument that support for this could be got from the Labour government in Britain.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



DECLINE OF CP PRESS

After the recent closure of the capitalist daily 'Paris-Jour' comes trouble for the French Stalinist press. 'L'Humanité', the Communist Party daily, has published an urgent appeal for a sales drive.

High production costs and falling advertising revenue has forced the Party to cut-back on the circulation of its paper and the Sunday magazine-type journal 'L'Humanité-Dimanche'.

'This fall is not fatal', the paper said 'but it is urgent to reverse the tendency'. By reading the paper, victims of government policy 'can get the means to clearly analyse their difficulties and communists would get a correct understanding of the situation'.

It added, significantly, 'Reading "L'Humanité" is essential for the political and theoretical training of party members'. It is evident from circulation and membership figures that many members do not bother to read the Party press.

In fact the decline of the Stalinist press is of long-standing and is not fundamentally a question of rising costs or other economic factors, but reflects the CP's political crisis.

After the Liberation it rapidly built a large number of provincial dailies and 'L'Humanité' had one of the largest circulations in the country with round about a million daily sale. Most provincial dailies have since died and many specialized periodicals which the Party controlled have either disappeared or have a reduced circulation.

At the same time, the capitalist press, a large part of which had been prevented from re-appearing because of collaboration with the Nazis and Vichy, steadily made a come-back.

For a time practically every class-conscious worker read 'L'Humanité' or its local equivalent. But those days are long past. Although workers may still vote communist, they no longer have the same degree of trust in the Party's day-by-day analysis of events. Stalinism's crisis has been particularly acute as far as the press is concerned.

The Party can build a magnificent headquarters, but it cannot find the militants ready to go round and sell the papers as it could in the 1930s, or the years immediately after the war.

'L'Humanité' can lease space at its annual money-raising fair to big capitalist concerns, but it can no longer find workers to make sacrifices for it on the same scale as in the past.

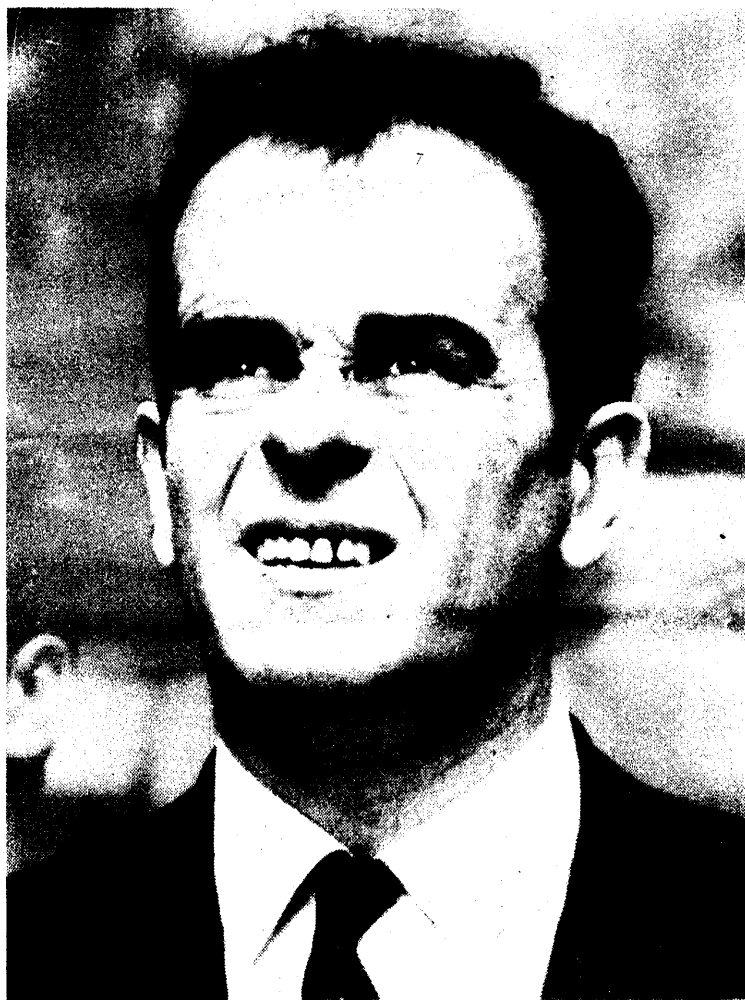
The crisis of the Stalinist press is part of a political crisis . . . the degeneration of the Communist Party itself.

DANGER SIGNALS IN THE DISTANCE

Many sections of the Byelorussian economy are lagging behind according to the report of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Macherov, speaking to the 23rd Congress of Byelorussian trade unions.



STALINIST CRISIS



He emphasized that some enterprises had not achieved their planned targets and that a number of farms had failed to reach their quota of grain production. As a result consumer demand is still not being satisfied.

He pointed to serious deficiencies in a number of fields and particularly stressed that the quality of many products had not improved over the past ten years. In the republic the plan for increasing productivity by industry as a whole was only two-thirds fulfilled.

He explained this by saying that a large number of people were not working at full stretch, including trade union workers (are there, then, workers in the Soviet Union who are not members of a trade union?). Mechanization was also proceeding too slowly and serious shortcomings in production were taken for granted and workers were employed in excess of the norm.

Macherov's report was a sorry tale of bureaucratic mismanagement and nonchalant acceptance of long-standing deficiencies all round the republic's economy.

He criticized the local bureaucracy for giving scant attention to housing needs: 'Applications for apartments are not considered at the right time and there are occasions when consideration is given to people without prior investigation of their housing conditions . . . Some apartments are assigned out of turn without

Marchais, General Secretary of the French CP: appealing for sales drive for declining 'L'Humanité'

justification.' He deplored the fact that 'working conditions are still poor at many enterprises', that 'the situation as regards industrial safety is still bad and the regulations on the hours of work are not being observed in many localities'.

He called on the assembled trade union bureaucrats to 'review the situation with regard to lost production time, and put the matter right'.

Agriculture was facing serious problems owing to the need to re-sow the winter grain. He deplored the fact that fertilizers were being used wastefully. 'Not only is there a shortage of machinery' he said, 'but what there is is wastefully used'. Labour turnover was too high due to bad organization and poor working conditions.

This frank assessment by the Party secretary for the benefit of trade union leaders was no doubt intended as a warning to the bureaucracy of the Byelorussian republic. Its incompetence and routine methods are incurring a wide measure of hostility from the working class. Under the conditions of acute tension which prevail in the Soviet Union there is no place for the old orgies of self-congratulation in which the bureaucracy was wont to indulge.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

LOVE

'Sir—I realize that the name the Beach of Passionate Love is *Pantai Semut Api* and not *Keringga* (Mrs Kathleen Clark, March 24). My error was due to two things — haste and an association of ideas, the latter being a translation: "Red ants in a bamboo. The passion that tortures my frame is like you!" I do maintain that *Chinta Berahi* is not passionate love but merely seductive sweet-hearts or love.'

Letter in the 'Daily Telegraph'.

EAGER

Who says the Common Market won't solve unemployment? Already letters have begun to arrive at the British delegation to the EEC in Brussels applying for the hundreds of posts which will be allocated to British subjects in the Market institutions.

The eager applicants will have to wait another year before they are called. The enlarged Common Market commission which will make the appointments has yet to be appointed.

But don't worry, there's lots of scope for talent. The 'Daily Telegraph' assures its readers that 'it will . . . not necessarily choose civil servants or people with experience of international work. Academics and people in the arts and industry and the professions will all be eligible.' Post your application now to avoid disappointment later. Or apply at your local labour exchange. . . .

FLOP

Government public-relations men are seriously worried, it seems. Or so we gather from a strange little item that appeared in last week's 'UK Press-Gazette'.

The 'Gazette'—published to indulge journalists' fascination with their own incredibly boring gossip—noted that Chancellor Barber's £2,300m Budget had been a gigantic PR failure.

Several days had already passed without the 'Daily Express' producing its customary 'Boom! Boom! Boom!' headline.

'This is serious', intoned the

'Gazette's' 'Dog Watches Dog' column. 'The Budget will work, both as a boost to the economy and as an antidote to unemployment now — and in the factories later — only if the newspapers keep on saying there is a bonanza in the High Streets.'

'Not as a filler, but as a — Splash! Splash! Splash!'

Well, since then a lot more boomless days have passed, splashless, too. Evidently no one takes 'Dog' seriously.

If we read last week's item further, we see why. It sounded just like—and may be was—an injunction from No. 11 Downing St.

'The lesson of recent Budgets', the item said, 'is that despite their largesse, they have dissolved in luke-warm



Barber: his Budget was a flop for the PR men

headlines. A boom is needed. This is a case where wishing—and subbing [sub-editing, handling the position, design and treatment of stories] can make it so.

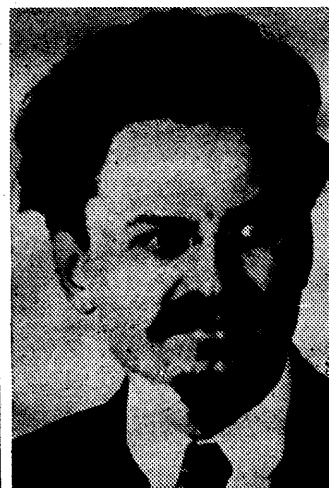
'Advertisers will soon get on the bandwagon, but the newspapers themselves must get the wheels out of the mud and rolling again.'

Thank you, Anthony Barber. Next week's party political broadcast on behalf of the Conservative and Unionist Party . . .

If this is a directive from on high, then it just goes to show the extreme weak-mindedness of the Tories' economic PRO's. A Fleet St-led boom? Even John Maynard Keynes would turn in his grave!

The real reason for the luke-warm, boomless headlines, however, is clear. Everyone knows that it wasn't the real purpose of the Budget at all.

BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:
Germany 1931/1932
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87½
Where is Britain Going?
Paperback 37½p
Revolution Betrayed
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.50
Problems of the Chinese Revolution
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87½
Permanent Revolution:
Results and Prospects
Paperback 75p
In Defence of Marxism
Paperback 75p
Lessons of October
Paperback 60p

Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from:
NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS
186a Clapham High Street,
London SW4 7UG.

SPANISH MINERS' OCCUPATION BEATS RIO TINTO

Miners of Sallent and Balsareny in Catalonia won a major — unreported — victory against their employers, the Rio Tinto Mining Company, a month ago.

Details of how the miners occupied the mines in support of their wage demands are only beginning to filter through the underground movement, which operates illegally under Franco's fascist dictatorship.

Their action began with a go-slow in the Sallent mines. Management responded by immediately sacking eight workers.

On February 6 the Balsareny miners held a joint meeting with the Sallent miners' representatives and agreed on a joint action — the occupation of their pits on February 12. Reinstatement of the sacked miners would be their first demand.

Occupation of the pits was precipitated by the management who, on February 10, sacked a worker for refusing to work alone. The workers threatened a strike and the man got his job back. Occupation started with this victory.

Miners slept in the pits and their wives brought food and talked to their husbands over the pit telephone system.

GUARDS

On February 12, the Civil Guard moved in and formed an armed guard at the pithead to prevent food and water from being lowered to the miners.

Their intervention sparked off solidarity action in the towns where bars, shops, theatres and cinemas were closed as their owners and workers struck in support of the occupation. The miners' wives began a 'sit-in' in the local church.

February 14 proved to be the turning point. At 1 a.m., the occupying miners revealed that two of their fellows were ill. The miners refused to give up these sick miners unless they were given food and water, and eventually at 2.30 the Civil Guard allowed food to be lowered.

Supporters of the occupation set off in their cars in search of provisions, getting shopkeepers out of bed who gave a good supply of food and 60 new blankets free of charge.

The sick miners were brought to the surface and the company made its first concession.

The second concession was the offer to re-employ four of the sacked men and a guarantee of no reprisals. A mass meeting of miners greeted this offer with the contempt which it deserved.

As the company retreated, support flowed in for the occupation. All business in Sallent and Balsareny was paralysed, including the woodyards. Workers in the Colonia Soldevilla, Reveilla and practically all Navas came out in a solidarity strike.

The local mayor was forced to give 60 blankets to the wives occupying the local church where they had been joined by over 500 sympathizers.

Development of widespread action frightened the management. At 3 a.m. on February 17 they reached an agreement with the men who were occupying their pits and the men voted to end their occupation.

However, the occupation was not ended until the Rio Tinto Mining Company's managing director went down the pit and put his signature at the bottom of the miners' five demands: re-employment of all those sacked; no reprisals; payment for the days they were on strike; payment of two rest days for everyone in the mines; negotiation of the collective agreement before the end of February.

DANGEROUS

Rio Tinto has its headquarters in London. The same corporation owns the giant Avonmouth lead smelter which was shut in February after dangerous levels of lead poisoning were found in the workers' systems.

Chairman of Rio Tinto is Sir Val Duncan, a close friend of both Edward Heath and Harold Wilson.

Deputy chairman Roy Wright has just been visiting Moscow seeking to negotiate permission to drill for minerals in Siberia.

Another senior director of the company is Lord Byers, leader of the Liberals in the House of Lords.

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

Subscribe!

workers press

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

£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	MONDAY	THURSDAY
(Please tick)	TUESDAY	FRIDAY
	WEDNESDAY	SATURDAY

Or Full subscription (six days) for months.

Amount enclosed £

TV

BBC 1

9.45 Trumpton. 10.00 White horses. 10.25 Deputy Dawg. 10.30 Swim. 10.55 Magic roundabout. 11.00 Show jumping. 12.00 Laurel and Hardy. 1.20 News, weather. 1.30 Grandstand. 1.35 Heavyweight boxing. Muhammad Ali v Mac Foster. 1.55, 2.30, 3.05 Racing from Kempton. 2.10, 3.25 Motor racing. 2.45, 3.25 Show jumping. 4.45 Final score. 5.00 Blue Peter Royal safari. 5.35 News, weather. 5.50 A question of sport.

6.15 **DISNEY TIME.** The world of Walt Disney.
7.00 **BILLY SMART'S CIRCUS.**
8.00 **FILM: 'CARRY ON SPYING'.** Kenneth Williams, Barbara Windsor. Comedy.
9.25 **NEWS, and weather.**
9.35 **STEPTOE AND SON.** 'The Desperate Hours'.
10.05 **THE PARIS AFFAIR.** Paris collections.
10.55 **OMNIBUS.** 'I Regret Nothing'. Edith Piaf.
12.10 **Weather.**

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.50 Film: 'Les Girls'. Kay Kendall, Gene Kelly. Musical comedy.

7.45 **NEWSROOM and weather.**
8.00 **BIRD'S EYE VIEW.** 'What A Lovely Day'.
8.50 **FACE THE MUSIC.**
9.25 **HORIZON.** 'The Insect War'.
10.15 **THEATRE: 'AND FOR MY NEXT TRICK'.** By Jack Rosenthal.
10.45 **NEWS ON 2 and weather.**
10.55 **THE DICK CAVETT SHOW.** With Fred Astaire.

ITV

9.45 Rupert Bear. 9.55 Skippy. 10.40 Motor racing. 11.15 Tommy Tompkins. 12.10 Land of the giants. 1.05 Lassie. 1.35 Bank holiday sport. 1.35 They're off! 1.45, 2.15, 2.45, 3.15 Racing from Towcester. 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Racing from Newcastle. 3.25 Wrestling. 4.20 Racing results service. 4.25 Film: 'Tarzan's Three Challenges'. Jock Mahoney. 5.45 News.

6.00 **FILM continued.**
6.30 **OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS!**
7.30 **CORONATION STREET.**
8.00 **FILM: 'ALVAREZ KELLY'.** William Holden, Richard Widmark. American Civil War story.
10.00 **NEWS AT TEN.**
10.30 **PLAYHOUSE: 'JACK SQUALER'S TIME'.** Jack Woolgar, Gwen Nelson.
11.30 **DOCUMENTARY: 'WHERE THE HOUSES USED TO BE'.**
12.30 **AGE CONCERN.**

REGIONAL TV

All regions as BBC-1 except:

BBC Wales: 9.45-10.00 Ar lin man. 5.45-6.05 Wales today, weather. 6.05-6.10 Tom and Jerry. 6.10-6.15 Newyddion. 10.05-10.55 Gwlad a thref.
Scotland: 5.45-5.50 Reporting Scotland. 12.12 News, weather.
N Ireland: 5.45-5.50 Scene around six, weather. 12.12 News, weather.
English regions: 5.45-5.50 Look North, Midlands today, Look East, Points West, South today, Spotlight SW, weather. 12.12 News, weather.

Rest of regions due Wed—

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.05 Gus Honeybun. 1.33 News. 6.00 News. 11.55 Faith for life. 12.00 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 1.35 London. 4.25 Film: 'Tarzan and the Leopard Woman'. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 London. 8.00 Film: 'The Liquidator'. 10.00 London. 10.30 Beloved enemy. 11.00 Playhouse. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather. Inheritors.

SCOTTISH: 1.05 Another Way. 1.20 Origami. 1.35 London. 4.25 Dateline. 4.55 Simon Locke. 5.20 Arthur. 5.45 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.30 London. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Gideon's way.

GRAMPIAN: 1.35 London. 4.25 Rupert bear. 4.40 Cartoon time. 4.45 Women today. 5.15 Beloved enemy. 5.45 London. 6.00 Simon Locke. 6.30 London. 8.00 Film: 'Operation Crossbow'. 10.00 London. 11.30 University challenge. 12.00 Epilogue.

CHANNEL: 1.15 Once upon a time. 1.33 Puffin. 1.35 London. 4.25 Yoga. 5.00 Kelvin Hall circus. 5.45 London. 6.00 News. 6.01 Cartoon. 6.30 Lon-

don. 8.00 Film: 'The Running Man'. 10.00 London. 10.30 Weather. 10.32 London. 11.30 University challenge. 11.55 News and weather in French. Weather.

HTV: 1.35 London. 4.25 Tinker-tainment. 4.40 Superman. 4.50 Tom Grattan's war. 5.20 Seaspray. 5.45 London. 6.01 News. 6.03 Bugs Bunny. 6.30 London. 8.00 Film: 'Woman of Straw'. 10.00 London. 11.30 Survival. 12.00 Weather.
HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.25-4.50 Cantamil.

ANGLIA: 1.10 Romper room. 1.35 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 1.35 London. 4.25 Nuts and bones. 4.40 Horoscope. 4.45 Women. 5.15 Skippy. 5.45 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 London. 8.00 Film: 'The Pink Panther'. 10.00 London. 11.30 University challenge.

ULSTER: 1.05 Yoga. 1.35 London. 4.25 Romper room. 4.45 News. 4.50 Kelvin Hall circus. 5.45 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Funny face. 6.30 London. 8.00 Film: 'The Spy Who Came In From the Cold'. 10.00 London. 11.30 Monday night. 11.35 Man in a suitcase.

YORKSHIRE: 1.00 Once upon a time. 1.10 HR Puffstuf. 1.35 London. 11.30 All our yesterdays. 12.00 Weather.

GRANADA: 12.45 Greatest show on earth. 1.35 London. 4.25 Peyton Place. 4.50 Once upon a time. 5.05 Film: 'Tarzan'. 5.45 London. 6.00 Film continued. 6.30 London. 11.30 Dick Van Dyke.

TYNE TEES: 12.55 Once upon a time. 1.10 Rainbow country. 1.35 London. 11.30 Calum's ceilidh. 12.00 Epilogue.

ECONOMIC PUNDITS ALL COME TO GRIEF

'GREAT BRITAIN 1920-1970' The Fontana Economic History of Europe. Volume VI, Chapter 3. By A. J. Youngson. Price 45p.

'DEPRESSION AND RECOVERY? BRITISH ECONOMIC GROWTH 1918-1939'. By B. W. E. Alford. Studies in Economic History. Macmillan Papermac. Price 60p.

A Marxist analysis of the development of British capitalism in the period of its historic decline is badly needed. In the meantime bourgeois economic historians are getting to work on the 20th century and producing a stream of publications of uneven quality which contain much useful material.

Their assumption and perspective, as with these two works, not only distort the picture which they present, but leave out large chunks altogether.

Of these two pamphlets, that by A. J. Youngson provides a readable and connected account of the period 1920-1970 in a conventional, not to say conservative way.

That by Alford, while useful for the specialist, because it deals with a controversy now raging between professional economic historians about the state of the British economy between the wars, is off-putting by its technical discussion which takes too much for granted.

ORTHODOX

Youngson's pamphlet forms part of general economic history of Europe being published by Fontana in separate, over-priced parts. It crams in a good deal of factual material and provides a concise narrative of the period from the standpoint of an orthodox supporter of capitalism. It takes capitalist property relations for granted, dismisses nationalization as 'an old-fashioned nostrum' and, while he does not say as much, he obviously expects the system to go on for ever.

A number of economic historians have tried to show in recent years that the British economy was not doing so badly between the wars. This school says of the 1920s that 'this was a period of fairly rapid economic progress' and speaks of the 1930s as a time of recovery and structural change.

Alford's pamphlet is a survey of the debate which these claims sparked off and from his own examination rightly characterizes the period as one in which there was 'in contrast with the late 19th century, a persistently wide margin of unemployed resources. It is this fact, in association with the available evidence on the various aspects of the economy, which justifies a pessimistic view of Britain's economic performance between 1918 and 1939'.

For a Marxist, of course, judgement of an economy in terms of 'performance'—which means rates of growth of production, productivity and per capita real income—has only a secondary interest.

The important thing is to investigate the working out of the 'laws of motion' of the capitalist mode of production as it was manifested in imperialism; the drive to war, monopoly, fascism, class struggles and revolution. Obviously neither of these works is in the least interested in the dialectical view of history.

Youngson does show what factors a conservative economist regards as important—and his grasp is generally more realistic than some of those who have tried to rehabilitate the inter-war period and depict it as a period of progress. At least he is clear that the system was under pressure and in a crisis, though he is unable to explain its inner nature.

For instance, he does not shy away from the fact that World War I had a decisive impact on the British economy while Alford, unaccountably, writes it down as 'a secondary factor in determining economic development between 1918 and 1939'.

The war was followed by a hectic speculative boom which landed many firms with an over-capitalized financial structure which pushed down the profit rate (or caused losses to be made) while making it impossible to raise fresh capital for modernization and re-equipment. This hastened the industrial decline in the older industries and areas which had its roots in the latter part of the 19th century.

The change in Britain's world position in the 1920s, with the rise of US economic power and intensified competition on the world market from old rivals and some new ones, like Japan, together with the return to gold at the pre-1914 parity, aggravated the problems of industry in that decade.

However, new opportunities for profitable investment—though the economic historians generally studiously avoid discussing profits, the mainspring of capitalist production—opened up by new technologies and made possible by the defeats of the working class did begin to change the prospect from the mid-1920s.

The General Strike is crucial here, as the conservative Youngson admits: 'Resistance to money wage reduction in all industries was greatly reduced, and strikes, now regarded as futile [by whom? —TK], became relatively uncommon . . . collaboration between trade unionists [he means the bureaucracy and the Mond-Turner agreements] was much more common and constructive.'

This, at least is honest. Alford virtually passes over this crucial event in inter-war history with a casual mention. A recent book entitled 'The British Economy, 1870-1939' by D. H. Aldcroft and H. W. Richardson, two leading exponents of the view that the inter-war period was pretty good (for the employers? —T.K.), treat the General Strike in two half-sentences as a 'random shock'!

One can also accept in its main lines Youngson's account of the depressive effects of post-1918 financial policy, aimed to restore the gold standard at the pre-war parity for the pound. This was, of course, necessary for the City of London and accepted by the ruling class as a whole (Churchill was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time and was not free from some doubts) despite the widespread condemnation by economists and historians being wise after the event.

At the superficial level of the narrative of events there is not much to complain of in Youngson's account of the 1930s. He is unable to explain why the world economic depression was so sharp and prolonged and why it led to World War II which finally brought it to an end, only to create in its opposite, the new contradictions of the post-war expansion.

CONCERNED

Youngson is much more concerned with showing how British capitalism was able to ward off some of the worst effects of the depression and undertake, after 1934, a measure of recovery which compared favourably with most other capitalist countries—and to do so, it might be added, without resort to fascism.

His conclusion is rather self-satisfied: 'British recovery was remarkable, and her performance in the 1930s was far superior to what had been achieved in the 1920s.'

While noting the devaluation of the pound, the adoption of protective tariffs (which incidentally made possible for Britain's rulers a new international eco-



The General Strike: 'collaboration between trade unionists was much more common and constructive.'

nomical strategy which had some successes to its credit in hard bargaining with weaker trading partners), the upsurge in house building and the growth of 'new' industries as factors in the revival, Youngson is also frank enough to put his finger on a decisive factor which underpinned all this 'recovery'.

This was the much greater fall in the sort of goods Britain imported—mainly foodstuffs and raw materials—compared with the prices of her mainly manufactured exports.

Assisted by sheltered markets in the Empire and the sterling area then brought into existence, exports were able to improve at the same time. Cheap imports kept down the price of food, thus expanding the internal market for the 'new' industries and the service trades which were growing in a semi-parasitic fashion at this time.

As raw materials they also kept down the cost of industry (both variable and constant) and thus counteracted the tendency for the rate of profit to fall and made possible faster accumulation.

No mystery about that, especially as many forms of investment now made available by technological change had been lagging behind in Britain ever since the beginning of the 20th century. The fact remains that the recovery was only partial and would have been still more so but for the rearmament drive in the latter 1930s.

While dealing with state intervention, now necessary to support capitalism in its crisis—with the working class still suffering from defeats and the crisis of leadership (needless to say, not mentioned)—Youngson soft-pedals on the growth of monopoly.

He even suggests later on that there was no trend towards monopoly inherent in capitalism. But under the National Government, economic policy was definitely based on bolstering and extending monopoly control of key industries. It was during this period, indeed, that Britain's historic lag in monopolization was largely bridged.

British 'recovery' during the 1930s was based on the assets retained from the past. What Youngson describes as 'adventitious'—i.e. accidental—the favourable shift in the terms of trade was based on the favourable bargaining position of the imperialist metropolis in relation to its colonies and semi-colonies.

In addition, earnings from past foreign investment met something like one quarter of total foreign payments. It was possible, in some years, to run a balance-of-payments deficit by simply repatriating a small proportion of overseas investments. How different the situation was to be after World War II.

Then, after the further heavy blows administered to Britain's world position and the continued US advance, a tremendous

export drive had to be mounted as one position after another was lost. British capitalism, like the rest of Europe, depended on American economic aid to pull out of the immediate post-war crisis which threatened it with complete collapse.

This fact is more or less discreetly minimized and overlooked as historians dealing with the period since 1945 become lost in contemplation of the expansion, boom and 'full employment' while, at the same time, feel perplexed in explaining the poor growth record of Britain compared with other countries of W Europe and Japan.

Youngson, somewhat embarrassed by the trends of the 1930s, breathes more freely when he comes to the post-war period. But he no more explains why capitalism was able to obtain a respite and expand after the war than he was to explain the depression of the pre-war decade.

Impressed by Keynesian claims, he waxes enthusiastic about the discovery of new policies to maintain 'full employment'. It was, he says 'a truly epoch-making development' when governments became 'morally committed' to maintain full employment. The obvious question is what happened to their moral commitment when the forces which produced the boom began to flag.

FORCES

Post-war recovery and expansion cannot be explained without reference to class forces: on the one hand the continued paralysis of leadership in the working-class movement, the betrayals of Stalinism and reformism, which enabled capital to survive, on the other the strength of the working class, enhanced by full employment, as a factor quite the opposite to that of the 1930s.

The new phase of expanded reproduction began on the basis of the Bretton Woods agreement, which consecrated the international key role of the dollar and made possible an expansion of the circulating medium.

In the case of Britain, this began, in fact, in the 1930s. And it was partly for this reason that growth was later slower than in other capitalist countries.

But into this comparison clearly enters the ageing process in British industry, the existence of a heavy weight of obsolete and obsolescent capital equipment.

The analysis of the new period of expanded reproduction has not only misled bourgeois economists and historians into overestimating the strength of capitalism and the changes in its structure during the boom. It has also produced a crop of 'Marxist' revisions represented by the theory of the permanent arms economy, the theory of 'neo-capitalism' and a 'new industrial revolution' and the Stalinist theory of 'state monopoly capitalism' ripe for 'advanced democracy'.

The task of theoretical expansion is barely taken up at all in Youngson's pamphlet. For the post-war period he confines himself mainly to description rather than analysis.

In fact the analysis proffered by the orthodox is, in any case, banal in the extreme.

It is literally true that no economist or historian has yet written a valid analysis of the world economic depression and even the discussion of the post-1945 period—when capitalism appears to have much more going for it—is superficial in the extreme.

The principal lesson to be derived from a perusal of essays like those of Alford and Youngson is the need for a more thorough Marxist treatment of capitalist development in the epoch of its decay.

BOOKS



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

GKN makes pay talks plea

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

ONE of Manchester's biggest employers has approached unions for talks over the engineering pay dispute, now in its second week.

Two local union officials will meet management at Guest Keen and Nettlefold's steel plant at Bredbury, Stockport, for negotiations on Wednesday.

It was at this plant that the greater Manchester battle for a wage increase, shorter hours and longer holidays began more than two weeks ago when workers there began a sit-in strike.

Action by the Bredbury steel workers has been followed by a total of 7,000 workers who are occupying 11 factories in the North West.

May spread

Tomorrow the occupation may spread to one of the city's largest factories, AEI's in Trafford Park, where 3,500 workers have been told they will not be paid if they continue with their ban on piece work.

So far GKN have been considered one of the hawks in the NW Engineering Employers' Federation and some union officials are already declaring the request for negotiations as a 'breakthrough'.

But GKN are unlikely to offer anywhere near the £10, a 35-

hour week and more holidays demanded by steel workers.

Employers who have given concessions on hours and holidays have been threatened with expulsion from the Employers' Federation.

Meanwhile an explosive situation is developing among semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the dispute. Most of these are in the General and Municipal Workers' Union which so far has refused to follow the Amalgamated Union of Engineering

Workers and make the occupations official.

The 600 G&M members at Bredbury Steel have been in occupation for over two weeks without strike pay or dole.

Ken Baker, the union's national organizer, will travel north tomorrow to discuss the situation with local G&M officials.

The union's regional executive has in fact strongly recommended official backing, but where more than 200 members are involved in a dispute the

final decision rests with the National Executive.

According to one G&M official this weekend the executive is unlikely to discuss the issue until its next meeting in about two weeks' time.

Feeling at Bredbury was summed up by one worker who told me: 'If Baker does not come across with the money there will be no G&M left at the steel works. We are not going to be treated like those Pilkington lads were at St Helens.'



ABOUT 100 mainly Official IRA members of Clann na h'Eireann (children of Ireland) arrived at Hyde Park yesterday just as 500 members of the Provisional IRA were leaving for a rally in Kilburn. The two separate marches were staged to commemorate the 1916 Easter Rising.

REFORMIST YOUTH MOVE RIGHTWARDS

BY GARY GURMEET IN SCARBOROUGH

ALL fines imposed under the Industrial Relations Act should be repaid when Labour again takes office, it was urged here at the weekend.

An emergency resolution passed at the annual conference of the self-styled Labour Party Young Socialists called on the trade unions to 'totally ignore' the Act.

It asked the next Labour government to repeal the Act and indemnify organizations charged under its provisions.

Attended by 150 delegates and about 280 visitors the 11th conference of the LPYS has produced a newly-strengthened ally

of the Labour Party's treacherous bureaucracy.

This is the so-called 'Militant' group which has used its majority on the National Committee to effectively silence any serious criticism of reformism.

Over the weekend 'Militant' supporters opposed the expulsion of Common Market supporters in the Labour Party and the immediate removal of the Tory government as the only real way to assist Irish workers.

Conference defeated an amendment moved by another group, the 'Young Chartists', calling for the expulsion of Jenkins and 68 MPs who voted with the Tories on the Common Market.

Derek McMillan from Croydon LPYS was cheered loudly

when he said that the expulsion demand was 'ludicrous'.

'The question is not of expelling the 69 Jenkinsites because you could only replace them with another 69 Wilsonites,' he said.

In the guise of opposing Wilson these revisionists refused to mobilize any action against the right wing.

On N Ireland all radical phrases used by the 'Militant' majority amounted to little more than mere words.

Nowhere did they raise the demand for Labour and trade-union leaders to campaign in Britain for the Tory government's resignation.

Only a last-minute change in the agenda allowed a resolution condemning the Labour leadership in its support for Tory direct rule.

Paul Moore, a delegate from Norwood LPYS, was booed when he called for defence of the IRA against the British army.

Speaking in the Irish debate yesterday, Brent delegate Graham Bash said the LPYS had to unconditionally oppose direct rule.

We must mobilize the British working class behind the Irish struggle. That is the only possible solidarity we can show.'

Pickets fight Hull sacking

ALL 100 striking draughtsmen at Fenners engineering factory, Hull, demonstrated outside the plant on Thursday against their union secretary's alleged victimization.

The strikers—members of the technicians section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers—have been out for eight weeks.

Last week they were joined by 18 members of the AUEW from the research department, whose sympathy action has been made official by the union's district

The strikers feel that their action is now having a considerable effect on the management and they hope that the research men's sympathy action will be the beginning of moves by other sections of the AUEW.

Teachers in key debates

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

CRUCIAL debates on salaries and registration under the Industrial Relations Act take place today at the National Union of Teachers' conference in Blackpool.

Although not favouring registration now, the NUT leadership hopes to keep its hands free to register at any time in the immediate future.

Opposition on salaries could come to a head over the executive's acceptance of the divisive salary scales principle and its abandonment of any flat-rate claim benefiting all teachers.

But the mood of the teachers' conference may have been shown in Saturday's debates on nursery education and school conditions.

In both the executive pushed through amendments deleting mandatory sanctions if deadlines for action are not met.

Implementation of nursery education—especially vital for working-class children—has been continually postponed since the 1944 Education Act.

Stalinist ban in Leeds

LEEDS Trades Council has approved a regulation banning 'non-trade union' bodies from speaking at its meetings.

The regulation was proposed by the Communist Party-dominated executive and the decision to introduce it follows the visit to Leeds by members of the Young Socialist Right-to-Work campaign.

Standing orders were suspended and one of the girl marchers was allowed to address the trades council and take a collection.

Now the Stalinists have hit back against the gigantic success of the campaign and the YS by closing the trades council doors.

LATE NEWS WEATHER

SUNDAY lunches were wasted on the prison ship 'Maidstone' in Belfast harbour as the internees on board kept up their hunger strike.

The fast—in protest against conditions on the ship and the internment policy in general—began two days ago.

GENERAL SITUATION: a trough of low pressure is moving northwards over western districts of Britain.

S, SW England and S Wales will be rather cloudy with occasional rain. NW England, N Wales, N Ireland and SW Scotland will start bright but cloud and rain will spread from the SW later. NW Scotland will have showers, with bright intervals at first.

Eastern districts of Scotland and E England will be mostly dry with bright intervals especially in the morning. Temperatures will be near normal generally but it will be rather warm in Southern districts of England.

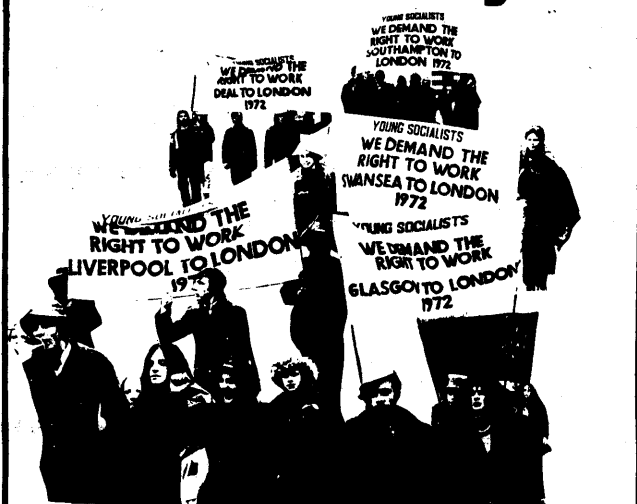
Outlook for Tuesday and Wednesday: Changeable with rain at times, particularly in the N and W, but also some sunny intervals.

NEWS DESK
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 Plover Press Ltd. (TU), 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

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



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

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

Please send me details/tickets of the Scarborough Conference.

I enclose

NAME

ADDRESS

.....

.....